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Date : Jan 01, 1963

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CAMBODIA

President's Banquet Speech welcoming Cambodian Head of State

Speaking at a dinner held at Rashtrapati Bhavan, January 25, 1963, in honour of His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of the Kingdom of Cambodia, and Madame Norodom Sihanouk, President Dr. S. Radhakrishnan said

Your Royal Highness, Madame Sihanouk, Ladies and Gentlemen, I should like to convey to you our most cordial welcome on behalf of the Government, people and of myself and I hope you and the members of your party will find your stay here both interesting and pleasant.

Your Royal Highness, we have watched your somewhat unusual and striking career with great interest. When you were installed as the King of Cambodia in, 1941, you were just 18 years old. You then led the movement for freeing Cambodia from alien rule and found that your duties as King interfered with your work for your people. So you abdicated in favour of your father in 1955. Since when you have been working for the development of your country and your people. You have introduced many administrative reforms, many economic measures and many schemes of educational expansion. You have identified yourself with the interests of your people. You are now the elected Head of your State, the undisputed leader of your country, enjoying the confidence and affection of your people.

When I thought about the educational things you were discussing with me, I was greatly impressed by the language problem which you have solved in your country. In the primary stages, they learn Khmer and French. In the secondary stages, they learn Khmer, French and

English. In the university stages, they learn French, English and Russian. It shows the modern outlook which you have developed in your country. Your position occupying a place between countries which are aligned this way or that way, has been a somewhat delicate one. With great acumen and courage you have pursued a policy of non-alignment and helped your neighbouring countries to the extent to which you can.

You took a leading part in the Geneva Conference on Laos and you helped the attainment of the neutrality-of Laos. Though you are in fact a neutral, there has not been any de jure recognition of it, but that doesn't matter.

And I find again that your country has so many attractions about it. Visitors from all parts of the world come there to see those magnificent masterpieces of architecture in Angkor Vat etc. The descendants of the people who built those great monuments had no doubt great and artistic talents and abilities. And you yourself, Your Royal Highness, take a great deal of interest in music, in song and drama. You write poetry-you wrote-not now, there is no time for writing scenarios for cinema now-light music compositions like that. And you have enabled your people to have a taste in the traditional arts and crafts of your country. You have tried to give them a lead. You have led labour teams. You have worked in rural areas. You yourself undertook manual work so as to set an example to your people that unless we help ourselves, there is no chance of our developing our own country. That great example you have set to your people.

The flag which you have is always a reminder that man as he is, is incomplete. The three gopuras, the temple spires there, they indicate that we are here to dream, to aspire, to complete ourselves. What we have is something which cannot satisfy us. History is full of ups and downs, of periods of war and peace and tremendous threats and great hopes. We know our teachers have taught us, the more weapons of violence, the more misery to mankind. In spite of the exalted teachings they give we still go on developing new and complicated weapons. This civilisation has a precarious character. It has got virtues which have helped us to build

civilisation. It has got vices which have reduced civilisations to nothing. Both these virtues and vices spring from the heart of man Unless we are able to integrate our own nature unless we are able to feel dissatisfied with things as they happened to be, there is not much chance

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of our moving forward, but the spirit of man is there. It is bound to prevail and this particular flag of yours, with its three gopuras is an indication to us all not to be content with what we are but to move forward and forward until we reach the, goal. You have therefore done a great piece Of work for your country and I have no doubt with your wide travels, with so much experience which you have gained from your meeting with other people, you are bound to be of great assistance to your country.

When I was there some years ago I found this little girl, who is Her Royal Highness today, gave a performance, a ballet in which she took the role of Sita.

I saw that and enjoyed it. The people are a people who have a capacity for enjoyment, who have a sense of art, who have a sense of deep dissatisfaction with things as they are and aspire for nobler things. So long as that aspiration is there, there is hope for all of us.

It is my great pleasure, Your Royal Highness, to ask all of you to drink to your health, to the health of Madame Sihanouk, the members of your party and express to you the hope that you will have a good time in our country.

CAMBODIA UNITED KINGDOM CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC USA RUSSIA SWITZERLAND LAOS

Date : Jan 01, 1963

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CAMBODIA

Prince Sihanouk's Reply

Replying to the toast proposed by the President, H.R.H. Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, said :

I thank His Excellency Dr. Radhakrishnan from the bottom of my heart for the very generous things he has just said-sentiments which resume and complete, as it were-the cordial welcome we received on our arrival in your beautiful capital today; and I should like on this the first day of my visit to pay respectful tribute to the statesman and profound philosopher, who symbolizes in his person both the eternal India and, also the India of today with its feet firmly set on the path of progress.

Cambodia, for its part, has never forgotten what it owes to India, which with a prodigal generosity endowed it with the religious beliefs and technical knowledge that enabled our civilisation to flower and to develop, at the same time. certain entirely original features which it has retained ever since. And I should like to point out the important part these ancient links may play in future exchanges between our two countries, as both the position in which we find ourselves placed and the lessons of our history give us some insight into India's evolution today.

I have pointed out that Cambodia is deeply indebted to India; and I will add that I, for my part, am much indebted personally to India's great leader Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. For it was by Studying his methods and teachings, and by following his sage counsels that I was able to decide upon a course of action which has assured our independence, and national unity, together with peaceful internal conditions and the respect of our sovereignty. And I ascribe the unanimous and enthusiastic support commanded by this policy to the far-sighted wisdom of our well-loved and respected Indian friend.

Nevertheless, it must be admitted that no policy, however clairvoyant it may be, can spare a country all internal or external difficulties. What nation can lay claim to an untroubled history? And even my country which is so well endowed with friends has been unable to maintain friendly relations with its neighbours. But,

when the balance is struck between the advantages and disadvantages entailed by the political and ideological choice we have made, I believe for my part that neither India nor Cambodia will have cause to regret their choice.

Finally, I should like to express my deep gratitude to His Excellency the President of the Republic and to the Prime Minister and to the Indian Government for their invitations which will give us an opportunity to visit and to admire some of the very important work you have been doing in every province of your immense country. We are likewise most pleased at the prospect of being able to convey in person the brotherly greetings of the Khmer people to the courageous people of India.

And it is with these sentiments that I ask you, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, to raise your glass with me, and to drink to the health of His Excellency the President of the Republic of India.

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CAMBODIA

Prince Sihanouk's Speech at Indo-Cambodian Friendship Society Reception

His Royal Highness, Prince Norodom Sihanouk was the guest of honour at the Indo-Cambodian Friendship Society's reception at Asoka Mission Vihara at Mehrauli, near Delhi, on January 27, 1963. Replying to the address of welcome he said :

Your Venerable, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, my very dear brothers : First

of all, may I express my very deep gratitude to you, the representative of the Kamboja community for your very kind and affectionate words, for your very generous speech.

I am profoundly happy to have the opportunity to come and pay my respect to Lord Buddha in this Vihara. I should like to thank respectfully the Venerable for having given me this opportunity. It is a great joy for me to meet him here in this place where he built this Vihara with the generosity of the Indian Government led. by Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, my great and respected and beloved friend.

I am today in your great country, India, your guest. I am visiting India as your guest, in a fifteen day's State visit. It is for me a great fortune because India is considered by the whole Cambodian people, the whole royal family of Cambodia, as a homeland. Our State was founded nearly 2,000 years ago by an Indian prince. Our State was constituted by an Indian statesman who came to our land, our country which was then not a State, not a nation. We were then not conscious of our ability to be a nation and if Cambodia could exist that was due to India.

We were colonised by the Viet Nameese and after that by the French, So some new States, some new people believed that we were not independent, we were not a State and our history could be regarded only since the Geneva Conference in 1954. We are very happy of the fact that we have a seat in the United Nations. We are a very old State and we have a very old civilisation and we owe all that to India. It was India that built Cambodia. So, in coming here, we are coming to the shores of our existence. It is an explanation why we are so happy to be amidst you. And as Buddhists we consider also India as the place for pilgrimage because Lord Buddha gave to our countries, like Cambodia, Dharma and Lord Buddha came from India. So we feel very happy and honoured to be considered by you, my Indian brothers, not as foreigners, but as some of your countrymen. And you are giving to all my countrymen who come here such hospitality that they feel quite at home. This is my first State visit but people from Cambodia have been coming here and have contact with you.

We were very delighted to welcome a few years ago many delegates from your association, the Kamboja Committee and I am delighted to see the same delegates here, my very honoured hosts. May I express at the same time my gratitude to the other members, to the other brothers in the Dharma-for instance, I see close to me His Excellency the Ambassador of Burma, many ladies and gentlemen from Burma. We were very fortunate to have the opportunity to pay our respect to the sacred relics of Lord Buddha a few months ago.

In your speech you recalled the efforts we have inside in Colombo in the framework of the six nonaligned countries which dedicate themselves to their friendship with India and with China. We of the six non-aligned countries, particularly Burma and Cambodia, are continuing with other countries of the Colombo Conference in this work, dedicated to the search of a satisfactory and honourable solution to the problem India is facing. We are trying to help you to solve in honour and in justice this very great problem.

We express to you our affectionate sympathy and we can assure you that we will always do our best in order to help you to realise your aim of peace, of an equitable settlement of the problem you are facing now. And it is with these sentiments that we present to you our best wishes for your happiness, for the grandeur of India, for the glory of your great nation, for the success of your various schemes.

CAMBODIA UNITED KINGDOM USA INDIA SWITZERLAND BURMA SRI LANKA CHINA

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CAMBODIA

Prince Sihanouk's Speech at Dinner in honour of the President

H.R.H. Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, proposing the toast at a dinner on January 28, 1963 in honour of President Radhakrishnan, said :

We are very appreciative of the great honour His Excellency President Radhakrishnan has

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done us by consenting to honour this reception with his presence, and I thank him most sincerely for accepting our invitation.

The Cambodian people-and I should like to lay particular stress on this point-respect and admire greatly the noble figure of India's President, whose visit to our country some years ago is still fresh in their memory; it also seems to me that the President's prudent wisdom and statesmanlike qualities, both of which are legendary, must be of inestimable value during the difficult period through which India is now passing.

My gratitude likewise goes out to the Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, who has played such an important and effective role in international politics during the past 15 years, and whom I and my country have the joy and privilege of numbering among our most valued, loyal and respected friends. Finally, I should like to thank all those personalities, both Indian and of other nationalities, who have kindly consented to be present this evening.

In the course of the past few days, we have learnt much about the progress you are making in building up your country, while the talks I have had with India's eminent leaders will have, I am sure, a most happy effect on the future relations between our two Governments. These relations--I hasten to add--have no need to be consolidated as we have always been so close to each other; we react in the same way to any given situation, while we have so many customs and traditions in common that we always understand each other perfectly. But, having made this claim, I consider none the less that we should pursue our practice of direct and frequent contacts, which have always proved most helpful to both of us in the past.

I shall leave Delhi with memories of the march-past on the Republic Day which demonstrated in such conclusive fashion the complete unity of the Nation; I will likewise retain memories of the courageous peasants of Sisana, of the students at Delhi University and of the distinguished gathering I attended at the Red Fort this afternoon.

Tomorrow, I am to set out to visit a number of towns in the southern part of the country. This is a pleasing prospect as my knowledge of India has hitherto been somewhat fragmentary, and I am one of those people who believe that affection grows with knowledge.

And to end this brief toast, may I again say how grateful I am to my great Indian friends for the most hospitable way in which they have received me. This visit will go down in the annals of Khmero-India relations as an occasion on which conclusive proof was afforded of the strength of the bonds uniting our two countries and peoples.

It is with these sentiments in mind that I ask you, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, to raise your glass and to drink to the health of His Excellency Dr. Radhakrishnan, President of the Republic of India.

CAMBODIA UNITED KINGDOM USA INDIA

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CAMBODIA

Dr. Radhakrishnan's Reply

Replying to the toast proposed by Prince Sihanouk, the President Dr. S. Radakrishnan said:

Your Royal Highness, Madame Sihanouk, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, we are honoured Your Royal Highness, by your visit to this country and we are pleased to know that you and members of your party enjoyed your stay here till now. I have no doubt that the few days you will spend in our country, in other parts, will prove equally enjoyable. I hope they will prove equally enjoyable to you and the members of your party.

You referred to my visit to your country some years ago. I remember that visit with very great pleasure. I saw there the many bonds binding our countries in our arts, in our customs, in our traditions etc. Apart from these ancient things, in modern times also we are pursuing more or less a similar policy of economic progress national cohesion and friendship with the nations of the world.

There is an element of moral greatness in economic progress for it enables us to raise the living standards of our people and help them to reach beauty of mind and spirit. Without the economic background, we cannot develop these things. You, Your Royal Highness, by your courageous leadership of your country, you released the energies of your people and bonded them into a single nation.

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I am glad to know that you found some indication of a similar cohesion in our country the other day when you witnessed our Parade. It is because you are securing for your people national cohesion and economic progress, you are able to avoid some of the internal upheavals which have disfigured some other countries in this world. Yet you also follow the great teachings of the Buddha. The people of Cambodia are followers of the Buddha. At a time of great spiritual confusion, widespread cynicism and mass escapism, lowering of standards, distortion of values when people sometimes think that we are on the edge of an abyss, that collapse and despair are the only things confronting us, yours is the faith in the great principles taught by the Buddha, one of the supreme masters of spiritual life that man lives not merely for gaining material possessions but for reaching spiritual fulfilment.

Inward wisdom and outward compassion are the things which will help us to get out of the present confused condition in this world. From all these points of view, we appreciate the endeavours which you have made and we have been very sensitive to your kind remarks about us, about the dangers and difficulties through which we are passing. And I have no doubt that with the help and goodwill of the people round us, we will get through these difficulties, more or less successfully in a short time. And this visit of yours will strengthen our bonds and base Indo-Cambodian friendship on a firm foundation.

With these words, I would like you to raise your glasses to His Royal Highness, Prince Norodom Sihanouk and the prosperity of the people of Cambodia and Indo-Cambodian friendship.

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CAMBODIA

Joint Communique

At the invitation of the President of the Republic of India, His Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk, Head of State of the Kingdom of Cambodia, accompanied by members of the Royal Family and His Royal Highness's Ministers and staff, is paying a State Visit to India from 24th January to 8th February, 1963. The Royal Party arrived in Delhi on the 25th of January and left Delhi for fulfilling the other part of the programme of visit on 29th January.

During his stay in Delhi, His Royal Highness had friendly and informal exchange of views with

the Prime Minister on the current international situation and on matters of mutual interest to their two countries.

His Royal Highness and the Prime Minister agreed that in the context of the phenomenal scientific and technological advances, particularly in the nuclear and thermonuclear field, the most urgent question vital to survival of humanity and human civilization was the question of disarmament and elimination of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons of mass destruction. They hoped that the Disarmament Committee, which reconvenes in Geneva next month, will be able to make rapid progress with the cooperation of the principal powers concerned.

They re-affirmed their policy of settling differences by peaceful methods and their faith in the principles of peaceful co-existence between nations with different political and ideological systems. The Prime Minister gave His Royal Highness the background of the conflict on the India-China border, thanked His Royal Highness for his participation in the Colombo Conference in December 1962 and assured His Royal Highness of India's determination to follow the path of peace consistent with national honour and dignity and the territorial integrity of India. His Royal Highness assured India of his affectionate sympathy, expressed his satisfaction at India's acceptance of the Colombo Conference proposals and added that he had complete confidence in the ability of the Indian statesmen to find a satisfactory solution to the distressing border dispute by peaceful means.

His Royal Highness and the Prime Minister agreed that there was a deep and fundamental accord between Cambodia and India in their devotion to peace and their dedication to economic and social development programmes for the betterment of their people. They re-affirmed their faith in the policy of non-alignment followed by both their countries.

The Prime Minister conveyed to His Royal Highness the high regard in which he is held in India as a Prince and a patriot who had guided the destinies of his country through a critical period of its history. His Royal Highness referred to the ancient cultural links between Cambodia and India and to the close and friendly relations

between the two countries and expressed his appreciation of the peaceful policies and

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programmes of development followed by the Government of India.

His Royal Highness and the Prime Minister agreed that they should do everything possible to increase and strengthen the economic and cultural ties between the two countries.

His Royal Highness and the Prime Minister expressed their satisfaction at having had this opportunity of exchanging views in an informal and friendly atmosphere. They agreed to keep in touch with each other on matters of mutual interest to both their countries,

CAMBODIA INDIA UNITED KINGDOM SWITZERLAND CHINA SRI LANKA

Date : Jan 01, 1963

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CEYLON

Prime Minister's Speech at Friendship Society Reception

Speaking at the reception given to H. E. Mrs. Sirimavo R. D. Bandaranaike, Prime Minister of Ceylon, by the Indo-Ceylon Friendship Society at the Ceylon Buddhist Pilgrims Rest House in New Delhi on January 11, 1963 the Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, said:

Madam Prime Minister and friends, I do not quite know why I should take up your time in this function. I have come here to join in the tribute we are all paying to you Madam, and to express our pleasure at your visit to Delhi again because, apart from matters we may discuss which are also important, it is a pleasure to have you in many capacities-as the Prime Minister of Ceylon, as the lady who is associated so

closely with another Prime Minister of Ceylon whom we admired and who was a great friend of ours, both nationally and personally. We welcome you here as yourself, apart from all these other qualifications.

So you have heard sonic accounts of the ancient contacts-those contacts between Ceylon and India-and they indicate that there is something deeper than political contacts which join us together and which will always keep us bound together in spirit and such like other ways. And so I should like again to express my happiness at your coming here and I am glad to be in this Guest House which I had the privilege of opening, I believe, some years ago. I am sorry that the High Commissioner of Ceylon here is unfortunately not well. He was very closely associated with the establishment of this Guest House. Unfortunately, he is lying ill; he could not come.

This little building is a symbol of this close cooperation of the spirit between Ceylon and India. And so when one comes here one is reminded of that, although no reminder is needed of something that is apparent. So I welcome you again here Madam and wish you success in the great venture you have undertaken.

INDIA USA

Date : Jan 01, 1963

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CEYLON

Ceylon Prime Ministers Speech

Addressing the Indo-Ceylon Friendship Society at Ceylon Buddhist Pilgrim's Rest House, H. E. Mrs. Sirimavo R. D. Bandaranaike, Prime Minister of Ceylon, said :

I thank you very much for your kind invitation to be your guest this afternoon. I am very happy to be with you and to wish your Association success in your work of promoting and strengthening friendship between India and Ceylon.

As you are all aware, Ceylon's association with India dates from long ages past and goes back to the very beginning of our existence as a nation. Our ancestors came from India and settled in Ceylon in about the 5th century B.C. Since then we have had the closest relationship with

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India. In fact it would be correct to say that our connection has been so close right throughout our history that every movement of importance on the Indian sub-continent, cultural, social or political has had its repercussion and its consequence in our country. This was so in the past and it is certainly true today.

Undoubtedly, the greatest gift that we received from India and which debt we can never, repay, was the message of the Buddha Dharma which has moulded to an immeasurable degree the lives, thoughts and actions of our people. It was through the great missionary work of the Emperor Asoka who sent his own son and daughter, Mahinda and Sangamitta to propagate the faith in Lanka that our people came to accept the message of the Buddha and enabled our island to become known to the world as a Dharma Dvipa. It is a matter of much pride to us that today Ceylon is regarded as the home of the purest form of Buddhism and that the Dharma is now being spread round the world from Lanka.

It is therefore, I suppose, fitting that today the task of trying to bring about peace in Asia should have fallen on us. My present visit to India, which to us is so much like home, is both a mission of peace and of friendship. It is on account of the real and sincere friendship that exists between our two countries that I have been emboldened to undertake this grave responsibility of trying to do something which might lead to a reconciliation between India and China and a peaceful settlement of the present problems between these two countries. I believe that the obligation and duty of a friend should be to take a sympathetic, though objective, view of the situa-

tion and then act in a manner which would ensure that the best interests of the friend are served.

Between the people of India there already exists such a large fund of goodwill and common interests that the work of your Association should be quite easy. There may be problems between our two countries, but I know that they will always be settled. as between friends, by negotiation and in a spirit of give and take.

It is my hope that the work of your Association will continue and grow and that the already existing ties of friendship will be strengthened through your efforts. There is much that can be done by an Association like yours in making the life and culture and point of view of the people of our two countries better known to each other. I wish your Association every success.

USA INDIA CHINA

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COLOMBO CONFERENCE

Prime Minister Nehru's Speech of Welcome

Speaking at the dinner given by him at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, January 12, 1963 in honour of the Prime Minister of Ceylon, the President of the Executive Council of the United Arab Republic and the Minister of Justice of Ghana, the Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru said :

Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen: We meet here today to do honour to three distinguished messengers of peace. In any event, they would have been- very welcome here at any time because they are friends of ours and they come from countries which are closely related to India and

which in the larger scheme of things have often followed policies which are akin to each other.

Indeed, one of the things that linked them together was when you, Madam, took the initiative to call a conference of some non-aligned powers. It was a policy of non-alignment which was a common factor between you and us and many others—a policy which all of us think is the right policy for our countries and we hope for other countries also. So, you would have been welcome anyhow because all our countries, yours and mine, have been struggling for years past ever since we gained Independence, struggling with economic problems, sometimes political problems but economic problems chiefly, to raise the level of our people and get rid of the disabilities which follow under-development. But welcome as you would have been anyhow, you are specially welcome because you have come in quest of peace.

VICTIM OF AGGRESSION

Now it is an odd thing that we in India who have been devoted almost passionately to peace

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and who have, I believe, gained some reputation for that in the world, should suddenly have been the victim of aggression and peace should be upset, and this naturally as you must feel and know has created a tremendous upset in our minds and hearts because we are not used to the idea of having to face these consequences and, therefore, the pain we suffer was all the greater, I am not going into this question. It does not fit in that I should go into it but I wish to express my gratitude to all of you for the trouble you have taken to come here and you, Madam, to go to Peking a little while ago to find some way which might at least ensure the first step towards peace. It is a difficult quest and the way of the peace makers is always a hard one and I cannot say—nor you can say—definitely at the present moment what the outcome of this quest will be. But I can assure you that we, for our part, are eager to take the first and the second and the third step to ensure peace, subject naturally to, I say, the honour of our country and the self-respect of our country which we feel has been outraged to some extent.

Nevertheless, we shall try our best to take advantage of what you have initiated, and whatever the future will bring, the step you have taken, Madam Prime Minister and with you, your other colleagues who are here, will have justified itself in any case as a good step always justifies itself even regardless of the consequences; but we do hope the consequences will also be good and we shall endeavour to work to that end.

WAR NO SOLUTION

All our minds, and I take it your minds too, have been absorbed so much in the work of development in our country, economic development, agricultural and industrial development that we have seldom time to think of big world problems, because anyhow we can only take an effective part in this world of today if we have succeeded in developing our countries to some extent. The weak and undeveloped may say a great deal but the effect of what they say cannot be much, it is only when they have shown their capacity to develop and that is why all your countries as ours have been devoting ourselves to this great problem. But together with that inevitably comes one of the major problems of the age and that is, war and peace. And when I say war, I am particularly referring to big-scale war, nuclear war, as it is called. For if that comes, it puts an end to our hopes and aspirations and the world may survive or may not, I do not know, but it cannot and will not survive that as we know it. It is very different. And therefore,, it becomes the bounden duty of all of us to try to avoid such a catastrophe and we play our part in various world organisations---of the United Nations, or amongst ourselves, with a view always to avoid such a terrible development. We also play our part to try to put an end to something that has cursed us in the past-foreign domination, colonialism and imperialism. In a sense, all these are connected together and possibly, any way towards solution of one problem helps in the other. In any event, I do not think there is much chance of a solution through horrors of war. So you have come here Madam Prime Minister, and you Mr. President of the Executive Council of the United Arab Republic and you Mr. Minister of Justice of Ghana and given us advice, as some of you did in Peking, and I can only say that I hope that your advice will bear fruit with all of us and others and that if it does

so, your initiative and your work in this cause will have not only succeeded but succeeded in doing a good thing to our country, your countries and for the world at large.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask you to drink to the good health of the Prime Minister of Ceylon, the President of the Executive Council of the United Arab Republic and the Minister of Justice of Ghana.

There are many bonds which tie us together. References have been made for instance to Bandung Principles and to other Five Principles of Panchsheel as they were called. Unfortunately, the words are used too often without the slightest meaning and sometimes to cover up breaches, the very breaches and so a very good word, a very good coin tends to become debased. Anyhow, I hope we adhere to these Principles and we adhere to that, that policy or principle which was the basic one which induced the Prime Minister of Ceylon to call some of her colleagues together, the policy of non-involvement because I do believe that that was very important in our search for peace. So, I ask you again, to drink to the health of our guests who have come here in search of peace.

SRI LANKA INDIA USA GHANA INDONESIA

Date : Jan 01, 1963

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COLOMBO CONFERENCE

Ceylon Prime Minister's Reply

Following is the text of speech made by H.E. Sirimavo R. D. Bandaranaike, Prime Minister of Ceylon. January 12, at the dinner given by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru :

Your Excellency Shri Nehru. Your Excellency

Mr. Ali Sabry. Your Excellency Mr. Offori-Atta

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Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen : I thank you very much Shri Nehru for the kind words you have said and for- the good wishes you have expressed for the success of our work here.

For me, it is always a pleasure to be in India. On the last occasion on which I was here, two years ago, I came as a pilgrim to this land which gave birth to the Buddha whose teachings I follow. This time, I have come on a mission which I consider to be of greater importance. For it is not in a personal capacity or even as Prime Minister of a friendly and neighbouring country that I come, but as the representative of the Six Asian and African Non-aligned Nations who met in Colombo on my invitation last December.

The task before us is not an easy one, and it is with a due sense of the responsibilities involved that we have embarked upon it. Yet, we consider that it is essential in the interests of world peace, that the problems of the Sino-Indian boundary must be settled by peaceful negotiations between India and China, and it is that which encourages us to make this attempt.

India as one of the foremost champions of non-alignment has already declared that neither war nor military alliances can afford a solution to international questions. If non-alignment is to remain as a living force in world politics, India, I am sure, realises that there is an urgent need for India herself to take the lead.

The path of negotiation is not an easy one, especially after the traditional friendship of two great nations has been strained to breaking point. I quite realise how difficult it is to start negotiations in such an atmosphere, but it would be infinitely worse to refrain from negotiations, for that very reason.

Our purpose here is not to solve your problems. The solution to that must be found by direct negotiation between India and China. Only so can a peaceful and just settlement be effected. We sincerely feel, however, that we can as friends be of service to you by making it possible for your Government and for the Govern-

ment of China to start negotiations honourably.

I also come to India as a friend. Between our two countries there is a long history of friendship and cooperation in many fields. The people of my country hold you, Shri Nehru, in the highest regard and affection as was so clearly demonstrated during your recent visit to our country. You, Sir, have won the respect and admiration of people all over the world for your devotion to freedom and peace and for the part you have played in shaping the destinies of your great country. It is with the greatest pleasure that I wish you good health and many more years of service to India.

May I request you Ladies and Gentlemen to rise and join with me in drinking a toast to the health of His Excellency Shri Nehru and to the happiness and prosperity of the people of India.

SRI LANKA INDIA USA CHINA

Date : Jan 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

COLOMBO CONFERENCE

Mrs. Bandaranaike's Speech at Civic Reception

Speaking at the civic reception given to the visiting dignitaries at the Red Fort, New Delhi, January 13, Hon'ble Sirimavo R. D. Bandaranaike, Prime Minister of Ceylon, said

Shri Nur-Uddin Ahmad, Mayor of the City of Delhi, Your Excellency Shri Nehru, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, I thank you very much for the kind words you have just spoken and for the good wishes you have expressed for the success of the mission of peace we have undertaken. I know I am voicing the opinions of His Excellency Mr. Ali Sabry and His Excellency

Mr. Offori-Atta too, when I say that we all firmly believe that with goodwill and sincerity on both sides the vexed problem of the Sino-Indian boundary, which has caused so much concern to the people of India, must reach an honourable and just settlement through peaceful negotiations between the two parties.

Speaking for myself, I must repeat how great a joy it is for me to be in India and to speak this afternoon to the people of New Delhi. For us, India is not only the spiritual home of the two great religions of Asia. but it has also inspired and moulded the thought, life and culture of the peoples of this region from the beginning of history. By the very nature of India's size and importance, every event of significance which occurs in India has its repercussions and its effects throughout Asia.

It is therefore with a sense of deep concern and sadness that we have watched the recent unfortunate developments between the two great and powerful nations of Asia, your country and the People's Republic of China. It is a situation fraught with the gravest potentialities and it seems to us, the smaller countries of this region, imperative that something should be done to bring about a reconciliation between these two powers. In this endeavour we are very happy to have the

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Support also of the newly emergent nations of Africa who clearly realise the challenge posed by the present dispute between India and China, to the whole concept of non-alignment and Afro-Asian Unity.

We who have only recently awoken after long years under foreign domination need to bend all our energies to the task of development, of providing a new life of plenty and opportunity for our people. The legacy of colonialism left behind is a difficult one to bear. Economically, the new nations of Asia and Africa found themselves under-developed or with economics which were sadly imbalanced. Socially too, long years of servitude have made our people weak and lethargic and they need to be roused to a new life of action and progress. These are problems common to all of us and to which we have to devote every moment of our time.

We know that your country has tackled these problems with great courage and resourcefulness and that giant strides forward have been made since the achievement of your political independence. In Ceylon too, we are now striving towards a transformation of our society with a view to providing a life of happiness and, contentment for all our people.

WAR No SOLUTION

Against this background of development and progress, the Sino-Indian boundary question casts a dark shadow. It made it imperative that we who are friends of both India and China do something to arrest a rapidly deteriorating situation. I think it is also a lesson of history that war does not solve any question; it only provokes more problems.

Both the Prime Minister of India and the Prime Minister of China have often stated that only by peaceful means can an honourable and just settlement of the boundary question be found. Therefore, we have hope. Peace to us in Asia is a precious thing.

War conflicts with the religious beliefs we "have, whether we be Hindus, Muslims, Christians or Buddhists. It offends the philosophy of Ahimsa which we have made so much a part of our lives, and which received its noblest expression in the life and work of your revered leader, Mahatma Gandhi. So, in all these ways we are impelled to follow the paths of peace.

My present mission which has taken me to Peking and now brought me here to Delhi along with my colleagues His Excellency Mr. Ali Sabry and His Excellency Mr. Offori-Atta, has not been an easy one. By both Governments and Prime Ministers of course we have been received with the greatest courtesy and kindness. But there were many who scoffed at the efforts of this group of Six Asian-African nations and expressed their doubts as to whether anything would come of it. I must say that that criticism has not deterred us. In fact it has strengthened our determination to go on with our task as we believe that the efforts we make are worth while. I also believe that the sincerity of our motives and the fact that our intentions are pure will ensure that our present quest bears fruit.

I thank you once again for the great honour you have done me and His Excellency Mr. Ali Sabry and His Excellency Mr. Offori-Atta by according us this civic reception, and I wish you and the people of the city of Delhi all happiness and prosperity in the future.

SRI LANKA INDIA USA CHINA

Date : Jan 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

COLOMBO CONFERENCE

Text of Ali Sabry's Speech

Speaking at the civic reception H.E. Mr. Ali Sabry, President of the Executive Council of U.A.R. said :

At the outset of my speech, I wish to convey to you all, the warm and hearty greetings from President Gamal Abdul Nasser and the people of the United Arab Republic. I wish to thank you for this opportunity, you have given to me to be with you now, for it is always gratifying experience to get in direct contact with the great Indian people.

I am deeply touched by the cordial reception which has been accorded to me, both by the Government and the people of friendly India. This sincere welcome, I take to be directed to the high and noble purpose, for which we are here among you today, in New Delhi.

I am sure that time and events have helped to bring us closer to each other. In fact, during the past years, we have been in constant touch with India. We have met India on various occasions when we had the chance of receiving Prime Minister Pandit Nehru. Our people then had the opportunity of welcoming India in the

person of your great man as a symbol of peace who had made living history, a man with a creative mind in our age. We have also met India or rather we always meet your friendly country every day on the path leading to the aspirations of our future.

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I hardly think I am in need of stressing the feelings that our nation bears for your country and your distinguished leader, Pandit Nehru.

Apart from the feelings emanating from the heart, there is also an admiration that comes directly to the mind, for your continuous struggle for the development of your country, for building it under the leadership of Premier Nehru. We must not forget his struggle for the consolidation of the moral and spiritual values as a contribution to the building of an international society where peace based on justice prevailed.

We have seen India, both leaders and people, adopt and enforce the principles and ideals preached by them. India has proved in a practical way that her will is equal to her moral faith and that she can justify her principles and keep up her enthusiasm.

INDO-ARAB COOPERATION

I am sure that Indo-Arab Cooperation consists of a powerful force in the consolidation of Afro-Asian solidarity and in the building of a better world, for we share the same view that the way to this noble goal is by working for the prosperity of the country and for world peace.

It is unfortunate, that such a dispute should arise between neighbours and brothers, who are deeply interested in the spirit of cooperation and solidarity among nations. While the Afro-Asian States are anxious, that causes of tension in any part of the world should be removed, they are most anxious that no sanguinary strife should develop between two Asian countries. For, not only does such a strife disturb peace, but it also shakes the strong bases, on which Afro-Asian people's solidarity is founded, and which provides their positive contribution to world peace.

During this present period of international tension, the non-aligned policy is playing a great

positive role, for the cause of preserving world peace. The efforts of non-aligned countries, proved to be constructive and fruitful, in dealing with the wide world disputes. If that has been our role in the wide international field, what could be our duty, when we face a dispute as such, among ourselves and between friendly nations? No doubt, friends, non-aligned countries had in mind to act more effectively, and more positively, in order to create the suitable atmosphere for solving the dispute peacefully.

The peaceful settlement of such a dispute is far-reaching in the life of our nations. Any attempt at armed solution of the Indo-Chinese dispute must inevitably bring disaster, that goes beyond the concerned parties. We who represent the Afro-Asian solidarity, belong to developing countries, and we require a long stretch of peace, during which we can build up our countries, and raise the standard of living of our people, for this is the big challenge that confronts us.

AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARITY

The Colombo Conference was attended by mutual friends of both China and India. We worked together in order to pave the way for a peaceful settlement, through negotiations between the two great neighbours. It is because of this, that we, as members of the Afro-Asian solidarity, spare no efforts in bringing about proposals which would help the two great brothers to compose their differences in a just, peaceful and amicable way.

It is fortunate that good spirit prevailed between the two parties, and instead of fanning the fire, they were ready to accept friendly suggestions, from their sincere friends and brothers. I declare that the success of this Conference will be a land-mark on the road to real solidarity among nations, who have suffered long from common aggression and imperialism.

It is to the credit of all those, who took part in the Colombo Conference and, in particular, Madame Prime Minister Bandaranaike, that these efforts are crowned with the hope of success, in reconciling two great traditional friends, two great nations, two great influential powers in the life of humanity.

The United Arab Republic is ready always to extend its hands sincerely both to India and China until a peaceful solution of the conflict has been justly reached. Indeed the United Arab Republic will not be free from anxiety, unless peace reigns and prevails between our two friends, India and China.

SRI LANKA INDIA USA CHINA

Date : Jan 01, 1963

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COLOMBO CONFERENCE

Text of Ghana Minister's Speech

Speaking at the civic reception, H.E. Mr. Kofi Asante Offori-Atta, Minister for Justice of Ghana, said :

Honourable Mayor, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, I am happy to associate myself fully with the sentiments expressed by the Prime Minister of Ceylon and the President of the Executive Council of the U.A.R. in response to the generous toast that you have proposed. You have done us great honour by giving this recep-

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tion and we have derived much pleasure and relaxation from our work by coming to share these few moments with you, the distinguished representatives of this great city of Delhi.

Let me say Honourable Mayor, on behalf of Osagyefo, the President of the Republic of Ghana, how much we appreciate this gesture from the city of Delhi.

For myself, I am not new to New Delhi and I know from my first visit to this city that the hospitality and friendliness which have been

extended to us during our short stay here are in keeping with the time-honoured traditions of your people.

At the time of my first visit here, I was proceeding to a meeting of the Inter Parliamentary Union in Tokyo. Today I am here as a member of an important mission to your Government. We are here on a mission of peace. And I take encouragement from the fact that your country has for long been recognised as one of the foremost champions of peace not only as a noble spiritual idea but also as a fundamental requirement for human development and progress.

We in Africa as well as in other parts of the world have watched with admiration and derived inspiration from your struggle against foreign domination and imperialism. The record of India in developing the principles of Bandung and the concept of co-existence as necessary foundations of international peace is known to all the world.

AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARITY

These are ideas which find ready acceptance in Africa. For it is in Asia and Africa that foreign domination has long held peoples in bondage, stifled their spirit and retarded their material development. In Asia and Africa the basic conditions, have been the same. Hence it is that for us Afro-Asian solidarity has become a cardinal principle of our foreign policy. Further, Afro-Asian conditions demand that the entire resources of Asia and Africa be turned to the objectives of progress and development. This is only possible in conditions of peace. Thus, the majority of our countries, each in its own separate way, have come to the conclusion that in the present international context the policy of non-alignment can be our only choice. India is acclaimed the world over as a pioneer of this policy of non-alignment. We in Ghana still adhere fervently to this policy.

A particular obligation rests upon all of us, therefore, in the present problem of the Indo-Chinese Border dispute which has brought us here. In spite of Afro-Asian solidarity we have our inter-family troubles, both in Africa and in Asia. Indeed we shall continue to have such family problems; but if our impact on the world

is to mean anything there is no other choice for us but to settle such disputes peacefully. The history and policies of your Government, its international reputation and above all its sincere conviction in Afro-Asian solidarity make us confident that our task here will not be in vain.

I cannot conclude without referring to the courage and inspiration which Pandit Nehru's leadership has given to us in Africa. We are also encouraged very much by the consideration and respect with which our proposals have been received by him personally.

May I take this opportunity to express our gratitude to you Honourable Mayor and to the Government and people of India for the warm hospitality which has been accorded to us during

SRI LANKA GHANA USA INDIA JAPAN INDONESIA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date : Jan 01, 1963

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COLOMBO CONFERENCE

Joint Communique

The Hon'ble Sirimavo R. D. Bandaranaike, Prime Minister of Ceylon, accompanied by the Hon'ble Felix R. Dias Bandaranaike, M.P., Minister without Portfolio and Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Defence and External Affairs, paid a visit to Delhi from 10th to 14th January 1963, to explain the proposals made by the Colombo Conference of the six non-aligned countries to provide a basis for the consolidation of the cessation of hostilities as a first step to the settlement of the India-China differences by peaceful talks and discussions. During this visit His Excellency Mr. Ali Sabry, President of the Executive Council of U.A.R., Leader of the U.A.R. delegation accompanied by H.E. Mr. Moustafa Kamal Mortagy, Minister Plenipoten-

tiary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and His Excellency Mr. Kofi Asante Offori-Atta, Minister of Justice of Ghana, Leader of the Ghana delegation accompanied by H.E. Mr. A. K. Pupanoym Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, joined the Ceylon Prime Minister to assist her in explaining to the Government of India the proposals of the Colombo Conference.

Consistent with their dedication to peace and peaceful methods and their firm policy to explore all possible avenues of peaceful settlement of differences, the Government of India-welcomed

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these distinguished visitors and expressed their gratitude for the trouble taken by them in coming to Delhi to explain the Colombo Conference proposals.

Detailed discussions on the Colombo Conference proposals were held between the three visiting delegations and the Prime Minister of India and his colleagues on 12th and 13th January. Upon the request of the Government of India the Leaders of the three visiting delegations gave detailed clarifications of the Colombo Conference proposals. The Prime Minister of India informed the Leaders of the visiting delegations that India on her part was prepared to take such measures as may be necessary to ensure peace consistent with the honour and self-respect of India. The Prime Minister conveyed the appreciation of the Government of India to the Leaders of the three visiting delegations for the clarifications of the Colombo Conference proposals given by them.

The Prime Minister of India informed the Leaders of the three visiting delegations that the Government of India welcomed the initiative of the Colombo Conference countries and will be placing the Colombo Conference proposals and the clarifications given before the Indian Parliament at its next session for consideration and will indicate their final response to the Colombo Conference proposals after these have been considered by the Indian Parliament.

SRI LANKA CHINA INDIA USA GHANA

Date : Jan 01, 1963

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COLOMBO CONFERENCE

Colombo Proposals

Prime Minister Nehru placed in Lok Sabha on January 21, 1963, the following proposals of the Conference of six non-aligned nations held at Colombo from 10th to 12th December, 1962, along with the clarifications given by the delegations of Ceylon, U.A.R., and Ghana :

1. The Conference considers that the existing *de facto* ceasefire period is a good starting point for a peaceful settlement of the Indian-Chinese conflict.
2. (a) With regard to the Western Sector, the Conference would like to make an appeal to the Chinese Government to carry out their 20 kilometres withdrawal of their military posts as has been proposed in the letter of Prime Minister Chou En-lai to Prime Minister Nehru on November 21 and November 28, 1962.
(b) The Conference would make an appeal to the Indian Government to keep their existing military position.
(c) Pending a final solution of the border dispute, the area vacated by the Chinese military withdrawals will be a demilitarized zone to be administered by civilian posts of both Sides to be agreed upon, without prejudice to the rights of the previous presence of both India and China in that area.
3. With regard to the Eastern Sector, the Conference considers that the line of actual control in the areas recognised by both the Governments could serve as a ceasefire line to their respective positions. Remaining areas in this sector can be settled in their future discussions.

4. With regard to the problems of the Middle Sector, the Conference suggests that they will be solved by peaceful means, without resorting to force.

5. The Conference believes that these proposals, which could help in consolidating the ceasefire, once implemented, should pave the way for discussions between representatives of both parties for the purpose of solving problems entailed in the ceasefire position.

6. The Conference would like to make it clear that a positive response for the proposed appeal will not prejudice the position of either of the two Governments as regards its conception of the final alignment of the boundaries.

SRI LANKA GHANA INDIA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC TOTO USA CHINA

Date : Jan 01, 1963

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COLOMBO CONFERENCE

Clarifications

Upon request from the Government of India, the following clarifications of paragraphs 2, 3 and 4 of the Colombo Conference proposals were given by the Delegations of Ceylon, U.A.R. and Ghana :

WESTERN SECTOR

(i) The withdrawal of Chinese forces proposed by the Colombo Conference will be 20 kilometres as proposed by Prime Minister Chou

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En-lai to Prime Minister Nehru in the statement of the Chinese Government dated 21st November and in Prime Minister Chou En-lai's letter of 28th

November, 1962, i.e. from the line of actual control between the two sides as of November 7, 1959, as defined in maps III and V circulated by the Government of China.

(ii) The existing military posts which the forces of the Government of India will keep to will be on and up to the line indicated in (i) above.

(iii) The demilitarised zone of 20 kilometres created by Chinese military withdrawals will be administered by civilian posts of both sides. This is a substantive part of the Colombo Conference proposals. It is as to the location, the number of posts and their composition that there has to be an agreement between the two Governments of India and China.

EASTERN SECTOR

The Indian forces can, in accordance with the Colombo Conference proposals, move right up to the south of the line of actual control, i.e. the McMahon Line, except for the two areas on which there is difference of opinion between the Governments of India and China. The Chinese forces similarly can move right up to the north of the McMahon Line except for these two areas. The two areas referred to as the remaining areas in the Colombo Conference proposals, arrangements in regard to which are to be settled between the Governments of India and China, according to the Colombo Conference proposals, are Chedong or the Thagla ridge area and the Longju area, in which cases there is a difference of opinion as to the line of actual control between the two Governments.

MIDDLE SECTOR

The Colombo Conference desired that the status quo in this sector should be maintained and neither side should do anything to disturb the status quo.

SRI LANKA INDIA GHANA TOTO CHINA USA

Date : Jan 01, 1963

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FRANCE

Utilisation of French Credit : Letters Exchanged

Letters were exchanged in New Delhi on January 15, 1963 between Shri K. S. Sundara Rajan, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Finance, Department of Economic Affairs, and Mr. Jean R. Bernard, Counsellor for Economic Affairs at the Embassy of France in India. The letters outline the detailed financial conditions applicable to the French credit of \$ 50 million, i.e. about Rs. 238.1 million, already granted to India by France as a member of the Aid India International Consortium for the first two years of the Third Five Year Plan.

The credit amount has been mainly allocated for the Supply of equipment for power, oil exploration, light-houses, alloy and steel manufacture and cement plant as well as plants for chemicals.

FRANCE INDIA RUSSIA USA

Date : Jan 01, 1963

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HOME & FOREIGN AFFAIRS

President's Republic Day Message to Indian Nationals Abroad

Friends,

On the eve of the 14th Republic Day, I should like to greet our countrymen abroad and convey to them my best wishes for their future.

Our Constitution has set forth the directives of democratic freedom, social justice and friendship

among nations. In our relations with other nations it has been our endeavour to establish

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peaceful co-operation. Our policy of non-involvement in military blocs has helped us to foster fellowship among all nations, whatever their political and economic systems may be. In pursuance of this policy we did our best to establish cordial relations with our neighbour, China. Even as we were attempting to resolve our border differences through peaceful negotiations and proposing a conference for that purpose, China, in violation of the principles to which both our countries have subscribed, decided to change the boundary by resort to arms. The large-scale attack on our frontiers took us by surprise. On account of our traditional adherence to the methods of peace and the habits engendered by it, we were psychologically unprepared for meeting this sudden aggression. Owing to the difficult terrain and numerical superiority of the Chinese, we suffered military reverses. These have opened our eyes to the realities of the situation. We are now aware of our inadequacies and are alive to the needs of the present and the demands of the future. The country has developed a new purpose, a new will. The difficulties and dangers we are passing through, will, I hope, cleanse us and purge us of our smallness.

This conflict with China does not in any way diminish our faith in the United Nations and the growth of a world community. We live in an age of the decline of the nation-State and the rise of a world society. All men are brothers though nation-States sometimes seem to be hostile to one another. We have been striving, to the extent to which one nation can, to strengthen the United Nations and give to it authority and power to protect small and weak nations from attacks by larger and stronger powers. We will continue in our endeavours to transform the United Nations into a world authority. Till this goal is reached, so long as there are nations which esteem and respect only military strength, we owe it to ourselves to give our people security to lead their lives unfettered by interference from outside.

we will follow a policy of friendship to all nations and enmity towards none. We shall do everything in our power to clear up misunderstandings and suspicions with our neighbours

without losing patience or hope. We shall not at any time or in any circumstances be tempted into a large country or great civilisation complex. We know that national self-confidence is essential for survival, but we know also that national conceit is a source of irritation to others. By our every word and action we create a climate of friendliness or annoyance and we should be vigilant about what we say or do in regard to international questions.

Nationalism and internationalism do not involve us in an either-or. Internationalism is an overarching ideal which reconciles the national concepts we have developed. To this generation is given the responsibility and the opportunity to change the international situation and safeguard not only itself but the future generations for whom we hold the world in trust. It is a race against time and we must win it. It is our hope that the great nations of the world will turn back from the race in nuclear armaments and cooperate in combating the enemies of humanity, poverty, ignorance and disease and help to give a better life to all people by utilising the enormous resources of science and technology.

We are entering a new year which holds out new beginnings and new possibilities. For every one of us it can be a year of regeneration, of renewal. From the old past with its mistakes, sorrows and failures we can rise to a new state endowed with power and purpose and radiant with the inspiration of a new ideal. Let us strive to raise ourselves morally and spiritually and work for the new order.

INDIA USA CHINA PERU

Date : Jan 01, 1963

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INDIA & THE UNITED NATIONS

Prime Minister's Message to U.N. Secretary-General

The Prime Minister has sent the following message to the U.N. Secretary-General, U. Thant: "I should like to offer my warm congratulations to you and to the United Nations Organisation in the Congo on your success in bringing about the unification of the Congo. The United Nations has demonstrated the great role it can play in the preservation of peace and the promotion of international understanding. The military operations which had perforce to be under taken in

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Katanga, were brilliantly conceived and gallantly executed. We are glad to have been so closely associated with the United Nations in its mission in the Congo-

The consummation of the efforts of the United Nations, after so much toil and sacrifice, will open a new chapter in the history of the Congo. We trust that a period of stability, peace and progress will be ushered in, when the wounds of the troubled past will be healed. justice and peace ensured, and the Congo enabled to take its due place in the family of nations. The United Nations has played a historic role in the Congo, whose independence it has helped to maintain, and whose integrity it has now secured. It is our hope that the Congolese people will rise to the full measure of the vast opportunities which now unfold before them. We pay our tribute to the memory of Dag Hammarskjold and all the gallant officers and men who have laid down their lives in the service of the Congo."

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Date : Jan 01, 1963

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INDONESIA

Trade Talks: Aide Memoire

The preliminary talks between an Indian Delegation led by Shri Manubhai Shah, Minister for International Trade and an Indonesian Delegation led by Mr. Umarjadi, Assistant Foreign Minister for Economic Affairs, ended, New Delhi, January 31. An aide memoire containing the gist of discussions between the two delegations was exchanged. A long-term Trade Agreement between the two countries was agreed upon in principle.

Both the Delegations reiterated their desire to expand trade and economic relations between the two countries. A list of projects in which India could assist Indonesia by way of supply of goods, machinery and technical know-how was indicated. Both India and Indonesia would increase their purchase of goods from each other in a variety of products. Indonesia may purchase industrial machinery, machine tools, electrical and engineering goods, pharmaceuticals and drugs besides cotton textiles, jute goods and other traditional items. India will purchase from Indonesia larger quantities of items like rubber, non-ferrous metals, crude oil and petroleum products.

Shri Manubhai Shah conveyed through the Indonesian Delegation the cordial invitation of the Government of India for the visit to this country of a Trade Delegation led by the Indonesian Minister for Trade and Industry.

INDONESIA INDIA USA

Date : Jan 01, 1963

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LEBANON

Indo-Lebanese Friendship Reaffirmed: Prime Minister's Banquet Speech

Proposing the toast at the banquet given by him to H. E. Dr. Rachid Karame, Prime Minister

of Lebanon at Rashtrapati Bhawan, January 15, 1963, the Prime Minister. Shri Jawaharlal Nehru said :

Mr. Prime Minister, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen : In welcoming you, Sir, I am reminded of many things, the similarities and the dissimilarities between Lebanon and India. We are a very big country with a huge population.

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Your country is relatively a small one with a small population although many of your fellow-citizens have spread out all over the world. That is a minor difference because a country is judged not so much by its size but by the quality of its people. Both India and Lebanon have history which goes back to remote antiquity. Both have a variety of people living there. What struck me most about Lebanon, whenever I have had the good fortune to visit it, is the quality of the Lebanese people and of the country. The country is small in size, produces a variety of climate. It is extraordinary in such a small space you can have the winter snows almost and the summer ciders within easy reach of each other. You have the problem of a variety of religious but above all, you have exhibited, demonstrated the capacity to live together peacefully and cooperatively. From the earliest ages people of Lebanon have been all over distant parts of the world, trading and carrying on other kinds of activities. So to think of Lebanon is to have a pleasant sensation of a beautiful country and a charming people. Even the famous ciders of Lebanon, perhaps you don't know, Sir, have their first cousins in the deodars of Himalayas, Himalayan deodars and we like them very much here as we admired the ciders of Lebanon.

Coming back to the present age, we have other things in common in regard to our policies and our general approach to the problems of the world. You are a country which I believe is non-aligned to the various big power blocks. You seek to live in friendship with other countries whatever their internal structure might be. We try to do the same and generally I believe it can be said that our approach to the world's problems is very similar. So, naturally, we are drawn to each other and this is a matter of great happiness to all of us here for you to visit us even for a few short days. Wherever

you go in India, I am sure, you will find a warm welcome and if any of us go to Lebanon. as some of us do, we do not like coming away from it. It is so pleasant there, so beautiful. That is the pleasant aspect of the world today but there are many other aspects which are not so pleasant as we have repeatedly seen and have had experience of it very much in recent times in India. Your history of course shows many instances in the past where you had trouble. That is inevitable in the long, long history and Lebanon stands at famous crossroad of history where Asia and Africa and Europe almost meet. So in the thinking of Lebanon one thinks of the past great periods of history, ups and downs, and yet how Lebanon has survived by the enterprise of her citizens and by their tremendous spirit of adventure which they have, which, have taken them to the far comers of the world. So, we in India, I believe, have much to learn from Lebanon and I hope we shall learn it. And I hope that in the future even more than in the past, we shall have opportunities of cooperating and having close relations which should be of mutual advantage to both our countries and their peoples.

Recently, as I just mentioned, we had trouble with one of our neighbour countries, also a very great country. This has come to us as a shock because we had conditioned ourselves into ways of thinking of peaceful progress in which we are engaged, as you are, and anything coming which interfered with that was painful to us, more specially because we had thought so much in terms of working for the peace of the world and our own peace that to have it disturbed means uprooting some of our basic conceptions of the modern world. And yet such is the world that we have to face it without flinching and we will face it and at the same time, I hope, still work for peace in the world.

At this moment of our difficulties, it is particular happiness to us to have you amongst us because when we were faced with this problem the voice of your country and your leaders came and cheered us and sympathised with us. And I am grateful to you, Mr. Prime Minister, and your Government and people for the words of support and cheer which you gave us. And so you are doubly welcome here and I hope your visit will be a forerunner of even closer contacts between your beautiful country and ours.

I ask Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen
to drink to the good health of the Prime
Minister of Lebanon.

LEBANON INDIA USA PERU CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date : Jan 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

LEBANON

Lebanese Prime Minister's Reply

Replying to the toast proposed by the Prime
Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, His Excellency
Dr. Rachid Karame, Prime Minister of Lebanon,
said :

May I first express my hearty thanks to Your ,
Excellency for so kindly inviting me to this
banquet with this distinguished company. I
consider it, indeed, a privilege to be present

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with you here and take this opportunity to con-
vey to you all-to His Excellency the President
of your great Republic, Dr. Sarvapalli Radha-
krishnan, to the Prime Minister and the Govern-
ment of India, and to the whole Indian nation,
the sincerest greetings and best wishes of the
President of the Lebanese Republic, General
Fuad Shehab, of all members of the Govern-
ment, and of the people of Lebanon.

The cordial welcome with which I was
received by the Prime Minister on my arrival
from Beirut, and the inviting warmth of your
hospitality, have already made me feel delight-
fully at home here in India, which linked with
Lebanon by age-old and everlasting bonds of
friendship. I am thoroughly enjoying the oppor-
tunities afforded by my stay here to get more
fully and personalty acquainted with your

wonderful country and people.

My country, in, addition to being an Arab State, forms, of course, part of the vast continent of Asia, and we in Lebanon have always cherished a warm and brotherly affection for the people of India, with whom we share so many things in the cultural, social, economic and political fields.

Both India and Lebanon may be young in independence, but their cultural heritages date back to the dawn of history, to the times of the ancient Indian and pre-Phoenician civilisations. And from very early times our respective countries have enjoyed peaceful and friendly relations.

Furthermore, with the development of modern means of communication and transportation, distances have gradually shrunk, aiding the promotion of ever closer ties between us,

The nationalist movements in our two countries were inter-related, and your own struggle for independent nationhood was followed with the closest attention and interest by the people of Lebanon, strategically situated as, they are on the route to India. We have both courageously and successfully handled the many problems involved in liquidating foreign rule and colonialist practices and in establishing an independent national administration on firm and solid foundations.

Moreover, the Lebanese people have found inspiration in the principles and teachings of your great nationalist leaders-in the principles and teachings of Mahatma Gandhi, of Pandit Nehru, of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, and other nationalist leaders who resolutely guide their country to independent statehood.

As independent Republics, India and Lebanon have widely adopted the parliamentary system of government and the democratic way of life as best suited to their national character and needs, and in keeping with national traditions. The peoples of both countries are now enjoying the blessing of freedom of thought and worship, freedom of expression, freedom of the press, equality before the law, and other civil rights guaranteed by democratically framed constitu-

tions.

Your government and our government are now shouldering similar responsibilities in building up our two countries, in boosting their economy, and standards of living, in exploiting their natural resources, in carrying out social reforms, in introducing more comprehensive planning, and in implementing large-scale development projects.

We have been following with keen interest and frank admiration the enormous efforts and progress made by India in the fields of development and reconstruction, as reflected in your first, second and third five-year plans. My visit here is now providing me with the opportunity to obtain a more vivid and comprehensive on-the-spot picture of your major accomplishments in these fields.

In Lebanon also we are now extremely busy with development and reconstruction programmes on a national scale, under the wise leadership of our President. Our own five year plans provide for the extension of our rapidly expanding network of roads and highways and electric power to the remotest villages and hamlets by 1968. On the other hand our "Green Project" aims at the agricultural and afforestation development of the country.

In the larger field of international affairs, we can again find striking similarities in the political courses adopted by our two countries. Both India and Lebanon are independent and uncommitted in their foreign policies. Both are interested in promoting friendly relations with the other countries of the world. And both countries are working to uphold the United Nations Charter, and to safeguard world peace.

As an Arab State, Lebanon shares the concern of the rest of the Arab World over the question of Palestine. This is the major and fundamental Arab cause and a problem which will remain dangerously outstanding so long as the Arabs do not secure justice in their homeland of Palestine.

We in Lebanon have followed with deep concern the recent events and developments on your northern and northeastern borders. Allow me to express to you the sincere sympathy of the

Lebanese people. and their heartfelt hope that the difficulties you have been facing will be successfully surmounted, and your territorial integrity

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effectively safeguarded, so that your great country may continue unhindered along its chosen path of progress, And pursue its predominant role in promoting the welfare and development of the Afro-Asian group of nations, and in preserving world peace.

I would also like to be permitted to voice my hope that this year will see a further strengthening and consolidation of the very friendly relations that have always existed between our two countries to our mutual advantage.

Mr. Prime Minister, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, I now drink to the health of His Excellency the President Dr. Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, to your health Mr. Prime Minister, and to the greatness and prosperity of the Indian people.

LEBANON INDIA USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date : Jan 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

LEBANON

Civic Reception to Lebanese Prime Minister : Text of Speech

Speaking at the Civic Reception given to him by the citizens of Delhi at Red Fort, January 16, 1963 His Excellency Dr. Rachid Karame, Prime Minister of Lebanon, said :

It is indeed a great pleasure for me to be amongst you this afternoon in this historic Red Fort of which I had heard so much before visiting your great and wonderful country.

I bring to you the warmest greetings of the Lebanese people and of the citizens of Beirut who share with you so many things in common in the economic, social, cultural and political fields, in history, both past and present, in ways of life and thought, and in future expectations.

My tour of your fascinating capital with its harmonious blend of ancient splendour and modern architecture, with its old monuments pointing to a glorious past and its new buildings pointing to an equally present and future, will remain an unforgettable experience in my mind.

You in India are proud of your history and cultural heritage, and so are we in Lebanon, But both our peoples are seeking to work at a realistic and practical preserve what is best of their past and at the same time to adopt what is best in modern technology, in order to keep pace with present-day developments and progress.

You citizens of Delhi are deservedly proud of your long history and modern achievements of your great country of thousand wonders and contrasts, with its captivating panorama of mountains and rivers, forests and plains, its wealth of ancient monuments, colourful pageantry and festivals, arts and handicrafts, its modern factories, dams and power stations.

The cultural heritages of both India and Lebanon date back to the dawn of history, to the times of the ancient Indian and Lebanese civilisations. And from very early times our two countries have enjoyed peaceful and friendly relations.

The ancient ancestors of the Lebanese businessmen of today were expert seamen and had a special genius for trading which set them sailing far and wide for new markets. They succeeded in reaching India where they traded not only goods, but also culture. The movement of caravans to the Arab world from India carrying thought and Philosophy, with spices and silks, continued the exchange. The Arabic word for spices, "Bharat" in fact represents the same of India.

Since independence, your great country has played an increasingly important role in world

affairs, and in promoting the welfare and development of the Afro-Asian group of nations.

Lebanon, with a population of nearly two millions, enjoys a unique geographical situation at the crossroads of Europe, Asia and Africa. And, since the very dawn of history, Lebanon has always been at the central crossroads of world civilisations, cultures, conquests and trade.

Just as in the case of India, visitors to Lebanon have always found a sunny and hospitable welcome awaiting them, an invigorating climate, majestic scenery, a friendly people representing different communities living harmoniously together and united by a National Pact.

The people of India and the people of Lebanon, can both also be justifiably proud of the political systems and policies adopted by their two countries-political systems and policies which have helped them to forge ahead constructively and peacefully in international affairs.

Both our countries, India and Lebanon, enjoy a parliamentary system of Government and are blessed with the democratic way of life, with all its freedoms and privileges, and its spirit of

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liberalism and tolerance. Both our countries are independent and uncommitted in their foreign policies refusing to be drawn into any power blocs or alliances.

And both our countries are interested in promoting friendly relations with the other countries of the world on the bases of equality and mutual respect, in the progress of under-developed countries, in upholding the United Nations Charter, and in safeguarding world peace.

I notice that the women of India have played a prominent role in the achievement and consolidation of their country's independence, in promoting social welfare and in safeguarding family life. Our women in Lebanon have also done their part in promoting social, cultural and political progress. And the youth of both countries have wakened up to their civic and

political responsibilities and are cooperating more fully in the promotion of national progress.

Citizens of Delhi, we also share your interest in town planning, in adequate traffic regulations, in the cleanliness and embellishment of city streets, in the establishment of social and recreation centres and the provision of ample sports facilities, and in more efficient city administration and services, all of which form part and parcel of our national progress.

We have our own particular problems, and you have yours, and solutions may not always be easy or immediately possible. But, after all, it is the constructive approach that counts in all cases, and that will always end in constructive achievement.

In Lebanon we have been greatly impressed by the enormous efforts and progress made by India in the fields of development and reconstruction, as reflected in your first, second and third five-year plans. We also are now going ahead with large-scale development and reconstruction programmes in our country under the wise leadership of our President, General Fuad Shehab.

Mr. Prime Minister, Mr. Mayor, citizens of Delhi, Friends, your country and your wonderful capital city have entirely charmed me with their many enchantments, and I shall be taking back with me to Lebanon precious memories of the perfectly enjoyable time I have spent in your midst.

In conclusion, may I voice the ardent hope that this year will see a further strengthening and consolidation of the very friendly relations that have always existed between our two peoples and countries, to our mutual advantage, and the advantage of the world as a whole.

LEBANON USA INDIA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC PERU

Date : Jan 01, 1963

Volume No

Lebanese Prime Minister's Banquet Speech

The following is the text of the speech of His Excellency Mr. Rachid Karame, Prime Minister of Lebanon, at a dinner given by him on January 18, 1963 :

Mr. Prime Minister, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen : On the eve of my departure from your magnificent capital to continue visiting your great country, I would like to thank you, Mr. Prime Minister, for your hospitality and for the good care you have taken to make my stay here both useful and enjoyable.

The talks we had together, the various functions and visits I have had the pleasure to perform have shown me the tremendous progress India has achieved under your wise leadership. I have also learnt with pleasure how much Indians know and would like to know about Lebanon and the warm feelings of hospitality friendship and welcome they have showered upon us. I would like to thank you, Mr. Prime Minister and the Government and the people of India for this happy manifestation of goodwill towards my country and I want to assure Your Excellency of the great esteem we in, Lebanon hold you in and of the sincere friendship we hold for India. We go back to Lebanon full of these good souvenirs and I am firmly convinced that the very good relations that have always existed and exist between India and Lebanon will still grow firmer and stronger.

I would like also to thank all our honourable guests for their presence here this evening and may I, Mr. Prime Minister, drink pure water of India to the health of His Excellency the President of India, to Your Excellency's health and to the prosperity of the great people of India.

Date : Jan 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

LEBANON

Prime Minister's Reply

Replying to the speech of H. E. Rachid Karame, the Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru said :

Mr. Prime Minister, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen : You Mr. Prime Minister have in your goodness referred in generous terms to us. It is really for us to thank you and your party for having taken the trouble to come to us and given us the pleasure of being with you, meeting you for a few days. It has been very short two days but you said you are leaving us, at least Delhi, tomorrow morning. I hope that you will convey our friendly greetings and good wishes to your President and to your people.

Much has been said about Lebanon and we all know that it is a very beautiful country. I think one of the outstanding features of Lebanon and her people is that Lebanon is a friendly country, an atmosphere of friendliness which is very pleasing and which makes one feel at home when one goes there. We have talked sometimes of peaceful co-existence. I think the Lebanese people have particularly developed that trait not only in their own country but in their relations with others. It is easy I think-not for us-it is anyhow easy, even those who may differ in views or anything from those of Lebanon to get on in a friendly way with them. That is a remarkable quality-friendliness even though one does not always agree. It is essentially a civilised quality because it is always easy to agree with people who agree with you. It is sometimes slightly difficult to be friendly with people who do not agree with you and that is the test of man and nation

to be able to get on in a friendly way even though one may differ. Fortunately so far as Lebanon and we are concerned, we agree so much that the question of differing on any particular matter hardly arises. But anyhow it has been really pleasurable for us to have you here to remind us of your beautiful country and the people there; to exchange some views with you and to find that there is so much in common between us in spite of our distance and different ways in many respects. I hope that the few days that you are still here, you will see some other parts of India, both the old India and the New India because we are a mixture of the old and the new. Sometimes they seem to conflict but we want to carry on with both and to try to fit them into each other. We do not wish to give up the old because we are products of that old. We have our roots in it and certainly we do not wish to ignore the new because anything done today must fit in with the new one; it cannot be left out. sometimes it is difficult to do this But we are trying and we try also to be friendly with all countries even though occasionally some countries may be unfriendly to us. We try to be friendly with them because our policy is not only one of co-existence between nations but co-existence among peoples. Our country like yours has different groups, different religions and many other differences among them, yet we have tried-not we but our ancestors before us have tried and not only tried but succeeded in a large measure for us all to live together in peace and friendship and cooperation. I hope that will be possible in the future for the spirit of Lebanon and of India to spread all over the world so that the world will be a great cooperative venture and not one of hatred and distrust, in anger to get at each other, try to over-reach each other and thus waste our energies and substance in conflict instead of peaceful cooperation for the emulation of each other.

I thank you Mr. Prime Minister and Madam, your mother, for your visit and all that you have so kindly said. May I ask you Excellencies. Ladies and Gentlemen to drink to the health of the President of Lebanon, Prime Minister and our good wishes to the people of Lebanon,

LEBANON USA INDIA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date : Jan 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

PAKISTAN

Indo-Pakistan Talks : Sardar Swaran Singh's Speech

Following is the text of Sardar Swaran Singh's introductory speech on January 16, 1963 at the meeting of Indo-Pakistan delegations on Kashmir and other related matters, held in New Delhi:

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Your Excellency and other Members of the Pakistan Delegation : It gives me generous pleasure to welcome Your Excellency along with your colleagues here at Delhi. About three weeks ago, I and other colleagues of mine, most of whom are present here this afternoon, visited Rawalpindi. You were good enough to welcome us and to extend a very warm hospitality. After the cloudy weather that we met on the way gave way, we enjoyed not only the warm hospitality but also a very fine and really healthy and bracing climate of Rawalpindi.

As your Excellency knows, apart from the meetings of the full delegations we had several meetings of an informal character when we discussed several aspects of this important Kashmir question to which your Government and your country attaches so much importance. I endeavoured to make it clear on our side that we also attach equal importance to a just and equitable solution of this problem which has been with us for so many years and about which there had been discussions at various levels. In spite of discussions at the international level and sometimes between leaders of the two Governments the problem still remains unsolved. I was impressed by the way you presented your case and I endeavoured to understand and appreciate your viewpoint to the best of my capacity. We

covered some of the ground and discussed this problem from various points of view.

We had some informal discussion about some other related matters also. I ventured to point out that while we were discussing in right earnest this problem of Kashmir, there were other matters also between our two Governments about which we could discuss either then or at some future date at mutual convenience. Sometimes we may feel that other matters are comparatively less important. This is due to a variety of reasons, mostly historical, and feelings on the Kashmir question have been more or less brought to a certain pitch in either country.

But other matters also are of some importance because upon a satisfactory solution of those problems depends the happiness and future well-being of millions of people both in India and in Pakistan. The solution of any matter that comes in the way of development of real friendship and goodwill between the people of the countries is a welcome step and, to that extent, we feel that one hurdle is out of our way and the way is clear for a fruitful cooperation between the two countries. I am mentioning this not with a view to make that a point of issue because I feel that we discussed this aspect and broadly thought that other matters will have to be discussed. However, we could settle the timing thereof and the level and manner in which we could discuss it.

When we think of solution of the problem of Kashmir, same objective which I mentioned a moment ago comes to our mind namely the expectation, and if I may add, justifiable expectation, that a satisfactory and just and equitable solution of this problem will remove one of the major obstacles that come in the way of our friendship growing on a more solid footing. I remember the expression that Your Excellency used that improvement of relations remains somewhat a tenuous thing, and it has constantly to be nursed to give it a more permanent footing. I also ventured to place certain considerations in the few sentiments that I expressed when we met at Rawalpindi. The principal objective, as I have repeated twice this afternoon, is that as a result of a solution of this problem as also of the solution of other related problems, friendship and goodwill amongst the people of two countries should grow.

Both of us are endeavouring to find a peaceful solution of this problem. That I think is the objective to which both our Governments and countries are committed and wedded. I know that this is strenuous and more difficult but certainly a desirable method. I would like to assure Your Excellency and your colleagues that we entered these talks in right earnest in the very sincere hope of doing our best to find a satisfactory, equitable and solution of this problem.

The fact that as a result of our talks at Rawalpindi, both formal and informal, we were able to agree to a moratorium on unhealthy criticism in either country and also our agreement to continue these talks in Delhi are an achievement which cannot be described as insignificant by any standard. Let us try to consolidate this goodwill, enlarge its area and scope and also pave the way for bringing about a dispassionate approach to this problem and try to find a just, peaceful and equitable solution which might be honourable to both countries. Let us endeavour that the solution that we achieve is a final one which does not leave any bickerings or illwill.

You rightly mentioned to me a few minutes ago that when we criticise each other, if we could indulge in a little more self-criticism all of us would be a little wiser and nearer the objective that is so dear to all of us.

I, once again, extend to Your Excellency and to your colleagues a most hearty welcome. Although the weather in Delhi cannot be that bracing as in Rawalpindi, we shall try our utmost to make your stay comfortable and the discussions useful.

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Date : Jan 01, 1963

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Joint Communique

Following is the text of the Joint Communique :

Pursuant to the decision taken on December 29, 1962, at Rawalpindi, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Pakistan's Minister for Industries and Natural Resources and Works, accompanied by his Advisers, arrived in New Delhi on January 15, 1963, to resume talks with Sardar Swaran Singh, India's Minister for Railways, on Kashmir and other related matters.

On the morning of January 16, 1963, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto placed a wreath on the Samadhi of Mahatma Gandhi and later called on the President and the Prime Minister.

During the course of his stay in New Delhi, the Pakistan Minister also called on the Vice-President, the Minister of Finance, the Minister of Home Affairs and the Minister of Railways.

The two Ministers and their Advisers met in a formal session in the afternoon of January 16, at Rashtrapati Bhavan. The two Ministers held 10 meetings on the 16th, 17th, 18th and 19th January at which various aspects of the Kashmir problem were discussed; the Advisers assisted their Minister's at some of these meetings. The Advisers also met among themselves a number of times, to give detailed consideration to the problem of Kashmir and to seek an agreed approach to its settlement. The discussions were frank and cordial and the attitude of the two sides was constructive throughout.

Mr. Z. A. Bhutto invited Sardar Swaran Singh to visit Karachi to continue the discussions with a view to finding an equitable and honourable solution of Kashmir and other related problems, that would enable India and Pakistan to live side by side in peace and friendship. In accepting the invitation, Sardar Swaran Singh said that he would be glad to visit Pakistan in the early part of February.

Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and his Advisers left for Karachi on the evening of Saturday, January 19, 1963.

PAKISTAN USA INDIA

Date : Jan 01, 1963

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PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Colombo Proposals: Prime Minister's Statement in Lok Sabha

The following is the text of the statement made by the Prime Minister in the Lok Sabha on January 23, 1963 while moving, "That the proposals of the six non-aligned nations held at Colombo between the 10th and 12th of December, 1962, with the clarifications given by the Delegations of Ceylon, U.A.R. and Ghana in the meetings with the Prime Minister of India and his colleagues on the 12th and 13th of January, 1963 laid on the Table of the House on the 21st January, 1963 be taken into consideration".

Sir, on the last occasion Parliament discussed this question of Chinese aggression on the 10th of December, 1962 and expressed approval of the measures and policy adopted by Government to meet the situation resulting from the invasion of India by China. Since then a number of events have taken place which I should like to mention to the House.

On the 15th December, the consulates-general of India and China in the respective countries were closed. The withdrawal of Chinese forces from the NEFA area continued during this period. There were, however, reports of violation of the unilateral cease-fire by the Chinese army. 716 sick and wounded Indian soldiers and 13 dead bodies of prisoners were returned by the Chinese forces. On the 17th December Mr. G. S.

Peiris, envoy of Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, Prime Minister of Ceylon, brought the Colombo Conference proposals to New Delhi and handed them over to the Prime Minister.

A joint communique was issued by Pakistan and China on complete agreement in principle in regard to the alignment of their border on 26th December, 1962.

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China and Mongolia signed a border treaty in Peking on the 26th December, 1962.

Premier Chou En-lai sent a reply dated 30th December, 1962 to Prime Minister's letter of December 1, 1962.

Prime Minister's reply to Premier En-lai's letter of 30th December, 1962 was sent on January 1, 1963.

Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike visited Peking from 31st December to 8th January.

Ghana Delegation led by Mr. Kofi. Asante Ofori-Atta, Minister of Justice, arrived on 9th January in Delhi.

Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike arrived in New Delhi on 10th January.

The U.A.R. Delegation led by Mr. Ad Sabry arrived in Delhi on 12th January.

Discussions with the three delegations took place on 12th and 13th January 1963.

A joint communique was issued at New Delhi on 13th January.

The Chinese forces started withdrawing from 10th December, 1962. The latest position of Chinese withdrawals and restoration of civil administration is as follows, in NEFA :

Kameng Frontier Division : Political Officer reached Tawang on 21st January. Adviser arrived on 22nd January.

Subansari Frontier Division : Chinese are reported to have withdrawn from all areas. We have not received reports about the reoccupa-

tion by us of Limeking, Naba and Taksing. The delay may be due to the fact that, bridges to Limeking and Taksing have been destroyed or washed away.

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Siang Frontier Division : Chinese are reported to have withdrawn from all areas and civil administration has been restored in Manigong, and Mechuka. Tuting remained in our possession throughout.

Lohit Frontier Division : Walong has been re-occupied. A patrol sent from there found the Chinese near Thochu stream within our territory near Kibithoo. Restoration of civil administration in Kibithoo has been deferred until the complete withdrawal of the Chinese from the area.

Indian administration has not yet been extended to areas between Tawang and the frontier, and in the Kibithoo area along the frontier as the Chinese have not fully withdrawn from these areas.

We have repeatedly stated in this House in answer to the Chinese proposals that we were unable to enter into any talks or discussions with them so long as the Chinese did not agree at least to the restoration of the status quo prior to their aggression since the 8th September, 1962. The whole House expressed its agreement on this. (Interruptions) .

I was recounting, Sir, the course of events in the last few weeks, and I venture to say-it may be that an Hon. Member may not agree with what I say, but I think it is a correct recount-that we passed a resolution in November and by that the House was completely bound till the House said something else. I do not think any occasion has arisen for us to consider even that, that the resolution should be changed in any respect. That resolution dealt with how this problem should be settled finally, and our position is exactly the same.

Then, as I said, firstly, on the 24th October the Chinese made a proposal called the "three-point proposal". To that proposal we did not agree and we said then that we cannot consider this even as a temporary matter, that is, even for purposes of discussing it, not for the purpose of putting aside the November resolution but for

the purpose of discussing it, till the position of the 8th September is restored. That was the position. That came up repeatedly before this House, and it is perfectly true, if the Hon. Member wants to lay stress on it, that that point was not formally adopted by resolution by this House. But there are many things which happen in this House, which are stated in this House and stated repeatedly with regard to Government policy and which are then admitted as the Government's policy. My point is that the November resolution was not in any sense affected by subsequent happenings; it remains still and it will remain. The position taken in this House repeatedly, and also on the last, occasion when this was discussed, was that we cannot consider this matter and discuss it with the Chinese Government until the position on the 8th September is restored. That has been the position. Therefore, subsequent happenings have to be considered by us on that basis.

Now, Sir, when we met last time on the 10th December and discussed this, the Colombo Conference was on the point of meeting or was meeting that very day. It was to have met on 1st December, but then it was postponed and it met on the 10th December-10th, 11th, 12th or there about-and this House happened to meet and discuss this question. Then we did not know what the Colombo proposals were going to be. But we knew that they were meeting and a reference was made to it in the course of the debate. A reference was also made by us, on behalf of the Government to the effect that we, can only

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consider this matter after the position on 8th September is restored.

Well, the Colombo Conference met and put forward some proposals. They went to Peking-some of their representatives-and then later came to Delhi. Their proposals as originally framed were not clear with regard to one or two matters and were liable to one, or two different interpretations. So the first thing we did when they came to us was to ask them to clarify their proposals and to make us understand exactly what they were so that they might avoid any misinterpretation or different interpretations, and it was only when they had done that would we be in a position to express our opinion in regard to them.

In considering that matter the issue before us then was how far these were in conformity with what we had said repeatedly, that the position prior to 8th September be restored. Also, it must be remembered that it was stated all along that any response I that we may give or the Government of China may give to it or any steps we may take in regard to their proposals would not prejudice in the slightest the position of either of the two Governments as regards their conception of the final alignment on the frontier.

The whole purpose of this exercise was to create a situation when something should be considered by the two parties. Before creating that situation, I repeat, we had said that something should be done, that is, the Chinese should vacate the aggression they had indulged in after 7th September. There is no question, therefore, of our going behind or varying in the slightest the resolution passed by this House in November)

The merits of the dispute were not considered by the Colombo countries or any other. It was only to pave the way for discussion between the representatives of both the parties and as I said, we can only discuss them if certain conditions were created and certain aggression committed by the Chinese was vacated.

Now, these proposals as explained and amplified by them in answer to our questions related to these three sectors : the western, middle and eastern sectors of our border. In regard to the eastern sector the position prior to the 8th September was that the Chinese forces were to the north of the international boundary and the Indian forces were to the south of this boundary -that is, what is normally called the McMahon Line for facility; it is not named McMahon Line officially nor did Mr. McMahon, or whatever his title was, lay down that. He recognised it as the existing boundary. Therefore, I refer to it as McMahon Line for facility. The boundary is said to be the high ridge of the Himalayas there and it continues to Burma. In fact, the Chinese Government has recognised this boundary of the high ridge in Burma. So, before the 8th September no Chinese forces elements had come across that boundary there except-there is one exception in Longju, as the House well knows, Longju being a village just on the frontier. In regard

to this position that was taken was that for the present nobody, neither party, should occupy it. The Chinese have forcibly occupied it previously and later it was suggested that neither party should occupy it. The Colombo Conference proposals, as clarified by the visiting delegations confirm this position except as regards the Thag La Ridge area, which the Chinese call Chedong area, where we have a border post known as the Dhola post. The Colombo proposals and the clarifications refer to these areas as Thag La Ridge and Longju as remaining areas arrangements in regard to which are to be settled between the Governments of India and China by direct discussion. That is to say, in regard to the eastern sector, the 8th September position was, according to the Colombo Conference proposals entirely restored except in regard to Thag La Ridge area and the Dhola post. These are within three miles of the McMahon Line. About this the Colombo proposals stated that this matter may be left undecided. They left it to the parties to decide by direct discussion. That is the position, so far as the eastern sector is concerned.

With regard to the middle sector, the Colombo Conference proposals required the status quo to be maintained and neither side should do anything to disturb the status quo. This conforms to the Government of India's position that the status quo prior to the 8th September 1962 should be restored as there has been no conflict in this area and the existing situation has not been disturbed.

Coming to the western sector, i.e. Ladakh sector, the restoration of the status quo as it obtained prior to the 8th September would result in re-establishment of all the Indian posts shown in blue in the maps circulated to members. We have circulated a large number of maps to Hon. Members as well as the Colombo Conference proposals. Therefore, I am not reading them out because they have already obtained enough publicity. If we went back to the 8th September position in the western sector, this would have resulted in the re-establishment of all the Indian posts shown in blue in the maps circulated to Members. This will also mean that the Chinese will maintain the old Chinese posts at the locations shown in red in the same map. The Colombo Conference proposes that a 20-kilometre area will be cleared by the withdrawal of Chinese forces, and this area is to be administered by civilian

posts of both sides, Indian and Chinese. The House will observe that this area which is to be

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administered by civilian posts on both sides covers the entire area in which Indian posts existed prior to the 8th September except for two or three posts to the west of Sumdo. On the other hand, the 20-kilometre withdrawal by the Chinese forces entails the Chinese forces going several kilometres beyond the international boundary in the region of Spanggur and further south. The Colombo Conference proposals and the clarifications thus satisfy the demand made for the restoration of the status quo prior to the 8th September. The slight variation is about two or three Indian posts west of Sumdo. This is, however, compensated by Chinese withdrawals in the region of Spanggur and further south. Also, by the fact that many Chinese military posts have to be removed from the withdrawal areas. If Hon. Members consider this matter with the help of maps, they will observe that this position, as indicated by the Colombo Conference proposals, has certain advantages over the one which we had previously indicated, that is, the restoration of the 8th September position. In the 8th September position the Chinese were there in strength, in very large strength, in that area and we had also some posts. In that particular area it was obviously much to the advantage of the Chinese, because of their large strength etc. Now, if this Colombo Conference proposal is accepted in regard to the western sector, it removes the Chinese strength from that sector and makes that sector a demilitarised area, with our posts as well as Chinese posts by Agreement being civilian posts, in equal number with equal number of people and similarity of arms. It would be civil arm, police arm or small arm. This, I think, is definitely better than the restoration of Chinese posts in that area in a big way with large arms.

On full consideration of these matters as contained in the Colombo Conference resolutions and their clarifications we came to the conclusion that these proposals fulfilled the essence of the demand made for a restoration of the status quo prior to the 8th September. I, thereupon, sent a letter to the Ceylon Prime Minister, stating that the Government of India accept in principle the Colombo Conference proposals in the light of the clarifications given and will take further action

to place them before the Indian Parliament for consideration before the Government of India can finally accept them.

I had told the Ceylon Prime Minister and her colleagues that we would like to know the attitude of the Government of China to the Colombo Conference proposals and clarifications as this would facilitate the consideration of the proposals and the clarifications by our own Parliament. I have just this morning received a message from the Ceylon Prime Minister, conveying the Chinese attitude to the Colombo Conference proposals.

The telegram from Mrs. Bandaranaike reads as follows :

"in response to my telegram of January 14th I have received today a reply from Prime Minister Chou En-lai. Prime Minister Chou En-lai has reiterated his earlier acceptance in principle of proposals of Colombo Conference as a preliminary basis for the meeting of Indian and Chinese officials to discuss the stabilisation of cease-fire and disengagement and to promote Sino-Indian boundary negotiations.

The Chinese Government however maintains two points of interpretation in their memorandum that I handed over to you but they hope that difference in interpretation between the Chinese and Indian sides will not prevent the speedy holding of talks between the Indian and Chinese officials. They hope these differences will be resolved in their talks."

Perhaps Hon. Members may have seen yesterday the report of what was stated by the Chinese Foreign Minister, Marshal Chen Yi more or less to this effect; that is to say, while they repeat that they have accepted the Colombo Conference proposals in principle, they raise some vital matters in which they differ from them. It is obvious, that the Chinese Government do not accept the Colombo Conference proposals as "a definite basis providing conditions for the acceptance of both parties", nor do they accept the Colombo proposals and the clarifications given by the three Colombo Conference delegations who

visited Delhi. The Chinese Government maintain certain points of their own interpretation of the Colombo proposals. This obviously means that they have not accepted the Colombo proposals as a whole. We on our part are, however, clear that there can be no talks and discussions between officials as stated in the Colombo Conference proposals to settle the points left for decision by direct discussions between the Governments of India and China by the Colombo Conference unless the Government of China accept in toto the Colombo Conference proposals and their clarification

I should like to call the attention of the House to this fact that the Colombo Conference was, of course, held not at our instance. In fact, the Conference was organised and people were invited without any reference to us except when this fact was decided upon. Then the Ceylon Government was good enough to inform us that this was being done by the Prime Minister of Ceylon. Thereafter in regard to these things we have communicated with the Ceylon Government and not

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with the Chinese Government. Throughout this period we have not conferred with the Chinese Government in regard to the Colombo proposals. It is for the Chinese Government to communicate with Colombo and for Colombo to tell us, or for us to communicate to the Ceylon Government and for them to tell the Chinese. So, now that it is fairly clear from what Marshal Chen Yi has said and from the message received by us through the Prime Minister of Ceylon it appears that the Chinese Government have not accepted the Colombo proposal in regard to certain important matters. Therefore, there has not been any acceptance in toto. The Government of India, therefore, cannot decide about doing anything unless the position is quite clear. But we have to decide and we have to say something definite in regard to the Colombo proposals. Whether they lead to any further steps in the direction of talks with the Chinese Government depends upon the Chinese Government accepting them.

The Government of India have always maintained that they are in favour of settling differences by peaceful talks and discussions. In spite of the massive Chinese aggression they were prepared to undertake talks and discussions in

regard to the differences between India and China in one or several stages as may be necessary. I even mentioned in this House previously that we would be perfectly prepared to refer the matter to the International Court of Justice or to arbitration if it is agreed to. Anyhow, we were perfectly prepared to follow any peaceful method for the solution of this matter provided the conditions for such discussions arise and the basis for these talks is create

We have always been willing and are willing to take to peaceful methods for the solution of any dispute provided the conditions for such talks are created. We had pointed out repeatedly that the conditions would be created by their vacating the new aggression that they had indulged in since the 8th September. When we made that proposal first in October, the Chinese Government did not respond to it. Subsequently they added to their own proposal the fact of their unilateral withdrawal and a cease-fire. Now the Colombo Conference powers have put forward their own proposals which essentially bring about the restoration of the status quo prior to the 8th September. We communicated our acceptance in principle of these proposals and their clarifications to the Ceylon Prime Minister without any attempt to vary them. These proposals have either to be accepted as a whole or rejected. Any attempt to accept them in part will mean a rejection of them as a whole. We feel, therefore, that both the Governments concerned must express their willingness to accept these proposals and clarifications, in toto before the next stage of settling the remaining issues left for decision by the two Governments can be taken up in direct talks and discussions That is the position we have taken up and I submit to the House that that would be the correct position. I trust that the House agrees with this approach to the question so that we may proceed on this basis. (Interruption).

Therefore to put it succinctly, the position before us is that, firstly, we cannot have any kind of talks, even preliminary talks, unless we are satisfied that the conditions we had laid down about the 8th September 1962 position being restored, is met; secondly, even if it is met and ever! if talks take place, they have to be about various preliminary matter. Then they may lead to other matters. On no account, at the present

moment or in these preliminary matters, do we consider the merits of the case. They are not changed.

When we asked for the restoration of the 8th September line, that had nothing to do with our accepting that line as a settlement; of course, not.

I regret, Sir, that this matter that we are discussing, which as the whole House realises, is one of high importance not only in the present but for the future also, should be reduced occasionally to a very much lower level by these interruptions.

I submit that the present question, although this is a complicated matter and we have, to consider it in all its aspects and it may have far-reaching results, first of all, is that in keeping fully with the Resolution that we passed in November—that is a Resolution passed in all seriousness and in all determination; and we are determined to carry it out however long it may take and however it may end—and realising that anything that happens in between will be governed by that Resolution. Certainly, we have often said, and I hope that we shall continue saying it and acting accordingly, that our basic policy is of adopting and pursuing peaceful methods, and at the same time to maintain our determination to preserve our freedom and integrity. These are basic policies. I do not think that there is any conflict between them; there should be none.

Therefore, the present question before us is to be viewed in this context, first of all, our firm determination to carry out what we have said in our November resolution, our firm determination; at the same time, we cannot I feel, reject any peaceful method; in fact, we should definitely pursue peaceful methods where they do not come in the way of our firm determination, in the way of our integrity and freedom, in the way of anything that is honourable to India.

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Some Hon. Members perhaps do not agree with our general outlook, to Preserve and to carry on with peaceful methods. It is open to them to disagree. But I think that that has been our policy for a long time and I do not think

that that policy should be interfered with. Otherwise our policy is a useless one, and that policy becomes one of.... (Interruption).

What I was venturing to say was this. I was not saying anything against any Member or any party. I was venturing to say that there are two basic policies, or rather two aspects of the same policy that we pursue and we have always pursued. One is to pursue Peaceful methods for the solution of anything; and we think that such peaceful methods should be applied everywhere; we have said so repeatedly, and when we tell others to do so we cannot obviously reject them because then we are hypocrites. But the second part that we must preserve, and we must be determined to preserve our freedom and integrity is an equally important part. In fact, I was saying in regard to the first part, that is, peaceful methods, that if it is demonstrated that they do not preserve our freedom and integrity, then they have failed in their purpose. We have to take them, because in any event the objective is to preserve our freedom and integrity. But if there are any aggressors, as there are today, we push them out of India, to preserve this freedom and integrity. Therefore, we have taken such steps, and we are taking steps to strengthen our Army or our Defence Forces, our economic position and all that for that purpose, and we shall continue to strengthen them, because, apart from the fact that if some such preliminary talks take place, they are very preliminary and nobody can say whether they will lead to anything or not, I regret to say that we find it very very difficult to believe in the bona fides of the Chinese Government. Nevertheless, whether one believes in it or not, one has to deal with people, because if you believed in its then all would be well: therefore. we have to pursue certain methods.

And I do submit that keeping all this, that is, keeping this clear that we are going to continue strengthening ourselves to the best of our ability and proclaiming what we said in our November resolution that we shall never submit to coercion and military pressures, yet, we cannot rule out peaceful methods of approach, and that is right not in the moral sense only but even in the diplomatic sense, even in a political sense, because the world is rather tired of the attitude that sometimes nations take up of solving difficulties by military means, by military coercion.

That is the reason why the Chinese aggression has created a great deal of opposition in the world. There is no doubt about it, A large part of the world, many countries who normally would approve of what the do, many countries, I mean, have objected to it; they have criticised it in a lower measure or a higher key; that is a different matter. Anyhow we who have stood for such methods, peaceful methods, cannot possibly say that peaceful methods are bad; we can say and we shall be justified in saying that we tried peaceful methods, but they did not achieve the results hoped for, and, therefore, we have to adopt other methods. We are not rejecting other methods; we are preparing for other methods, but we cannot reject them, and, therefore, we have to consider any approach at the present moment, not by the Chinese Government but by other countries, other countries which are friends of ours, and we have to give it every consideration, and it would be bad from both the point of view of our policy and from the point of view of any diplomatic approach to this problem for us to treat the approach of these friendly countries without due consideration.

And I do submit that we are not, I would repeat, we are not at the present moment dealing with what position China takes up or not, as I have stated; the present position of the Chinese Government is, as far as I can see, one of rejection of the proposals of the Colombo Conference as a whole. We are, therefore, dealing with the Colombo proposals and ourselves, what our reaction is, not the Chinese, and I do submit that these Colombo proposals fulfil the test we have laid down of restoring the position as it was on the 8th of September. They do not fully do that, I admit in two or three matters, they do not; but, while they do not do so there, in other matters, they go a little beyond it in our favour, and on the whole, I think that it is a matter, an adequate matter, for favourable consideration.

I would submit that we cannot take any step unilaterally in this matter, because it is for the Chinese Government to do so also, but so far as we are concerned, I have to reply through the Ceylon Prime Minister, and I wish to tell her and the Colombo Proposal Conference people that we agree to their proposals with the clarifications that they have given us because that is important,

because it is those clarifications to which the Chinese Government has objected, or some facts that flow out of these clarifications. I want to say that and I trust that I shall have the approval of the House to say that to her. (Interruption).

An Hon. Member : May I also put my question ?

Mr. Speaker : These are things that will be made clear in speeches. The Prime Minister will reply at the end. If all the clarifications are sought now, what else is left for discussion ?

The Hon. Member : It is not an argument I

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only want a clarification so that whatever is said may be after knowing that.

In the papers we have read today, there is a news item about this. The Hindustan Times today carries an AP news item emanating from Colombo saying that 'China objects to a suggestion by the six Colombo Powers that a demilitarised zone in the Ladakh sector of the disputed Sino-Indian border be jointly policed by Indians and Chinese'. This is attributed to a reliable source. It is further mentioned :

"The Chinese objection was incorporated in a memorandum from the Chinese which Ceylon Premier Sirimavo Bandaranaike delivered to New Delhi, the source said."

If this is so, I wanted to know whether it has been received or not.

Mr. Speaker : Was this the one that the Hon. Prime Minister referred to ?

Prime Minister : No, no.

Dr. M. S. Aney asked, what is the next step, that is, I take it, in regard to these matters. In regard to these matters, the first step, before the matter comes up for consideration and the next step, is for the two Governments to approve in toto of the Colombo proposals. Having approved of them, then the question may arise of implementing those proposals in the areas in question. That will mean some of our officials or military officers going there and reporting that they have

been implemented, or if there is any doubt, refer it to us. After all that is done, the question may arise of representatives of the Chinese and Indian Governments considering the matter on the merits.

As for what the Hon. Member, Shri Tyagi enquired that is perfectly correct, that the Chinese are objecting to various things. In the message which I read out-the telegram which Mr. Chou En-lai has sent to Prime Minister Bandaranaike-he has rather toned it down. But I believe the Chinese Government objects to several important things, one of them being this, about this area which was to be demilitarised. There was no message to us, but he had written about this to the Prime Minister of Ceylon just as she was leaving Peking. She showed us his letter. We did not get a letter either from her or from him. But she showed us a letter which Prime Minister Chou En-lai had written to her-either he wrote it or Marshal Chen Yi wrote it, I am not sure; it was one of them-in which certain points were stated which were not in keeping with the Colombo proposals, which were opposed to them.

CHINA SRI LANKA GHANA INDIA USA PAKISTAN MONGOLIA UNITED KINGDOM BURMA TOTO
CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

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Prime Minister's Statement in Rajya Sabha on Colombo Proposals

The following is the text of the statement made by the Prime Minister in the Rajya Sabha on January 24, 1963, while speaking in the debate on the motion for consideration of Colombo Conference Proposals.

Mr. Chairman, I must apologise to the House for not having been present here while this

debate has been going on. I have endeavoured to read the transcript of some of the speeches delivered here but I cannot say I have read them all, and therefore if I do not deal with any point referred to by any Hon. Member, I hope he will forgive me.

What exactly are we discussing ? We are discussing, considering, the Colombo proposals. How do these Colombo proposals come before us ? The Colombo Conference idea started towards the end of November. It was originally suggested that they should meet on the 1st of December; then they met on the 10th. The Prime Minister of Ceylon did not ask us to hold that Conference or invite some people. We were informed that they had invited some people, and naturally we waited, we wanted to see what they did. They were not invited at our instance or at our consent. Now the questions before us are rather limited We are not thinking-we may in the larger context-of the Chinese aggression, our reverses or all that they have done or which we have done previously. We can deal with that too to see the full context of events. But the real question before us is this. First of all the question has been raised about the 8th of September line because Government has stated that ever since November last- Why do I say ever since November? I think the first time they stated it was the end of October when the Chinese first proposed it, on the 24th October they made a proposal, a three-point proposal I need not repeat those points, we rejected those points, that proposal. Subsequently three weeks later or more than three weeks, nearly a month later, they came out with that proposal with some changes in it, and the main change was that they proposed unilateral cease-fire and withdrawal. There that matter rested because we asked them for some clarifications or explanations, whatever it was, but we did not express our opinion in regard to them.

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Meanwhile the Colombo people met, and ultimately about a month ago or a little more than a month ago they framed some proposals which they sent to us requesting us not to publish them; because they were under consideration, our consideration and Chinese, they would like us not to publish them. So we did not publish them.

Then Mrs. Bandaranaike went to Peking, discussed them, and then she came here and discussed these. The first thing we did when they came here—the Prime Minister of Ceylon, the Prime Minister of Egypt and the Justice Minister of Ghana—was to ask them what exactly those proposals which they had made in the Colombo Conference meant, because there was some doubt about them and there was a possibility of interpretation in various ways. We put them some questions and they elucidated those proposals in writing. Then we told them that we shall consider them. We told them before they were leaving that we were prepared to accept them in principle but we should like to place them before Parliament. That is the past history.

Now, when they made those proposals, naturally we looked upon them from the limited point of view of how far they met the 8th September line which we had suggested towards the end of October. which we had repeated many times subsequently, repeated in this House and in the other House. Some Hon. Members, I understand, have said that this House has not accepted them. That is perfectly true in the sense that this was not put to the vote here. As a matter of fact, it was put to the vote in the other House and both positively and negatively, negatively in the sense that an Hon. Member asked the House to reject this, the 8th September line, and that was defeated by a large majority. and positively because the main Resolution, the main argument that I had put forward was broadly accepted there. But apart from that a government functions in such matters or in war matters not by constantly referring to Parliament and taking their vote. Government would in all important matter keep the House informed. It is open to the House, of course, to move a vote of censure or disapproval of any action of the Government. That is a different matter. And I have taken the trouble, since the end of October, repeatedly to mention to this House and the other House that this is what we have suggested in the counter-proposal to the Chinese proposal. And the basis of that proposal was that the aggression that they had committed since the 8th of September or in a sense from the 20th of October should be vacated and the original position should be restored. Then we said that we were prepared to discuss matters

with them, first of all, as to how to reduce the tension and create conditions for talking and then to talk about the merits.

Now, the first objection raised here, so I am told, is that this House or Parliament is not bound by the 8th September proposals. Well, whether that is so or not, one can argue about that. I should say that it is not bound in that sense but it is in another sense, because it was repeatedly stated, this Government's policy. Government kept both the Houses fully informed. And in fact, the presumption is, even from reading the proceedings which I took the trouble to read today, that this House accepted it. But even if it did not expressly accept it, the fact is that it was repeatedly laid down before both Houses that this was the Government's policy. Government obviously cannot go behind its own statements, its own attitude which it has taken up before the world, before the Colombo Powers and anywhere and before our own people. The position was that if a certain thing was done, if they vacated those territories and restored the position of the 8th September, then we would be prepared to take the next step whatever that might be.

Therefore, when the Colombo Powers sent us these things, we looked at their results. First of all, before Mrs. Bandaranaike came here, and we were not quite satisfied because those results were not quite clear in regard to one or two points, important points. So, we waited till they came and asked them to elucidate them and they did elucidate them very much according to our thinking. Then we felt that this matter was worthy of acceptance in principle and of putting forward before Parliament for its consideration. That is the simple position.

Now, for Hon. Members to deliver impassioned speeches about the evil that China has done to us, they are perfectly entitled to do that. But it somehow bypasses the issue before us. We all agree that China has done a great evil to us, China has committed aggression, invasion on us, China has betrayed many things. All that is said. It is agreed to, and we have taken a pledge to resist that. We agree to all that but the immediate issues are these. As I have said, the two things are again I repeat—whether we are in some sense committed to the attitude that

we have taken for the last two or three months and repeated innumerable times not only in the two Houses, but also in public speeches, in the press and on the radio; --- everywhere this has been repeated-whether we stand by that or not. The second thing is how far that is fulfilled by the Colombo resolutions. These are the immediate issues. The larger issue of China and India is, of course, a vital issue about which we have spoken and we shall speak again. The House will remember that almost from the first

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day of this major issue, of this major aggression from the 20th of October, I have repeated it, I have often said it; on the 24th October I said so on the radio that we were in for a struggle which might last five years or more, a long time anyway. That is, I considered it a very serious development, and as undoubtedly we are not going to submit or surrender and we have to meet this very serious invasion, I thought that this would last for years. It is a serious matter. I could not fix the time or say what would happen. But I saw that apart from the fact of their having invaded us which hurt and pained us, in the context of history something very big had happened, the conflict between India and China, two very big countries and actually or potentially powerful countries, two countries which are situated in a way that they are neighbours, they cannot run away from geography. Therefore, it is going to last a long time. I am not referring to other points of conflict between China and India, their different outlook, their different structure, their different ways of doing things and all that. So I have looked upon it all the time as a long-term struggle. And I have stated subsequently, even when these proposals, the cease-fire and the withdrawal took place, that we must not be misled by these into thinking that the struggle may be over. It may be that fighting is not taking place on our frontier or wherever that may be. It may be that the so-called cease-fire may last for some time. Whatever that may be, the real struggle between the two countries, the basic struggle, will remain. How long I cannot say but it will take a considerable time, because I did not see it resolving itself soon or quickly. I have also stated that if we look at the struggle between the two countries situated as we are, it is a little difficult within any foreseeable time to

imagine that China is going to defeat us in the sense of real defeat or that we will be able to defeat China in the sense of real defeat. I am not referring to battles. Battles may be won and lost. But it is the country's defeat. For instance, in the last Great War, Germany was defeated, utterly defeated. That kind of thing between India and China, I have said, is not likely to happen in the foreseeable future. We may defeat them, we may create pressures, that is accepted. It is extraordinarily difficult for either country to do that completely, whatever its strength, whatever strength it may have. Rather, so that we would almost be having an indefinite war till something happens internally or externally, whatever it may be. Here I may say, I understand from reading a part of an Hon. Member's speech that he has taken exception to my having said somewhere that India has been humiliated to some extent. And he said, "Why to some extent?" I do not understand it. I refuse to say that India has been humiliated, even to some extent. What is this business of everybody feeling humiliated? (Interruptions)

There are two ways of considering this. I refuse to consider India such a country as to be humiliated solely by a battle being lost. A country is much bigger thing. You might as well say that in the last Great War England was utterly and absolutely humiliated when Hitlerite forces drove out the last remnants of the British Army into the sea. As a matter of fact, in England, by the Prime Minister of England, the has been described as the finest hour of England. There is a way of looking at it. He described that moment when the British Army suffered the last reverse, when there was no British Army left and England was being attacked by air. At the time as in fact he headed his book as "The Finest Hour of England". That is known. That is the way of looking at things. One looks at disasters as great things when you overcome them. (Interruptions)

So it is a way of looking at it. Let us put it at the worst. A disaster has occurred. A disaster has occurred which has pained us, pained all of us, pained the country. Well, we do not bow down before the disaster. We prepare ourselves to meet the disaster, to overcome it, to do what we can, but we do not sit down and tear our hair and shed tears. Because a

disaster has occurred we are humiliated. Is that the way for a brave man or a brave nation to behave ? I do not understand this at all.

There is another matter. An Hon. Member said something about boundary dispute because sometimes it is referred to as boundary dispute, sometimes as something bigger. But it is both; obviously it is both. If it is meant by a boundary dispute just a narrow strip of the boundary, it is a narrow strip. It may be described as aggression, as invasion, as every word that you can think of of that type. It is not incorrect to say that it is a boundary dispute. A boundary dispute may be about a strip of the boundary but here it includes vast areas of India. I do not understand this business of catching hold of words, just like people catch hold of the word "aggression". I am asked, "Has so and so, that country somewhere in Africa or Asia, described it as aggression" ? Some have, and some have not. But it is of no great import, because the import is their general outlook on this question, and if their general outlook is against us, well, it is against us; we regret it; we do not approve of it. But to catch hold of a word and say that they do not describe it as such does not make any great difference to the meaning. We do not, and it would be a good thing for us, if I may say so, to see ourselves as others see us. We are an inbred people living in a world, which is

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a large world, and rather forgetful of what we appear like to others in the world. It is a good thing, because others do not have exactly a high opinion for ourselves just as we have, which may be said of every country, but more so a big country like India, more so of China. We suffer from the same disability to a lesser degree than China. China is a terribly inbred country, which is its world, and nobody else counts and the others are barbarous and the rest. They always thought that, they continue to think that, and since they have become Communists, they think just still more, in fact, rejecting other types of Communism in other countries so that we must not get excited as to what others say about this. Others have their difficulties; they cannot do otherwise. Maybe they are wrong; maybe it is a weakness of theirs; maybe probably they do not know enough facts-whatever it may be-just as we are

accused of our propaganda being not adequate. That may be so. I am prepared to accept that our propaganda is not good enough. We try our best. It does not always succeed; it fails. But Hon. Members forget that the chief propaganda from India is not our pamphlets and other things. but the horde of foreign correspondents, who live here, who send their reports. They live here. They take their facts as they can. They get of course all the facts from us, but they make their own judgments and report accordingly. Their judgments are often wrong, they are coloured. They are coloured because they have preconceptions about India and they go wrong. But this amazed me. Recently a book appeared-I shall not mention the name of the book-in which I appeared as one who had been frequently interviewed by the particular person, and I was amazed to see that utterly wrong things are said which I am supposed to have said here. I cannot help that. The point is this. We seem to think that if we can send a report, let us say, of the speeches in Parliament to foreign countries,-well--everything will be clear to them, they will fall on their knees before us. Well, they don't. They have other ways of judging, a wrong judgment if you like, but they don't. So in this matter of propaganda a thing appears somewhat differently from different points of view, just as we I at the world situated as we are. We are geographically here in Delhi or in India an there is the world, a certain world near, Pakistan one side, Burma, Ceylon, further China, further Russia, Afghanistan and all that, and further away, Europe, and further Africa. Now think of a person looking at the world from the heart of Africa. How does he look at it ? India is a very big country, he knows, which is a distant country. He is not so frightfully interested in India as we are-Indians---or a person sitting in Washington or London or Moscow. Each has a geographically different viewpoint apart from other things, apart from the knowledge he may have. The nearby countries appear to him. Well, they are nearby and he is more interested in them and a far country is not so important to him it may become important-so that we must not think that there is only one viewpoint Surely this is not, and if I may refer to it, this has never been the viewpoint of Hindu philosophy, that this is one thing which you must believe and nothing else. Truth has

many faces. So facts have many faces too. We see some facts and others do not. That has nothing to do with China and India, but I am merely referring to it. We are so inbred, and living in a large country we think this is the world, this is the nation, and the others outside the nation are some outside the world. Of course, China has been peculiarly prone to this obsession, right from old times and even now. They consider all the rest of the world as some inferior species; they do not accept them as civilised human beings. So, I was talking about the boundary dispute. It is a matter of saying it. We all agree. The world agrees that is a major issue, it is a major invasion, whether you call it invasion or aggression or whatever you like. It is that. Some people, even if they call it a boundary dispute, they are not wrong. It is a boundary dispute because a boundary may be 100 miles or 200 miles. It is a major boundary. Boundary does not mean half a mile boundary or strip. These are words. So, to come back, here we are first of all facing an issue of enormous importance, to us of course, who have suffered from it but of enormous importance to Asia and the world because it matters a great deal to Asia and the world, what happens between India and China. We are two huge countries, developing countries, incipiently powerful, if not actually so, likely to become so more and more and power today depends far more on industrial growth and modern science than merely on putting up some armies. Armies are the outgrowth of that power. The great countries of the world today are the industrially-developed countries, not others. Others may borrow some guns, may borrow an atom bomb or two. They do not become powerful in that sense. That is why the two biggest powers today are the U.S. and the Soviet Union which are industrially developed, scientifically developed. So anyhow, China and India are countries which have everything given time and opportunity, to make them strong, prosperous and powerful. They may work in different ways, as they do completely but they have everything. We have no desire to be a great power in that sense. Certainly I have none. I do not believe in this great power system but India has everything in

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her, given the time and development, to make her a great power, even in that sense. So has China of course. Now when two countries of the size

of India and importance of India come into conflict, it is a major world event, apart from boundaries, this and that. It is a major world event which will affect the history of Asia and the history of the world, apart from the fact that this itself may lead to a major clash in the world, a world war. Therefore it has to be considered with the greatest care and in some perspective apart from the immediate difficulty. That has to be considered, we have to meet it and prepare for it but it has to be seen in perspective and what it might lead to. That is the background I am saying. If I may venture to mention again, from the very first day this happened, I have been looking at it-immediately of course we have to but in perspective I am mentioning it all the time, five years, be ready for five years and I have mentioned it again and again. It does not matter whether there is a so-called truce or cease-fire or fighting has stopped but the struggle, the real struggle continues and we have to be ready for it. I am saying that merely to show the approach, my mental approach to this problem and I think that is the approach which every Hon. Member here who has to decide these major questions should take.

Secondly it is a huge problem and I gladly agree that all Members of the Opposition are very patriotic. I hope they will agree that we are also patriotic. Patriotism does not depend on the passionate speeches that we might deliver here or elsewhere. It requires a deeper insight and a deeper character and ultimately it is exhibited by a person's life, not by a few words or phrases that he might use. Now the question is-this has been the background-what in the present instance we are to do. Normally, as I think I said, one does not conic to Parliament for every step that one takes just as every General does not conic to Parliament or even to his Government. He is given a certain broad direction as to how to proceed or how to function and he does so. Even if he is referring to Headquarters and the Headquarters refers to the Government authorities, that is all right but he has to do it; otherwise it is impossible to fight a war. Somebody said, I forget; I think it is Macaulay who said it: "Many bad Generals have won battles but no debating society has ever won a battle". It is obvious. You have to decide immediately and do something but it

is right and I personally believe in it that in a democratic structure like ours, Parliament must be kept fully informed of what happens so that Parliament's views may be known and Parliament may stop a certain process or a certain procedure if it disapproves of it but we cannot stop the course of events merely by consulting Parliament, by calling a sudden Session of Parliament for it. Now therefore when we had this proposal of the Chinese Government, almost immediately after the October attack—on the 20th October they attacked and on the 24th October they made a proposal to us, this three-point proposal which we rejected—within a day or two we rejected it, we could not leave it at that, it was impossible to leave it at that, we have to put forward some kind of proposal on our part. It is a position which I think is not only morally wrong, politically wrong but impossible to justify anywhere that we will never talk to them. That I do not believe in. I shall always be prepared to talk but we may say that the talks should be under certain conditions or not conditions about the talks but certain things may be done before the talks. That is a different matter. Therefore we could not morally reject their proposals but we had to say something positive and the positive thing that we said was if they retired to the 8th September line, etc. There was no virtue in the 8th September. 8th September was the date on which they came to NEFA. That is the only reason why we took that line. Before that there were many aggressions in Ladakh. They were there but it would not have been quite practical or had any meaning if we said 'You retire completely to China before we talk to you.' Hon. Members may in their enthusiasm say that but that is not a practicable proposition. We said therefore 'You must retire to your 8th September line and all your recent aggression must be put an end to, vacated, before we can discuss any other subject with.' Any other subject was, first of all we said: "We will discuss how to reduce tension and then discuss the merits." Now when I stated about the 8th September line, I shall repeat it. I stated it in this House and in the other House, though there was no formal Resolution and you were pleased to say after my statement that the House agreed to it. I do not bind down any Member to that but so far as the House was concerned, this was expressed. In the other

House there was an actual resolution to this effect and that was passed and an amendment against it was rejected by a huge majority and we have gone on saying it in the world. Obviously so far as the Government is concerned, it is completely and wholly bound by it.

Now the Government, I say, was completely bound by it and the Government was bound by the 8th September line and I would say certainly the other House was completely bound because it allowed us to go on and this House was not

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completely but to some extent also. However even if this Resolution had not been passed in Parliament, the fact that it was repeatedly mentioned there and they knew our policy and they allowed us to go on itself is consent in the normal Parliamentary practice.

What happens is the Prime Minister or a Minister comes and declares a policy and there the matter ends, unless that policy is rejected later on by the House. So when these Colombo proposals came, the only way we could look upon them was how far they satisfied the 8th September line and how far they did not. That was the only thing left. We could not start afresh with some other proposals. That would have placed us on the wrong box all over the world, that what we have been saying we are going back on them. Today the question now that we have to deal with, is how far the Colombo Proposals satisfy the 8th September line.

I have read some of the speeches delivered here with amazement, astonishment and I am surprised that even without trying to understand what these Colombo Proposals are, some Hon. Members have used the strongest language in denouncing them. And-I do not know if it was done here-some of them denounced the Colombo Powers. That again, if I may say so, is an inbred habit of looking at ourselves in a mirror and not seeing what others are, imagining that the world should be according to our liking. It is not according to our liking, unfortunately. Well, I want an examination of these proposals on their merit. It does not matter whether the Colombo Powers are good or bad. We have got some proposals from them and there is some

importance in the fact, though not vital importance, there is some importance in the fact that some friends of ours, some friendly countries of ours have, through goodwill I think, made some proposals, and we should give them the courtesy at least, if not more, of examining them carefully and try to see what they have tried to suggest to us, unless it is harmful in which case no matter what the powers have done, if it is harmful and dishonourable, we cannot accept it. There the matter ends. I think Mr. Vajpayee used strong words like "dishonourable" this and that. I am really totally, wholly unable to see what is dishonourable in these proposals. One might agree or disagree on this matter, that they do not go to the 8th September line. But what is dishonourable is beyond my poor intellect, and I submit it would be beyond the intellect of other Members also, including Mr. Vajpayee, if he examines the matter carefully. Now, how far these proposals fit in. First of all remember that the Chinese proposals went very far. They said that we are to retire 20 kilometres in NEFA and in Ladakh, from the whole territory which is an amazing thing to do—that they are also going to retire; and in the space we retire from we will put up civil posts, and they will also put up some civil posts. We rejected it. These were their proposals right up to the end. We'll, I am not going into all the details. Now, the Colombo Proposals state that we are not to retire in any place. In fact, in NEFA we are to advance right up to our boundary. Two points were left for decision later, one being Longju and the other Dhola near where there is a ridge. For the rest we are there covering all that territory. These points were not decided. On the other part we are not at all to retire. They were told to retire. Now, where were they to retire these 20 kilometres? What do these 20 kilometres mean? They did not proceed, rightly or wrongly, on this basis for their vacating and reaching the 8th September line. But that will be the consequence. But they did not proceed on that basis.

Hon. Members may also say and complain: Why did they not say that China is the aggressor? it is for them to answer. But the answer is obvious. If a person comes and tries to mediate between two parties, that person may be entirely in favour of one party, but it is not his job as mediator to go about shouting that the other

fellow is the wrong party, is the evil-doer. The job of the mediator ends then and there if he does it. He cannot say so, even if he felt so. It is obvious. Take a particular case the Prime Minister of Egypt-Mr. Ali Sabri-who came here. Now I should like to pay my tribute to the Egyptian Government for all that they have done for us in this matter. They have not only individually but their whole Government, their Cabinet. have passed a strong resolution supporting us. I think-I am not sure of the word that they used-they may not have used the word "aggressor" but they used something stronger than "aggressor". and they passed it. Mr. Ali Sabri has been helpful throughout. And when he came here as a mediator our newspaper men cross-examined him and said: "You say whether China is an aggressor or not". It does not pay. I am sorry, I cannot pay much tribute to the intelligence of the newspaper men who were at that conference. It is absurd, when a man comes as mediator to try to pin him down to a thing. It makes his position difficult and uncomfortable and it spoils the work that he is trying to do here. So their approach could not and should not have been that, and if any Member here was in their position, it could not have been. Whatever they believed would have affected them but they would not say "Accept the Indian point of view hundred per cent and

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give effect to it." That would not have led to any result.

But what they did lead to that result. They did not talk of vacating the aggression etc. But having accepted this point of withdrawal, what was the result? China had to withdraw from all further aggression they had made since the 8th September. There is some confusion about what some people call "dual control" "partnership" and what not, which is wrong. In that area which becomes a corridor between the area where our forces are and the area behind where their forces remain, in that area-I do not know exactly-about 40 or so posts were there and about an equal number or more of Chinese posts. Now, at the present moment, of course, our 40 posts have been liquidated because they advanced over them, overpowered them. The Chinese posts remain there and many others. In fact, it is the Chinese front. There was no line

there before. What was called the 8th September, line was no line. There was a jungle of posts, Chinese and Indian posts, one behind the other, one to the side of the other. Suppose it is restored as we have said and they say: "All right", we will have to accept it, because they have repeated whatever we have said, then it is not a happy position for us. It is not a good position, because of this intermingling of posts, and in the balance they will be much more powerful, talking in a military sense. They are much bigger posts and they have communications behind, roads where lorries can come and bring them reinforcements and supplies, while we have to go over various mountains. So their remaining there even if our posts also were there as they were on the 7th or 8th September, would not have been very much to our advantage. But we have made a vague, general statement about the 8th September line, and if they had said the 8th September line, we would have accepted it. But what was suggested was that they should retire completely from these areas and posts. And we shall retire-in fact we are not there now. And in this area a few civil posts should be allowed, an equal number of civil posts of the Chinese and an equal number on the Indian side, whatever it may be, not the 40 or so posts, but about seven eight, nine or ten each. Where they are to be allowed is a matter to be determined by India and China. Their officials will meet our officers and decide on the basis of this. There must be parity, parity in the number of posts, parity in the number of the people who remain there, parity in the arms they possess, and because these are civil posts the arms would be more or less police arms, not more. Now, it seems to me that this situation is far better from the Indian point of view than what would have resulted in the old posts being revived. interlaced and being dependent upon the others. Therefore. in looking into this whole picture, undoubtedly the object of our saying that the 8th September line should be revived has been attained fully, attained hundred per cent. I say, there is no question of less. People say, you have not obtained this, you have not obtained that, one post has been left out. One post may have been left out but the total effect is withdrawal from the aggression that had taken place there. That is the effect. I am not entering into small details but that is the effect and I think it can be shown clearly that this is clearly the effect. Then,

there is no choice left for us but to accept that as a fulfilment of the 8th September line. Now, as it happens, the Chinese have not agreed to that. Well, that is not my lookout. I have to agree to what we have said we would agree. The Chinese have raised some points. They had raised them previously. I do not yet know what all the objections may be but one important objection is that they do not want us to come into this corridor, both in NEFA and here. They do not want us there. They are vital areas. They object to that. It is for them to object and we cannot agree to their objection. If their objection holds, then there is no agreement on these points and whatever else may follow, this particular matter falls, the Colombo Proposals are not agreed to by the two parties. Now, the line we took up in regard to the Colombo Proposals was that if they were not good enough, we would reject them and if they are good enough, as we think they are, we should accept them in toto, not arguing about this and that because the moment we start arguing about this and that the Chinese would also start arguing about this and that. We say, both the parties should accept them or not. The present position is that we have expressed our acceptance in principle to these proposals and if we are so directed by Parliament, we shall accept them but acceptance always means that we accept this plans and proposals without any qualification or lessening, without any change in the various matters but the real acceptance comes in when both the parties accept. That is obvious and that is the reason why, one of the reasons why, we had not put forward a precise resolution for Parliament to pass, for us to accept them or not. In fact, it is acceptance. I might submit that if we lay before Parliament something, and after hearing everything, they are broadly of opinion that Government should follow the policy it had been following, then we go ahead and deal with it because final acceptance will only come in when they have accepted it. If they are not accepting, there the matter ends. I submit to you that there is nothing dishonourable at all. Some people say that by our accepting this, we recognise their position in certain parts of

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Ladakh or certain other parts. That is not correct because the whole purpose of this exercise is like this. These are talks between two

parties that have been in conflict, at war. Even in the middle of war, people talk, Generals talk, others talk. It does not mean that they give up any right. As a matter of fact, they have to retire everywhere; we have not to get out of any place. We go forward. Now, are we to say that we refuse to go ahead and occupy part of our own territory till they go out? That seems to be rather ridiculous. As a matter of fact, in NEFA they have withdrawn almost entirely except for a tiny little bit beyond Tawang. We have occupied it and our civil administration runs there. Are we to tell them, "No, we will not go there. We do not accept your proposal"? It will be manifestly rather absurd.

They conquered it and they came with their military forces. We did not agree to it. By their withdrawal we go part of the distance. We do not agree to their remaining anywhere else. It may be said, that we agree, but while there is truce or whatever it may be, we do not attack them. That is true but the truce itself is of short duration. I do not know what duration but it is for us, if it comes about, to determine for how long it has to last. When we want to do anything else, nobody can force us. The choice is ours and that has to be judged from many points of view, as the House will realise, the military, political and other points of view, to put us in a better position to deal with the situation later and we must not refuse to take the better position because we want the best position straightway, and we cannot realise the best position straightaway. I do not think that is a valid argument practically or in any sense morally right. Therefore, I would submit to this House that in this particular matter, there is, far from there being any dishonour, a definite, if I may use the word, I do not want to use strong words, advantage to us gained by diplomacy which we should accept and use it to our advantage later, whatever steps we may take. This is the general opinion, if I may say so, of the press in other countries which consider this a diplomatic triumph for us. Now, if the Chinese refuse to accept this, they are in the wrong. Well, let them refuse it. We remain where we are. If they accept it, it is to their disadvantage, I do not say any major disadvantage but it is to their disadvantage and to our advantage and if they do not, well, we are happy either way. If we do not, then, their refusal

will be covered and our refusal will be played up. That was their game, to make us do something which they can take advantage of in the larger context of things. One of the definite attempts of the Chinese. it is almost admitted by all political analysts and those who examine these things, was to force us into giving up our policy of non-alignment. They wanted to do it. It is an odd thing but they wanted to do it. This is a fact that this is the conclusion that most people have arrived at in various countries because they want a polarization of the position in the world. Well, they have failed in that.

Mr, Chairman, I do not wish to take much more time but I want to make it clear that unless Parliament tells us not to do something we shall naturally proceed with what we are doing. it is obvious. In fact, I would have had no objection but would have gladly put up here and in the other House a specific amendment or resolution to this effect that you allow us to do but, as I said earlier, I do not wish at this stage, particularly when the Chinese position is uncertain, to commit the House to any particular thing. But I would like the House to realise and I beg the House to give me a directive, indirectly the authority, to carry on the policy we have been pursuing in this matter. And I submit that that policy is honourable, wise and will help strengthen us. It won't solve the problem. I do not expect any solution of the problem so easily. I have said previously that we are prepared to submit the merits of this question to the International Court of Justice at the Hague or to arbitrators or anything because we are not war-mongers. But war we have to accept when it is thrust down upon us, and fight as hard as we can. At the present moment it is largely a question on the, one side of preparing of strengthening ourselves, as much as we can and secondly of diplomatically gaining as much advantages and improving our position as we can. These are the two approaches. And for the rest the problem, as I referred to right at the beginning, is a very difficult one, very big one, and although we have to consider our own side of it very carefully-that affects us-we should also look at it in its broader perspective of the world. That also affects us and only then would we see our problem in the proper context. I am no prophet to say what will happen in the

world but we must remember that the world is a changing world-all kinds of big things are happening-and also that while as I have said we have to fight and fight well-it is no use fighting indifferently--with the best weapons-either you produce them or you get them from abroad-but even while we fight I think we must not give up our basic approach which is. that international problems are settled Peacefully and that it is rather gradually, rapidly getting out of date to think of war to settle international problems. If it is thrust upon one, if one is

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invaded one has to fight. We shall fight and we are fighting; that is true but nevertheless the method of peace has 'always to be kept in mind, and more so in our minds because wars are created in the minds' of men as the UNESCO Preamble says and we should keep peace in our minds even though we handle the sword and the gun from time to time.

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Prime Minister's Reply to Debate in Lok Sabha

The following is the text of the statement made by Prime Minister Nehru in Lok Sabha on January 25 1963 while replying to the debate on the Colombo Conference Proposals :

Sir, I crave your indulgence and the indulgence of this House to speak on the subject that we have been discussing for the last two days and try to do so objectively and dispassionately. I am afraid the beginning of today's debate has rather vitiated the atmosphere of objective con-

sideration of any subject. However, I shall endeavour to try to be as calm and objective as possible and I trust that Hon. Members will hear me and then, of course, it is open to them to decide as they wish.

In the course of the debate-I think day before yesterday---Shri Dhebar asked a question : What exactly are we considering? It was a very relevant question, because the issues that , were before us were confused, overlaid and covered up by all manner of other considerations and therefore were likely to be forgotten by hon. Members. I recognise, of course, that the immediate issues before us have a considerable background of history and we cannot separate that background from the present issue. I do not object to all the other matters coming up or being pointed out to us. Indeed, I myself would like it to be considered in that context.

So far as this background is concerned, I take it that in spite of many differences of opinion on many other subjects, there is no Member of this House who differs in his judgment of that background and our reaction to the Chinese aggression and invasion. So, if I do not refer to it at any length, it means that we take it for granted. This is common ground and we expressed that common ground in the solemn resolution that we passed in mid-November, and took a pledge. Now, we have not only to consider this background, but also the future as it might take shape. That future is of great concern to us in India. But it has relevance also to Asia and the world, as any conflict between India and China must necessarily have. We live in a rapidly changing world. We cannot therefore think in static terms. We have followed a policy of non-alignment and I believe in it fully. Now, I hope we shall continue to follow it. But even the old concept of non-alignment is slowly undergoing a change. On the one side, the Soviet Union and China are beginning to fall out. On the other side, there is some attempt at a closer approach between the United States and the Soviet Union. We cannot, at this stage, say much about it, but it does hold out some hope.

Our policy of non-alignment has won such favour in the world, not only among the so-called non-aligned countries, the newly inde-

pendent countries of Africa and Asia but even the major aligned countries like the United States and the Soviet Union have come to see some virtue in it and want it to be continued. It has surprised me, therefore, that just at this moment of our success in this policy, some people in India should doubt its worth. In any event, what I wish to lay stress on is the dynamic character of the world today. Any position that we take must keep this in view. We have had to deal with, at first, the slow encroachment of China on Indian territory, which have lasted five or six years and then from September, 1962 aggression on a massive scale. We believe, and many other countries agree with us in this matter, that China, as constituted today, is an aggressor, expansionist country, possibly with vast designs for the future. It believes in the inevitability of major wars. Thus essentially it does not believe in peaceful co-existence between countries and it does not believe in the five principles of Panch-sheel, which China and India laid down some seven or eight years ago and which had been accepted by a large number of countries.

The curious fact emerges that just when most other countries have come to this conclusion that peaceful co-existence is essential and war is no longer a desirable or a possible way of settling disputes between nations, China stands apart and follows a policy which is peculiar to her. China is a great nation with a great past. A great nation pursuing such aggressive policies necessarily becomes a danger and a menace to the other countries and to the world. It has been our misfortune that we have been victims of this aggression, but that very aggression has

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made not only us, but other countries also realise the nature of the problem that faces the world. I believe that even the Government of China has realised the danger of the course that it follows. Possibly also it has realised the wrong it has done to India and to itself by following this course. I am not referring to moral rights and wrongs, but to the practical consequences of the action. It must be obvious to China that they cannot compel us by military or other forceful means to surrender to them in any important matter. In spite of the aggressive actions that they have taken on India and

the very intemperate language that they have used it, appears that they are beginning to realise that it is not good for them, as it is not for us and for Asia and the world, if our two countries be entangled in a war which may well last a long time and do tremendous injury. One thing is certain, and they must recognise it, that India as it is constituted today will not submit to any dishonour, whatever the consequences.

India has been devoted to peace, and in her long history, whatever we may have done within our own country, we have not invaded other countries. Our fault has been to submit to others' invasions in the past, but that time is past now, and a new India has arisen which cannot and will not submit to any aggression. We want to live-peacefully and in freedom, and we do not wish to interfere with the freedom of others. We believe whether others believe in them or not, in the Panchsheel or the five principles, because that is the only civilised or even practical way of existence in the modern age. There is no other way except war and wholesale destruction, extermination. Therefore, we have to try to bring, in so far as we can, apparently two contradictory urges and principles-to promote peace and live in peace and freedom on the one hand, and on the other hand to resist any encroachment of our freedom and integrity 'With all our might. That is a difficult thing to do, but there is no reason why we should not endeavour to do it to the best of our ability. But it is clear that we cannot unilaterally pursue the path of peace if aggression takes place against us, and our freedom, integrity and honour are threatened. Because we were so threatened our nation responded in the only way that any self-respecting and freedom-loving nation can respond, and we were witnesses to a sight which was worth having even at the cost of the trouble we had on our frontier. Our people proved to themselves and to the world that freedom has brought a new spirit in them and that everything else was secondary to the preservation of their freedom and integrity.

On 14th November last we took a solemn pledge and by that we stand. Members have reminded me of this pledge, and they imagine that something is suggested that will go counter to that pledge. I would like to tell them that

tomorrow, on our auspicious Republic Day, scores of millions of people all over India are going to repeat that pledge or a slightly modified form of it. (Interruptions).

The modification has nothing to do with the substance. Naturally, Parliament says one thing in one way, and the community centres say it in a different way.

That will be a noble demonstration of our people's will and determination. Would we have organised that if we wanted to by-pass the pledge? Let this be remembered and this argument of our proving false to our pledges not be raised again.

We have been told that Government is paralysed by fear and the military might of China, that we want to accept the Colombo Proposals because we are frightened, and that it will be dishonourable for us to accept these proposals and a breach of the pledges we have made. There have been heroics and hysterics and, what has been described by a foreign newspaper as a competition in patriotism, as if patriotism is to be measured by words and phrases and the strong statements that one makes. Patriotism is made of stronger stuff. It is to be judged by something more than the words we use, rather by the life we have led. (Interruptions).

But I have yet to know that we have succumbed to fear and have fashioned our policies on that basis. Long years ago, when we had the privilege of serving under the leadership of Gandhiji, we learnt one lesson—that was to shed fear. There is little likelihood that we would forget that basic principle that he taught us. But fearlessness has to be married with wisdom (Interruptions) Otherwise it is reckless folly. It is to be governed by certain principles as well as a measure of intelligence and understanding of what the world is today. What we have been debating here during the last two or three days? It is the Colombo Proposals. How do these come into being?

On the 20th of October last, the first massive invasion of India took place. Before that about six weeks ago on the 8th September the Chinese forces had started coming from across the Thag La ridge in NEFA. On the 20th of October was this massive invasion. On the 24th of October the Chinese Government made their three-point

proposals-that is, three or four days after this. Within two or three days we rejected these proposals as they were considered dishonourable for India and we could not possibly accept them. We had, therefore, to take a positive line and

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to make some positive proposals suited to the moment. Some people called it the peace offensive. We had to meet that offensive, apart from any other positive line that we should take. It was then that we suggested that we would be prepared to talk to the Chinese if the situation as it existed before the latest invasion was restored-that is, what is called the 8th September line, was restored. That was an ideal proposal for India as well as, I think, for China. Neither of these countries could succeed in humiliating the other; each of them is too big and too conscious of its honour to submit to any humiliation.... (interruptions).

This 8th September proposal was repeated by me many times in Parliament and outside, at meetings, on the radio and in the Press. It was definitely mentioned by me repeatedly in the course of my speech then. A substitute motion was proposed by Shri Ram Sevak Yadav for the particular purpose of the rejection of this proposal of the 8th-September line. This substitute motion was rejected by a very large majority in the Lok Sabha. Subsequently a substantive motion was passed. I shall read out these motions. The matter under discussion was the Border situation resulting from the invasion of India by China.

I shall read out these motions. The motion under discussion was:

"That the border situation resulting from the invasion of India by China be taken into consideration."

In the course of my speech, I said:

"In answer to this it was stated that we could not proceed to any talks with them until at least this latest aggression was vacated and the status quo prior to the 8th September, 1962 restored both in NEFA and in Ladakh. This was the least we could do and that is the position we have consistently held during the last few months. Anxious for peace as we are, we suggested this minimum condition which might lead

to a peaceful approach."

I referred to this again on two or three occasions in the course of the same speech. I would read further from that :

"What we had suggested is a simple and straightforward proposal, that of restoration of the status quo prior to the 8th September, 1962, when further aggression began."

Shri Ram Sevak Yadav proposed a substitute motion to this which ran as follows:

"This House, having considered the border situation resulting from the invasion of India by China, is of opinion that the policy of the Government of India to start negotiations on the condition of withdrawal by the Chinese aggressors to the line of control as on the 8th September, 1962 should be rejected, and no negotiations should be undertaken till the Chinese aggressors withdraw to the Indian boundary as it existed on the 15th August, 1947."

This substitute motion was voted upon in this House. The result of the division was: 13 in favour of the substitute motion and 288 against. (Interruptions).

I had simply read out the wording of the substitute motion. It is for the Hon. Members to say what it means. I shall read out the substitute motion again :

"The House is of opinion that the policy of the Government of India to start negotiations on the condition of withdrawal by the Chinese aggressors to the line of control as on the 8th September, 1962, should be rejected and no negotiations should be undertaken till the Chinese aggressors withdraw to the Indian territory as it existed on the 15th August, 1947."

Subsequently, an amendment was proposed by Shri Vidya Charan Shukla that for the original motion the following be substituted, namely:-

"This House having considered the border situation resulting from the invasion of India by China, approves of the measures and policy adopted by the Govern-

ment to meet it."

This was passed without voting apparently, but almost unanimously, though some did not agree. (Interruptions).

It is not a question of argument about words or things. It is beyond argument-what has been done by the House; that is the parliamentary practice and procedure. It is not normal--or can be followed by Government-to come every time to the House and take its opinion about a certain step that it might take. It places the general policy before the House and the House approves of it or disapproves of it or criticises it, and Government has to function accordingly. If the House disapproves of it naturally the Government has to change its policy. In this particular matter it was not necessary from the point of view of any Constitution or law for the Government to come to this Hon. House and take-I am talking about the 10th December meeting-their views about the 8th September line which was the proposal made by Government as a reaction to the

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proposal made by the Chinese previously. But we did come and we came after this matter had been repeated for two months, repeatedly by me and by the organs of public opinion. The House was particularly fully seized of this fact; this has been done; this has been said. I came here and stated, "this is our policy", and subsequently, after the substitute motion that Shri Ram Sevak Yadav proposed-it referred to something be rejected-a resolution was passed by the House that the House approves of the measures and policy adopted by Government. That is my understanding. How can there be any doubt in the least? One in a million, I say; there can be no doubt about that. What is the effect of this? The effect of it is that the House at that moment, approved of the proposal that we had made about the 8th September line. That is my submission. Others may disagree with it. Both negatively and positively it was cleared out. (Interruptions).

I am almost prepared to say that with the exception of Acharya Ranga the House approved of it. It is always open to the House, may I say, to disapprove of something it has approved previously; to change its mind. That is a different

matter. I am not challenging the right of the House. I am merely saying as a matter of recorded fact in our proceedings that this fact was before the House; it was deliberately brought before the House in my speech, repeatedly, and in other public statements. Subsequently, the policy of the Government was reaffirmed by this House. There is no doubt about that. In that policy, at that time, this was the major thing, the other things having been previously agreed to. Therefore, I do submit that that particular matter, rightly or wrongly,, was not only accepted by Government but this House also approved of it fully.

Even at the time when we were discussing this matter in the House, the conference convened by the Prime Minister of Ceylon was meeting. The Prime Minister of Ceylon had taken the initiative in regard to that in November. I forget the exact date. I think it was towards the last few days of November in the third week probably-that she had taken the initiative, and she had suggested at first the 1st of December for that meeting. She did not ask us about it; we knew nothing about it till we were informed that she had convened it. Naturally she had asked the other country; we could not come in the way. We in a sense, welcomed her initiative, and then the date was changed to the 10th of December, so that actually on the day we were meeting here in the Lok Sabha, this conference was meeting in Colombo. Subsequently, they passed some resolutions, copies of which they gave us. But they made it clear that they wanted us to keep them confidential till a later stage, when they came to us. Some days later, again, the Prime Minister of Ceylon with some of her colleagues went to Peking to discuss these resolutions and later she came here. She was accompanied by two representatives of other countries : the Prime Minister of the United Arab Republic and the Minister of Justice of Ghana. First of all, we asked them to explain to us what exactly these resolutions meant and whether there was any doubt about the interpretation or not. It was obvious that some parts of the resolutions could be interpreted in more than one way. So we said that these should be cleared out. We asked them some questions and they gave us their explanations and amplifications in writing to be precise. Then we considered the original Colombo resolutions with their amplifications and considering them we came to the con-

clusion that they fulfilled the essence of what we had asked for when we had put forward the proposal of 8th September line. Thereafter we told them as a Government that we accept them in principle but we would like to put them up before Parliament and take their reaction to them, and then we will let them have our final reply. Now, I should like to add that the September proposal had nothing to do with any of the merits of the case or anything. The Colombo Powers stated that they wanted to help in creating a situation which would enable the parties to discuss matters between themselves, to prepare the ground and to lessen tension. That was the position then, and that is what we are considering today.

When the representatives of the Colombo Powers came here they told us—we had heard previously—that the Government of China had given, what is called, a positive response to these proposals, whatever that might be. Subsequently, it appeared that that so-called positive response was limited and restricted in various important ways. I may mention one or two of those a little later to the House. Anyhow, it appeared that it was not in complete acceptance of the proposals as they were and as they were amplified by the representatives of the Colombo Powers to us. So we told them that our acceptance in principle of these proposals meant our acceptance in principle. naturally, these proposals as interpreted and amplified by them. We did not ask them to change the proposal or to alter them even though we might have wanted to do that; we wanted to keep them as a whole. Otherwise, we would have asked them to change their proposals. they would have gone back to Peking and would have possibly been asked to change the proposals in some other way. Anyhow, we did not discuss any change of the proposals, but we took the proposals as amplified by them, which we found then and subsequently was not the interpretation of the Chinese to these proposals.

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So, now we will come to these proposals themselves because much has been said here in this House which has astonished me greatly. It is naturally open to any Hon. Member to hold any opinion whether the proposal is good or bad, but to say something which has no basis and fact is, I submit, not justified. I should like Hon. Mem-

bers who criticise them and call them "diastrous to India, politically, militarily, and otherwise" to look at them again. I do submit that these proposals, not only in substance but essentially, carry out the main object of the 8th September proposal which we had made) I have dealt with the first part as to how far the 8th September proposal was justified or not. Having done that, when we got these proposals, obviously, what we had to do was not to argue with the Ceylon powers on the entire position, the merits of the question and how China had done this and that, and we were against that. That is a different matter. We did talk about it informally, but so far as their proposals were concerned the only matter we could deal with them was to see how far their proposals fitted in with what we had said, with the 8th September line. Where they did not fit in it was for us to say so and reject them. If they did fit in, then automatically we had to accept them from that point of view.

So we come to the conclusion that essentially they did fit in with the 8th September line. It is true that their approach to this was slightly different and, therefore, we had simply put a straightforward suggestion that the 8th September position should be restored. They did not approach that way, but in the result they arrived at something which was essentially the restoration of the 8th September line. In some small matters it did not yield that result, in other matters it did yield results much better than what we had said.

An Hon. Member : Let us have more details of those small matters and other matters.

Prime Minister : For instance, I will mention one or two matters in the Ladakh area which is the important area from this point of view. In the middle sector nothing has happened and nothing is happening because the old position prior to 8th September has remained and, according to these proposals, will continue to remain till it is changed. In the NEFA the Chinese have retired or are supposed to retire completely. (Interruptions) What I said was that in NEFA, according to the Colombo proposals, we are supposed to go all over except in two points which have been reserved for further discussion. No decision has been made according to these proposals about them. They are: a

little territory near the Dhola Ridge and Longju. No decision has been made about these two matters.

An Hon. Member : What about Thagla Ridge?

Prime Minister: So far as Longju is concerned, according to these proposals and according to our September statement, no decision is necessary because when we have said that they go back to the 8th September line, well, Longju will remain with the 8th September line now and later. The question does not arise. I do not want to go into its history as to how Longju is there and then say that they should withdraw or we should withdraw, whether that is right or wrong and so on. That is another matter. But, according to the 8th September line, it is not affected. Dhola is affected, undoubtedly.

An Hon. Member : Longju is also affected.

Prime Minister: Anyhow, Longju and Dhola are matters open to discussion and further consideration. So far as we are concerned, we have made it perfectly clear that Dhola and Longju

An Hon. Member : Since Dhola and Longju are matters for discussion in the future, we should not comment about them one way or the other.

Prime Minister: We are not commenting. We have made the position clear and the Colombo Powers have made the position clear on this point. About Longju, as I have stated, there is no question. We have stated it repeatedly. I would beg of the House to remember that we have to consider, we are considering it from the point of view of the 8th September line, not on merits. According to the 8th September line, Longju is a frontier village, half with us and half with them. Dhola post is also an important area. Our position was, and is, that Dhola and all the area on this side of the post should be completely vacated, and that remains so. So that, if you accept the position which I have stated, no question arises in NEFA.

An Hon. Member : Thag La Ridge.

Prime Minister : The present position is, as I

have said yesterday, the Chinese have withdrawn throughout NEFA, except in a small area near the Thag La Ridge which has not been decided yet and which is supposed to be discussed by us further. and by the Colombo Powers we have been assured that we can occupy all those territories.

Coming to Ladakh, which is perhaps the area which has been exercising the Hon. Members' minds most, may I say that I was a little surprised to learn from the Hon. Member, the leader of the Praja Socialist Party, that he doubted the fact that they had advanced only twenty kilometres. I do not know how he measures and from what place he measures.

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An Hon. Member : I asked whether by their withdrawal of 20 kilometres back from the line of actual control they will reach the 8th September line. That is to say, have they advanced only 20 kilometres from that date ?

Prime Minister : It is very difficult to measure these distances because it depends where you measure them from. Because, it is not a straight line, as the Hon. Member knows. There are 40 or so of our posts and 40 or so of their posts, all mixed up. Where does one measure from? As a matter of fact, the Chinese advance in the Ladakh area was, by and large, much less than 20 kilometres. Normally, it was about 10. 12 or 8 kilometres.

An Hon. Member : We have grave doubts.

Prime Minister: In one or two places, specially in the south, it was probably a little more than 20 kilometres. But that too would depend on how you measure, from what place. Anyhow, what we have to consider was how far it fitted in with the 8th September line, to which we were committed. Now, the 8th September line, if it is reproduced completely, would mean that all our posts and all the Chinese posts in that area would remain, because they were there before the 8th September; they are not new Chinese posts. Our posts had, of course, been liquidated meanwhile by this aggressive action. So that, it meant our going back to those posts and the Chinese keeping their posts, 40 posts or so in that area, and keeping them in a very dominant position, dis-

advantageous to us. Now, compared to that, the proposals that have been made by the Colombo Powers are that all these strong posts of the Chinese, which counted very much against us, should be withdrawn—we are not there at the present moment and that there should be some civil posts of the Chinese and some civil posts by us in that area. There is no question of dual posts or dual partnership; they will be separate posts by agreement. I do not understand how the withdrawal by the Chinese of their military posts, leaving behind a few civil posts, would amount to partnership with the Chinese to control an area. How does it give them any right to that area? They are there. The whole question is their withdrawal, and how much withdrawal for the purpose of some other step that we might take. On the question of merits are we opposed to their withdrawal? Should we say: you remain there? Or should we say: you should not remain there? I do not understand this argument.

An Hon. Member: How can they withdraw and still be there?

Prime Minister: They will withdraw all their military posts. There will be civil posts, as much number as we may agree, on the basis of parity and equality. Of course, a difficulty may arise if there is a question of administration and all that. No such question arises there. That area would be a demilitarised area with no military which means the Chinese military withdrawing; not ours, because ours is not there.

An Hon. Member: We are vacating and giving them peaceful possession.

Prime Minister: I am sorry, my mind does not work as acutely as that of the Hon. Members opposite. It is a common mind, but it is a practical mind which sees facts.

Anyhow, I do submit to this House that the Colombo proposal in regard to that area in Ladakh is better, definitely better, from any point of view. (Interruptions).

It is no good, Sir, my repeating some of these arguments because it seems to be as clear as daylight. From the military or political or from any point of view it is an advantage to us to have this corridor for the time being—all this is for

the time being that nobody gives up anything—under the Colombo proposals, as said there. than for us to have a lot of military outposts

An Hon. Member : Civil outposts.

Prime Minister : I did not go into that deeply—than to have military outposts mixed up with their military outposts and very difficult to deal with them. That is the advice we have been given by non-civil people also. If the Hon. Members have some different viewpoint, it is open to them to have it. I cannot help it. I cannot help them to see sometimes the obvious. (Interruptions).

To restore that position means having the Chinese strong posts in this area with vast armies round about them and our posts also mixed up. That was it. That was not an advantageous position. Suppose, they say, "We give you what you want", we have to accept it because we have asked for that. (Interruptions).

So, the question is that these Colombo proposals in so far as they refer to Ladakh do not mean any kind of a division or acceptance of any division directly or indirectly. It is a temporary arrangement which, if it is not agreed to, would simply mean that they could remain in control there till other developments take place.

Now, I want to make one point clear to which an Hon. Member, referred before I began speaking and some other Hon. Members referred to what I said in the Rajya Sabha. I think, I have said, that the practice is for the Government to keep the House and Parliament informed fully. It is not necessary for Government to come and take a vote on every step that it takes. About most of the things Government has to take a step in a particular position. Suppose, there is a war on. Now, during war the Generals take steps

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without even referring to Government. Sometimes they refer to Government in important matters where they can; but they cannot afford to do it. So, in all these matters Government can take steps if they are in line with the general policy outlined.

In this matter, as I have ventured to point out, our general policy has been brought before the House and has been approved by the House

repeatedly. Therefore, within that line, whether that particular step is approved or not, if it is within the line of that policy, Government takes that step. I need not have, by any constitutional convention, brought this matter up necessarily to the House. But I did not think that that was right for me to, specially when the House was going to meet. So, I brought it up and I am glad that I brought it up.

Now, having brought it up, what are we to do I did not think it necessary then, to begin with, to bring a substantive motion for the approval of this because I thought that this was included in the general lines of policy approval which have been given by this House to me (Interruption). Secondly, because the Chinese had not given their final reply, I thought it on the whole desirable for this matter to be left by the House to the Government to pursue within the lines of the general policy. But, if there is any doubt in any people's mind that this is not a correct course, I would suggest to you. and to the House to permit me to move an amendment here and now and to have in this way or that (Interruption).

I am sorry, the Hon. Member thought that because it could not have been that. Any intelligent approach would show that it could not be that. How could I put this up? Leave out Parliament for a moment. Government is committed to a certain line of action and Government, naturally, pursues it unless it is told not to do so by Parliament. It has to; Government cannot remain in the air in matters of this kind. We have said that. First of all, I showed that so far as Parliament is concerned they have also given their approval to the 8th September line being as a matter of policy. Then comes the question of interpretation as to how far the 8th September line has been carried out by the Colombo proposals. That is the sole question that we have to consider as Government and we told them that we accept these in principle. We thought we should accept them. Of course, our acceptance does not bring this about wholly because this is a matter concerning China also. China has thus far not accepted it. I do not know what it will do. But we cannot remain in the air. We have to inform the Prime Minister of Ceylon what our position is. As I told you, I shall inform her. Therefore, what the Hon. Member opposite said, namely, that I have not brought forward a subs.

tantive resolution because of the November thing, I do not at all understand. How can that help us at all at the present moment? Of course, we hold to the 8th September thing and, of course, I am going to repeat it tomorrow from a hundred thousand platforms in India. That is a different thing. But in this matter we have to say something. We have to say "Yes" or "No" and therefore it is for the House to tell us to say "Yes" or "No". (Interruption).

In view of the fact that there is this difference of opinion, I submit that the difference of opinion should be set aside and the votes be taken now, if you like, on a substantive motion. If the House permits me, I shall move it.

An Hon. Member : You should have brought it forward earlier.

Prime Minister : I know that it is unusual for me to suggest it at this late stage. But if the House agrees and you agree, I am perfectly willing. That is all that I wish to say. I do not wish to press it. But one thing is perfectly clear.

The Hon. Member Shri Nath Pai has certainly, according to me, misunderstood what I may have said or the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs may have said. He said that we shall not bring it up because in the normal course it was not necessary to bring it up. Government follow a certain policy, and if that policy is explained, if the House broadly accepts it that is enough. Therefore, the position necessarily is that I have to send some precise answer to the Colombo Powers and to the Prime Minister of Ceylon today or tomorrow as to where we stand. I cannot tell them that we have not made up our mind. It is absurd. As a matter of fact, we have already told them that we accept them in principle. And it is the proposition of Government that we should tell them definitely and precisely that we are prepared to accept these Colombo proposals subject to the amplifications and elucidations. Whether they will come into effect or not depends on the other party accepting them. For the moment, they have not accepted them. Well, if they do not accept them, they do not come into effect; that is a different matter. But I have to choose; there is no help for it; I have to choose this way or that way. If there is any doubt in any Hon. Member's mind, I propose to resolve that doubt

by suggesting to you and to the House to permit me even at this stage to put forward a specific motion. (Interruption).

I leave myself in your hands and the hands of the House, because I have to take some motion, and not merely deliver a speech here, and I have expressed to the House what the intention of Government is very clearly. and we think we are

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right; it may be that some Hon. Members think that we are not right. Now, there are two ways of dealing with this matter. One of them is the very clear way of putting it to the vote. As a matter of fact, it is going to be put to the vote in a slightly indirect way by Shri Ram Sewak Yadav's amendment, which is a negative one, and which seeks a disapproval of this. If that is rejected, certain consequences flow, but I am prepared to accept those consequences. But, if not, and if the House wants a clear direction, I am prepared to have a direct vote on it. It is immaterial. But the fact is that I want the House to realise it. I do not want it to be said that I did something behind the back of the House, or which the House did not accept. That must be made perfectly clear,

It is Government's intention to convey a final answer to this matter to the Prime Minister of Ceylon, approving in toto of the Colombo proposals as amplified and explained by them. I would naturally add that the fact of giving effect to them will only come when the other party has fully approved of them. I think that is the position on which I propose to act. and I cannot act if the House does not approve of it; naturally, I cannot act, and I would not act, if the House does not approve of it, but nobody should be left in any doubt about it.

May I add that in spite of all this argument that we have had these two or three days, this business of the 8th September line and the Colombo proposals is a temporary thing for a temporary objective ?

As I said earlier, the whole question of our conflict with China is very much deeper one, and it may carry us on for years, whatever may happen in between. I do not say that the actual war will go on for years. but the conflict will go on

and the menace will be there. Therefore, we have to prepare and strengthen ourselves to the best of our ability; whatever happens, we have to strengthen ourselves.

Some people imagine that because of these Colombo proposals being accepted or acted upon we shall slow down or slacken. That would be utterly wrong. That is certainly not the view of Government., or. I take it, of anybody in this House. We must prepare, strengthen ourselves. because it is inevitable that we should build up our strength, not only get such help as we are getting-and we are grateful to the countries who are giving us that help, but the real thing is to build up our strength in India, build up our industry, build up everything that goes to strengthen our nation in war and in peace. That is urgent and important.

The Hon. Member Shri Frank Anthony in his eloquent. and if I may say so. rather flamboyant language referred to something; he said that in two hundred years. something was going to happen. not in my life-time. not in his life-time, and all kinds of things would flow from it. I am glad that he thinks of the future also sometimes, and what the consequences of our action might be. For. as I said at the beginning, the world is not a static world, it is a changing world, it may well be that the present face of the world may change completely; it may well be that what is talked about now about one-world State may arise; it may well be that frontiers may cease to exist except for some administrative purposes; all kinds of things may happen. We are too much wedded to a static view of the past even to consider the present. In this changing dynamic present, the main point is that we must never submit to coercion or military pressure.

Now, I do not know what the Chinese objections are, all of them, but I shall mention one or two to you, their-objections to the Colombo proposals. One is that they do not want us in that Ladakh area, that corridor as it is called, to put up any kind of military or civil posts. That is an important matter. And China wants to put up her own posts there, civilian posts, not military posts. That is one important matter. The second. I believe, relates to (Interruption).

An Hon. Member : What was the pre-Septem-

ber 8 position with regard to that point? I think we had more.

Prime Minister: We had 40, and they had 40 or 50; I do not exactly know. There is a vast number of posts there. You will see that it is difficult to explain the position, as to what a post is because a post is either a fairly strong fortified post or just half a dozen men sitting there with a flag, mere to prevent others from capturing that place than for anything else. It is not a sign of strength, but a sign of visible sovereignty of a nation.

An Hon. Member : A symbol.

Prime Minister: So, in regard to all these posts, they do not want us; like Acharya Ranga they also object to what is called dual control: they both agree.

An Hon. Member : Let them also go back. Let them also not come in there.

Prime Minister : That is a major point of difference between China and the Colombo Powers, and certainly we cannot accept the Chinese approach to it,

There is another. I imagine that is in NEFA about what they call the Che Dong-Ridge which we call the Thagla Ridge. These are two major matters. There may be some others. They have not told us about them because we are not dealing directly with them. They are dealing with

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Colombo. We do not know. We happened to know these because these were mentioned to us. There may be others.

I We are not prepared-prepared as we are to accept the Colombo proposals in their totality with their explanations-we are not prepared to have any amendments or changes or variations made in them because the Chinese do not like them.

There are one or two points which I may mention which are not directly connected with this. An Hon. Member made some statement about emigre governments of Bhutan and Sikkim set up in Tibet. We have no information on the subject. When-the Bhutan Prime Minister

was here, he was asked and he also said so. I do not think there is the slightest truth in it. The Chinese Government has angrily denied this (Interruptions).

Then there was another-I do not know which Member said so-that Chinese troops were pressing on Burma and that Burmese troops were co-operating with Chinese troops. Somebody mentioned this. This has been very forcefully denied by the Burmese Government. I do not think there is the slightest truth in it.

Now, may I say a word about some criticisms that have been made of the Colombo Powers and other countries, certain non-aligned countries. Nobody considers these countries as strong militarily. Somebody asked: are they going to enforce their decision? Of course, they are not supposed to enforce any decision. They can only proceed as mediators suggesting something. I would beg of the House to remember when they criticise, as they often do, and often with justice-I will admit it --- our publicity etc., that all our publicity is ruined by some such remarks made in this House. If, for instance, contemptuous remarks are made about these countries, any of the Colombo Powers, these go there and they say this was said in our Parliament. That has a worse effect than all the propaganda that can be made by China against us. I want the House to remember that one has to speak rather carefully about other countries, specially other countries which are friendly to us. May be they do not agree with us.

Now, much is said about their not separately condemning the Chinese as aggressors. First of all, it is difficult for them to do so. Whatever views they may have held, once they start acting in a mediatory role, it is difficult for them to move about condemning one party with which they are dealing. They can retire and then condemn certainly.

I would remind the House about one country, the United Arab Republic, which has done more than any other country to support us. Their Cabinet has passed a resolution supporting us. I do not remember the words they have used, but in dealing with the situation they have been very strongly in our favour. When Mr. Ali Sabry, their Prime Minister, comes here, he is

attacked by our press, asked to say that China is an aggressor-attacked in the sense that he is cross-examined. Here is a man coming as a mediator. He has to behave with some decency towards the parties concerned. It is very unfortunate that he was treated that way. (Interruptions).

I am not challenging their right. What I am saying is that you have to bear the consequences which flow in many countries which are very friendly to us.

Take another, Burma, for instance, I might mention, was deeply grieved at the charges made against her in this House. Some questions are asked about Burmese troops co-operating with China. They are very annoyed at that, and they protested.

Then there is some not very reputable paper, a weekly, which also gave some extraordinary stories about Burma

We had actually a protest from the Burmese Government about it asking why we did not go about formally denying this kind of thing, repudiating it. We pointed out that it is difficult to go on repudiating every deviation from fact that occurs in Indian newspapers, for that would be too long a process and giving further publicity to something that has been said by a not very widely circulated paper.

Then yesterday or the day before-I forget-an Hon. Member quoted something from the Anand Bazar Patrika. I was deeply grieved about it. I had heard about it before, because that was a very contemptuous personal reference to Mrs. Bandaranaike, the Prime Minister of Ceylon. I was also included in it, but leave me out, it does not matter what is said about me. But it was very improper for any person to have said that about not only the Prime Minister of a country but of a country very friendly to us, a country with whom we have close dealings, a country which is trying, according to its lights, to serve the cause of peace.

An Hon. Member: That is a personal opinion.

Prime Minister: It is not a question of merits am merely saying, if we want friend-

ship in the world, we have to restrain ourselves. We cannot go out and condemn other countries and then expect them to stand up for us.

I would just repeat one thing more which I have said previously. We have been attacked and we, are, and may be, at war with China.

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That, I hope, will not affect our fundamental approach in the world and in India to solving problems by peaceful means, because the world is too dangerous. Hon. Members must have seen what happened in the Cuba affair where it was touch-and-go-within 24 hours 200 millions might die from nuclear bombs. It is a terrible thing to think that such a thing might happen by a slight mistake. Fortunately, wisdom came in the way and stopped it. We have neither nuclear bombs nor do we intend possessing them. Nevertheless, we have always to think of these possible consequences of what may happen. So that we have to join, as I said, our firm determination and preparation to resist to the best of our ability, always with an attempt, where possible and where it is honourable to us, to adopt peaceful methods to settle any problem.

In this connection, I had said previously about the suggestion I had made about the International Court of Justice or arbitration or some such thing. It is no good my placing this matter before the House at this stage, because the question has not arisen. But I do mention it to the House because it may bear it in mind. If it arises, I shall come to the House to take its advice in the matter.

I may say concisely what I have said. The question that arises today is a very limited question, which is not a question which will last 200 years, as Shri Anthony said it might or its effects, might. (Interruptions)

But it is a question as to how to bring about the Chinese withdrawal to a certain extent in order to be able to deal with this matter in a manner which may lead to results or not-possibly not-but, the fact that a course of action does not lead to results, should not deter us from going into it, provided it does not do any harm or injury. I think both from the poli-

tical and the diplomatic point of view-I am not referring to military matters; Hon. Members opposite seem to be experts in it--this is desirable. Our rejecting this would be harmful to us, harmful diplomatically and from every point of view. Not only those countries which have made these proposals, but other countries, big and small, will think that we are acting wrongly and will not support us, as they have done and as they might do in the future. We are grateful for their support, of course, and we want their support. But it will not be quite right for us to ask support if we do not do two things.

One is, we should shoulder our own burdens. We shall have to shoulder it; we are shouldering it and we are going to shoulder it, because there will be no respect for us if we are not prepared to meet up to the challenge ourselves. We want all the help we can-, we are grateful to those who give it. Secondly, we must not take all the time a belligerent attitude. It may be all right in the context of India today. But it does not impress people in other countries much. A belligerent attitude is usually taken by weak nations, not by strong nations. Strong people, when necessary, take strong actions and prepare for it. But merely taking up belligerent attitudes without the necessary strength does not impress anybody.

Therefore, I submit that the attitude that the Government has taken and intends to take in this matter is correct and I am sure that the House will give its support to it.

CHINA SRI LANKA USA INDIA UNITED KINGDOM GHANA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC TOTO
BHUTAN BURMA CUBA

Date : Jan 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

PORTUGAL

Indian Nationals in Mozambique

The Ministry of External Affairs sent the following Note of Protest, dated January 8, 1963, to the Portuguese Government through the United Arab Republic Embassy in New Delhi:

The Ministry of External Affairs presents its compliments to the Embassy of the United Arab Republic and has the honour to refer to the Ministry's note No. F.22/2/61-Goa, dated the 30th November, 1962, regarding the facilities to be provided in terms of the agreement between India and Portugal to Indian nationals who are obliged to leave Mozambique and other Portuguese territories.

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The Government of India regret that the Portuguese Government have not replied to the above mentioned note or the Ministry's earlier note, dated the 19th September, 1962. Further groups of Indian nationals have since returned from Mozambique and their reports also indicate that the Portuguese Government continue to violate the terms of their agreement with the Government of India. In particular, it has been reported that Indian nationals on whom externment orders have been served have not been permitted to draw their funds from the banks even to purchase steamer tickets to return to India. The Bharat Samaj as well as some Indian businessmen who wish to withdraw funds to assist the poorer members of the Indian community have also been prevented from doing so. This position has been further aggravated by issue of peremptory orders by the Portuguese authorities to large numbers of Indian nationals to leave Mozambique within short periods in direct contravention of the agreement between the two Governments which stipulated that sufficient time would be given to these persons to wind up their affairs and leave their places of residence at their convenience. The Indian nationals receiving such externment orders are unable to wind up their establishments and to secure passages on the available shipping services to India within the time-limit prescribed for their departure. The Government of India have also received distressing reports that these Indian nationals who, due to no fault of their own, are unable to leave Portuguese territories

within the dates. prescribed in their externment orders, are being interned by the Portuguese authorities. The agreement reached between India and Portugal stipulated release of all persons who were interned and provision of adequate time and facilities to them, in case they were obliged to leave for India. The latest action taken by the Portuguese authorities to deny the required facilities and then to intern them again is a complete negation of the agreement.

The Government of India lodge an emphatic protest against such arbitrary action by the Portuguese authorities and would urge them to take immediate action to implement the terms of their agreement with the Government of India and, in particular, to rescind their Degree No. 44416 of the 25th June, 1962 and to extend all facilities to enable Indian nationals leaving Portuguese territories to withdraw funds from the bank to purchase tickets and to repatriate the sale proceeds of all their assets. The Government of India would also urge the Portuguese Government to release all Indian nationals who have been arbitrarily interned only because they have either not been able to secure passages on ships leaving Mozambique for India or because they are unable to purchase steamer tickets due to their own funds having been denied to them by the Portuguese authorities.

The Ministry will be grateful if the contents of this note could be urgently communicated to the Portuguese Government by the Embassy of the United Arab Republic in Lisbon.

The Ministry of External Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Embassy of the United Arab Republic the assurances of its highest consideration.

PORTUGAL INDIA MOZAMBIQUE USA

Date : Jan 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

India-U.S. Cooperation under U. N. Sponsorship on Outer Space Experiments

The U.N. General Assembly at its session, which concluded last month, unanimously endorsed by a resolution certain principles suggested by its Committee on the peaceful Uses of Outer Space for the Operation of Sounding Rocket Launching Facilities under U.N. sponsorship.

In terms of the report of the Committee on the peaceful Uses of Outer Space the Member States of the U.N. were requested to consider the possibility of establishing a Sounding Rocket Launching Facility on the geomagnetic equator in time for the International Year for the Quiet Sun as a first step in creating and using the facilities under U.N. sponsorship.

U.N. Sponsorship

The Government of India have expressed

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their interest in being a host State for the International Equatorial Sounding Rocket Launching Facility to the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space as well as to the U.N. General Assembly. With a view to contributing toward the necessary facilities for this international project so as to make it eligible for U.N. sponsorship, as a first step, India and the United States have agreed to cooperate in a programme of peaceful space research and have signed a Memorandum of Understanding to this effect.

One of the principles laid down by the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space is that each Sounding Rocket Launching Facility will be the responsibility of the host State within whose territory the facility is located. Such facility would be used only for peaceful scientific experiments and the host State would be responsible for making working agreements with user nations for the provision, through voluntary agreements, of funds or equipment, or both, for the required facilities.

Joint scientific experiments to explore the equatorial electrojet and upper atmosphere winds from the geomagnetic equator are incorporated in a Memorandum of Understanding between the National Aeronautics and Space Administration and India's Department of Atomic Energy. The experiments are to be launched from a site which the Indian Government is establishing near the geomagnetic equator at Thumba, on the southwest coast of India near Trivandrum. Both experiments are scheduled for 1963.

The equatorial electrojet is an electrical current ranging between 90 and 100 kilometres altitude in the ionosphere and flowing along the magnetic equator in the sunlit portion of the earth from west to east. It measures about 100 to 200 kilometres in width, centred on the geomagnetic equator. Exploration of the upper atmosphere winds will be conducted by optical observation of sodium vapour released from a rocket payload. The object of the sodium vapour experiment is to measure upper atmospheric winds by photographing, from the ground, a cloud of sodium vapour released from a rocket and illuminated by the sun. The Department of Atomic Energy will supply four sodium vapour release payloads; appropriate photographic equipment, the launching site and supporting facilities, personnel, and supporting meteorological data. NASA will provide four Nike-Cajun vehicles; an appropriate launching device on a loan basis, and training at NASA Centres for Indian personnel responsible for conducting the launching operations.

For the electrojet experiments, India's Department Of Atomic Energy is to provide the launching site and supporting facilities; personnel for sounding rocket launching operations, telemetry, and data analysis; and supporting ground/magnetic and meteorological observations. NASA will provide nine Nike-Apache vehicles; ground launching, tracking, and telemetry equipment, and ground instrumentation on a loan basis; and training in the U.S. for appropriate Indian personnel will be available for various phases of the experiment. The NASA experimenters from the University of New Hampshire will provide instrumented payloads for the electrojet experiment.

The Memorandum of Understanding also calls for an extension of an existing cooperative programme between NASA and Department of Atomic Energy by making available at the Indian Physical Research Laboratory in Ahmedabad supplementary tracking equipment on a loan basis. Department of Atomic Energy will sponsor the continued staffing and operation of the facility as well as participation in data reduction and analysis.

No exchange of funds is contemplated and all scientific results of the experiments will be made freely available to the World Scientific Community.

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USA INDIA TOTO

Date : Jan 01, 1963

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MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS: EXTERNAL PUBLICITY DIVISION
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

BURMA CAMBODIA UNITED KINGDOM GREECE INDIA MALAYSIA BULGARIA CHINA USA

Date : Feb 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

BURMA

Finance Minister's Statement on Nationalisation of Banks

The Finance Minister, Shri Morarji Desai, made a statement in the Lok Sabha, on February 27, 1963, on the situation arising out of the Nationalisation of Banks in Burma. He was replying to a Call-attention Notice given by some members of the House.

The following is the text of the statement

With your permission, Sir, I would like to make a brief statement in reply to the notices which have been received from certain members regarding the recent decision of the Government of Burma to nationalise commercial banks.

As the House is aware, Indian banks and money-lenders have played a notable part in the past in assisting the growth and development of the Burmese economy. Until comparatively recent times, and even about eight or nine years ago, foreign banks, including those incorporated in India, continued to account for the bulk of the deposits, and provided a very substantial part of the credit needed by various enterprises. But in recent years, there has been a marked change in the position.

With the establishment of the State Commercial Bank of Burma in 1954, the exchange banks tended to become, even before the recent nationalisation, relatively less important. Other developments in Burma's economy also led to a significant reduction in the volume of deposits and other business handled by these banks. The deposits of the State commodity and other boards ceased to be available to them; and counterpart funds, arising from the sales of surplus agricultural commodities by the United States were also deposited, either with the Union Bank of Burma or with the State Commercial Bank, and were not available to the exchange banks.

Indian banks which were already well-established in Burma still continued to operate

there, in spite of these rapid and far-reaching changes, as they were in a position to assist some important sectors of the Burmese economy and to provide the facilities necessary for handling import and export trade. At the time that the decision to nationalise the banks was announced, five Indian banks, namely, the State Bank of India, the Punjab National Bank, the Central Bank of India, the United Commercial Bank and the Indian Overseas Bank were functioning in Burma, and they had in all seven offices in that country. The total deposits of these five Indian banks amounted to a little less than Rs. 10 crores, and formed approximately 10 per cent of the deposits of all commercial banks. The advances amounted to approximately six per cent of the total advances of the commercial banks, but as was perhaps inevitable in the conditions which existed, these advances were mostly granted to Indian traders or were in the nature of bills arising out of Burma's trade with India and other countries.

The Indian banks had no local capital, as they were not separately incorporated in Burma. The funds originally remitted to the branches of these banks in Burma by the head offices in India, amounting to a few lakhs, represented an initial capital outlay. But as branch adjustments, on account of several transactions which were taking place from day-to-day up to February 23, 1963, affected or altered the extent of this capital liability to the head offices in India, it is not possible for me at this stage to indicate the exact position at the time of the nationalisation, except to say that the amount of capital which is involved, and which is due to be repatriated to India, cannot perhaps be very large.

I have already indicated in this statement that Indian banks functioning in Burma were able to adapt themselves in recent years to the several changes which were taking place. I feel that these banks had a useful contribution to make to the further growth and diversification of the Burmese economy, and were in a position to assist in developing trade and other economic ties between India and Burma.

We are not aware of the exact reasons, why the decision to nationalise the banks was ultimately taken by the Revolutionary Council. Presumably,

however, banks have been nationalised in Burma,
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in pursuance of a broader and more general policy decision. involving control over imports and exports. over essential commodities including rice and rice-milling and all new industrial enterprises. Some of these decisions as the House is aware, were forecast recently, in an announcement made a few days ago at Rangoon. It is neither desirable nor necessary for me. in a statement of this kind. to deal with these broader issues relating to the policy and programmes of another Government. I do not propose, therefore. to say anything more on this subject.

Our interest in this matter at the present stage is to ensure that the properties and other assets of the Indian banks will be transferred to the proposed new committee of management in an orderly manner and will be taken over at a fair and reasonable valuation, that all the amounts due to be remitted or reimbursed to the head offices of the banks in India, including unremitted profits, staff security deposits, provident and guarantee funds, and other similar items, will be remitted or paid promptly in free foreign exchange which we can accept, and that the Indian employees who are due to be transferred to other offices or branches in India, in view of the recent developments, will be allowed to come back to India and also to bring to India all their savings and other assets.

We hope that the Government of Burma will take a fair and reasonable view regarding these matters and settle the dues of the Indian banks to their satisfaction. Our Ambassador is also in touch with the Government of Burma.

BURMA USA INDIA

Date : Feb 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

CAMBODIA

Prince Sihanouk's Farewell Message

The following is the text of a farewell message from Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the Head of the State of Cambodia, broadcast over All India Radio, New Delhi, on February 8, 1963:

Before leaving your country, I should like to say how very moved I have been by the unforgettable welcome I have received from the valiant Indian people. Moreover, this visit has served to confirm my previous conviction that we have common aspirations, and are thus destined to work together even more closely in the future than has been the case in the past. I should also like to mention the very useful talks I have had with His Excellency President Radhakrishnan and with the Hon'ble Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: talks notable for their complete frankness and the amicable atmosphere in which they were held.

I shall be leaving India with memories which will never fade—memories of the truly magnificent display of national unity at the impressive march-past I witnessed in New Delhi on Republic Day—memories too of the many occasions I was given in Bombay, Poona, Bangalore, Madras and Calcutta to observe the economic upsurge taking place in this immense country, and the important extensions being made to the higher educational facilities available to India's dedicated and vigorous youth; and, after visiting some of the great industrial achievements you have to your credit, and noting the qualifications of your engineers and the high degree of skill possessed by Indian labour. I have no hesitation in predicting a happy and prosperous future ahead of the Indian people.

This visit has proved most instructive as it has enabled me to acquire a clearer appreciation of India's capacities; and, when due allowance is made for the difference in size between our two countries. I find that India is faced with the same problems as Cambodia in its task of economic and social construction: both countries are engaged in implementing Five Year Plans. The opportunity I have had to compare our respective experiences, methods and results has obvious-

ly been extremely valuable.

In this connection, may I say how necessary I consider it for us to remain in close contact in the economic and, also, in the political sphere, and discuss our respective approach to all current major political problems. Since the Bandung Conference and even prior to the Conference,

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our two countries have been pursuing a foreign policy based on the Principle of Non-Alignment; and as I said in Delhi, we have no need to be ashamed of this policy which proved to be the best course of action we could have adopted under the circumstances. We were relieved, therefore, when your great statesman, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, proclaimed India's determination to persist in adhering to this policy, and thus to remain in the eyes of all like-thinking countries in Asia and Africa an example and a symbol.

We have been following with real sadness and growing alarm, the events which India has had to face up to in the course of the past months; and our decision to attend the Colombo Conference was prompted by the realization that we could not stand idly by in the face of a situation so fraught with peril. I am personally of the opinion that our labours were not entirely fruitless, and that the proposals agreed on there have opened up promising avenues of approach to the Sino-Indian problem. For my part, I shall continue to do whatever I can to hasten the settlement of this tragic dispute involving Asia's two great Powers. But such a settlement can only be reached following bilateral negotiations conducted by both parties on an equal footing and animated by a genuine desire to reach a just solution.

Finally, I should like to express my gratitude once more to His Excellency President Radhakrishnan, to the Hon'ble Prime Minister, to the Indian Government and the authorities both in the Capital and in the States we visited for their magnificent and kindly reception, and to convey to India and to the Indian people, on behalf of Cambodia and of the Khmer people, brotherly and fervent good wishes for their happiness and prosperity. May India's future be a great, and likewise, a peaceful one.

Date : Feb 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

GREECE

President's Banquet Speech

Speaking at a dinner held at Rashtrapati Bhawan on February 2, 1963, in honour of Their Majesties King Paul and Queen Frederica of the Hellenes, the President, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan said :

Ladies and Gentlemen:

May I first convey to you our most cordial welcome on behalf of the Government and the people of this country among whom I include myself. I hope that you and members of your party will have a very useful, interesting and enjoyable time here.

You have been working to build a welfare State, in your country based on the great ideals of democracy, freedom, justice-ideals which were first formulated in the West by your spiritual ancestors, the ancient Greeks. Bishop Westcott many decades ago made a remark that Greece and India are the two most metaphysical nations in the world. It may be true or not but it is true so far as Greece is concerned. A metaphysician, very eminent in our own time, Whitehead, made a remark that the safest generalisation which one can make on the vast European philosophical tradition is to say that it consists of a series of footnotes to Plato. Plato remains still the guide for all the philosophers of the West.

In some way the Vedas including the Upanishads and the dialogues of the Buddha have supplied spiritual nutriment to the millions in the East. There is an emphasis therefore on metaphysics.. of finding, out whether this universe has a pattern

or not. Man is not merely a tool-maker. He is also it pattern-maker. When he is faced by the things in the world he wishes to know whether there is any principle underlying this whole cosmic panorama. The spirit of science which has resulted in such great advances- from steam to electricity, from electricity to atomic power, from atomic power to space travel-has brought the world together and made it a world in which nations and cultures are brought into close intimacy. That was also in the West. started by the Greek thinkers.

I remember an Egyptian Priest telling the Greeks: "You Greeks are always young". There are two types of people in the world. with ancient traditions looking to the past. having a nostalgia

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for the past, lamenting the loss of a golden age; there are young people with open minds, virgin outlooks, untrammelled by any kind of pride or prejudice, not oppressed by the very weight of antiquity saying that we look to the future and wish to have a brave new world. These two types, those turning to the past and others facing the future are to be found all over. The Greeks were the people who said they were always young, the universe was rational and it can be understood and we can find out what the truth is. That spirit of science is something which Greek thinkers contributed to the world of thought. You cannot get a better definition of democracy than what Thucydides gave: "Our constitution is called a democracy because it is in the hands not of the few but of the many. Here we do not recognise birth, parentage, etc., but the contributions made to the service of the community. That will be the test and we shall try to protect the oppressed and provide equal justice for all. We do not claim infallibility for ourselves but we do not admit infallibility in others".

There you have the fundamental principles of democracy which we are still not able to implement completely in any part of the world. In our own country, we have proclaimed these great ideals but we have not been able to translate them into practice completely. We are still far from that goal of a truly democratic Society. The spirit of reason, the spirit of democracy are there but they are not enough.

You find in the world several things-health, beauty, good form and others. They are neutral. They may be used for good purposes or may be turned into evil purposes. Something else a sense of values-is necessary if society is to be regarded as satisfactory. When we are faced with repression, confusion, fear, anxiety, when these things occur, turn to the inward sanctuary. Sanctuary is not a place in space. It is a state of mind, it is a spiritual. consciousness. It is the when we turn to it and we will be able to get some calmness, composure and contentment. Without that guiding principle of a divine presence, of a spiritual purpose, it will not be possible for us to make science, democracy and other things function well. These three great things, the spirit of reason, the spirit of democracy, emphasis on values--these are the things that have been adumbrated by the ancient Greek thinkers. And we are trying our best to adopt all of them and get them into practice.

Your Majesty has done so much in your country for permeating your society with these ideals. You are trying to develop your industries. We have also our trade relations with you. We have cultural relations with you and I have no doubt that by your visit, these relations will be greatly promoted and considerably strengthened.

I am glad that Your Majesty celebrated your Silver Wedding on the 9th of January and you are going to celebrate the centenary of your connections with Greece this year in March. We wish you a very, very happy future to both of you.

May I now ask you to rise and drink to the health of Their Majesties and Her Royal Highness.

GREECE USA INDIA EGYPT

Date : Feb 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

GREECE

Reply by His Majesty King Paul

Replying to the toast proposed by the President, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, His Majesty King Paul of Greece said:

Your Excellency, I thank you very much for your friendly feelings and your kind words for my country and for my fellow countrymen.

For the Queen and myself it is a pleasure and at the same time an honour to be in India. This cradle of human thought and culture, this great mother of civilization, this ancient and yet youthfully vibrating country, is for all mankind an endless source of inspiration. Coming ourselves, as you said, from a land of long history, we have all the more respect for yours and for its noble people.

There is no culture in the world, Mr. President, that has not been enriched by the precepts originated here in India. There is no philosophy that has not been complemented by the thoughts first conceived in this land. Humanity has for very many centuries been served by your well of wisdom and its spiritual wealth has been influenced by India's achievement.

The ideas on God, Universe and Man, that emanated from your great country are original, profound and noble. The Indian philosophy and civilization though always creative have never been aggressive.

Your civilization, national and unique, is so rich, that it does not suffocate the individual

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within narrow rigid forms. It has the sense of freedom woven within its texture. Even the very principles of our Christian faith have roots in the rich soil of the goodness and love of the Indian soul.

When, in the course of our histories, the cultures of our two countries met they blended. Through the centuries there has been a mutual flow of civilization between the Indian and the Hellenic worlds. And the meeting has been a happy one, which still survives to this day under various forms in our two countries. The fact that technical progress shortens every day the geographical distance between our countries, promises even happier fruits in the future.

In our time we continue to find in your people the high qualities and the spiritual values which had already proved so attractive to our ancestors. In your successful march towards national independence we have witnessed your determination, and your faithfulness to your noble principle of non-violence, so eloquently expressed by your Mahatma Gandhi.

Since the re-emergence of India as a Sovereign State we have admired the exemplary progress achieved by your Government and people in the social, economic and technical fields. In this connection we have taken special notice of the fact that this progress is taking place within a framework of free institutions, to which I attach even more importance than to material realizations. On your way to progress in all fields, you respect and safeguard the moral integrity of man, a fact I wish to underline and salute. We wholeheartedly wish you further success in your great task. India is standing up to her great tradition.

In these recent months we in Greece followed with admiration the stand of the Indian people who, as one man, resisted the unjust and unprovoked aggression against them. Our indignation was all the more deep as this aggression was launched against a people whose very credo, as our own, is peace. We have faith in your victory, since, besides having justice on your side, the Indian fatherland is defended by gallant, proud and free citizens and soldiers.

Your Excellency, may I express to you my very high opinion for the wisdom with which you preside over the destinies of your great nation. May I also, on this occasion express my deep esteem for the brilliant political leader of India, your Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru.

I raise my glass to the prosperity of the Indian nation, to Your Excellency's health and happiness and to the old friendship between India and Greece.

GREECE INDIA USA

Date : Feb 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

GREECE

Farewell Message by His Majesty King Paul

in a recorded farewell message broadcast over All India Radio, New Delhi, on February 14, 1963, His Majesty King Paul of Greece said:

On leaving I would like to send a message to the Indian people.

For twelve days I have travelled amongst you, and everywhere I have found friendship and kindness for my family and for my people. I thank you with all my heart for this friendship and for your generous hospitality. I ask you to accept mine and my people's love and admiration for you all. You are a great nation and often an example to many of us in other parts of the world. You carry in your soul a great message: how to remain human in triumph and adversity alike. You have achieved freedom without bloodshed-such was the power of the spirit which guided and inspired your long struggle.

To-day, under the inspired leadership of your Prime Minister, you face with firm determination a dangerous aggressor on your borders. But at the same time, deep within your great soul, you keep a burning hope that the enemies of today, one day may see the light and repent the evil they are doing to your country.

I assure you we in Greece understand your struggle wholeheartedly., We are at your side. we admire your soldiers who are amongst the best in the world.

We admire your tremendous modern progress. I believe that India's message to the world lies in the successful blending of modern technology and science with the philosophical and religious wisdom of ancient India. This perhaps one day may yet unite a divided world.

You are fortunate to have at the head of your nation a man who according to our great philosopher Plato, embodies within himself the attributes of the ideal statesman. In him political greatness and wisdom meet in one.

May God bless you and bring you peace. I shall always think of you with love and admiration.

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GREECE INDIA USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date : Feb 01, 1963

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HOME AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

President's Address to Parliament .

The President. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan delivered the following address to the Members of Parliament on February 18, 1963:
Members of Parliament:

I welcome you to your labours in a new session of the Third Parliament of our Republic.

Ever since the constitution of our Republic,

our Parliament has had to face difficult problems and to shoulder heavy responsibilities. Under the guidance of Parliament, we have laboured for the fulfilment of the objectives laid down in our Constitution, namely, to secure for all our citizens social, economic and political justice; liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith, and worship; equality of status and of opportunity; and to promote among them all, fraternity, assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the nation. We have directed all our energies towards the establishment of a structure of society wherein these objectives might be effectively realised. We have also, in accordance with our past traditions, laboured for world peace and endeavoured to cultivate friendly and co-operative relations with all countries, avoiding military alliances. We venture to think that we have been of some service in this respect to the international community.

Soon after the constitution of our Republic, we began our long pilgrimage to reach our objective of a democratic and socialist order and adopted planned approaches to this end. Two Five Year Plans succeeded one another, and now we are in the middle of the Third Five Year Plan. During this period, we have made substantial progress in many sectors of our economy, even though we have not always been satisfied with the progress made.

Agriculture, which is the most important sector of our economy, has undergone material developments and agricultural production has increased considerably. Industry, both large-scale and small-scale, as well as village industries, have shown marked progress, and gradually an industrial base of our economy is being established. The nation's health has improved greatly, and the expectation of life, which used to be 32 in the forties, has reached 47 and is rising still. Striking results have been obtained in the programme for the eradication of malaria. Education, even though a great deal more has to be done to improve its quality and content, has spread rapidly. By the end of March 1962, there were over fifty million boys and girls in our schools and colleges. Stress has been specially laid on scientific and technical education and a large number of new technological institutions are functioning now.

Engrossed though we were in our internal development, we continued to take purposeful interest in international affairs, always laying stress on the vital importance of world peace. On some occasions, our participation made a difference and helped the cause of peace. We had hoped not only that world peace would be progressively assured, but that we also would continue to live at peace with our neighbours, and that any problems that arose would be settled by peaceful methods. We settled some of our important problems with Pakistan, but unfortunately other important ones still remain. We are anxious to settle these also peacefully so that India and Pakistan should, in accordance with our common history, culture and traditions, live as friendly and co-operative neighbours.

Some years ago China commenced its surreptitious aggression in Ladakh which later resulted in some incidents between the two countries. This matter has often been discussed in Parliament. We hoped that we would succeed in solving this question also through peaceful methods. On the 8th September last, however, a new aggression started across the border in the North-East Frontier Agency and, after some probing attacks, China, on the 20th October, mounted a massive attack on both the NEFA and the Ladakh sectors of the India-China Boundary. In the middle of November, a second massive attack followed and our forces received a setback. Subsequently the Chinese Government ordered unilaterally a cease-fire and a withdrawal.

These massive attacks and further aggression on our territory had a powerful effect on our people and resulted in a widespread and spontaneous display of unity all over the country. All the petty internal differences were brushed and stopped in the face of this peril to the nation's integrity and freedom. Parliament gave a lead to the nation in this matter in November last

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and our people, throughout the length and breadth of India, wholeheartedly followed this lead-

Any attack on the integrity of India would have been painful, but an attack coming from a country with whom we had tried to be friendly,

and whose cause we had espoused in international councils, was a gross betrayal and came as a great shock to our people- Inevitably, the first duty of the nation in these circumstances was to meet this aggression effectively and to prepare the country to that end.

At present no actual fighting is taking place. But the experience of the last few months has warned and steeled us and made us resolve to protect ourselves from this menace and to strengthen our defences and economic structure to the utmost. Our government is devoting itself to this urgent and vital task.

Soon after the Chinese aggression, our government appealed to the countries of the world asking for their sympathy and support. We are grateful to the large number of them who responded and extended their sympathy. A number of them have also given practical support and we are grateful to them. In particular, I should like to express our gratitude to the United States of America and the United Kingdom for the speed with which they have their support to us in a moment of crisis.

The last session of Parliament discussed fully certain proposals which were put forward by the Governments of Ceylon and five other non-aligned countries. These proposals did not deal with the merits of the basic dispute between India and China, but suggested some method of creating an atmosphere which would enable these basic questions to be discussed. After full consideration and reference to Parliament, our Government conveyed their acceptance of these proposals, as clarified by the Colombo Powers, without any reservation. The Chinese Government has thus far not accepted them and we cannot say at present what developments may take place in the future. Our country, committed as it is to peaceful methods, will always endeavour to solve dispute peacefully, provided this is in consonance with our honour and freedom. But whatever may happen, we cannot and will not submit to dictation backed by military force.

The issue of the Chinese aggression has been, and is today, the overriding issue before us and everything else has to be considered in that context. The freedom and honour of a country

must be given the first place and, if a country cannot defend them, then other matters lose significance. The nation's activities have thus been concentrated on this basic issue. A National Defence Council has been formed and a National Defence Fund started. This Fund has met with a generous response from our people. Many Citizens' Councils have been formed in the different States and a Central Citizens' Council, to co-ordinate the activities of the other Councils, has also been instituted.

Many steps have been taken in order to expand our armed forces and increase production our ordnance factories and other defence establishments. The assistance of civil factories is also being taken to this end. I should like to express our Government's gratitude to the workers of all these factories. They have responded wonderfully to the cause of the nation. This is true of others working in fields and factories and in Government undertakings all over the country, and it has been a heartening experience for all of us to see this mighty response of a great people in the face of peril to the motherland.

Soon after the declaration of Emergency, the central organisations of labour and management unanimously adopted an industrial truce resolution aiming at the total elimination of industrial disputes, and increase of production and reduction of cost to the maximum extent possible. In pursuance of this, Emergency Production Committees have been set up at the Centre, in the States and in many industrial establishments.

In view of the great burdens cast on us by the Chinese aggression and the steps taken to meet it, the question arose as to how far our Third Five Year Plan could be carried through without considerable change. On full consideration of the matter, our Government came to the conclusion that a very great part of the Plan was essential for strengthening the nation and its implementation was, therefore, necessary even from the point of view of defence. Economic development and industrial growth are the very basis of our defence preparedness. To stop or slow down this process of economic development would result in weakening the country. It has therefore been decided to continue implementing the Third Five Year Plan with such minor modi-

fications as may be necessitated by the circumstances, and by reorienting our industrial pattern so as to give priority to defence needs. Thus, in the field of agriculture, industry, transport, communications, power, technical education and research. we have to continue to do our utmost. A strong agricultural base is a prerequisite of national security. Industry is essential for defence, so also the growth of power and transport and technical education.

Intensive agricultural programmes have led to increases in per acre yields of rice from 15 to 21 per cent. of wheat from 8 to 15 per cent.,

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and of barley from 11 to 25 per cent., as compared to the previous year. The upward trend in industrial output has continued and the increase in industrial production, in the first nine months of 1962, is estimated to be around seven and a half per cent. The production of iron and steel is steadily increasing and steps have been taken for the expansion of the steel plants in the public sector, and the setting up of an alloy steel plant at Durgapur. Further progress has been made in the development of our mineral and oil resources. Coal production has been steadily increasing and it is hoped that the target for production of 61 million tonnes will be achieved this year.

In December 1962, the Indian merchant fleet reached a tonnage of one million gross registered tons. The target for acquiring additional tonnage of five hundred and fifty thousand gross registered tons, to be attained by 1966, is well within sight three years ahead of the close of the Plan. Two hundred thousand tons have already been acquired and firm orders have been placed for acquisition of more than two hundred thousand tons.

Economy in expenditure, the elimination of waste, conservation of our limited material resources, and restraint on consumption, always important, are of particular importance today. The basic necessities of the people should be fully secured and the price line maintained. It is a tribute to the sense of discipline and solidarity of our people that, immediately after the declaration of Emergency, there was a spontaneous and general recognition of the need for preserving the stability of the economy. The

general level of wholesale prices at present is no higher than it was at the beginning of the Third Five Year Plan. In order to put an end to the strain on our foreign exchange resources through smuggling of gold into India, certain rules have been framed to bring gold under control.

Our Atomic Energy programme has shown rapid progress. A uranium mine is being opened in Bihar and a uranium mill is under construction. The first nuclear power station at Tarapore will be followed by a second such station near Rana Pratap Sagar in Rajasthan; a third one will be located at Kalpakkam on the east coast in Madras State. It appears on further enquiry, that the cost of electric power from the Tarapore Station will be less than from a coal power station of the same size in the same locality. These power stations will also lighten the pressure on our railway and transport system.

The Community Development programme now almost covers, the entire country and Panchayati Raj is now functioning in nine States. In view of the Emergency, a special programme has been started for the full mobilisation of rural India to meet the challenge of national defence. Village Volunteer Forces will be organised in every Panchayat with a three-fold programme—production, mass education and village defence. An integral part of the scheme is the creation of a Defence Labour Bank based on the donation of free labour at the minimum rate of one day's labour per month by every adult. The co-operative movement in the rural areas has made considerable progress and membership of primary agricultural credit societies, which is 20 million now is expected to rise to 24 million in 1963 and to 28 million next year. More than a thousand co-operative farming societies have been organised so far.

I am glad to inform you that the Government of France has ratified the Treaty of Cession in respect of the former French establishments. This completes the de jure transfer of these establishments to India.

Our relations with Nepal continue to be friendly. Indian aid to Nepal, both in the field of economic help and technical assistance, has

achieved satisfactory results. India has promised Nepal economic aid to the extent of eighteen crores of rupees during the Third Five Year Plan period, apart from the Kosi and Gandak projects, the benefits from which will accrue both to India and Nepal.

India has also given substantial aid to Bhutan and Sikkim for their economic development. India sponsored the membership of Bhutan to the Colombo Plan, and Bhutan participated in the Colombo Plan Consultative Committee at Melbourne in November 1962.

The Government of India has welcomed the independence of Algeria, Burundi, Jamaica, Rwanda, Trinidad, Tobago and Uganda, which have been admitted as members of the United Nations. We wish these newly independent countries every success. Nyasaland is also to have self-government soon.

In the Congo, our troops functioning under the United Nations, have helped greatly in solving some of the difficult problems that had arisen there. Our troops will remain there until the United Nations is able to release them without putting their peace-keeping operations into jeopardy.

In the course of the past year, we have had goodwill visits, which we have welcomed, from many Heads of States and Prime Ministers and others from many countries. Among them were. Their Majesties the King and Queen of Nepal. President Lopez Mateos of Mexico.

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Mr. Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, President of the People's Republic of Rumania, President Makarios of Cyprus, Dr. Heinrich Lubke, President of the Federal Republic of Germany, His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia, Their Majesties the King and Queen of Greece, Prime Minister Mr. Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore, Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman of Malaya, Mr. Edward Kardelj, Vice-President of Yugoslavia, and Dr. Rachid Karame, Prime Minister of Lebanon.

While our efforts are directed to meeting our grave problems and mobilisation of our human and material resources, both for defence and

economic development, we welcome the slight improvement in the international situation. Cuba afforded us an example of the world hovering over the very brink of nuclear war, which, however, was avoided by the restraint and goodwill of the Great Powers involved. There have been some indications of relaxation of Tension and the possibility of agreements being reached in regard to the banning of nuclear weapons.

A statement of the estimated receipts and expenditure of the Government of India for the financial year 1963-64 will be laid before you.

Among the Bills that will be placed before you for your consideration, will be

1. A Bill to provide for the representation for the Union territory of Pondicherry, Karaikal, Mahe and Yanam in Parliament.
2. The Union Territories Bill.
3. The Slum Areas (Improvement and Clearance) Amendment Bill.
4. The Indian Emigration (Amendment) Bill.
5. The Industrial Disputes (Amendment) Bill.
6. The Factories (Amendment) Bill.
7. The Electricity (Supply) Amendment Bill.
8. The Delhi Development (Amendment) Bill.

Members of Parliament, we are meeting to-day at a grave moment in our history. Committed as we are to build a democratic socialist society in which progress is sought and attained by-peaceful methods and by consent, we have to face the menace of foreign aggression. I earnestly trust that this Parliament which is ultimately responsible for our policies and for guiding the nation, will face these great tasks with courage and wisdom, and a spirit of tolerance and co-operative endeavour. May your labours bear fruit for the good of our country

and people and the world. Awake, arise, understand the opportunities you have and stop not till the goal is reached-uttisthata jagrata prapya-varan nibodhata.

USA PAKISTAN INDIA CHINA SRI LANKA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC FRANCE NEPAL
BHUTAN ALGERIA BURUNDI JAMAICA RWANDA UGANDA CONGO MEXICO CYPRUS GERMANY
UNITED KINGDOM CAMBODIA GREECE REPUBLIC OF SINGAPORE YUGOSLAVIA LEBANON CUBA

Date : Feb 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Agreement Signed with International Agencies

An agreement for the development of an applied nutrition programme in 222 Community Development Blocks in India was signed in New Delhi on February 28, 1963, between the Government of India and the three international agencies : UNICEF, FAO and WHO.

The Union Ministry of Community Development and Cooperation will be responsible for the coordination of the programme. It is one of the largest single programmes assisted by the UNICEF in any country. The total UNICEF commitment in principle for the project as a whole is estimated at 10 million dollars.

This programme is the first systematic attempt made on such a scale to make an impact on the nutritional standard of rural communities. It aims at promoting the production of various protective foods like fish, poultry milks vegetables, fruits etc. A part of the produce thus assisted will be fed free to certain vulnerable

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groups of the population, namely, pre-school, and school children, expectant women and nursing mothers in order to demonstrate the utility of these protein rich foods and thus orient the

dietary habits of the people. Special emphasis will be laid on the promotion of school gardens so that nutritious mid-day meal may be provided to school children. The programme will also promote, through demonstration and education among village communities, sound and hygienic practices for the production, storage, preservation and use of protective foods.

Besides assisting local production of these nutritionally valuable foods, an important aspect of the programme is to train various categories of extension personnel, rural health workers, other auxiliary workers, members of Panchayati Raj bodies, village youth and women leaders, and villagers in the nutritional aspects of the production of these foods. In fact, 182 of these blocks will be 'directly associated with training and other academic institutions that turn out personnel who have most to deal with rural communities, like Gram Sevaks Training Centres, Gram Sevikas Training Centres, Social Education Organiser Training Centres, Home Science Colleges, Agricultural Colleges, Veterinary Colleges etc. These Blocks will serve as practical field laboratories for these institutions. It is eventually contemplated that nutrition education will be built in the curriculum of educational and training institutions at all levels.

A prototype, though slightly less comprehensive, programme of Expanded Nutrition has been in operation in the State of Orissa for the last three years in 32 selected Community Development Blocks. Impressed by the success of the Orissa programme and the active interest that it has been able to evoke in the village community, a broadening of its scope and coverage in other States in the country is now being ventured.

State Governments will provide approximately Rs. 3.21 lakhs in each selected block for the implementation of this programme, apart from strengthening the necessary facilities in the training institutions and regional production farms. The FAO and WHO will make available through the Central Government, on request, to all the participating States the services of expert personnel with specialised training in subjects like Human Nutrition Education and Nutrition Extension, Nutritional Aspects of Paediatrics and Hygiene, Home Economics, Horticulture, Poultry-keeping, Animal Husbandry, Agronomy, Fish-

eries, Development of Teaching Aids and Simple Teaching Materials. UNICEF will assist Community Development Blocks with vehicles, equipment and supplies and training institutions with teaching materials, laboratory and audio-visual equipment etc.

The agreement was signed by Shri R. K. Ramadhyani, Secretary, Ministry of Health, on behalf of the Government of India, Dr. Charles A. Egger, Director, UNICEF Office in , India, Dr. C. Mani, Regional Director, WHO and Dr. F. Saouma, Deputy Regional Representative of FAO for Asia and Far East.

INDIA USA

Date : Feb 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Prime Minister's Reply to Lok Sabha Debate on President's Address

The Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru made the following references to international affairs, while replying to the Lok Sabha debate on President's Address on February 27, 1963

COLOMBO PROPOSALS

.... The Hon. Members opposite have harped back to the Colombo proposals. They have not got over their distaste of them-I put it mildly, they have used stronger language. We had a long debate a little over a month ago in this House, and after that debate we took some action. But Hon. Members still cannot get out of the rut of thought in which they have got themselves into, and still discuss it as if we were discussing it a month ago. Much has happened in the month. After this debate we accepted them formally and informed the Colombo powers accordingly. Yet, Hon. Members go on saying that it was something dishonourable that we did, by which I

presume they imply a great majority of this House belonging not only to one party but several

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parties acted dishonourably or were foolish enough not to distinguish between honour and dishonour or were afraid. I do think, this way of thinking and talking shows the extremely limited outlook of the Hon. Members who spoke. these. And, that is my difficulty.

We stick to something not seeing the consequences that flow from it, not seeing that things have happened and we remain struck to certain opinions that we formed, probably wrongly, to begin with and so we confirm ourselves in wrongness. It is unfortunate, because we live at a time When great speed of thought is necessary, great speed of action is necessary, great appreciation of changes made in the world reactions.

I do not pretend to say-how can I-that my Government or I do not make mistakes. We made any number of mistakes, but I do venture to say that, partly, not because of any special virtue in us but because we are responsible, we are in positions of responsibility we have to react to events, we have to watch them carefully and try to do the best that lies in our power.

CHANGING WORLD

I have often repeated and I repeat again to this House, that we have to realise that we live in an extra-ordinary age, an extra-ordinary age in the sense of changes. Well, the world has always been changing and no particular generation has been able to stop the process of change. But, at times the changes are much swifter, much faster, a process started not today but some two hundred years ago, which is called the industrial revolution.

That too was a successor of other changes in the mind, but that brought about great changes, and that has continued at an ever faster pace. And we, after our independence came to the conclusion that it was quite essential for us to catch up with these changes-not every change, some changes may be bad in the world, but the basic changes I am saying-and industrialise our country. There was no other way to meet the problems that confronted us---economic problems, social problems and, if you like, military problems.

Well, there is no strength in the nation unless it is industrialised. Unless it takes advantage of modern science and technology.

That was the basic thing. We have, to get out of our ruts. And, of all people-I do not say of all people, I do not know of all people, but, broadly speaking, almost of all people-we in India who have many virtues, we have also one drawback or failing, and that is we stick to certain ruts of ideas. The result is that sometimes, rather often we become left in history. We know our own history and how we have been left in this changing world and others have advanced beyond us, in spite of the fact that the heritage we had was magnificent, very great. We mixed up that heritage, which was very great, with all manner of things, cobwebs and other things, which are attached to that heritage. So, while we almost forgot the real heritage, we stuck to those additions to it.

Now, we have to realise that we, have to consider every problem in the context of today, not go on repeating parrot-like something that may sound very good which has no relation to the facts of today. We have to live in the modern world, we have to face the modern problems in the modern way, keeping our ancient heritage but in the modern way.

Of course, nobody here would suggest that we should go to the frontier and fight the Chinese with bows and arrows; obviously not. Yet, there are such minds which think along the lines of bows and arrows in the modern world and do not get out of it. Some people, who are disgusted with things as they are today, want to change them. But how to change them? They want to return to some medieval period in history or still more ancient period as if that is possible. Nobody can go back to history. One can learn from the past; one cannot repeat the past.

CHINESE AGGRESSION

So, we live today at a moment of extraordinary changes and one would have thought that the great and terrible experiences that all of us have had in the last two months, because of the Chinese aggression and invasion, would have shaken us up. Some Hon. Members accuse our Government of complacency. Well, I am no good

judge of it. I cannot speak for my government or for myself, but one thing on which we are certain is that we are not complacent; that is my view. We may make mistakes, any number of them, but how can anyone who has to shoulder responsibilities and take great decisions at a moment (if crisis be complacent. He may make mistakes, he may take wrong decisions, but he cannot be complacent. It seems to me that complacency consists in repeating the same thing regardless of events, regardless of factors, regardless of the context in which we do it. That is the grievance I have, to some extent, when these matters are considered in that unchanged way. It really amazes me to talk about the Colombo proposals and to hear Hon. Members wax eloquent about a thing which is over, and done with. (Interruptions).

In spite of the Hon. Members' speeches or dislikes, things have happened. Since then, we have accepted them, and we have accepted them because a great majority of this House approved of them. A great majority of this House approved

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of them because a great majority of this House have previously approved of another proposal, that we have made about the 8th September, position, and it follows naturally. If some Hon. Members are left out in the cold and cannot keep pace with others, it is not my fault. (Interruptions).

The discussion lasted five days. Members of all parties have said what they wanted. They have criticised the Government and said that they do not approve of the policies of the Government. Now the reply is coming, Let us hear it.

An Hon. Member: We will always refer to their mistakes. (Interruptions).

I will therefore venture to say that I hope and I wish to deal with a few points raised by Hon. Members, but I want to carry this argument a little further because we must have clear thinking, above all at this moment of crisis.

We have had this tremendous experience, an experience which shakes up a nation and which did shake us up. It has shaken us up and let us at least profit by it by remaining wide awake. I do not mean to deny that we, as a Government,

or if I may say so with all respects, this Parliament or the people as a whole have been rather out of touch sometimes with reality in the past. I ventured to say so three days after the Chinese massive invasion in a broadcast that I delivered. But, nevertheless, we have to think what the problem is, in what context it is specially when we talk about military matters. It is obvious—that no victories on the battlefield are won by speeches there or here. Other things have to be prepared for victories in the normal course.

Obviously, the two major things before us are this Chinese invasion and, in a sense connected with it and with our thinking, the economic development of the country. Economic development is intimately connected with it because nothing else can strengthen us. Hon. Members may think that help from other countries will strengthen us. That is correct but only in a measure. It is correct that it does strengthen us, but even to use that help we have to have economic development and anyhow one cannot live in the hopes of continuous streams of help coming to us, year after year and decade after decade. At some time or other we have to build our own strength with the help of others as we are doing, but nevertheless it must be our strength. That strength consists in advancement in science and technology which should be applied to all our processes, agricultural, industrial etc. That is a basic thing. The two are connected. All else are either parts of this or are of secondary importance—that is firstly the immediate issue of the Chinese aggression and how to meet it or repel it and, secondly, development in the country.

We have had this question of development before us ever since we became independent. Everybody has it. Every country has it. Yet, there is a difference. There are many countries round-about us here in Asia or Africa who talk about development and seek help from other developed countries but who have not consciously regulated view of development. Consciously regulated view means roughly a planned approach to it. The planning may be slightly wrong or right, but a planned approach means a logical, reasonable approach, an approach to which, unfortunately, the learned Acharya opposite me does not agree. That is just it. I am glad that we had agreement about this matter at least. 'But that is the whole basis of my argument, that is,

that the one thing that is absolutely essential is, in any developing country now-it is admitted by almost every intelligent person in this country or may be in other countries is that planned approach is essential. The nature of the planning may slightly differ here and there, but the major facts of planning are the same.

When we plan we may consult others. We consult experts from America, from England, from Russia and from countries that are capitalist, socialist or communist. We consult them. Apart from certain basic differences, nevertheless when we come to later things to be done, it is quite extraordinary how they agree, because once they get out of their ideological differences and conflicts they have to consider it from the scientific point of view of a planned approach. It will surprise Hon. Members, we have had all manner of persons coming from dozens of countries in the world, eminent technicians, eminent statisticians and the like, some of them professors in Communist countries, in Poland, etc., some of them professors in American Universities and others. And yet, when they have sat down together with us, they have, broadly, generally speaking, made the same observations and pointed out the same mistakes that we have committed. Because today, we are slightly, not wholly, getting out of that old habit from which the world has suffered and from which some Hon. Members opposite suffer greatly, of thinking that the world is confined to communists and anti-communists and nothing else. The fact is that the world today is a scientific world. There is no such thing-I hope even Prof. Ranga will agree-as communist or capitalist Chemistry or a communist or capitalist gun or mortar. There is no such thing. It is a product of science and technology. (Interruptions).

Today, almost all the things that we use in the world from day to day are products of science and technology which is the same whether the approach communist or capitalist. There is difference of course in other matters between

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communism and capitalism. Basically, the thing, is, the world we live in is a scientific world, resulting in technology and all that. Because it is a scientific world, any approach that you make must be based on science. Otherwise, you lose

yourself in the quagmire of illogic and lack of reason.

Every country that is considered a strong country today is, normally speaking, a prosperous country, a developed country. That is, a developed country is both a prosperous country and a strong country, relatively strong country from the point of view of military affairs. You cannot be strong unless you are technologically, industrially, scientifically developed. Some may be more strong than others. That is a different matter. That is the basis of it. That development has to take place. It cannot be imposed upon one.

You cannot give a gun to me and make me developed. I may use the gun and do some damage with it. But, until I go through the process of manufacturing the gun, and lots of people do that, a gun is not so useful as it might otherwise be. That we have to develop. That is the whole essence even from the military point of view of our Five Year Plans and the like.

Behind military strength lies a developing nation, lies developing science and technology. That is why from the very month or 2 or 3 months after we became Independent, we laid stress on the development of science and started a fine magnificent series of National laboratories, national institutes which cover the country today and which have put India in a fairly advanced position in the ranks of scientific and progressive countries. That is the basis. Technology comes from that. You have got Technological Institutes. It is not putting up a mill here or a mill there. That is not industrialism. That may result in the man who owns it making a lot of money. That is a different matter. That is not industrialism. We have to develop a mentality among our hundreds of millions of people which comes from industrialism, a mentality whereby they will use better ploughs and the rest. We have to have specially trained people in vast numbers. Therefore, it may sound rather odd, to fight the Chinese, we have to encourage this process as much as possible.

CHINESE MENACE

As I have ventured to say previously, the Chinese menace is not a thing of today or tomorrow or the day after. It is a long-term thing, because I should like Hon. Members to

remember that this is, historically speaking, a tremendous development; this conflict of China and India is a very big thin- for India and Asia and for the World even. I should like it to be seen in that perspective and we should be prepared for that perspective. That does not mean that we think of what is going to happen five or ten years later and and forget our duty today. it is a continuing duty. That is what I am trying to point out, . . . from today onwards, we must not think of finding some sudden solution of it by some magic wand or some magic help that we may receive, to put an end to it. We want all the help we can and we shall try to get it, and we are trying to get it, there is no argument about it. But the fact remains that real strength can only come from inner growth, and we must keep that in mind.

Therefore, this war situation that we have to face is intimately allied to the other problem, that is. of development in the country. The President has been pleased to point out that these are the two major problems; and development, of course, is necessary anyhow, war or no war. We want a prosperous country, but because of this war situation that becomes doubly important. Some people, without thinking, without clearly thinking, seem to think that because there is a war situation, therefore, we must allow the developmental part to be put in the background. They are utterly, absolutely wrong, for, that is the real fundamental way of strengthening yourself to meet the situation. (Interruptions).

I am not, again, speaking of socialism as sonic fixed, dogmatic, doctrinaire system, but, broadly speaking, of what flows from that concept, Therefore, our objective has been socialism or a socialist structure of society leading to equal opportunities for all, and a measure of affluence for all, a measure of prosperity for all. Any sensitive man will feel it is scandalous-we may not act up to it-that some of us should be rich and prosperous and others should starve or should lead miserable lives. Any social system which permits that or which encourages that is definitely bad. There is no good looking back to the medieval times or to more ancient times to justify it by some saying or evidence.

Therefore, in the domestic field, our policy has, been, first, of course, bettering the lot of our

people-a welfare state-but aiming at social justice and socialism so as to give equal opportunities to all. Apart from the justice of it, the rightness of it, there is no other way, because once you give people political democracy, their minds begin to wake up. They do not submit to much that they submitted to previously. They make demands. So social problems arise. They make demands which we cannot fulfil, unless we change the social structure to some extent.

These have been our planned approaches towards socialism. It is true that we have attached great importance to democracy. But that very

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concept of democracy which we have adhered to, or which we will adhere to, tells us that democracy is not complete by merely remaining a political democracy. It has to become an economic democracy; only then democracy is complete. Therefore, again we come back to the ideal of a socialist structure of society. And this can only be achieved in the modern world or in any world with the help of science and technology.

I do not call it socialism for everybody to be poor and starving, everybody to have the same lack of opportunity. That is not socialism or advance. Therefore, the only way to achieve this is through science and technology and to direct the products of science and technology into right channels so as to benefit the large mass of the people. Therefore, I submit that the policy that we have pursued of a planned approach to this end, to this desired end, is right in the domestic field.

The foreign field, however, much we may discuss it from time to time, is after all secondary to the domestic field. It becomes primary suddenly when there is an attack or aggression on us, or when something happens to work us up-that is a different matter-but generally, the domestic field governs the foreign field. If we are prosperous in this country, if we are strong, our voice is heard everywhere. If we are failures in our own country, nobody listens to us. Therefore, ultimately it is the domestic field that counts. But domestic policy and foreign policy are more or less tied up. It is absurd to have a domestic policy which differs completely from the ends of the foreign policy.

POLICY OF PEACE

In foreign policy we have ventured to lay stress, considerable stress, on peace, peace in the world. I would submit that that was right, and that is right. That does not become wrong because the Chinese Government believes in war. The Chinese Government believes in many things which are utterly wrong. They have strayed away from every canon of international behaviour, from their own high civilisation which they have pushed away. Therefore, we stood for peace and for co-operation with all nations. That simply means that we cannot co-operate with somebody who will not co-operate with us, but we are prepared to co-operate. to be friends with other countries. If I may respectfully say so, some people, quite a number of people, have said something to the effect that we are isolated in the world. What that means I do not know. I know something of the world, too, and I think the position is quite the reverse.

There is hardly a country which is so much honoured as India anywhere. I do not mean to say that we are not criticised--we are criticised, and there is much to criticise in this country as in any other country--but we are honoured, and we are honoured principally and chiefly, apart from our ancient heritage, because of the memory of Gandhiji, and secondly because, to a small extent, I do not say more than a small extent, we have endeavoured, according to our dim lights, to follow that--not completely, of course, I admit that, we cannot, in the circumstances. But they have seen that we have put noble ideals before ourselves and we work up to them.

We have adhered to the democratic method and yet tried to do things which no democracy, working through democratic methods, has tried to do yet. It is a new, novel example in the world's history that India has been trying to do--i.e. build herself up by planned economy, planned approaches, and yet retain the democratic method.

So, we are by no means friendless in the world. We have plenty of friends, but though we may have many friends, each country decides its foreign policy not on high principles, but on material interests. That is what we see round

about India, in the countries surrounding us, how their policies have changed, often unfortunately very wrongly changed, not because of any principle. In fact, the thing that is obvious is that the changes that have taken place are wholly without principle. But one cannot measure one's own policies by the failures of others to adhere to any principle.

NON-ALIGNMENT

As a result of the policy pursued in regard to other countries, it was inevitable, both because of our background and practical considerations of today, that we should have a policy of non-alignment which is largely accepted by this House, I believe and even by many Hon. Members on the opposite side. I would explain again non-alignment. Simply, put in a different language, it is freedom of action. Non-alignment is not anything else but a measure of independence and freedom of action and complete friendship with other countries. It does seem to me essentially right.

It is odd that when we started talking about this policy of non-alignment, many years ago, we were among the very few countries mentioning it. Gradually in the course of these ten or a dozen years a large number of countries have adopted, it--chiefly the newly independent countries. Because it seemed to them the right attitude for a newly independent country to adopt and it earned naturally to them. But what is more important is this. The people and the countries that looked rather askance at this policy of ours to begin with

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gradually began to appreciate it and we had arrived at a stage when almost everybody, every country that counts appreciates that policy. I do not mean to say that they appreciate it so far as they are concerned; they may be members of power blocs. But situated as we are, they appreciated it. The only extraordinary thing is that some people, some Hon. Members, like in other matters, still disagree with us. They disagree with the whole world and they will continue in the rut of thought into which they have got by some peculiar process of reasoning or lack of reasoning.

An Hon. Member: We remain in isolation and

we do not recognise it today.

Prime Minister : These are the two major domestic policies that we have pursued. And I venture to say that they were right and they are right and they will continue to be right in the changing world. Take non-alignment. The mere fact that it gives us freedom of action does not tie us and we can adapt to a changing world. Now, here is a country, our neighbour country, Pakistan which, in spite of being very much aligned is wandering about all over the place without any principle or any adherence to anything worthwhile. It was extraordinary. (Interruptions).

So, I do venture to say that the policies we have pursued in both these important fields are right. Events have shown them to be right. They are right in principle, theoretically but practically they have been shown to be right and therefore, we must adhere to them, both in the domestic and in the foreign field.

Opinions may differ as to the progress made by us in these policies. I venture to say that in both these, progress has been considerable.

In the domestic field no doubt many of us would have liked to have gone faster. But we have to work. It is not merely a question of Government's functioning or this Parliament functioning and fine speeches being made and resolutions passed. It is after all dependent on the mass of the people working, mass of the people understanding the position and working in that direction. Of course, we this Parliament and Government had to give a lead and help the process. But essentially we have to set the whole nation working, whether it is for war or peace or for both.

I think that it is easy to say that we have not succeeded in many things, that we have not progressed as we ought to have progressed. But nevertheless, the progress that we have made in these last dozen years has been quite remarkable. It would have been remarkable even if we have made no such progress, compared to (Interruptions).

I shall explain myself. The mere fact that of our continuing as a democratic entity, functioning as a democratic entity, in spite of all the storms and stresses that we have gone through, is itself

remarkable. If, we measure the progress of any country roundabout us, in Asia or Africa, one might see the difference. We have seen democratic structures being replaced by coup d' etats or in revolutionary violence, into autocracies, into authoritarianism, into something that we consider very undesirable. This is happening; has happened all over. So, this comparison itself brings to light what we have achieved.

If we agree to these basic principles and policies, what we have to do today is to examine not the principles because they are proved to be right, but the implementation of these principles; it is in the implementation that we have often failed, and the implementation requires a great deal of capacity to work for millions of people as well as the capacity lead hundreds of thousands; it is a difficult business, We have to create, if we want to develop our industries a strong industrial base; that is, not merely build odd factories here and there, but a strong, logically organised industrial base, out of which other things come. We have now a good part of the base, not complete by any means, but we are on the way to completion; probably in another six, seven or eight years we would have made enough progress to stand to a large extent on our own feet. That is the theory behind it, and inevitably that would have made us even from the point of view of military necessities more or less independent; not entirely but more or less.

I mention this merely to say that there is no question of being prepared for war except by going through this process. The other process is getting a large number of weapons of war from other countries, buying them or getting them without payment or on easy payment system. That is. when a crisis occurs one does that and we are doing it today. But it is not strength. We must realise that even ammunition required for these weapons is a crushing burden, continually to get ammunition. unless you manufacture it here. So we have, essentially to build up our industrial machine which becomes, when the need arises, a war machine. And meanwhile we have to rely on whatever things we need, on what we can get, from outside. That is what we are trying to do.

PEOPLE'S RESPONSE

There is one thing I would like to say about the response four people to the Chinese invasion. We have all described it as a wonderful and spontaneous response. But what lies behind it? Why did they respond in that way? You may say, it is because of the love of the country. That

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is true; but, even that means that they have lot the concept of the country.

Why should people near Cape Comorin respond with great fervour to this invasion in the far north-east of India? It is because they have got that concept Of India in their minds. It is a very fine thing; you must realise it. Further, it is because the challenge is made to the India of today; that is to say. however much they may criticise the India of today and the Government of today, they appreciate what has happened to India in the last 10 or 12 years, which they are not prepared to lose. It means that. Otherwise, there are only a few intellectuals who get, warmed up by some theory. But the common people visualise these things as not merely theoretical, but practical things and they responded in this magnificent way, because, if I may say so, they appreciate what had been done in India since independence and they do not want to lose it. (Interruptions).

We have to face a military problem. But if we consider it as a purely military problem, we shall make a grave mistake. It is a political problem also, in the larger context and therefore, from both these points of view, military and political, we have to prepare our people and make them a nation, armed militarily anti with clear ideas politically.

Lack of political appreciation of the world we live in and of our country will weaken the military effort. Our people must feel that we and they are labouring for a better future for them, where every Indian can have a chance and we have rid ourselves of our terrible poverty. A socialistic ideal is essential to create that feeling among our people, apart from its desirability otherwise. We have made progress. but even now there are reactionary elements in the country, which confuse the issue and make it more difficult to progress.

Hon. Members have asked, what are we doing now about all this? I cannot easily go into the lists of what we are doing in the military field, what we are trying to build ourselves, what factories we are putting up, what we are trying to get from others, etc., partly because it would not be a right thing for me to do so and partly because I do not know what ultimately we will get. We are getting many things. There are many other things we want, and we are trying our best to get them. The main things that we want are machines to build things ourselves-aircraft, training for special aircraft, etc. All these things we want.

AIR UMBRELLA

I need not say much about the question of air umbrella. The other day I made a statement, So, I think it should have made the position quite clear. As it was thought-this business of air umbrella-it seemed to me quite a wrong thing.- because it really meant, if you analyse. it in that way, that we do not build anything important ourselves, anything worthwhile ourselves and we rely on others to do that job for us. That is a bad thing both psychologically and actually because at the end of the period, whatever they might have done, we remain as weak as we were. Secondly, this impression in our People that other people are going to do our job is a bad impression. It weakens them and creates a mentality which might be called the Maginot-line mentality -something like a protecting cover they are standing like chowkidars with lathis ahead, we are free of thieves or scoundrels coming in and we can live happily. It is not a right mentality to create, in any country, in the people. Psychologically it is bad. But, as I have said enough, we are trying our utmost to get the assistance of other friendly countries to give us what we require, whether it is in the air or in the field.

An Hon. Member : Do you agree that the word "umbrella" itself with some of its former political associations is an unhappy word.

Prime Minister: I agree with the Hon. Member completely in this matter.

An Hon. Member: The word "umbrella" has gone and "armada" has come.

Prime Minister : The Hon. Member opposite,

I think, in his speech asked me, what he calls, some particular questions for which he wanted clear answers. I do not know how far I can give clear answers to all his questions at present moment. He asked me : "Are we at war with China or not ?". Well, obviously, in the technical sense we are not. That is obvious. But behind that technical sense lie many other things. That is a different matter, and I might say that we have entered into a period of conflict with China which is going to be a lengthy period which may occasionally sometimes be actual war and at other times not a war. But the conflict continues and we live on the brink of it all the time. Therefore, we have to be prepared for it all the time. I do not know if that is an adequate answer. And we can never be sure of what developments may take place in the near future.

An Hon. Member : Are we preparing for a war or for a conflict?

Prime Minister : Whether it is war or conflict the preparation is the same. The preparation is identical and, if I may add, if it is negotiation, even then the preparation is the same, because no negotiation can take place unless it has the strength behind it, the strength of preparation.

At the present moment, so far as the present position in these border areas is concerned, we

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consider ourselves completely free to do what we like, to send our forces where we like, but we do consider ourselves bound down to some extent by the so-called Colombo proposals—that is, having accepted them we do not want to go beyond them—not that the question arises at all....

COLOMBO PROPOSALS

An Hon. Member: But there was a gap between the Chinese cease-fire and the Colombo proposals. What did you do during that gap?

Prime Minister : I may venture to say that we consider ourselves completely free to go into and implement the Colombo proposals as accepted by us. That is not quite the same as the Chinese view of the Colombo proposals. Anyhow, these questions do not actually arise at the present moment.

As I am telling you, our army is free to do so. They have to decide when to go, where to go and how to go. That is for them to decide.

An Hon. Member: That is not very convincing. Basically, it is a political decision. You are avoiding your responsibilities. Basically, the decision is political. If you do not like to face it, that is different. We cannot accept the position that it is a military decision. We fail to understand how to move to the border is a military decision.

Another Hon. Member : The Defence Minister has a free hand, I believe.

Prime Minister : The political decision has been made by us; I am talking of the present moment; day after tomorrow it may be different. That is to say, in terms of the Colombo proposals we can send our troops or our forces anywhere. That is the political decision. Whether in these terms the army sends them immediately, tomorrow or the day after is a military decision.

An Hon. Member : That is implementation.
Prime Minister : Its implementation is tip to the army.

An Hon. Member: May we seek a clarification ? Fie said that it is up to the army. Army is also a department of this Government and there is a Cabinet Minister in charge of that. Are we to understand that the army and the Cabinet Minister are free to take any decision and then go ahead ? What did the Prime Minister say when he went to Ceylon? "I have asked our troops to march". Was it a military decision, or political decision, or Prime Minister's decision.

Prime Minister : Hon. Members will appreciate the little fact that something has happened since the middle of September. What I said then was not my decision alone; it was the view point of the military people too. They wanted to do it. Otherwise, I would not have dared to say anything like that. It is obvious.

Now, for instance, there are two places, Thagla Ridge area and Longju which, under the Colombo proposals as accepted by us were sought to be left out of the other proposals and were to be discussed by us, that is by our emissaries, with the Chinese Government in the course of imple-

mentation. Now, because of that, for the present we are not sending any of our armed forces to the Thagla Ridge area and Longju. Apart from that, in the whole of NEFA we can go anywhere, we can send our armed forces anywhere subject only to the decision of our military people as to when to send, what to send and how to send.

In the same way, in Ladakh too, they are free to send our forces where we like within the limits of our agreement, according to the Colombo proposals

An Hon. Member : What agreement? There is no agreement.

Prime Minister : Within the limits of our acceptance of the Colombo proposals; I am talking of the present—a different situation may arise tomorrow; I am talking of the position as it is now.

An Hon. Member : Sir, on a point of clarification. The Prime Minister himself says that the Chinese have not accepted the Colombo proposals. So, we are not bound by them when they have not agreed to them.

Prime Minister : They have not accepted them. As a matter of fact, that need not come in our way at all, because we have not implemented that part too. Because, practically speaking, there are difficulties.

An Hon. Member : It depends upon the acceptance by the Chinese also for its implementation.

Another Hon. Member : Drop the word "agreement" then.

Prime Minister : I am sorry, there is no "agreement" in that sense. What I have said in regard to the Colombo proposals is that it is no doubt a limit which we have not reached yet, which our army has not reached yet. That is what I said. This is a matter which is a continually changing matter. It will depend upon what the position is. It is an obvious thing for me to say that here it is not a question of advancing, with waving a flag; it is a question of advancing with strength enough to face any odds and the Army has to think of that. We cannot tell them to go here or to go there. They have to decide whether

they can go there. They can go within a certain range.

I would repeat one thing. Whenever we think of war a large number of amateur strategists arise who are constantly advising us as to what to do and how to carry on a war or our preparation for a war. All of us have some views about it. but if

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it really comes to any warlike operations, one has necessarily to depend upon the experts who are there to advise us and who have to carry it out.

REFERENCE TO HAGUE COURT

Broadly, I would remind this House, although we are taking every step to prepare ourselves, even so, we do not rule out any possible settlement by negotiations. It may be unlikely-probably, it is-but to rule it out would be wrong. That has not been our practice at any time. I have previously referred to a reference of this matter to the International Court of Justice at the Hague or even to a proper arbitration by a number of countries. It may be unlikely that China accepts it. That is a different matter, but I think it is a right course for us-right in itself and right from the point of view that the world is appreciating it.

An Hon. Member : I hope you will do that after consulting this House.

Prime Minister : Obviously, I cannot commit the country to such a step without coming to this House, but I have already stated it in my letters to the Chinese Prime Minister about two months ago or a month ago-I forget, when-and made this suggestion. Suppose-it is an unlikely supposition, but suppose-he accepts them; then it becomes rather awkward for me to back out of that.

An Hon. Member : Accept what ?

Prime Minister : The reference to the Hague Court or something like that.

STATE OF EMERGENCY

Then, may I refer to some other matters ?

Sonic people have suggested that we should put an end to the state of emergency. At the same time they have also criticized the Government and the administration for not keeping up the mind of emergency. if I may say so. among the people. Is it not obvious. apart from other reasons, that if we put an end to the state of emergency. everybody will lose all thought of an emergency ?

An Hon. Member : No, Sir; they have a greater sense of patriotism.

Prime Minister : I must confess that what is obvious to me finds difficulty in being appreciated by the Hon. Member. But one thing is certain-I do not say that that is the sole test of that-that once we did that the whole country will feel that the danger is past or that something has happened and they need not be taught and ready for any crisis. that is one reason.

That fact is-I want this House to appreciate that-that the danger is not past. I do not know what may happen in the next two, three or four weeks in the month of March or April; I have no notion at all. I know that we have been preparing for everything and we have to go on strengthening ourselves. This process of strengthening will go on not only for a few weeks or few months but, maybe, for a year or two. That is so, Because we want to be prepared for every contingency. To imagine that there is no possibility of any new crisis suddenly arising, will be completely wrong for us. (Interruptions).

DEFENCE OF INDIA RULES

So far as the Defence of India Rules are concerned, there have been some arrests and some objection has been taken to preventive detention, etc. Nearly all these arrests have taken place at the instance of the State Governments, certainly with the general approval of the Government of India, not individual approval of the individuals.

An Hon. Member : Are we to understand that the Central Government did not send any directive. to the State Governments ?

Prime Minister : I just ventured to say that with the general approval of the Government of India, not in regard to any individuals. Where they considered any persons dangerous from the

point of view of war effort, etc., they might take action: that is our general direction to them. But, the choice lay with them how to do it. Since then, we have repeatedly asked them to re-examine these cases and where they did not consider it necessary, to release them. In fact, about 200 or so persons, who were originally arrested, have been released. This process of reexamination is continuously going on.

KASHMIR TALKS

About Kashmir, I would like to say a word, though not much. Because, I feel, having decided to talk with Pakistan Government it will not be proper for me to discuss this matter in the House or in public although I must say, the recent new development, which has induced the Foreign Minister of Pakistan to go to Peking to sign a treaty with them about their border....

An Hon. Member: Which is their border ?
You claim Kashmir as part of India.

Another Hon. Member : They have usurped our border.

Prime Minister : Yes ... has come as a shock. It has come as a shock, not only because of the basic facts of the situation. But, the extra-ordinary thing is the timing of these events. The House will remember that when first my colleague Shri Swaran Singh went to Rawalpindi, the first series of talks, the day before the talks were going to begin, an announcement was made that

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an agreement in principle had been arrived at between China and Pakistan about the border. It was an extraordinary timing : just the day before.

An Hon. Member: We knew all the while that they were being invited. Peking was inviting. Mohammed Ali was invited. This gentleman was invited.

Prime Minister : Nevertheless, the timing is significant. I think one is justified in thinking that this timing cannot be fortuitous or accidental. It is deliberate. Therefore, it does not indicate any strong desire on the Pakistan Government's

part to arrive at any agreement. We gave some consideration to this as to whether we should continue these talks in spite of this visit of Pakistan Foreign Minister to Peking at this moment. We came to the conclusion that we should adhere to our previous resolve and not back out of these talks because of this, although, naturally, the talks will be affected by it.

So, probably, I say probably, I do not know what might happen in the next week or 10 or 12 days, probably, subject to that, I shall request Shri Swaran Singh again to journey to Calcutta to continue these talks. Because, one has to balance various considerations. We thought that it would not be desirable for us to break on this issue. Hon. Members here knew all the background. But, for the world at large, the fact that will stand out is that we have broken these talks, not that they have gone to Peking. That will be very much before them.

SRI LANKA USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC INDIA RUSSIA POLAND CHINA PAKISTAN
FRANCE

Date : Feb 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

MALAYSIA

Prime Minister's Statement in Lok Sabha on Proposed federation of Malaysia

Replying to a Call-attention Notice regarding the formation of a Federation of Malaysia, the Prime Minister Shri Jawaharlal Nehru made the following statement in Lok Sabha on February 22, 1963

It is proposed to form a Federation of Malaysia which would include Malaya, Singapore, Brunei, Sarawak and North Borneo. This matter was mentioned at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference which was held in September, 1962. We welcomed the idea of these dependent terri-

teries gaining their independence and sovereignty.

There has been some trouble in Brunei recently, and strong opinions have been expressed for and against the formation of Malaysia.

The Under Secretary of the United Nations has recently visited the area, and the United Nations Secretary-General is taking interest in this problem of orderly and peaceful transfer of power by the United Kingdom authorities. We trust that the efforts of the U. N. Secretary-General will be successful and the present tension will be removed.

MALAYSIA BRUNEI REPUBLIC OF SINGAPORE USA

Date : Feb 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BULGARIA

Cultural Agreement Signed

A cultural agreement between the Republic of India and the People's Republic of Bulgaria was signed in New Delhi on February 20, 1963.

The agreement aims at strengthening the existing ties of friendship and promoting better understanding and closer cooperation between the two

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countries in educational, scientific, social and cultural fields.

Prof. Humayun Kabir, Minister of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, Government of India, signed the agreement on behalf of India and His Excellency Mr. Gancho Ganey, Minister of Education and Culture of the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, on behalf of Bulgaria.

The cultural agreement which consists of 8 articles will remain in force for a period of 5 years and shall continue in force thereafter until it is terminated by either party giving notice in Writing of not less than 6 months. The agreement shall come into force immediately on the date of the exchange of the Instruments of Ratification which shall take place as soon as possible at Sofia.

The present agreement is the sixteenth cultural agreement signed by India since 1951. The earlier agreements were signed with Turkey, Iraq, Rumania, Japan, Indonesia, Iran, Poland, United Arab Republic, Czechoslovakia, U.S.S.R., Yugoslavia, Mongolia, Norway, Greece and Hungary.

TEXT OF AGREEMENT

The following is the text of the cultural agreement

The Government of the Republic of India and the People's Republic of Bulgaria,

Considering the cordial and friendly relations existing between the two countries and desirous of concluding, an agreement to provide for the promotion of cultural relations and mutual co-operation in scientific, educational and cultural fields between the two countries, have agreed as follows :-

ARTICLE I

The Contracting Parties will, Subject to availability of funds, endeavour to promote the development of close relations and cooperation between the Academies, Universities and Scientific and Research institutions of the two countries by means of :-

- (a) exchange of representatives and delegations in the fields of education, science, culture and arts;
- (b) reciprocal visits of professors and research workers for giving lectures, special courses etc., as well as exchange of students on scholarships basis;
- (c) reciprocal visits and attendance in congresses and conferences between the literary, scientific, artistic, sports and

journalist's associations and organisations;

- (d) exchange of cultural, scientific and educational material and equipment; translation and exchange of books, periodicals and other scientific, cultural and technical publications; and, as far as feasible, the exchange of copies of archaeological specimens and of ancient manuscripts; and
- (e) organisation of scientific and artistic exhibitions, theatrical and artistic performances, film shows including documentary films and newsreels and the dissemination of knowledge of each other's culture through radio, press and similar other means.

ARTICLE 2

The Contracting Parties will endeavour to ensure that official informative publications do not contain any errors or misrepresentations about the country of the other Contracting Party.

ARTICLE 3

Each Contracting Party will receive, as far as its own resources and requirements will permit, nationals recommended by the other Government for study, training and specialisation in its educational, cultural, scientific, technical and industrial institutions. These scholars will observe the domestic laws of the country and the regulations of the institutions in which they will work.

ARTICLE 4

The Contracting Parties will encourage the organisation of competitions and other activities in the fields of sports and physical culture between their two countries.

ARTICLE 5

The Contracting Parties will strive to promote cultural and intellectual exchange between the two countries by arranging concerts, lectures, art and scientific exhibitions, by organising visits of scholars and students, by encouraging collaborations between scientific, artistic, literary and other

learned societies and organisations devoted to the promotion of learning, by establishing chairs in Universities or other institutions of higher learning for the teaching of subjects pertaining to each other's country, by diffusion of books and periodicals, by exhibition of films, by exchange of archaeological specimens and through radio broadcasts.

ARTICLE 6

The Contracting Parties shall offer their good offices to facilitate the mutual recognition by

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universities and other educational authorities in the two countries of the degrees, diplomas and certificates awarded by them in accordance with the laws prevailing in each country.

ARTICLE 7

In order to facilitate the implementation of the present agreement, the Contracting Parties will consult with each other from time to time.

ARTICLE 8

(a) The present agreement shall be ratified and shall come into force on the date of exchange of the instruments of ratification, which shall take place as soon as possible.

(b) The present agreement shall remain in force for a period of five years and thereafter until the expiration of six months from the date on which one of the Contracting Parties shall give notice of its intention to terminate the agreement.

(c) In the faith, whereof, the following plenipotentiaries have signed the present agreement in duplicate in Hindi, Bulgarian and English languages, all, the three texts being equally authentic, except that in case of doubt the English text shall prevail.

BULGARIA INDIA IRAQ TURKEY INDONESIA IRAN JAPAN POLAND NORWAY SLOVAKIA USA
GREECE MONGOLIA YUGOSLAVIA HUNGARY

Date : Feb 01, 1963

Volume No

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PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Chinese Allegations about Chung Hwa School Refuted

The Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India issued the following press release on February 2, 1963, refuting the allegations of China about Chung Hwa School in Kalimpong:

The Chinese Government have, despite the facts being clearly communicated to them in several notes from the Government of India, been making baseless allegations that the "Indian authorities have handed over the property, of the Chung, Hwa School in Kalimpong to elements of the Chiang Kai-shek gang".

The facts are : The Chinese community in Kalimpong ran two schools, the Chinese Refugee School and the Chung Hwa School. The latter has been in existence for over 20 years and has been maintained by contributions made by the local Chinese community.

In December, 1961 some members of the local Chinese community made a proposal that since the number of students in the Chung Hwa School had been reduced to a mere 30 and had no properly elected Board of Directors or Headmaster, the two schools should be run under joint management. They claimed part-ownership of the building. Other members of the local Chinese community however, opposed this proposal.

Later the Chinese Trade Agency in Kalimpong closed the school, surreptitiously removed furniture from it and looked up the premises. The Government, of India in a Note sent on 23rd May, 1962 to the Chinese Embassy in New Delhi, protested against this illegal activity and requested that the keys of the premises should be surrendered to the local governmental authorities in Kalimpong. Since the premises were not surrendered, a case was filed in the Court of the Sub-

Divisional Magistrate, Kalimpong and, pending court proceedings, an order for an interim attachment of the school premises was passed. The Court passed orders in September, 1962 permitting certain members of the Chinese community in Kalimpong to take over possession of the building and the school was re-opened in October, 1962.

The Government of India made it quite clear in several notes to the Chinese Government that interference by the Chinese Consulate General at Calcutta or the Chinese Trade Agency in Kalimpong in the management of the School, was unwarranted and that the functioning of the School was entirely a matter for the local Chinese community to determine.

The matter has been settled by the judicial decision of the law court. The Chinese Government's allegation that there was collusion between the local Indian authorities and the so-called "Chiang Kai-shek elements", is utterly Unwarranted and absurd.

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CHINA INDIA USA

Date : Feb 01, 1963

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UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Agreement for Supply of Steel Signed

An agreement for the supply of steel required in the expansion of the thermal power station at Neyveli in Madras State under the Third Five-Year Plan was signed in New Delhi on February 16, 1963.

Mr. P. Basalov, First Secretary, of the USSR Embassy in India signed on behalf of Messrs. Technopromexport, Soviet organisation dealing in exports of machinery etc. and Shri Chedi

Lai, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Mines and Fuel.
on behalf of the Neyveli Lignite Corporation.

The Neyveli power station will be expanded under the Third Plan from its present capacity of 250 MW to 400 MW. The Soviet Organisation who have built the existing unit have agreed to assist the expansion programme also. The expansion of the power station is estimated to cost Rs. 15 crores.

Under the agreement signed today the Soviet organisation will supply 1,174 metric tons of steel for the expansion scheme.

The power station at Neyveli is one of the important constituent schemes of the integrated lignite-based project. Other schemes include a fertiliser plant for the manufacture of urea and a briquetting and carbonisation plant to process lignite for domestic and industrial uses.

INDIA USA ITALY RUSSIA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date : Feb 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

U. S. COMMONWEALTH AIR MISSION

Prime Minister's Statement in Lok Sabha on 'Air Umbrella'

Speaking on a Call-attention Notice regarding the visit of a joint United States-Commonwealth Air Mission to India to discuss the proposal of an 'Air Umbrella' over India. in Lok Sabha on February 21, 1963. Prime Minister Nehru made the following statement :

Very briefly the answer to this or at least part of it, is that the United States-Commonwealth Air Mission came here at our invitation. But I should like to say something more about the background of it, and if you will permit me. I shall read out the statement.

Since the Chinese massive attack last October, the Government of India have been in close touch with various friendly Governments in connection with the measures to be taken to build up an effective defence against the Chinese attack. Prompt and generous help has come from various friendly Countries more specially from the United States and the United Kingdom, and for this we are grateful.

Apart from reorientation reorganisation and strengthening of the Indian Army and the obtaining of suitable equipment, there was also the question of building up an effective air defence both to meet the emergency like the one created by the Chinese advance into NEFA in November last and to meet the long-term threat posed by China. Both these have to be kept in view; in either event the strengthening of the Indian Air Force has to be tackled immediately. In the event of sudden emergency arising, the Government will have to deal with it in the light of developments with support from friendly countries, which may become suddenly necessary and be available.

These matters were discussed by the Government with the friendly Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom during November and December last, and a visit of the U.S.-Commonwealth Air Team was suggested, so that the problem of strengthening India's air defence could be studied by them with the Indian technical air staff and prompt action taken to implement the decisions taken. The Government of India issued a press release on the 23rd January, 1963.

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on the visit of this Air Team, which was coming at the invitation of the Government of India.

The U.S.-Commonwealth Air Team has been in India for about three weeks and will be completing their study and discussions soon. These discussions between the U.S.-Commonwealth Air Team and the Indian Air Force experts have led to speculations in the press about the establishment of foreign bases and foreign planes as an 'Air Umbrella' in India. These reports are incorrect and greatly exaggerated.

The U.S.-Commonwealth Air Team, in their discussions with the Indian Air Force experts have

been caling with assessment of the Chinese air thr-- and the extent to which the Indian Air Force requires strengthening in order to meet it. The preliminary action that is considered necessary is the extension of the existing airstrips, improvement in ground control and communication system etc. to be taken in connection with air defence arrangements. These steps will make it possible for the Indian Air Force to function more effectively and, should a sudden emergency arise, to be helped from friendly countries.

There is no question of the stationing of foreign air force or the establishment of any foreign air bases in India. As a matter of fact, none of the friendly countries have made any such suggestions. India has to be defended by its own forces. We welcome the help of the friendly countries in procuring the necessary equipment and materials, but the air defence of the country is too vital a matter to be left to improvisation and delays inherent in any project like that of the 'Air Umbrella' suggested in press reports.

INDIA USA CHINA

Date : Feb 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Indo-U. S. Loan Agreement Signed.

The Governments of India and the United States concluded an agreement on February 25, 1963 providing for an American loan of \$240 million (114 crores) to finance non-project imports required to carry forward India's, Third Five-Year Plan. This is the largest single dollar loan ever extended to India by the U.S.A.

Shri L. K. Jha, Secretary, Ministry of Finance,
Department of Economic Affairs, and the U.S.
Ambassador, Prof. John Kenneth Galbraith,

signed the agreement. The Union Finance Minister, Shri Morarji Desai, presided.

The loan is part of the U.S. commitment of \$435 million made in the context of the "Aid India" Consortium for the second year of the Third Plan. The broad commodity import groups for which the loan funds will be used are : non-ferrous metals, steel, chemicals, fertilizer, sulphur, lubricants, rubber, tyre cord, carbon black, DDT, machinery, earth-moving equipment, rolls and refractories, and vehicle and other components.

The loan has been channelled through the U.S. Agency for International-Development. Like other loans granted by the U.S.A.I.D. it is free of interest and carries a credit fee of three quarters of one per cent per annum on the outstanding balance of the loan. Repayment in dollars will be spread through forty years after the first disbursement, with no payments for a period of ten years.

Last year, the United States extended to India non-project loans totalling \$220 million. Thus non-project loans provided by the United States during 1962 and 1963 total \$460 million and comprise 47 per cent of the U.S. commitment Of \$980 million (Rs. 467 crores) during the first two years of the Third Plan.

Non-project imports contribute to India's developing economy by providing machinery and capital equipment for expanding industrial capacity in areas where totally new projects are not as economical. In addition, with the progressive diversification of India's industrial structure, the requirements of components and spare parts to keep existing plants operating have also increased. Finally. Such-financing enables existing facilities to get raw materials necessary to operate at or near capacity.

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in granting non-project loans to India, the U.S. Government has taken into account the urgent need for India to make full use of the industrial capacity already created. This will help India to achieve self-sustaining growth. it will also increase her ability to expand her exports,

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BURMA CAMBODIA UNITED KINGDOM GREECE INDIA MALAYSIA BULGARIA CHINA USA

Date : Feb 01, 1963

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BURMA

Finance Minister's Statement on Nationalisation of Banks

The Finance Minister, Shri Morarji Desai, made a statement in the Lok Sabha, on February 27, 1963, on the situation arising out of the Nationalisation of Banks in Burma. He was replying to a Call-attention Notice given by some members of the House.

The following is the text of the statement

With your permission, Sir, I would like to make a brief statement in reply to the notices which have been received from certain members regarding the recent decision of the Government of Burma to nationalise commercial banks.

As the House is aware, Indian banks and money-lenders have played a notable part in the past in assisting the growth and development of the Burmese economy. Until comparatively recent times, and even about eight or nine years ago, foreign banks, including those incorporated in India, continued to account for the bulk of the deposits, and provided a very substantial part of the credit needed by various enterprises. But in recent years, there has been a marked change in the position.

With the establishment of the State Commercial Bank of Burma in 1954, the exchange banks tended to become, even before the recent nationalisation, relatively less important. Other developments in Burma's economy also led to a significant reduction in the volume of deposits and other business handled by these banks. The deposits of the State commodity and other boards ceased to be available to them; and counterpart funds, arising from the sales of surplus agricultural commodities by the United States were also deposited, either with the Union Bank of Burma or with the State Commercial Bank, and were not available to the exchange banks.

Indian banks which were already well-established in Burma still continued to operate there, in spite of these rapid and far-reaching changes, as they were in a position to assist some important sectors of the Burmese economy and to provide the facilities necessary for handling import and export trade. At the time that the decision to nationalise the banks was announced, five Indian banks, namely, the State Bank of India, the Punjab National Bank, the Central Bank of India, the United Commercial Bank and the Indian Overseas Bank were functioning in Burma, and they had in all seven offices in that country. The total deposits of these five Indian banks amounted to a little less than Rs. 10 crores, and formed approximately 10 per cent of the deposits of all commercial banks. The advances amounted to approximately six per cent of the total advances of the commercial banks, but as was perhaps inevitable in the conditions which existed, these advances were mostly granted

to Indian traders or were in the nature of bills arising out of Burma's trade with India and other countries.

The Indian banks had no local capital, as they were not separately incorporated in Burma. The funds originally remitted to the branches of these banks in Burma by the head offices in India, amounting to a few lakhs, represented an initial capital outlay. But as branch adjustments, on account of several transactions which were taking place from day-to-day up to February 23, 1963, affected or altered the extent of this capital liability to the head offices in India, it is not possible for me at this stage to indicate the exact position at the time of the nationalisation, except to say that the amount of capital which is involved, and which is due to be repatriated to India, cannot perhaps be very large.

I have already indicated in this statement that Indian banks functioning in Burma were able to adapt themselves in recent years to the several changes which were taking place. I feel that these banks had a useful contribution to make to the further growth and diversification of the Burmese economy, and were in a position to assist in developing trade and other economic ties between India and Burma.

We are not aware of the exact reasons, why the decision to nationalise the banks was ultimately taken by the Revolutionary Council. Presumably, however, banks have been nationalised in Burma,

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in pursuance of a broader and more general policy decision involving control over imports and exports over essential commodities including rice and rice-milling and all new industrial enterprises. Some of these decisions as the House is aware, were forecast recently, in an announcement made a few days ago at Rangoon. It is neither desirable nor necessary for me, in a statement of this kind, to deal with these broader issues relating to the policy and programmes of another Government. I do not propose, therefore, to say anything more on this subject.

Our interest in this matter at the present stage is to ensure that the properties and other assets of the Indian banks will be transferred to the proposed new committee of management in an

orderly manner and will be taken over at a fair and reasonable valuation, that all the amounts due to be remitted or reimbursed to the head offices of the banks in India, including unremitted profits, staff security deposits, provident and guarantee funds, and other similar items, will be remitted or paid promptly in free foreign exchange which we can accept, and that the Indian employees who are due to be transferred to other offices or branches in India, in view of the recent developments, will be allowed to come back to India and also to bring to India all their savings and other assets.

We hope that the Government of Burma will take a fair and reasonable view regarding these matters and settle the dues of the Indian banks to their satisfaction. Our Ambassador is also in touch with the Government of Burma.

BURMA USA INDIA

Date : Feb 01, 1963

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CAMBODIA

Prince Sihanouk's Farewell Message

The following is the text of a farewell message from Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the Head of the State of Cambodia, broadcast over All India Radio, New Delhi, on February 8, 1963:

Before leaving your country, I should like to say how very moved I have been by the unforgettable welcome I have received from the valiant Indian people. Moreover, this visit has served to confirm my previous conviction that we have common aspirations, and are thus destined to work together even more closely in the future than has been the case in the past. I should also

like to mention the very useful talks I have had with His Excellency President Radhakrishnan and with the Hon'ble Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: talks notable for their complete frankness and the amicable atmosphere in which they were held.

I shall be leaving India with memories which will never fade—memories of the truly magnificent display of national unity at the impressive march-past I witnessed in New Delhi on Republic Day—memories too of the many occasions I was given in Bombay, Poona, Bangalore, Madras and Calcutta to observe the economic upsurge taking place in this immense country, and the important extensions being made to the higher educational facilities available to India's dedicated and vigorous youth; and, after visiting some of the great industrial achievements you have to your credit, and noting the qualifications of your engineers and the high degree of skill possessed by Indian labour. I have no hesitation in predicting a happy and prosperous future ahead of the Indian people.

This visit has proved most instructive as it has enabled me to acquire a clearer appreciation of India's capacities; and, when due allowance is made for the difference in size between our two countries. I find that India is faced with the same problems as Cambodia in its task of economic and social construction: both countries are engaged in implementing Five Year Plans. The opportunity I have had to compare our respective experiences, methods and results has obviously been extremely valuable.

In this connection, may I say how necessary I consider it for us to remain in close contact in the economic and, also, in the political sphere, and discuss our respective approach to all current major political problems. Since the Bandung Conference and even prior to the Conference,

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our two countries have been pursuing a foreign policy based on the Principle of Non-Alignment; and as I said in Delhi, we have no need to be ashamed of this policy which proved to be the best course of action we could have adopted under the circumstances. We were relieved, therefore, when your great statesman, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, proclaimed India's determination to persist in adhering to this policy, and thus to

remain in the eyes of all like-thinking countries in Asia and Africa an example and a symbol.

We have been following with real sadness and growing alarm, the events which India has had to face up to in the course of the past months; and our decision to attend the Colombo Conference was prompted by the realization that we could not stand idly by in the face of a situation so fraught with peril. I am personally of the opinion that our labours were not entirely fruitless, and that the proposals agreed on there have opened up promising avenues of approach to the Sino-Indian problem. For my part, I shall continue to do whatever I can to hasten the settlement of this tragic dispute involving Asia's two great Powers. But such a settlement can only be reached following bilateral negotiations conducted by both parties-on an equal footing and animated by a genuine desire to reach a just solution.

Finally, I should like to express my gratitude once more to His Excellency President Radhakrishnan, to the Hon'ble Prime Minister, to the Indian Government and the authorities both in the Capital and in the States we visited for their magnificent and kindly reception, and to convey to India and to the Indian people, on behalf of Cambodia and of the Khmer people, brotherly and fervent good wishes for their happiness and prosperity. May India's future be a great, and likewise, a peaceful one.

CAMBODIA UNITED KINGDOM INDIA USA INDONESIA SRI LANKA

Date : Feb 01, 1963

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GREECE

President's Banquet Speech

Speaking at a dinner held at Rashtrapati Bhawan on February 2, 1963, in honour of Their

Majesties King Paul and Queen Frederica of the Hellenes, the President, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan said :

Ladies and Gentlemen:

May I first convey to you our most cordial welcome on behalf of the Government and the people of this country among whom I include myself. I hope that you and members of your party will have a very useful, interesting and enjoyable time here.

You have been working to build a welfare State, in your country based on the great ideals of democracy, freedom, justice-ideals which were first formulated in the West by your spiritual ancestors, the ancient Greeks. Bishop Westcott many decades ago made a remark that Greece and India are the two most metaphysical nations in the world. It may be true or not but it is true so far as Greece is concerned. A metaphysician, very eminent in our own time, Whitehead, made a remark that the safest generalisation which one can make on the vast European philosophical tradition is to say that it consists of a series of footnotes to Plato. Plato remains still the guide for all the philosophers of the West.

In some way the Vedas including the Upanishads and the dialogues of the Buddha have supplied spiritual nutriment to the millions in the East. There is an emphasis therefore on metaphysics.. of finding, out whether this universe has a pattern or not. Man is not merely a tool-maker. He is also a pattern-maker. When he is faced by the things in the world he wishes to know whether there is any principle underlying this whole cosmic panorama. The spirit of science which has resulted in such great advances- from steam to electricity, from electricity to atomic power, from atomic power to space travel-has brought the world together and made it a world in which nations and cultures are brought into close intimacy. That was also in the West. started by the Greek thinkers.

I remember an Egyptian Priest telling the Greeks: "You Greeks are always young". There are two types of people in the world. with ancient traditions looking to the past. having a nostalgia

for the past, lamenting the loss of a golden age; there are young people with open minds, virgin outlooks, untrammelled by any kind of pride or prejudice, not oppressed by the very weight of antiquity saying that we look to the future and wish to have a brave new world. These two types, those turning to the past and others facing the future are to be found all over. The Greeks were the people who said they were always young, the universe was rational and it can be understood and we can find out what the truth is. That spirit of science is something which Greek thinkers contributed to the world of thought. You cannot get a better definition of democracy than what Thucydides gave: "Our constitution is called a democracy because it is in the hands not of the few but of the many. Here we do not recognise birth, parentage, etc., but the contributions made to the service of the community. That will be the test and we shall try to protect the oppressed and provide equal justice for all. We do not claim infallibility for ourselves but we do not admit infallibility in others".

There you have the fundamental principles of democracy which we are still not able to implement completely in any part of the world. In our own country, we have proclaimed these great ideals but we have not been able to translate them into practice completely. We are still far from that goal of a truly democratic Society. The spirit of reason, the spirit of democracy are there but they are not enough.

You find in the world several things-health, beauty, good form and others. They are neutral. They may be used for good purposes or may be turned into evil purposes. Something else a sense of values-is necessary if society is to be regarded as satisfactory. When we are faced with repression, confusion, fear, anxiety, when these things occur, turn to the inward sanctuary. Sanctuary is not a place in space. It is a state of mind, it is a spiritual consciousness. It is the when we turn to it and we will be able to get some calmness, composure and contentment. Without that guiding principle of a divine presence, of a spiritual purpose, it will not be possible for us to make science, democracy and other things function well. These three great things, the spirit of reason, the spirit of democracy, emphasis on values--these are

the things that have been adumbrated by the ancient Greek thinkers. And we are trying our best to adopt all of them and get them into practice.

Your Majesty has done so much in your country for permeating your society with these ideals. You are trying to develop your industries. We have also our trade relations with you. We have cultural relations with you and I have no doubt that by your visit, these relations will be greatly promoted and considerably strengthened.

I am glad that Your Majesty celebrated your Silver Wedding on the 9th of January and you are going to celebrate the centenary of your connections with Greece this year in March. We wish you a very, very happy future to both of you.

May I now ask you to rise and drink to the health of Their Majesties and Her Royal Highness.

GREECE USA INDIA EGYPT

Date : Feb 01, 1963

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GREECE

Reply by His Majesty King Paul

Replying to the toast proposed by the President, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, His Majesty King Paul of Greece said:

Your Excellency, I thank you very much for your friendly feelings and your kind words for my country and for my fellow countrymen.

For the Queen and myself it is a pleasure and

at the same time an honour to be in India. This cradle of human thought and culture, this great mother of civilization, this ancient and yet youthfully vibrating country, is for all mankind an endless source of inspiration. Coming ourselves, as you said, from a land of long history, we have all the more respect for yours and for its noble people.

There is no culture in the world, Mr. President, that has not been enriched by the precepts originated here in India. There is no philosophy that has not been complemented by the thoughts first conceived in this land. Humanity has for very many centuries been served by your well of wisdom and its spiritual wealth has been influenced by India's achievement.

The ideas on God, Universe and Man, that emanated from your great country are original, profound and noble. The Indian philosophy and civilization though always creative have never been aggressive.

Your civilization, national and unique, is so rich, that it does not suffocate the individual

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within narrow rigid forms. It has the sense of freedom woven within its texture. Even the very principles of our Christian faith have roots in the rich soil of the goodness and love of the Indian soul.

When, in the course of our histories, the cultures of our two countries met they blended. Through the centuries there has been a mutual flow of civilization between the Indian and the Hellenic worlds. And the meeting has been a happy one, which still survives to this day under various forms in our two countries. The fact that technical progress shortens every day the geographical distance between our countries, promises even happier fruits in the future.

In our time we continue to find in your people the high qualities and the spiritual values which had already proved so attractive to our ancestors. In your successful march towards national independence we have witnessed your determination, and your faithfulness to your noble principle of non-violence, so eloquently expressed by your Mahatma Gandhi.

Since the re-emergence of India as a Sovereign State we have admired the exemplary progress achieved by your Government and people in the social, economic and technical fields. In this connection we have taken special notice of the fact that this progress is taking place within a framework of free institutions, to which I attach even more importance than to material realizations. On your way to progress in all fields, you respect and safeguard the moral integrity of man, a fact I wish to underline and salute. We wholeheartedly wish you further success in your great task. India is standing up to her great tradition.

In these recent months we in Greece followed with admiration the stand of the Indian people who, as one man, resisted the unjust and unprovoked aggression against them. Our indignation was all the more deep as this aggression was launched against a people whose very credo, as our own, is peace. We have faith in your victory, since, besides having justice on your side, the Indian fatherland is defended by gallant, proud and free citizens and soldiers.

Your Excellency, may I express to you my very high opinion for the wisdom with which you preside over the destinies of your great nation. May I also, on this occasion express my deep esteem for the brilliant political leader of India, your Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru.

I raise my glass to the prosperity of the Indian nation, to Your Excellency's health and happiness and to the old friendship between India and Greece.

GREECE INDIA USA

Date : Feb 01, 1963

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GREECE

Farewell Message by His Majesty King Paul

in a recorded farewell message broadcast over All India Radio, New Delhi, on February 14, 1963, His Majesty King Paul of Greece said:

On leaving I would like to send a message to the Indian people.

For twelve days I have travelled amongst you, and everywhere I have found friendship and kindness for my family and for my people. I thank you with all my heart for this friendship and for your generous hospitality. I ask you to accept mine and my people's love and admiration for you all. You are a great nation and often an example to many of us in other parts of the world. You carry in your soul a great message: how to remain human in triumph and adversity alike. You have achieved freedom without bloodshed-such was the power of the spirit which guided and inspired your long struggle.

To-day, under the inspired leadership of your Prime Minister, you face with firm determination a dangerous aggressor on your borders. But at the same time, deep within your great soul, you keep a burning hope that the enemies of today, one day may see the light and repent the evil they are doing to your country.

I assure you we in Greece understand your struggle wholeheartedly., We are at your side. we admire your soldiers who are amongst the best in the world.

We admire your tremendous modern progress. I believe that India's message to the world lies in the successful blending of modern technology and science with the philosophical and religious wisdom of ancient India. This perhaps one day may yet unite a divided world.

You are fortunate to have at the head of your nation a man who according to our great philosopher Plato, embodies within himself the attributes of the ideal statesman. In him political greatness and wisdom meet in one.

May God bless you and bring you peace. I shall always think of you with love and admiration.

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HOME AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

President's Address to Parliament .

The President. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan delivered the following address to the Members of Parliament on February 18, 1963:
Members of Parliament:

I welcome you to your labours in a new session of the Third Parliament of our Republic.

Ever since the constitution of our Republic, our Parliament has had to face difficult problems and to shoulder heavy responsibilities. Under the guidance of Parliament, we have laboured for the fulfilment of the objectives laid down in our Constitution, namely, to secure for all our citizens social, economic and political justice; liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith, and worship; equality of status and of opportunity; and to promote among them all, fraternity, assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the nation. We have directed all our energies towards the establishment of a structure of society wherein these objectives might be effectively realised. We have also, in accordance with our past traditions, laboured for world peace and endeavoured to cultivate friendly and co-operative relations with all countries, avoiding military alliances. We venture to think that we have been of some service in this respect to

the international community.

Soon after the constitution of our Republic, we began our long pilgrimage to reach our objective of a democratic and socialist order and adopted planned approaches to this end. Two Five Year Plans succeeded one another, and now we are in the middle of the Third Five Year Plan. During this period, we have made substantial progress in many sectors of our economy, even though we have not always been satisfied with the progress made.

Agriculture, which is the most important sector of our economy, has undergone material developments and agricultural production has increased considerably. Industry, both large-scale and small-scale, as well as village industries, have shown marked progress, and gradually an industrial base of our economy is being established. The nation's health has improved greatly, and the expectation of life, which used to be 32 in the forties, has reached 47 and is rising still. Striking results have been obtained in the programme for the eradication of malaria. Education, even though a great deal more has to be done to improve its quality and content, has spread rapidly. By the end of March 1962, there were over fifty million boys and girls in our schools and colleges. Stress has been specially laid on scientific and technical education and a large number of new technological institutions are functioning now.

Engrossed though we were in our internal development, we continued to take purposeful interest in international affairs, always laying stress on the vital importance of world peace. On some occasions, our participation made a difference and helped the cause of peace. We had hoped not only that world peace would be progressively assured, but that we also would continue to live at peace with our neighbours, and that any problems that arose would be settled by peaceful methods. We settled some of our important problems with Pakistan, but unfortunately other important ones still remain. We are anxious to settle these also peacefully so that India and Pakistan should, in accordance with our common history, culture and traditions, live as friendly and co-operative neighbours.

Some years ago China commenced its surreptitious aggression in Ladakh which later resulted in some incidents between the two countries. This matter has often been discussed in Parliament. We hoped that we would succeed in solving this question also through peaceful methods. On the 8th September last, however, a new aggression started across the border in the North-East Frontier Agency and, after some probing attacks, China, on the 20th October, mounted a massive attack on both the NEFA and the Ladakh sectors of the India-China Boundary. In the middle of November, a second massive attack followed and our forces received a setback. Subsequently the Chinese Government ordered unilaterally a cease-fire and a withdrawal.

These massive attacks and further aggression on our territory had a powerful effect on our people and resulted in a widespread and spontaneous display of unity all over the country. All the petty internal differences were brushed and stopped in the face of this peril to the nation's integrity and freedom. Parliament gave a lead to the nation in this matter in November last

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and our people, throughout the length and breadth of India, wholeheartedly followed this lead-

Any attack on the integrity of India would have been painful, but an attack coming from a country with whom we had tried to be friendly, and whose cause we had espoused in international councils, was a gross betrayal and came as a great shock to our people- Inevitably, the first duty of the nation in these circumstances was to meet this aggression effectively and to prepare the country to that end.

At present no actual fighting is taking place. But the experience of the last few months has warned and steeled us and made us resolve to protect ourselves from this menace and to strengthen our defences and economic structure to the utmost. Our government is devoting itself to this urgent and vital task.

Soon after the Chinese aggression, our government appealed to the countries of the world asking for their sympathy and support. We are grateful to the large number of them who

responded and extended their sympathy. A number of them have also given practical support and we are grateful to them. In particular, I should like to express our gratitude to the United States of America and the United Kingdom for the speed with which they have their support to us in a moment of crisis.

The last session of Parliament discussed fully certain proposals which were put forward by the Governments of Ceylon and five other non-aligned countries. These proposals did not deal with the merits of the basic dispute between India and China, but suggested some method of creating an atmosphere which would enable these basic questions to be discussed. After full consideration and reference to Parliament, our Government conveyed their acceptance of these proposals, as clarified by the Colombo Powers, without any reservation. The Chinese Government has thus far not accepted them and we cannot say at present what developments may take place in the future. Our country, committed as it is to peaceful methods, will always endeavour to solve dispute peacefully, provided this is in consonance with our honour and freedom. But whatever may happen, we cannot and will not submit to dictation backed by military force.

The issue of the Chinese aggression has been, and is today, the overriding issue before us and everything else has to be considered in that context. The freedom and honour of a country must be given the first place and, if a country cannot defend them, then other matters lose significance. The nation's activities have thus been concentrated on this basic issue. A National Defence Council has been formed and a National Defence Fund started. This Fund has met with a generous response from our people. Many Citizens' Councils have been formed in the different States and a Central Citizens' Council, to co-ordinate the activities of the other Councils, has also been instituted.

Many steps have been taken in order to expand our armed forces and increase production our ordnance factories and other defence establishments. The assistance of civil factories is also being taken to this end. I should like to express our Government's gratitude to the workers of all these factories. They have

responded wonderfully to the cause of the nation. This is true of others working in fields and factories and in Government undertakings all over the country, and it has been a heartening experience for all of us to see this mighty response of a great people in the face of peril to the motherland.

Soon after the declaration of Emergency, the central organisations of labour and management unanimously adopted an industrial truce resolution aiming at the total elimination of industrial disputes, and increase of production and reduction of cost to the maximum extent possible. In pursuance of this, Emergency Production Committees have been set up at the Centre, in the States and in many industrial establishments.

In view of the great burdens cast on us by the Chinese aggression and the steps taken to meet it, the question arose as to how far our Third Five Year Plan could be carried through without considerable change. On full consideration of the matter, our Government came to the conclusion that a very great part of the Plan was essential for strengthening the nation and its implementation was, therefore, necessary even from the point of view of defence. Economic development and industrial growth are the very basis of our defence preparedness. To stop or slow down this process of economic development would result in weakening the country. It has therefore been decided to continue implementing the Third Five Year Plan with such minor modifications as may be necessitated by the circumstances, and by reorienting our industrial pattern so as to give priority to defence needs. Thus, in the field of agriculture, industry, transport, communications, power, technical education and research, we have to continue to do our utmost. A strong agricultural base is a prerequisite of national security. Industry is essential for defence, so also the growth of power and transport and technical education.

Intensive agricultural programmes have led to increases in per acre yields of rice from 15 to 21 per cent. of wheat from 8 to 15 per cent.,

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and of barley from 11 to 25 per cent., as compared to the previous year. The upward trend in industrial output has continued and the

increase in industrial production, in the first nine months of 1962, is estimated to be around seven and a half per cent. The production of iron and steel is steadily increasing and steps have been taken for the expansion of the steel plants in the public sector, and the setting up of an alloy steel plant at Durgapur. Further progress has been made in the development of our mineral and oil resources. Coal production has been steadily increasing and it is hoped that the target for production of 61 million tonnes will be achieved this year.

In December 1962, the Indian merchant fleet reached a tonnage of one million gross registered tons. The target for acquiring additional tonnage of five hundred and fifty thousand gross registered tons, to be attained by 1966, is well within sight three years ahead of the close of the Plan. Two hundred thousand tons have already been acquired and firm orders have been placed for acquisition of more than two hundred thousand tons.

Economy in expenditure, the elimination of waste, conservation of our limited material resources, and restraint on consumption, always important, are of particular importance today. The basic necessities of the people should be fully secured and the price line maintained. It is a tribute to the sense of discipline and solidarity of our people that, immediately after the declaration of Emergency, there was a spontaneous and general recognition of the need for preserving the stability of the economy. The general level of wholesale prices at present is no higher than it was at the beginning of the Third Five Year Plan. In order to put an end to the strain on our foreign exchange resources through smuggling of gold into India, certain rules have been framed to bring gold under control.

Our Atomic Energy programme has shown rapid progress. A uranium mine is being opened in Bihar and a uranium mill is under construction. The first nuclear power station at Tarapore will be followed by a second such station near Rana Pratap Sagar in Rajasthan; a third one will be located at Kalpakkam on the east coast in Madras State. It appears on further enquiry, that the cost of electric power from the Tarapore Station will be less than from a coal power station of the same size in the same

locality. These power stations will also lighten the pressure on our railway and transport system.

The Community Development programme now almost covers the entire country and Panchayati Raj is now functioning in nine States. In view of the Emergency, a special programme has been started for the full mobilisation of rural India to meet the challenge of national defence. Village Volunteer Forces will be organised in every Panchayat with a three-fold programme—production, mass education and village defence. An integral part of the scheme is the creation of a Defence Labour Bank based on the donation of free labour at the minimum rate of one day's labour per month by every adult. The co-operative movement in the rural areas has made considerable progress and membership of primary agricultural credit societies, which is 20 million now is expected to rise to 24 million in 1963 and to 28 million next year. More than a thousand co-operative farming societies have been organised so far.

I am glad to inform you that the Government of France has ratified the Treaty of Cession in respect of the former French establishments. This completes the de jure transfer of these establishments to India.

Our relations with Nepal continue to be friendly. Indian aid to Nepal, both in the field of economic help and technical assistance, has achieved satisfactory results. India has promised Nepal economic aid to the extent of eighteen crores of rupees during the Third Five Year Plan period, apart from the Kosi and Gandak projects, the benefits from which will accrue both to India and Nepal.

India has also given substantial aid to Bhutan and Sikkim for their economic development. India sponsored the membership of Bhutan to the Colombo Plan, and Bhutan participated in the Colombo Plan Consultative Committee at Melbourne in November 1962.

The Government of India has welcomed the independence of Algeria, Burundi, Jamaica, Rwanda, Trinidad, Tobago and Uganda, which have been admitted as members of the United Nations. We wish these newly independent

countries every success. Nyasaland is also to have self-government soon.

In the Congo, our troops functioning under the United Nations, have helped greatly in solving some of the difficult problems that had arisen there. Our troops will remain there until the United Nations is able to release them without putting their peace-keeping operations into jeopardy.

In the course of the past year, we have had goodwill visits, which we have welcomed, from many Heads of States and Prime Ministers and others from many countries. Among them were. Their Majesties the King and Queen of Nepal. President Lopez Mateos of Mexico.

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Mr. Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, President of the People's Republic of Rumania, President Makarios of Cyprus, Dr. Heinrich Lubke, President of the Federal Republic of Germany, His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia, Their Majesties the King and Queen of Greece, Prime Minister Mr. Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore, Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman of Malaya, Mr. Edward Kardelj, Vice-President of Yugoslavia, and Dr. Rachid Karame, Prime Minister of Lebanon.

While our efforts are directed to meeting our grave problems and mobilisation of our human and material resources, both for defence and economic development, we welcome the slight improvement in the international situation. Cuba afforded us an example of the world hovering over the very brink of nuclear war, which, however, was avoided by the restraint and goodwill of the Great Powers involved. There have been some indications of relaxation of Tension and the possibility of agreements being reached in regard to the banning of nuclear weapons.

A statement of the estimated receipts and expenditure of the Government of India for the financial year 1963-64 will be laid before you.

Among the Bills that will be placed before you for your consideration, will be

1. A Bill to provide for the representation for the Union territory of Pondicherry,

Karaikal, Mahe and Yanam in Parliament.

2. The Union Territories Bill.
3. The Slum Areas (Improvement and Clearance) Amendment Bill.
4. The Indian Emigration (Amendment) Bill.
5. The Industrial Disputes (Amendment) Bill.
6. The Factories (Amendment) Bill.
7. The Electricity (Supply) Amendment Bill.
8. The Delhi Development (Amendment) Bill.

Members of Parliament, we are meeting today at a grave moment in our history. Committed as we are to build a democratic socialist society in which progress is sought and attained by peaceful methods and by consent, we have to face the menace of foreign aggression. I earnestly trust that this Parliament which is ultimately responsible for our policies and for guiding the nation, will face these great tasks with courage and wisdom, and a spirit of tolerance and co-operative endeavour. May your labours bear fruit for the good of our country and people and the world. Awake, arise, understand the opportunities you have and stop not till the goal is reached-uttisthata jagrata prapya-varan nibodhata.

USA PAKISTAN INDIA CHINA SRI LANKA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC FRANCE NEPAL
BHUTAN ALGERIA BURUNDI JAMAICA RWANDA UGANDA CONGO MEXICO CYPRUS GERMANY
UNITED KINGDOM CAMBODIA GREECE REPUBLIC OF SINGAPORE YUGOSLAVIA LEBANON CUBA

Date : Feb 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

An agreement for the development of an applied nutrition programme in 222 Community Development Blocks in India was signed in New Delhi on February 28, 1963, between the Government of India and the three international agencies : UNICEF, FAO and WHO.

The Union Ministry of Community Development and Cooperation will be responsible for the coordination of the programme. It is one of the largest single programmes assisted by the UNICEF in any country. The total UNICEF commitment in principle for the project as a whole is estimated at 10 million dollars.

This programme is the first systematic attempt made on such a scale to make an impact on the nutritional standard of rural communities. It aims at promoting the production of various protective foods like fish, poultry milks vegetables, fruits etc. A part of the produce thus assisted will be fed free to certain vulnerable

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groups of the population, namely, pre-school, and school children, expectant women and nursing mothers in order to demonstrate the utility of these protein rich foods and thus orient the dietary habits of the people. Special emphasis will be laid on the promotion of school gardens so that nutritious mid-day meal may be provided to school children. The programme will also promote, through demonstration and education among village communities, sound and hygienic practices for the production, storage, preservation and use of protective foods.

Besides assisting local production of these nutritionally valuable foods, an important aspect of the programme is to train various categories of extension personnel, rural health workers, other auxiliary workers, members of Panchayati Raj bodies, village youth and women leaders, and villagers in the nutritional aspects of the production of these foods. In fact, 182 of these blocks will be directly associated with training and other academic institutions that turn out personnel who have most to deal with rural com-

munities, like Gram Sevaks Training Centres, Gram Sevikas Training Centres, Social Education Organiser Training Centres, Home Science Colleges, Agricultural Colleges, Veterinary Colleges etc. These Blocks will serve as practical field laboratories for these institutions. It is eventually contemplated that nutrition education will be built in the curriculum of educational and training institutions at all levels.

A prototype, though slightly less comprehensive, programme of Expanded Nutrition has been in operation in the State of Orissa for the last three years in 32 selected Community Development Blocks. Impressed by the success of the Orissa programme and the active interest that it has been able to evoke in the village community, a broadening of its scope and coverage in other States in the country is now being ventured.

State Governments will provide approximately Rs. 3.21 lakhs in each selected block for the implementation of this programme, apart from strengthening the necessary facilities in the training institutions and regional production farms. The FAO and WHO will make available through the Central Government, on request, to all the participating States the services of expert personnel with specialised training in subjects like Human Nutrition Education and Nutrition Extension, Nutritional Aspects of Paediatrics and Hygiene, Home Economics, Horticulture, Poultry-keeping, Animal Husbandry, Agronomy, Fisheries, Development of Teaching Aids and Simple Teaching Materials. UNICEF will assist Community Development Blocks with vehicles, equipment and supplies and training institutions with teaching materials, laboratory and audio-visual equipment etc.

The agreement was signed by Shri R. K. Ramadhyani, Secretary, Ministry of Health, on behalf of the Government of India, Dr. Charles A. Egger, Director, UNICEF Office in , India, Dr. C. Mani, Regional Director, WHO and Dr. F. Saouma, Deputy Regional Representative of FAO for Asia and Far East.

INDIA USA

Date : Feb 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Prime Minister's Reply to Lok Sabha Debate on President's Address

The Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru made the following references to international affairs, while replying to the Lok Sabha debate on President's Address on February 27, 1963

COLOMBO PROPOSALS

.... The Hon. Members opposite have harped back to the Colombo proposals. They have not got over their distaste of them-I put it mildly, they have used stronger language. We had a long debate a little over a month ago in this House, and after that debate we took some action. But Hon. Members still cannot get out of the rut of thought in which they have got themselves into, and still discuss it as if we were discussing it a month ago. Much has happened in the month. After this debate we accepted them formally and informed the Colombo powers accordingly. Yet, Hon. Members go on saying that it was something dishonourable that we did, by which I presume they imply a great majority of this House belonging not only to one party but several

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parties acted dishonourably or were foolish enough not to distinguish between honour and dishonour or were afraid. I do think, this way of thinking and talking shows the extremely limited outlook of the Hon. Members who spoke. these. And, that is my difficulty.

We stick to something not seeing the consequences that flow from it, not seeing that things have happened and we remain struck to certain opinions that we formed, probably wrongly, to begin with and so we confirm ourselves in wrongness. It is unfortunate, because we live at a time When great speed of thought is necessary, great speed of action is necessary, great appreciation of changes made in the world reactions.

I do not pretend to say-how can I-that my Government or I do not make mistakes. We made any number of mistakes, but I do venture to say that, partly, not because of any special virtue in us but because we are responsible, we are in positions of responsibility we have to react to events, we have to watch them carefully and try to do the best that lies in our power.

CHANGING WORLD

I have often repeated and I repeat again to this House, that we have to realise that we live in an extra-ordinary age, an extra-ordinary age in the sense of changes. Well, the world has always been changing and no particular generation has been able to stop the process of change. But, at times the changes are much swifter, much faster, a process started not today but some two hundred years ago, which is called the industrial revolution.

That too was a successor of other changes in the mind, but that brought about great changes, and that has continued at an ever faster pace. And we, after our independence came to the conclusion that it was quite essential for us to catch up with these changes-not every change, some changes may be bad in the world, but the basic changes I am saying-and industrialise our country. There was no other way to meet the problems that confronted us---economic problems, social problems and, if you like, military problems. Well, there is no strength in the nation unless it is industrialised. Unless it takes advantage of modern science and technology.

That was the basic thing. We have, to get out of our ruts. And, of all people-I do not say of all people, I do not know of all people, but, broadly speaking, almost of all people-we in India who have many virtues, we have also one drawback or failing, and that is we stick to certain ruts of ideas. The result is that sometimes, rather often we become left in history. We know our own history and how we have been left in this changing world and others have advanced beyond us, in spite of the fact that the heritage we had was magnificent, very great. We mixed up that heritage, which was very great, with all manner of things, cobwebs and other things, which are attached to that heritage. So, while we almost forgot the real heritage, we stuck to

those additions to it.

Now, we have to realise that we, have to consider every problem in the context of today, not go on repeating parrot-like something that may sound very good which has no relation to the facts of today. We have to live in the modern world, we have to face the modern problems in the modern way, keeping our ancient heritage but in the modern way.

Of course, nobody here would suggest that we should go to the frontier and fight the Chinese with bows and arrows; obviously not. Yet, there are such minds which think along the lines of bows and arrows in the modern world and do not get out of it. Some people, who are disgusted with things as they are today, want to change them. But how to change them? They want to return to some medieval period in history or still more ancient period as if that is possible. Nobody can go back to history. One can learn from the past; one cannot repeat the past.

CHINESE AGGRESSION

So, we live today at a moment of extraordinary changes and one would have thought that the great and terrible experiences that all of us have had in the last two months, because of the Chinese aggression and invasion, would have shaken us up. Some Hon. Members accuse our Government of complacency. Well, I am no good judge of it. I cannot speak for my government or for myself, but one thing on which we are certain is that we are not complacent; that is my view. We may make mistakes, any number of them, but how can anyone who has to shoulder responsibilities and take great decisions at a moment (if crisis be complacent. He may make mistakes, he may take wrong decisions, but he cannot be complacent. It seems to me that complacency consists in repeating the same thing regardless of events, regardless of factors, regardless of the context in which we do it. That is the grievance I have, to some extent, when these matters are considered in that unchanged way. It really amazes me to talk about the Colombo proposals and to hear Hon. Members wax eloquent about a thing which is over, and done with. (Interruptions).

In spite of the Hon. Members' speeches or dis-

likes, things have happened. Since then, we have accepted them, and we have accepted them because a great majority of this House approved of them. A great majority of this House approved

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of them because a great majority of this House have previously approved of another proposal, that we have made about the 8th September, position, and it follows naturally. If some Hon. Members are left out in the cold and cannot keep pace with others, it is not my fault. (Interruptions).

The discussion lasted five days. Members of all parties have said what they wanted. They have criticised the Government and said that they do not approve of the policies of the Government. Now the reply is coming, Let us hear it.

An Hon. Member: We will always refer to their mistakes. (Interruptions).

I will therefore venture to say that I hope and I wish to deal with a few points raised by Hon. Members, but I want to carry this argument a little further because we must have clear thinking, above all at this moment of crisis.

We have had this tremendous experience, an experience which shakes up a nation and which did shake us up. It has shaken us up and let us at least profit by it by remaining wide awake. I do not mean to deny that we, as a Government, or if I may say so with all respects, this Parliament or the people as a whole have been rather out of touch sometimes with reality in the past. I ventured to say so three days after the Chinese massive invasion in a broadcast that I delivered. But, nevertheless, we have to think what the problem is, in what context it is specially when we talk about military matters. It is obvious that no victories on the battlefield are won by speeches there or here. Other things have to be prepared for victories in the normal course.

Obviously, the two major things before us are this Chinese invasion and, in a sense connected with it and with our thinking, the economic development of the country. Economic development is intimately connected with it because nothing else can strengthen us. Hon. Members may think that help from other countries will strengthen us. That is correct but only in a measure. It is

correct that it does strengthen us, but even to use that help we have to have economic development and anyhow one cannot live in the hopes of continuous streams of help coming to us, year after year and decade after decade. At some time or other we have to build our own strength with the help of others as we are doing, but nevertheless it must be our strength. That strength consists in advancement in science and technology which should be applied to all our processes, agricultural, industrial etc. That is a basic thing. The two are connected. All else are either parts of this or are of secondary importance-that is firstly the immediate issue of the Chinese aggression and how to meet it or repel it and, secondly, development in the country.

We have had this question of development before us ever since we became independent. Everybody has it. Every country has it. Yet, there is a difference. There are many countries round-about us here in Asia or Africa who talk about development and seek help from other developed countries but who have not consciously regulated view of development. Consciously regulated view means roughly a planned approach to it. The planning may be slightly wrong or right, but a planned approach means a logical, reasonable approach, an approach to which, unfortunately, the learned Acharya opposite me does not agree. That is just it. I am glad that we had agreement about this matter at least. But that is the whole basis of my argument, that is, that the one thing that is absolutely essential is, in any developing country now-it is admitted by almost every intelligent person in this country or may be in other countries is that planned approach is essential. The nature of the planning may slightly differ here and there, but the major facts of planning are the same.

When we plan we may consult others. We consult experts from America, from England, from Russia and from countries that are capitalist, socialist or communist. We consult them. Apart from certain basic differences, nevertheless when we come to later things to be done, it is quite extraordinary how they agree, because once they get out of their ideological differences and conflicts they have to consider it from the scientific point of view of a planned approach. It will surprise Hon. Members, we have had all manner of persons coming from dozens of countries in

the world, eminent technicians, eminent statisticians and the like, some of them professors in Communist countries, in Poland, etc., some of them professors in American Universities and others. And yet, when they have sat down together with us, they have, broadly, generally speaking, made the same observations and pointed out the same mistakes that we have committed. Because today, we are slightly, not wholly, getting out of that old habit from which the world has suffered and from which some Hon. Members opposite suffer greatly, of thinking that the world is confined to communists and anti-communists and nothing else. The fact is that the world today is a scientific world. There is no such thing—I hope even Prof. Ranga will agree—as communist or capitalist Chemistry or a communist or capitalist gun or mortar. There is no such thing. It is a product of science and technology. (Interruptions).

Today, almost all the things that we use in the world from day to day are products of science and technology which is the same whether the approach communist or capitalist. There is difference of course in other matters between

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communism and capitalism. Basically, the thing, is, the world we live in is a scientific world, resulting in technology and all that. Because it is a scientific world, any approach that you make must be based on science. Otherwise, you lose yourself in the quagmire of illogic and lack of reason.

Every country that is considered a strong country today is, normally speaking, a prosperous country, a developed country. That is, a developed country is both a prosperous country and a strong country, relatively strong country from the point of view of military affairs. You cannot be strong unless you are technologically, industrially, scientifically developed. Some may be more strong than others. That is a different matter. That is the basis of it. That development has to take place. It cannot be imposed upon one.

You cannot give a gun to me and make me developed. I may use the gun and do some damage with it. But, until I go through the process of manufacturing the gun, and lots of people do that, a gun is not so useful as it might otherwise be.

That we have to develop. That is the whole essence even from the military point of view of our Five Year Plans and the like.

Behind military strength lies a developing nation, lies developing science and technology. That is why from the very month or 2 or 3 months after we became Independent, we laid stress on the development of science and started a fine magnificent series of National laboratories, national institutes which cover the country today and which have put India in a fairly advanced position in the ranks of scientific and progressive countries. That is the basis. Technology comes from that. You have got Technological Institutes. It is not putting up a mill here or a mill there. That is not industrialism. That may result in the man who owns it making a lot of money. That is a different matter. That is not industrialism. We have to develop a mentality among our hundreds of millions of people which comes from industrialism, a mentality whereby they will use better ploughs and the rest. We have to have specially trained people in vast numbers. Therefore, it may sound rather odd, to fight the Chinese, we have to encourage this process as much as possible.

CHINESE MENACE

As I have ventured to say previously, the Chinese menace is not a thing of today or tomorrow or the day after. It is a long-term thing, because I should like Hon. Members to remember that this is, historically speaking, a tremendous development; this conflict of China and India is a very big thing for India and Asia and for the World even. I should like it to be seen in that perspective and we should be prepared for that perspective. That does not mean that we think of what is going to happen five or ten years later and forget our duty today. It is a continuing duty. That is what I am trying to point out. . . from today onwards, we must not think of finding some sudden solution of it by some magic wand or some magic help that we may receive, to put an end to it. We want all the help we can and we shall try to get it, and we are trying to get it, there is no argument about it. But the fact remains that real strength can only come from inner growth, and we must keep that in mind.

Therefore, this war situation that we have to

face is intimately allied to the other problem, that is, of development in the country. The President has been pleased to point out that these are the two major problems; and development, of course, is necessary anyhow, war or no war. We want a prosperous country, but because of this war situation that becomes doubly important. Some people, without thinking, without clearly thinking, seem to think that because there is a war situation, therefore, we must allow the developmental part to be put in the background. They are utterly, absolutely wrong, for, that is the real fundamental way of strengthening yourself to meet the situation. (Interruptions).

I am not, again, speaking of socialism as some fixed, dogmatic, doctrinaire system, but, broadly speaking, of what flows from that concept. Therefore, our objective has been socialism or a socialist structure of society leading to equal opportunities for all, and a measure of affluence for all, a measure of prosperity for all. Any sensitive man will feel it is scandalous—we may not act up to it—that some of us should be rich and prosperous and others should starve or should lead miserable lives. Any social system which permits that or which encourages that is definitely bad. There is no good looking back to the medieval times or to more ancient times to justify it by some saying or evidence.

Therefore, in the domestic field, our policy has, been, first, of course, bettering the lot of our people—a welfare state—but aiming at social justice and socialism so as to give equal opportunities to all. Apart from the justice of it, the rightness of it, there is no other way, because once you give people political democracy, their minds begin to wake up. They do not submit to much that they submitted to previously. They make demands. So social problems arise. They make demands which we cannot fulfil, unless we change the social structure to some extent.

These have been our planned approaches towards socialism. It is true that we have attached great importance to democracy. But that very

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concept of democracy which we have adhered to, or which we will adhere to, tells us that democracy is not complete by merely remaining a political democracy. It has to become an econo-

mic democracy; only then democracy is complete. Therefore, again we come back to the ideal of a socialist structure of society. And this can only be achieved in the modern world or in any world with the help of science and technology.

I do not call it socialism for everybody to be poor and starving, everybody to have the same lack of opportunity. That is not socialism or advance. Therefore, the only way to achieve this is through science and technology and to direct the products of science and technology into right channels so as to benefit the large mass of the people. Therefore, I submit that the policy that we have pursued of a planned approach to this end, to this desired end, is right in the domestic field.

The foreign field, however, much we may discuss it from time to time, is after all secondary to the domestic field. It becomes primary suddenly when there is an attack or aggression on us, or when something happens to work us up—that is a different matter—but generally, the domestic field governs the foreign field. If we are prosperous in this country, if we are strong, our voice is heard everywhere. If we are failures in our own country, nobody listens to us. Therefore, ultimately it is the domestic field that counts. But domestic policy and foreign policy are more or less tied up. It is absurd to have a domestic policy which differs completely from the ends of the foreign policy.

POLICY OF PEACE

In foreign policy we have ventured to Jay stress, considerable stress, on peace, peace in the world. I would submit that that was right, and that is right. That does not become wrong because the Chinese Government believes in war. The Chinese Government believes in many things which are utterly wrong. They have strayed away from every canon of international behaviour, from their own high civilisation which they have pushed away. Therefore, we stood for peace and for co-operation with all nations. That simply means that we cannot co-operate with somebody who will not co-operate with us, but we are prepared to co-operate. to be friends with other countries. If I may respectfully say so, sonic people, quite a number of people, have said something to the effect that we are isolated in the,

world. What that means I do not know. I know something of the world, too, and I think the position is quite the reverse.

There is hardly a country which is so much honoured as India anywhere. I do not mean to say that we are not criticised--we are criticised, and there is much to criticise in this country as in any other country--but we are honoured, and we are honoured principally and chiefly, apart from our ancient heritage, because of the memory of Gandhiji, and secondly because, to a small extent, I do not say more than a small extent, we, have endeavoured, according to our dim lights, to follow that--not completely, of course, I admit that, we cannot, in the circumstances. But they have seen that we have put noble ideals before ourselves and we work up to them.

We have adhered to the democratic method and yet tried to do things which no democracy, working through democratic methods, has tried to do yet. It is a new, novel example in the world's history that India has been trying to do--i.e. build herself up by planned economy, planned approaches, and yet retain the democratic method.

So, we are by no means friendless in the world. We have plenty of friends, but though we may have many friends, each country decides its foreign policy not on high principles, but on material interests. That is what we see round about India, in the countries surrounding us, how their policies have changed, often unfortunately very wrongly changed, not because of any principle. In fact, the thing that is obvious is that the changes that have taken place are wholly without principle. But one cannot measure one's own policies by the failures of others to adhere to any principle.

NON-ALIGNMENT

As a result of the policy pursued in regard to other countries, it was inevitable, both because of our background and practical considerations of today, that we should have a policy of non-alignment which is largely accepted by this House, I believe and even by many Hon. Members on the opposite side. I would explain again non-alignment. Simply, put in a different language, it is freedom of action. Non-alignment is not any-

thing else but a measure of independence and freedom of action and complete friendship with other countries. It does seem to me essentially right.

It is odd that when we started talking about this policy of non-alignment, many years ago, we were among the very few countries mentioning it. Gradually in the course of these ten or a dozen years a large number of countries have adopted, it--chiefly the newly independent countries. Because it seemed to them the right attitude for a newly independent country to adopt and it earned naturally to them. But what is more important is this. The people and the countries that looked rather askance at this policy of ours to begin with

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gradually began to appreciate it and we had arrived at a stage when almost everybody, every country that counts appreciates that policy. I do not mean to say that they appreciate it so far as they are concerned; they may be members of power blocs. But situated as we are, they appreciated it. The only extraordinary thing is that some people, some Hon. Members, like in other matters, still disagree with us. They disagree with the whole world and they will continue in the rut of thought into which they have got by some peculiar process of reasoning or lack of reasoning.

An Hon. Member: We remain in isolation and we do not recognise it today.

Prime Minister : These are the two major domestic policies that we have pursued. And I venture to say that they were right and they are right and they will continue to be right in the changing world. Take non-alignment. The mere fact that it gives us freedom of action does not tie us and we can adapt to a changing world. Now, here is a country, our neighbour country, Pakistan which, in spite of being very much aligned is wandering about all over the place without any principle or any adherence to anything worthwhile. It was extraordinary. (Interruptions).

So, I do venture to say that the policies we have pursued in both these important fields are right. Events have shown them to be right. They are right in principle, theoretically but practically they have been shown to be right and therefore,

we must adhere to them, both in the domestic and in the foreign field.

Opinions may differ as to the progress made by us in these policies. I venture to say that in both these, progress has been considerable.

In the domestic field no doubt many of us would have liked to have gone faster. But we have to work. It is not merely a question of Government's functioning or this Parliament functioning and fine speeches being made and resolutions passed. It is after all dependent on the mass of the people working, mass of the people understanding the position and working in that direction. Of course, we this Parliament and Government had to give a lead and help the process. But essentially we have to set the whole nation working, whether it is for war or peace or for both.

I think that it is easy to say that we have not succeeded in many things, that we have not progressed as we ought to have progressed. But nevertheless, the progress that we have made in these last dozen years has been quite remarkable. It would have been remarkable even if we have made no such progress, compared to (Interruptions).

I shall explain myself. The mere fact that of our continuing as a democratic entity, functioning as a democratic entity, in spite of all the storms and stresses that we have gone through, is itself remarkable. If, we measure the progress of any country roundabout us, in Asia or Africa, one might see the difference. We have seen democratic structures being replaced by coup d' etats or in revolutionary violence, into autocracies, into authoritarianism, into something that we consider very undesirable. This is happening; has happened all over. So, this comparison itself brings to light what we have achieved.

If we agree to these basic principles and policies, what we have to do today is to examine not the principles because they are proved to be right, but the implementation of these principles; it is in the implementation that we have often failed, and the implementation requires a great deal of capacity to work for millions of people as well as the capacity lead hundreds of thousands; it is a difficult business, We have to create, if we want to develop our industries a strong industrial

base; that is, not merely build odd factories here and there, but a strong, logically organised industrial base, out of which other things come. We have now a good part of the base, not complete by any means, but we are on the way to completion; probably in another six, seven or eight years we would have made enough progress to stand to a large extent on our own feet. That is the theory behind it, and inevitably that would have made us even from the point of view of military necessities more or less independent; not entirely but more or less.

I mention this merely to say that there is no question of being prepared for war except by going through this process. The other process is getting a large number of weapons of war from other countries, buying them or getting them without payment or on easy payment system. That is, when a crisis occurs one does that and we are doing it today. But it is not strength. We must realise that even ammunition required for these weapons is a crushing burden, continually to get ammunition, unless you manufacture it here. So we have, essentially to build up our industrial machine which becomes, when the need arises, a war machine. And meanwhile we have to rely on whatever things we need, on what we can get, from outside. That is what we are trying to do.

PEOPLE'S RESPONSE

There is one thing I would like to say about the response four people to the Chinese invasion. We have all described it as a wonderful and spontaneous response. But what lies behind it? Why did they respond in that way? You may say, it is because of the love of the country. That

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is true; but, even that means that they have lost the concept of the country.

Why should people near Cape Comorin respond with great fervour to this invasion in the far north-east of India? It is because they have got that concept of India in their minds. It is a very fine thing; you must realise it. Further, it is because the challenge is made to the India of today; that is to say, however much they may criticise the India of today and the Government of today, they appreciate what has happened to

India in the last 10 or 12 years, which they are not prepared to lose. It means that. Otherwise, there are only a few intellectuals who get, warmed up by some theory. But the common people visualise these things as not merely theoretical, but practical things and they responded in this magnificent way, because, if I may say so, they appreciate what had been done in India since independence and they do not want to lose it. (Interruptions).

We have to face a military problem. But if we consider it as a purely military problem, we shall make a grave mistake. It is a political problem also, in the larger context and therefore, from both these points of view, military and political, we have to prepare our people and make them a nation, armed militarily anti with clear ideas politically.

Lack of political appreciation of the world we live in and of our country will weaken the military effort. Our people must feel that we and they are labouring for a better future for them, where every Indian can have a chance and we have rid ourselves of our terrible poverty. A socialistic ideal is essential to create that feeling among our people, apart from its desirability otherwise. We have made progress. but even now there are reactionary elements in the country, which confuse the issue and make it more difficult to progress.

Hon. Members have asked, what are we doing now about all this? I cannot easily go into the lists of what we are doing in the military field, what we are trying to build ourselves, what factories we are putting tip, what we are trying to get from others, etc., partly because it would not be a right thing for me to do so and partly because I do not know what ultimately we will get. We are getting many things. There are many other things we want, and we are trying our best to get them. The main things that we want are machines to build things ourselves-aircraft, training for special aircraft, etc. All these things we want.

AIR UMBRELLA

I need not say much about the question of air umbrella. The other day I made a statement, So, I think it should have made the position quite

clear. As it was thought-this business of air umbrella-it seemed to me quite a wrong thin.- because it really meant, if you analyse. it in that way, that we do not build anything important ourselves, anything worthwhile ourselves and we rely on others to do that job for us. That is a bad thing both psychologically and actually because at the end of the period, whatever they might have done, we remain as weak as we were. Secondly, this impression in our People that other people are going to do our job is a bad impression. It weakens them and creates a mentality which might be called the Maginot-line mentality -something like a protecting cover they are standing like chowkidars with lathis ahead, we are free of thieves or scoundrels coming in and we can live happily. It is not a right mentality to create, in any country, in the people. Psychologically it is bad. But, as I have said enough, we are trying our utmost to get the assistance of other friendly countries to give us what we require, whether it is in the air or in the field.

An Hon. Member : Do you agree that the word "umbrella" itself with some of its former political associations is an unhappy word.

Prime Minister: I agree with the Hon. Member completely in this matter.

An Hon. Member: The word "umbrella" has gone and "armada" has come.

Prime Minister : The Hon. Member opposite, I think, in his speech asked me, what he calls, some particular questions for which he wanted clear answers. I do not know how far I can give clear answers to all his questions at present moment. He asked me : "Are we at war with China or not ?". Well, obviously, in the technical sense we are not. That is obvious. But behind that technical sense lie many other things. That is a different matter, and I might say that we have entered into it period of conflict with China which is going to be a lengthy period which may occasionally sometimes be actual war and at other times not a war. But the conflict continues and we live on the brink of it all the time. Therefore. we have to be prepared for it all the time. I do not know if that is an adequate answer. And we can never be sure of what developments may take place in the near future.

An Hon. Member Are we preparing for a

war or for a conflict?

Prime Minister : Whether it is war or conflict the preparation is the same. The preparation is identical and, if I may add, if it is negotiation, even then the preparation is the same, because no negotiation can take place unless it has the strength behind it, the strength of preparation.

At the present moment, so far as the present position in these border areas is concerned. we

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consider ourselves completely free to do what we like, to send our forces where we like, but we do consider ourselves bound down to some extent by the so-called Colombo proposals--that is, having accepted them we do not want to go beyond them--not that the question arises at all....

COLOMBO PROPOSALS

An Hon. Member: But there was a gap between the Chinese cease-fire and the Colombo proposals. What did you do during that gap?

Prime Minister : I may venture to say that we consider ourselves completely free to go into and implement the Colombo proposals as accepted by us. That is not quite the same as the Chinese view of the Colombo proposals. Anyhow, these questions do not actually arise at the present moment. As I am telling you, our army is free to do so. They have to decide when to go, where to go and how to go. That is for them to decide.

An Hon. Member: That is not very convincing. Basically, it is a political decision. You are avoiding your responsibilities. Basically, the decision is political. If you do not like to face it, that is different. We cannot accept the position that it is a military decision. We fail to understand how to move to the border is a military decision.

Another Hon. Member : The Defence Minister has a free hand, I believe.

Prime Minister : The political decision has been made by us; I am talking of the present moment; day after tomorrow it may be different. That is to say, in terms of the Colombo proposals we can send our troops or our forces anywhere.

That is the political decision. Whether in these terms the army sends them immediately, tomorrow or the day after is a military decision.

An Hon. Member : That is implementation.
Prime Minister : Its implementation is tip to the army.

An Hon. Member: May we seek a clarification ? Fie said that it is up to the army. Army is also a department of this Government and there is a Cabinet Minister in charge of that. Are we to understand that the army and the Cabinet Minister are free to take any decision and then go ahead ? What did the Prime Minister say when he went to Ceylon? "I have asked our troops to march". Was it a military decision, or political decision, or Prime Minister's decision.

Prime Minister : Hon. Members will appreciate the little fact that something has happened since the middle of September. What I said then was not my decision alone; it was the view point of the military people too. They wanted to do it. Otherwise, I would not have dared to say anything like that. It is obvious.

Now, for instance, there are two places, Thagla Ridge area and Longju which, under the Colombo proposals as accepted by us were sought to be left out of the other proposals and were to be discussed by us, that is by our emissaries, with the Chinese Government in the course of implementation. Now, because of that, for the present we are not sending any of our armed forces to the Thagla Ridge area and Longju. Apart from that, in the whole of NEFA we can go anywhere, we can send our armed forces anywhere subject only to the decision of our military people as to when to send, what to send and how to send.

In the same way, in Ladakh too, they are free to send our forces where we like within the limits of our agreement, according to the Colombo proposals

An Hon. Member : What agreement? There is no agreement.

Prime Minister : Within the limits of our acceptance of the Colombo proposals; I am talking of the present-a different situation may arise tomorrow; I am talking of the position as it is

now.

An Hon. Member : Sir, on a point of clarification. The Prime Minister himself says that the Chinese have not accepted the Colombo proposals. So, we are not bound by them when they have not agreed to them.

Prime Minister : They have not accepted them. As a matter of fact, that need not come in our way at all, because we have not implemented that part too. Because, practically speaking, there are difficulties.

An Hon. Member : It depends upon the acceptance by the Chinese also for its implementation.

Another Hon. Member : Drop the word "agreement" then.

Prime Minister : I am sorry, there is no "agreement" in that sense. What I have said in regard to the Colombo proposals is that it is no doubt a limit which we have not reached yet, which our army has not reached yet. That is what I said. This is a matter which is a continually changing matter. It will depend upon what the position is. It is an obvious thing for me to say that here it is not a question of advancing, with waving a flag; it is a question of advancing with strength enough to face any odds and the Army has to think of that. We cannot tell them to go here or to go there. They have to decide whether they can go there. They can go within a certain range.

I would repeat one thing. Whenever we think of war a large number of amateur strategists arise who are constantly advising us as to what to do and how to carry on a war or our preparation for a war. All of us have some views about it. but if

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it really comes to any warlike operations, one has necessarily to depend upon the experts who are there to advise us and who have to carry it out.

REFERENCE TO HAGUE COURT

Broadly, I would remind this House, although we are taking every step to prepare ourselves, even so, we do not rule out any possible settle-

ment by negotiations It may be unlikely-probably, it is-but to rule it out would be wrong. That has not been our practice at any time. I have previously referred to a reference of this matter to the International Court of Justice at the Hague or even to a proper arbitration by a number of countries. It may be unlikely that China accepts it. That is a different matter, but I think it is a right course for us-right in itself and right from the point of view that the world is appreciating it.

An Hon. Member : I hope you will do that after consulting this House.

Prime Minister : Obviously, I cannot commit the country to such a step without coming to this House, but I have already stated it in my letters to the Chinese Prime Minister about two months ago or a month ago-I forget, when-and made this suggestion. Suppose-it is an unlikely supposition, but suppose-he accepts them; then it becomes rather awkward for me to back out of that.

An Hon. Member : Accept what ?

Prime Minister : The reference to the Hague Court or something like that.

STATE OF EMERGENCY

Then, may I refer to some other matters ? Some people have suggested that we should put an end to the state of emergency. At the same time they have also criticized the Government and the administration for not keeping up the mind of emergency. if I may say so. among the people. Is it not obvious. apart from other reasons, that if we put an end to the state of emergency. everybody will lose all thought of an emergency ?

An Hon. Member : No, Sir; they have a greater sense of patriotism.

Prime Minister : I must confess that what is obvious to me finds difficulty in being appreciated by the Hon. Member. But one thing is certain-I do not say that that is the sole test of that-that once we did that the whole country will feel that the danger is past or that something has happened and they need not be taught and ready for any crisis. that is one reason.

That fact is-I want this House to appreciate that-that the danger is not past. I do not know what may happen in the next two, three or four weeks in the month of March or April; I have no notion at all. I know that we have been preparing for everything and we have to go on strengthening ourselves. This process of strengthening will go on not only for a few weeks or few months but, maybe, for a year or two. That is so, Because we want to be prepared for every contingency. To imagine that there is no possibility of any new crisis suddenly arising, will be completely wrong for us. (Interruptions).

DEFENCE OF INDIA RULES

So far as the Defence of India Rules are concerned, there have been some arrests and some objection has been taken to preventive detention, etc. Nearly all these arrests have taken place at the instance of the State Governments, certainly with the general approval of the Government of India, not individual approval of the individuals.

An Hon. Member : Are we to understand that the Central Government did not send any directive. to the State Governments ?

Prime Minister : I just ventured to say that with the general approval of the Government of India, not in regard to any individuals. Where they considered any persons dangerous from the point of view of war effort, etc., they might take action: that is our general direction to them. But, the choice lay with them how to do it. Since then, we have repeatedly asked them to re-examine these cases and where they did not consider it necessary, to release them. In fact, about 200 or so persons, who were originally arrested, have been released. This process of reexamination is continuously going on.

KASHMIR TALKS

About Kashmir, I would like to say a word, though not much. Because, I feel, having decided to talk with Pakistan Government it will not be proper for me to discuss this matter in the House or in public although I must say, the recent new development. which has induced the Foreign Minister of Pakistan to go to Peking to sign a treaty with them about their border....

An Hon. Member: Which is their border ?
You claim Kashmir as part of India.

Another Hon. Member : They have usurped
our border.

Prime Minister : Yes ... has come as a shock.
It has come as a shock, not only because of the
basic facts of the situation. But, the extra-ordinary
thing is the timing of these events. The House
will remember that when first my colleague
Shri Swaran Singh went to Rawalpindi, the first
series of talks. the day before the talks were
going to begin, an announcement was made that

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an agreement in principle had been arrived at
between China and Pakistan about the border.
It was an extraordinary timing : just the day
before.

An Hon. Member: We knew all the while
that they were being invited. Peking was inviting.
Mohammed Ali was invited. This gentleman was
invited.

Prime Minister : Nevertheless, the timing is
significant. I think one is justified in thinking
that this timing cannot be fortuitous or accidental.
It is deliberate. Therefore, it does not indicate
any strong desire on the Pakistan Government's
part to arrive at any agreement. We gave some
consideration to this as to whether we should
continue these talks in spite of this visit of
Pakistan Foreign Minister to Peking at this
moment. We came to the conclusion that we
should adhere to our previous resolve and not
back out of these talks because of this, although,
naturally, the talks will be affected by it.

So, probably, I say probably, I do not know
what might happen in the next week or 10 or 12
days, probably, subject to that, I shall request
Shri Swaran Singh again to journey to Calcutta to
continue these talks. Because, one has to
balance various considerations. We thought that
it would not be desirable for us to break on this
issue. Hon. Members here knew all the back-
ground. But, for the world at large, the fact
that will stand out is that we have broken these
talks, not that they have gone to Peking. That

will be very much before them.

SRI LANKA USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC INDIA RUSSIA POLAND CHINA PAKISTAN
FRANCE

Date : Feb 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

MALAYSIA

Prime Minister's Statement in Lok Sabha on Proposed federation of Malaysia

Replying to a Call-attention Notice regarding the formation of a Federation of Malaysia, the Prime Minister Shri Jawaharlal Nehru made the following statement in Lok Sabha on February 22, 1963

It is proposed to form a Federation of Malaysia which would include Malaya, Singapore, Brunei, Sarawak and North Borneo. This matter was mentioned at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference which was held in September, 1962. We welcomed the idea of these dependent territories gaining their independence and sovereignty.

There has been some trouble in Brunei recently, and strong opinions have been expressed for and against the formation of Malaysia.

The Under Secretary of the United Nations has recently visited the area, and the United Nations Secretary-General is taking interest in this problem of orderly and peaceful transfer of power by the United Kingdom authorities. We trust that the efforts of the U. N. Secretary-General will be successful and the present tension will be removed.

MALAYSIA BRUNEI REPUBLIC OF SINGAPORE USA

Date : Feb 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BULGARIA

Cultural Agreement Signed

A cultural agreement between the Republic of India and the People's Republic of Bulgaria was signed in New Delhi on February 20, 1963.

The agreement aims at strengthening the existing ties of friendship and promoting better understanding and closer cooperation between the two

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countries in educational, scientific, social and cultural fields.

Prof. Humayun Kabir, Minister of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, Government of India, signed the agreement on behalf of India and His Excellency Mr. Gancho Ganev, Minister of Education and Culture of the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, on behalf of Bulgaria.

The cultural agreement which consists of 8 articles will remain in force for a period of 5 years and shall continue in force thereafter until it is terminated by either party giving notice in Writing of not less than 6 months. The agreement shall come into force immediately on the date of the exchange of the Instruments of Ratification which shall take place as soon as possible at Sofia.

The present agreement is the sixteenth cultural agreement signed by India since 1951. The earlier agreements were signed with Turkey, Iraq, Rumania, Japan, Indonesia, Iran, Poland, United Arab Republic, Czechoslovakia, U.S.S.R., Yugoslavia, Mongolia, Norway, Greece and Hungary.

TEXT OF AGREEMENT

The following is the text of the cultural agreement

The Government of the Republic of India and the People's Republic of Bulgaria,

Considering the cordial and friendly relations existing between the two countries and desirous of concluding, an agreement to provide for the promotion of cultural relations and mutual co-operation in scientific, educational and cultural fields between the two countries, have agreed as follows :-

ARTICLE I

The Contracting Parties will, Subject to availability of funds, endeavour to promote the development of close relations and cooperation between the Academies, Universities and Scientific and Research institutions of the two countries by means of :-

- (a) exchange of representatives and delegations in the fields of education, science, culture and arts;
- (b) reciprocal visits of professors and research workers for giving lectures, special courses etc., as well as exchange of students on scholarships basis;
- (c) reciprocal visits and attendance in congresses and conferences between the literary, scientific, artistic, sports and journalist's associations and organisations;
- (d) exchange of cultural, scientific and educational material and equipment; translation and exchange of books, periodicals and other scientific, cultural and technical publications; and, as far as feasible, the exchange of copies of archaeological specimens and of ancient manuscripts; and
- (e) organisation of scientific and artistic exhibitions, theatrical and artistic performances, film shows including documentary films and newsreels and the dissemination of knowledge of each other's culture through radio, press and similar other means.

ARTICLE 2

The Contracting Parties will endeavour to ensure that official informative publications do not contain any errors or misrepresentations about the country of the other Contracting Party.

ARTICLE 3

Each Contracting Party will receive, as far as its own resources and requirements will permit, nationals recommended by the other Government for study, training and specialisation in its educational, cultural, scientific, technical and industrial institutions. These scholars will observe the domestic laws of the country and the regulations of the institutions in which they will work.

ARTICLE 4

The Contracting Parties will encourage the organisation of competitions and other activities in the fields of sports and physical culture between their two countries.

ARTICLE 5

The Contracting Parties will strive to promote cultural and intellectual exchange between the two countries by arranging concerts, lectures, art and scientific exhibitions, by organising visits of scholars and students, by encouraging collaborations between scientific, artistic, literary and other learned societies and organisations devoted to the promotion of learning, by establishing chairs in Universities or other institutions of higher learning for the teaching of subjects pertaining to each other's country, by diffusion of books and periodicals, by exhibition of films, by exchange of archaeological specimens and through radio broadcasts.

ARTICLE 6

The Contracting Parties shall offer their good offices to facilitate the mutual recognition by

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universities and other educational authorities in the two countries of the degrees, diplomas and certificates awarded by them in accordance with the laws prevailing in each country.

ARTICLE 7

In order to facilitate the implementation of the present agreement, the Contracting Parties will consult with each other from time to time.

ARTICLE 8

(a) The present agreement shall be ratified and shall come into force on the date of exchange of the instruments of ratification, which shall take place as soon as possible.

(b) The present agreement shall remain in force for a period of five years and thereafter until the expiration of six months from the date on which one of the Contracting Parties shall give notice of its intention to terminate the agreement.

(c) In the faith, whereof, the following plenipotentiaries have signed the present agreement in duplicate in Hindi, Bulgarian and English languages, all, the three texts being equally authentic, except that in case of doubt the English text shall prevail.

BULGARIA INDIA IRAQ TURKEY INDONESIA IRAN JAPAN POLAND NORWAY SLOVAKIA USA
GREECE MONGOLIA YUGOSLAVIA HUNGARY

Date : Feb 01, 1963

Volume No

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PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Chinese Allegations about Chung Hwa School Refuted

The Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India issued the following press release on February 2, 1963, refuting the allegations of China about Chung Hwa School in Kalimpong:

The Chinese Government have, despite the facts being clearly communicated to them in several

notes from the Government of India, been making baseless allegations that the "Indian authorities have handed over the property, of the Chung Hwa School in Kalimpong to elements of the Chiang Kai-shek gang".

The facts are : The Chinese community in Kalimpong ran two schools, the Chinese Refugee School and the Chung Hwa School. The latter has been in existence for over 20 years and has been maintained by contributions made by the local Chinese community.

In December, 1961 some members of the local Chinese community made a proposal that since the number of students in the Chung Hwa School had been reduced to a mere 30 and had no properly elected Board of Directors or Headmaster, the two schools should be run under joint management. They claimed part-ownership of the building. Other members of the local Chinese community however, opposed this proposal.

Later the Chinese Trade Agency in Kalimpong closed the school, surreptitiously removed furniture from it and locked up the premises. The Government, of India in a Note sent on 23rd May, 1962 to the Chinese Embassy in New Delhi, protested against this illegal activity and requested that the keys of the premises should be surrendered to the local governmental authorities in Kalimpong. Since the premises were not surrendered, a case was filed in the Court of the Sub-Divisional Magistrate, Kalimpong and, pending court proceedings, an order for an interim attachment of the school premises was passed. The Court passed orders in September, 1962 permitting certain members of the Chinese community in Kalimpong to take over possession of the building and the school was re-opened in October, 1962.

The Government of India made it quite clear in several notes to the Chinese Government that interference by the Chinese Consulate General at Calcutta or the Chinese Trade Agency in Kalimpong in the management of the School, was unwarranted and that the functioning of the School was entirely a matter for the local Chinese community to determine.

The matter has been settled by the judicial decision of the law court. The Chinese Government's allegation that there was collusion between the local Indian authorities and the so-called

"Chiang Kai-shek elements", is utterly Unwarranted and absurd.

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CHINA INDIA USA

Date : Feb 01, 1963

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UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Agreement for Supply of Steel Signed

An agreement for the supply of steel required in the expansion of the thermal power station at Neyveli in Madras State under the Third Five-Year Plan was signed in New Delhi on February 16, 1963.

Mr. P. Basalov, First Secretary, of the USSR Embassy in India signed on behalf of Messrs. Technopromexport, Soviet organisation dealing with exports of machinery etc. and Shri Chedi Lai, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Mines and Fuel, on behalf of the Neyveli Lignite Corporation.

The Neyveli power station will be expanded under the Third Plan from its present capacity of 250 MW to 400 MW. The Soviet Organisation who have built the existing unit have agreed to assist the expansion programme also. The expansion of the power station is estimated to cost Rs. 15 crores.

Under the agreement signed today the Soviet organisation will supply 1,174 metric tons of steel for the expansion scheme.

The power station at Neyveli is one of the important constituent schemes of the integrated lignite-based project. Other schemes include a fertiliser plant for the manufacture of urea and a briquetting and carbonisation plant to process lignite for domestic and industrial uses.

Date : Feb 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

U. S. COMMONWEALTH AIR MISSION

Prime Minister's Statement in Lok Sabha on 'Air Umbrella'

Speaking on a Call-attention Notice regarding the visit of a joint United States-Commonwealth Air Mission to India to discuss the proposal of an 'Air Umbrella' over India. in Lok Sabha on February 21, 1963. Prime Minister Nehru made the following statement :

Very briefly the answer to this or at least part of it, is that the United States-Commonwealth Air Mission came here at our invitation. But I should like to say something more about the background of it, and if you will permit me. I shall read out the statement.

Since the Chinese massive attack last October, the Government of India have been in close touch with various friendly Governments in connection with the measures to be taken to build up an effective defence against the Chinese attack. Prompt and generous help has come from various friendly Countries more specially from the United States and the United Kingdom, and for this we are grateful.

Apart from reorientation reorganisation and strengthening of the Indian Army and the obtaining of suitable equipment, there was also the question of building up an effective air defence both to meet the emergency like the one created by the Chinese advance into NEFA in November last and to meet the long-term threat posed by China. Both these have to be kept in view; in either event the strengthening of the Indian Air-Force has to be tackled immediately. In the event

of sudden emergency arising, the Government will have to deal with it in the light of developments with support from friendly countries, which may become suddenly necessary and be available.

These matters were discussed by the Government with the friendly Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom during November and December last, and a visit of the U.S.-Commonwealth Air Team was suggested, so that the problem of strengthening India's air defence could be studied by them with the Indian technical air staff and prompt action taken to implement the decisions taken. The Government of India issued a press release on the 23rd January, 1963.

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on the visit of this Air Team, which was coming at the invitation of the Government of India.

The U.S.-Commonwealth Air Team has been in India for about three weeks and will be completing their study and discussions soon. These discussions between the U.S.-Commonwealth Air Team and the Indian Air Force experts have led to speculations in the press about the establishment of foreign bases and foreign planes as an 'Air Umbrella' in India. These reports are incorrect and greatly exaggerated.

The U.S.-Commonwealth Air Team, in their discussions with the Indian Air Force experts have been dealing with assessment of the Chinese air threat and the extent to which the Indian Air Force requires strengthening in order to meet it. The preliminary action that is considered necessary is the extension of the existing airstrips, improvement in ground control and communication system etc. to be taken in connection with air defence arrangements. These steps will make it possible for the Indian Air Force to function more effectively and, should a sudden emergency arise, to be helped from friendly countries.

There is no question of the stationing of foreign air force or the establishment of any foreign air bases in India. As a matter of fact, none of the friendly countries have made any such suggestions. India has to be defended by its own forces. We welcome the help of the friendly countries in procuring the necessary equipment and materials, but the air defence of the country is too vital a matter to be left to improvisation and delays

inherent in any project like that of the 'Air Umbrella' suggested in press reports.

INDIA USA CHINA

Date : Feb 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Indo-U. S. Loan Agreement Signed.

The Governments of India and the United States concluded an agreement on February 25, 1963 providing for an American loan of \$240 million (114 crores) to finance non-project imports required to carry forward India's, Third Five-Year Plan. This is the largest single dollar loan ever extended to India by the U.S.A.

Shri L. K. Jha, Secretary, Ministry of Finance, Department of Economic Affairs, and the U.S. Ambassador, Prof. John Kenneth Galbraith, signed the agreement. The Union Finance Minister, Shri Morarji Desai, presided.

The loan is part of the U.S. commitment of \$435 million made in the context of the "Aid India" Consortium for the second year of the Third Plan. The broad commodity import groups for which the loan funds will be used are : non-ferrous metals, steel, chemicals, fertilizer, sulphur, lubricants, rubber, tyre cord, carbon black, DDT. machinery, earth-moving equipment, rolls and refractories, and vehicle and other components.

The loan has been channelled through the U.S. Agency for International-Development. Like other loans granted by the U.S.A.I.D. it is free of interest and carries a credit fee of three quarters of one per cent per annum on the outstanding balance of the loan. Repayment in dollars will be spread through forty years after the first disbursement, with no payments for a period of ten years.

Last year, the United States extended to India non-project loans totalling \$220 million. Thus non-project loans provided by the United States during 1962 and 1963 total \$460 million and comprise 47 per cent of the U.S. commitment Of \$980 million (Rs. 467 crores) during the first two years of the Third Plan.

Non-project imports contribute to India's developing economy by providing machinery and capital equipment for expanding industrial capacity in areas where totally new projects are not as economical. In addition, with the progressive diversification of India's industrial structure, the requirements of components and spare parts to keep existing plants operating have also increased. Finally. Such-financing enables existing facilities to get raw materials necessary to operate at or near capacity.

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in granting non-project loans to India, the U.S. Government has taken into account the urgent need for India to make full use of the industrial capacity already created. This will help India to achieve self-sustaining growth. it will also increase her ability to expand her exports,

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HUNGARY

Instruments of Ratification Exchanged

The Instruments of Ratification of the Cultural Agreement between the Hungarian People's Republic and the Republic of India were exchanged in Budapest on April 25, 1963.

Mr. Karoly Erdelyi, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Mr. S. V. Patel, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of India in Hungary, exchanged the Instruments of Ratification on behalf of their respective Governments.

The cultural agreement between India and Hungary was signed at New Delhi on March 30, 1962. It aims at strengthening the existing ties of friendship and promoting better understanding and closer Cooperation between the two countries in the fields of culture, science, education, literature, art, health and sports. The agreement will be in force for five years.

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INDONESIA

Trade Agreement Signed

The following joint communique was issued in New Delhi on April 24, 1963 at the end of the trade talks between India and Indonesia

Discussions were held at New Delhi from the 19th to the 23rd of April, 1963 between the Indonesian Trade delegation led by H. E. Mr. Harun Saleh, Minister Counsellor of the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and the Indian delegation led by Shri D. K. Srinivasachar, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Government of India.

As a result of these discussions a three-year Trade Agreement was signed. It envisages expansion of trade between the two countries on a gradually increasing basis. Total trade to the extent of Rs. 13 crores has been provided for in the first year of the Agreement as compared to the present level of about Rs. 7 crores. Provision has been made for half-yearly reviews in regard to the implementation of the Agreement.

The principal commodities that India would buy from Indonesia would be petroleum products, copra, rubber, palm oil, metal concentrates and other agricultural products. Indonesia will buy engineering equipment, machinery, textiles, jute goods, paints and varnishes, chemicals and drugs and other manufactured articles from India.

With a view to strengthening the ties of friendship between the two countries, in addition to this long-term trade agreement which has been signed between India and Indonesia, both the delegations also expressed their desire to extend techno-economic co-operation between the two countries to their mutual benefit. To this end further talks and negotiations will continue to take place between the representatives of the two Governments from time to time.

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THAILAND

Joint Communique

At the conclusion of the talks between Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and the Foreign Minister of Thailand, Mr. Thanat Khoman, the following joint communique was issued in New

Delhi on April 17, 1963 :

At the invitation of the Government of the Republic of India, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Thailand, Mr. Thanat Khoman, paid a goodwill visit to the Republic of India from 14th to 17th April, 1963. He brought from the Government and the people of Thailand cordial greetings and good wishes for the well-being, happiness and prosperity of the Government and the people of the Republic of India. The Minister presented on behalf of the Thai Government to the Government of the Republic of India a token amount of rice for the relief of refugees.

During his visit to Delhi, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Thailand was received by the President of the Republic, the Vice-President and the Prime Minister.

The Prime Minister of the Republic of India and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Thailand welcomed the opportunity this visit afforded of, establishing personal contacts and exchanging views on matters of mutual interest. The talks which the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Thailand had with the leaders of the Republic of India were held in an atmosphere of friendliness and cordiality which has long marked the traditional relations between the two countries.

In particular, they noted with satisfaction the desire of both Thailand, and the Republic of India to consolidate and strengthen, still further, the bonds of amity and to widen the areas of cooperation between the two countries. They believe that friendly cooperation between their two countries will not only contribute to the stability, progress and territorial integrity of their respective countries but also contribute towards stability, peace and prosperity of this region.

The two Ministers of Foreign Affairs agreed that consultation between the Governments of Thailand and India on matters affecting the mutual interests of their countries should be held whenever desirable. They further agreed that their Governments will continue to make every effort to increase and strengthen the economic and cultural cooperation between the two countries.

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Date : Apr 01, 1963

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UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC

Vice-President's Speech at Arab League Lunch

The Vice-President, Dr. Zakir Husain paid a 19-day goodwill visit to Ethiopia, Sudan and the United Arab Republic from March 23, 1963.

The Vice-President arrived in Cairo on April 4 from Khartoum on a 8-day visit to UAR. During his stay in this country he had gone through a busy programme.

The Vice-President was the guest of honour at a lunch given in his honour by the Secretary-General of the Arab League Mr. Abdel Khalek Hassouna in Cairo on April 11, 1963.

Replying, Dr. Zakir Husain said in the course of his address :

"What you have said about-my land touches me deeply. I wish to believe my people are good. If they are not good, we shall strive to make them good. It is true that throughout centuries India and the Arab world had the closest relations not only in the field of trade but also cultural exchanges. Arab merchants had offices in Calicut and your coins, Egyptian coins, lie scattered over many places in India. There
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were close relations in hundreds of many other things. Unfortunately, the past is broken. There came a period of separation following the coming of colonialism. During that period, we were cut off from each other. It was a dark night of colonial past in which we could not see our own hands. How could we then see our neighbours? Now from that dark night we are approaching a new dawn. It is an exhilarating exciting and fascinating experience. Yet it is also a difficult experience. We woke up to find ourselves dis-

united, weak and poor".

Referring to Mr. Hassouna's quoting Prime Minister Nehru's remarks on co-existence, the Vice-President said : "Now even to co-discover is not enough. What we need is close and active cooperation. Only by this we can rise to positions where we belong to".

Referring to the role of the Arab League in the world community, Dr. Zakir Husain said "It pleases. MY heart to have met today the representatives of the Arab countries and to be in this house. As I entered this place, I was thrilled. I felt as any stranger would feel that he is among the Arab people. The rich past of the Arab world lies imprinted on the walls of this building. People who can build such a house have a great future, a future of great significance." Paying tributes to the Secretary-General for the part he played in setting up this organisation he referred to the Quaranic verse engraved on the wall of the Assembly Hall of the League to the effect that the Moslem nation was to follow the middle path among the nations of the world and said that in a world divided and separated the Arabs can play a vital role, the role of good material life combined with an ethically regulated life. This is the great destiny of the Arab people and it is a destiny worth striving.

USA ETHIOPIA SUDAN EGYPT INDIA

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UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC

Arab League Secretary-General's Welcome Speech

Welcoming the Vice-President, the Secretary-General Mr. Hassouna said : "In welcoming Dr. Zakir Husain amidst us we pay homage in his

person to the great people of India whose friendship we cherish and whose cooperation, goodwill and understanding we reciprocate". Paying tributes to the distinguished personality of Dr. Zakir Husain as "one of the illustrious galaxy of Indian leaders who represent India at its best", the Secretary-General said : "His presence with us today is a concrete expression of the relations of understanding, goodwill and friendship which exist between India and the Arab world".

He added : "These relations are steeped in history. They lasted for centuries and covered not only trade but also literature, science, medicine and philosophy. Long afterwards when India and the Arab-world fell under the heavy yoke of imperialism, decline set in our emergence and the struggles against the powers of aggression, fragmentation and exploitation, however, were not only parallel but were eventually beneficial to both of our nations as well as to the cause of liberation and progress in the whole world".

Quoting Prime Minister Nehru's remarks that coexistence was not good enough being a passive thing, what we wanted was more active co-discovery, the Arab League Secretary-General said : "It is this active co-discovery which opens new avenues for more understanding and greater cooperation between India and the Arab world". Underlining the reasons which render such understanding and cooperation not only essential but imperative and emphasizing the common aspirations and attitudes of both countries, Mr. Hassouna said : "This makes the Indians and Arabs respond in an identical manner to their respective internal and external challenges and problems". Pointing out that in the internal sphere India and the Arab world have been facing similar challenges, he said : "In the tremendous tasks which face them India and the Arab world need each other's full cooperation so that they may benefit from each other's experience and experiments. Progressive reconstruction is one of the great epics that has brought India not only to become another nation but also become an adjective which means development, progress and liberation". Continuing he said: "in the external sphere, the Indians and the Arabs are determined to consolidate and safeguard their independence, to follow an independent foreign policy, to resist all attempts

to drag them into military pacts and to serve world peace. Indo-Arab cooperation has been the cornerstone for the edifice of the Afro-Asian cooperation. Together with a number of countries they have adopted the policy of non-alignment which supports truth, justice and the maintenance of world peace".

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UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC

Vice-President's Speech at Lunch by Governor of Cairo

The Vice-President, Dr. Zakir Husain made the following speech in Cairo on April 6, 1963, while replying to the welcome address at a Lunch given in his honour by H. E. the Governor of Cairo :

Your Excellency,

Permit me to thank you most sincerely for the kind words in which you have been pleased to welcome me and for the kind way in which the people of your great City have made me their own during the brief three days that I have had the great pleasure of being with them. I cannot even adequately thank you and them, but I beg you to believe me that I am deeply touched and am most sincerely grateful. You in the great country of yours, are engaged in historic tasks under an uncommonly clear-sighted and competent leadership which has taken you from success to success in removing the age-old disabilities of your people and in face of foreign aggression on your sacred land. We in India have rejoiced to see you go forward with courage and wisdom and our best wishes are ever with you. You are deeply appreciative of the under-

standing which your people and Government have brought to bear on the unfortunate situation which has arisen between us and China and am deeply grateful to them for their sympathy and support in our hour of difficulty. We will never forget. It gladdened my heart to hear from Your Excellency of the great achievements of your Government in transforming-for nothing short of that word can adequately characterise the great changes that you have already succeeded in making-yes, the great achievement in transforming the life of your people. It made me specially happy to hear of the great effort put forth to educate your people. As one who has been involved in education through most of his active life I may be permitted to observe before you who govern this great City, the cynosure today of the eye of the entire world and one of the most significant cities of the world-I may be permitted to observe that no City, however, great and wealthy and beautiful, can hope to retain its greatness and wealth and beauty unless it ensures for itself a perpetual succession of generation after generation of citizens healthy and industrious and honest, imbued with high ideals of civic well-being and co-operative endeavour. It can ensure this through its educational endeavour. Your beautiful, impressive and clean city, with its improving and efficient buildings, its network of well laid-out roads, its prosperous business quarters, its neatly planned residential colonies, its graceful mosques and minarets and its enchanting Nile, endear itself in no Lime even to a temporary sojourner like myself. How much dearer would it be to your hearts? How can you risk all its greatness and beauty and loveliness on indifferent and haphazard efforts in the field of education? No material greatness but rest firm only on moral foundations. No great city but can be sustained in its greatness only by the character and industry of its citizens. A wise city always seeks to distribute its energy and resources in the right proportion between the making of a healthy and beautiful environment, and the training of the future custodians of that environment. It knows that its institutions are but the resultants of the moral qualities of its citizens who, if they are good citizens and true, can always do something to finish the unfinished, and to correct the erroneous; and who, if they are bad, if they are indolent and greedy and selfish, will bring every institution to the level of their own moral lowness.

I am sure that in saying this to you I am only repeating what You yourself keenly appreciate. I cannot claim anything like an intimate knowledge of the quality of your educational effort, but I know that City Government in other lands have been, in a considerable measure, responsible for much recent progress in educational thought and practice. There is no reason why a prosperous city like yours should not show to others, by its pioneering efforts, the way to a progressive education in this country or in mind or in others. It is not the time and I have not the inclination to be so presumptuous as to attempt to tell- you what should and could be done. But one thing I will request you always to bear in mind and that is that your educational effort should be primarily guided by the thought that your aim is to educate good citizens. To that end no reform is worth making which does not seek to transform the school of passive receptivity into those of meaningful activity, from being places of just acquiring book information to those of the right use of knowledge acquired, from being places of individual self-seeking into those of social cooperative endeavours.

Your Excellency,

You have with great appropriateness pointed out the possibility of the dawn of a New Day for humanity in which East and West which had almost exclusively become symbols of the things of the spirit and things of the world shall come together in a friendly embrace. Yes, Your Excellency, the consummation appears inevitable if humanity is to survive. This exclusive spirituality and this exclusive materialism can no longer

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offer a working formula for human existence, and a synthesis is inescapable. I am strengthened in this conviction by the reflection that although placed under the sway of conflicting urges man has yet been given the poetic quality of composing a harmonious life. The irresistible appeal of the material and the forceful urge to flee from the things of this earth; the egotism of selfish self-assertion and the self-denial of "Love thy Neighbour as Thyself". The indifference of indiscriminate destruction and the martyrdom of joyful self-sacrifice, the pride of unabashed acquisitiveness and the humility of happy service,

the eagle-eyed watchfulness of worldly calculation and the self-purposefulness of dreaming great dreams, the will to pleasure and the willingness to suffer, the storms of passion and the placidity of knowledge-these and ever so many more are the conflicts and contradictions which an inscrutable Providence has woven into the mysterious fabric of our being. One-sided development is an easy way out of this dividing situation. But the easy way is not always the right way. Bineal growth is not a characteristic of organic development. It is not right to have a group of self-denying saints and another of grabbing sinners; a class that works only with the hands and another that does so only with the brain, a class that gives its life-blood to create new values and a class that just enjoys them. We cannot agree to base the perfection of actual life on the multiplicity of individual defects. We should aim at the perfection of the whole through the perfection of the parts. We should be ready for the material just as much as for the ideal, for inner experience as well as outward activity; for receiving as much as for giving; for suffering as much as for enjoyment; we should learn to stand with our feet, on firm ground and converse with the stars on high. Thus alone will our self-imposed classification of the East as spiritual and West as material, be finally banished from the affairs of men. For in the words of Qaran: "To God belong the East and the West and whomsoever He wills He leads on to the straight path. And thus has he made you the People of the Middle, that you might bear witness before Mankind as the Prophet shall bear witness before you".

May he lead your people engaged in transforming with remarkable success the basis of their material existence into ethically and humanly sound postures and alive at the same time to its spiritual heritage which in fact inspires its material transformation. May your people grow into the People of the Middle. The heartiest good wishes and blessings of my own people are with you in this enchanting enterprise.

I thank Your Excellency once again for the welcome you have given me as the Governor of Cairo and as the Deputy President of the Arab-Indian Association and request you to convey my thanks to the citizens of the great city of Cairo and to the President of the Association,

Mr. Mahmud Yunus. I am sure this Association will help in bringing the Arab and the Indian even closer than they already are. For in Arab-Indian cooperation and joint endeavour I see one of the most hopeful elements in an otherwise rather distracted world.

EGYPT USA INDIA CHINA

Date : Apr 01, 1963

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UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC

Welcome Speech by Governor of Cairo

Following is the text of the welcome speech made by H. E. the Governor of Cairo

Most Honourable Guest, Ladies and Gentlemen

It is a great pleasure to me, as Governor of Cairo and Deputy President of the Arab-Indian Association, to welcome His Excellency Dr. Zakir Husain, the Vice-President of India, on behalf of the members of both Cairo Governorate Council and the Arab-Indian Association. May I also convey to Your Excellency the cordial greetings of the President of the Association, Mr. Mahmud Yunus.

In the United Arab Republic, we follow with profound admiration the great efforts you make in the service of your country, and we are fully aware of your glorious achievements in the fields of education and culture, as well as your faithful adoption of the example of the Great Leader : Mahatma Gandhi. We also admire your great country's gigantic strides in order to realize comprehensive renaissance, catching up with world progress in all fields.

Your visit coincides with an important and decisive stage of our country's long history. We

have now a clear vision of our future; we have carefully-planned our own future life and decided our destiny as an inseparable part of the Great Arab Nation.

Since the Revolution of July 23rd, 1952, we have attained great objectives : social, economic and political. We relentlessly fought against imperialism until it was forced to leave and for

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ever. Bitter strife, had been experienced during which our people were reinforced by the unshakable belief in their right to fashion their own life and determine their own destiny.

The aggression on Suez and Port Said is still vivid in-the minds; imperialism had lost self-control, revealed its intentions and attacked a people that wanted to restore its own land. Never did our people yield, but joined in all together leaving no gap for the aggressors to leak through. Imperialism was then brought down to its knees and driven out shrouded in defeat and shame.

According to one of the fundamental principles of our Revolution, we have established a strong national army with which we never attack but defend ourselves and Arab Nationalism anywhere in the Arab world, as we are firm believers in Arab Union, and fight against reaction and opportunism, to realize dignity and pride for all Arabs and to bring back the glory Of their history.

From our good earth, we abolished feudalism, justly redistributed the agricultural land, and gave the farmer back his rights, thus securing for him an honourable life void of humiliation and bondage. Fabulous differences in land ownership were eradicated, thanks to the revolutionary laws which laid down a maximum ownership. Class distinctions were dissolved and bitter hatred between classes eliminated. The socialist laws granted the workman his rights and he has become master of the machine and not a cog in a wheel in the production set up.

Having realised the vital importance of education: and science, our Revolution laid down a constant plan to establish schools and combat illiteracy, School curricula have also been

revolutionarily altered to cope- with the needs of the modern age. Equal educational opportunities have been ensured, so that education may be actually rendered as available to all as water and air. Scientific research received ample care and the Ministry of Scientific Research came into existence based on modern, scientific enlightened planning of Science in the service of actual life and constructive development.

The right of every citizen to work was also catered for : we believe that work is an honour, a right and a duty. A policy has been planned for labour with the aim of utilizing national savings, establishing factories and executing various projects. This policy has been put into effect so that every citizen may contribute to the building up of his own country and take part in bringing happiness to others as well as to himself. This is our way of the realization of Arab Socialism which we have adopted for our ways of life, our future and our destiny.

our Socialism springs up from our environment, traditions and long history, god hap been based on our own circumstancos and needs. We do not believe in the possibility of importing social systems and theories, for they have never been transferable for environments necessarily differ and circumstances naturally are not alike. The experiences of other nations may be considered and made use of, but they can never be transplanted in an alien soil. Our Socialism is based on efficiency and justice and it is our way to social freedom.

Honourable Vice-President of India

These revolutionary achievements and social gains had to be protected by a sound political system. Thus last May, the National Conference of the Powers of the People was held and the National Charter was approved and issued as the way of work for our people as well as the means of realising our objectives. We, are now in the process of forming our Arab Socialist Union, which will rest on a wide popular base inclusive of a sectors of our society. The Arab Socialist Union will function as the highest authority in the State and will undertake the responsibility of carrying out the principles of the Charter, planning the methods of national work, guaranteeing the principle of collective

leadership and protecting the revolutionary drive which the United Arab Republic has adopted, starting from where other countries have ended, thus catching up with progress and surpassing it.

Our revolutionary push to achieve progress embraces the Arab Nation as a whole, with a firm belief in Arab Nationalism and Unity. "The Arab man," the Charter states, "shall determine by himself the destiny of his nation on the fertile fields, in the huge factories, from the top of the high dams and with the enormous energies of the driving power." Our belief in Arab Nationalism is only equalled by our belief in the East and its future expectations of comprehensive renaissance that will restore its glory. The great poet Rabindranath Tagore says in his last message : "Perhaps that dawn will come from this horizon, from the East where the sun rises. A day will come when unvanquished Man will retrace his path of conquest, despite all barriers, to win back his lost human heritage".

Most Honourable Guest :

It is the East that fostered all religions, inspired spiritualism and guided mankind to the righteous path of life. In the East emerged the earliest civilizations at an early epoch of history when the rest of humanity lived in the darkness of ignorance and backwardness. Indeed what you are achieving in your country and what we are in our Arab World will be a definite push

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forward for the East to its proper prominent place in the present world, boiling up, as it is, dangerously and threateningly.

Dawn has already appeared in Asia and Africa, and the sun, Tagore longed for, will soon rise. Fresh in our memory is Bandung Conference where the representatives of twenty-nine of the Asian and African States and Nations got together to discuss in detail the conditions prevailing the whole of the human society and to decide what best should be done for the good of mankind. Historical decisions were taken aiming at securing man's dignity and equality between races and nationalities, as well as seeking the consolidation of world peace. Recently Belgrade witnessed the historical gathering of the representatives of twenty-five countries that believed

in non-alignment and denied the formation of blocs. The resolutions arrived at supported the right for independence and freedom, advocated the eradication of imperialism, the combat against racial discrimination, the elimination of economic inequality, the prohibition of nuclear tests and the direction of science towards the fulfilment of peaceful purposes.

We firmly believe that peace is indivisible "Peace cannot be stabilized in a world, where the standards of the people vary enormously, Peace cannot be stable on the brink of the deep abyss, that separates the advanced nations from those upon which under-development was imposed. We have adopted positive neutrality and non-alignment in our seeking for peace, so that a feeling of security may be guaranteed for all peoples and hatred between countries eradicated : the same peace that is established once class distinctions have been dissolved and equal opportunities for all individuals guaranteed.

The cry for freedom which we advocate under the guidance of the Leader of Arab Nationalism, President Gamal Abdul Nasser, echoes loudly in the developing countries which then experience a series of successive revivals that herald the approaching dawn of peace, and the undoubted advent of universal prosperity.

Excellency Mr. Vice-President

You are in a friendly country whose people look at the great Indian people with genuine feelings of brotherhood and esteem. In the name of the people of Cairo I send cordial greetings to the President of your Republic, His Excellency President Radhakrishnan, and the Indian Leader, His Excellency Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru.

EGYPT INDIA USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC TUNISIA INDONESIA YUGOSLAVIA

Date : Apr 01, 1963

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Loan Agreement Signed

An agreement between the Governments of India and the United Kingdom for a loan of € 3.5 million for the purchase of some steel products, was signed in New Delhi on April 9, 1963.

The agreement was signed by Sir Paul Gore-Booth, the British High Commissioner, on behalf of the Government of Britain, and Shri L. K. Jha, Economic Secretary, Ministry of Finance, on behalf of the Government of India.

The loan is for a period of 25 years, but repayments of principal do not begin until after the first seven years. Orders arising under the Loan Agreement will be placed with British firms by the middle of 1963.

This loan is additional to British aid totalling € 95 million which has been made available so far for India's Third Five Year Plan.

The steel will be used for a number of important projects in both the public and private sectors, including power house construction and for the requirements of heavy engineering factories, of the Heavy Electricals Project in Bhopal, and for the manufacture of railway wagons, ships and road vehicles.

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Date : Apr 01, 1963

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Indo-U.S. Agreement Signed

An agreement between the Government of India and the Phillips Petroleum Company of the U.S.A. for setting up of a refinery in India was signed in New Delhi on April 27, 1963.

Shri M. N. Kashyap, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Mines and Fuel, signed on behalf of the Government of India and Mr. E. Guitar or behalf of the Phillips Petroleum. Shri K. D. Malaviya, Minister for Mines and Fuel, was also Present.

Under the agreement a new company will incorporated in which the Government of India will subscribe 51% of the equity capital in rupees, Phillips Petroleum 25% in dollars and the remaining 24% will be subscribed by Indian parties to be determined by the Government of India.

The refinery will have a capacity of 2.5 million tons and will be located at a suitable site in the Cochin area. A Site Selection Committee has already been constituted for determining the site

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Date : May 01, 1963

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AFGHANISTAN

President's Speech at State Banquet

The President, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan paid a State visit to Afghanistan from May 11 to 16, 1963. Shri B. Gopala Reddy, Minister of Information and Broadcasting, accompanied the President as Minister-in-Waiting.

On May 11, His Majesty the King of Afghanistan held a State Banquet in honour of the President.

Replying to the toast, President Radhakrishnan made the following speech :

Your Majesty, Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen :

In the outset allow me to express my thanks to Your Majesty for a very cordial reception which was accorded to us today. We have already felt warm friendliness and goodwill of the people of Afghanistan for us. We appreciate this very much. Your Majesty referred to the friendly relations between our two countries. It should serve as the foundation for building in the future of stronger friendship between us hereafter. You referred to our emergence to freedom in recent times. That also is another

link which binds us together. You then pointed out that both of our countries are engaged in the task of raising the living standards of our peoples. That is the justification of freedom. Freedom is an opportunity which we have to use for the purpose of making all our people feel that they belong to the country which looks after them with great care and concern.

The great Caliph once said about the administration of secular affairs that the Kazi must be one to whom no blame should attach. Tax collectors should not subject the people to any sense of extortion, police officer should always protect the weak against the strong and an intelligence report should be honest and objective, If the leadership is wise, if the administration is clean, and if there is a sense of participation of people in the government of the country and in the industrial production to which they make contribution in a substantial way, the people will be contented.

According to Caliph Mansour, slowness of evolution is responsible for all upheavals. It is, therefore, essential for us to speed up our progress as much as possible. That is what you are attempting to do, Your Majesty, and that is what we are attempting to do in our own country. I have no doubt that the ideals and objectives that we have set before ourselves are identical and that also will help us to learn from each other, profit from each other and be of mutual advantage to each other. That is my hope.

You have referred, Your Majesty, to the loss which our country sustained in the death of Dr. Rajendra Prasad, who was President when you were there. He passed away earlier this year and our whole nation mourned his loss. He was one of the great fighters for freedom and he set an example by holding his office of Presidency, for twelve years and a half, an example which we all try to follow to the best of our ability. You referred to the policy of non-involvement in military blocs which we both adopt. I have no doubt that is one way in which we can bring the establishment of peace in this world nearer. You invited our attention to the dispute between ourselves and the Chinese people. It is our earnest endeavour that it should be settled in a peaceful way. If it is not so settled you may be sure it is not due to

any unwillingness on the part of India to have this problem settled in as amicable a way as possible. You may feel certain that our policy in this matter has been a policy of a country which is dedicated to peace, which is interested in using peaceful methods for the settlement of all outstanding disputes. We don't propose to adopt any other course of action in this matter. I have no doubt that in international conferences and other things, we remembered the principles of Bandung and the Five Principles enunciated by us some years ago. They will be the guiding principles so far as our international conduct is concerned and we will do everything on our part to promote not only the Afro-Asian solidarity but also world peace. In this process our own relations will be further strengthened and we will work together as partners in the quest for world peace,

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AFGHANISTAN USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC INDIA INDONESIA

Date : May 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

AFGHANISTAN

Welcome Speech by King of Afghanistan

The following are the highlights of the King's speech at the banquet held in honour of the President :

Amicable relations between countries of the world are a product of ties which people and nations should preserve on the basis of mutual respect, of trust and of goodwill. Time-honoured historical and cultural acquaintance between the peoples of Afghanistan and India and in the relations between these two countries. this quality stands out as an undeniable fact.

The recent history of this region remains a witness to the current of sympathy between the peoples of these two countries in the face of colonialism. The valiant efforts of the people of India for the attainment of their independence have always been viewed with great sympathy by the people of Afghanistan and likewise the people of Afghanistan have enjoyed, during their struggle for independence, moral support offered by the people of India. Today both countries enjoy the blessings of freedom. Their mutual adherence to the principles of Bandung and Belgrade Conferences, their pursuit of the policy of non-alignment and their endeavours to serve the cause of the consolidation of world peace have brought us even closer to each other.

On this occasion I recall the pleasant memories of my visit to India. I cannot refrain myself from expressing sorrow over the sad loss of that dear friend and great Indian personality, the late Dr. Rajendra Prasad.

The observation of progress, of accomplishments, in every field of endeavour and development achieved since then by the people of India are gratifying to me personally-in fact to all your friends-and are worthy of admiration indeed.

The recent tension between the two great Asian nations, the Republic of India and the People's Republic of China, for both of whom Afghanistan entertains friendship and who both live in the same region with us, has since at the very outset created concern in our minds, and a series of unpleasant events it led to were followed here with deep apprehension. We are hopeful nevertheless to observe today that both parties are seeking now peaceful means and ways to settle this problem. We entertain the conviction that given a measure of goodwill a settlement through negotiations, far from being impossible, is the only sound approach to any such problems. We wish with all sincerity that in the path towards a solution to this problem the spirit of Asian solidarity and the principles of Bandung Conference would serve as guiding lights and that countries which took part in formulating these principles would not permit events to damage that spirit of friendship and brotherhood between them.

Your Excellency, our people are fully aware of your great personality and of the prominent part you have taken in the advancement of your country. They also know of and hold in highest esteem your position as one of the great scholars and philosophers of our time.

I wish with all sincerity greater prosperity for the people of India and still greater success for Your Excellency in your noble endeavours for the advancement of India and for the great cause of world peace.

AFGHANISTAN USA INDIA INDONESIA YUGOSLAVIA CHINA

Date : May 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

AFGHANISTAN

Joint Communique

The following is the text of the Joint Communique issued at the conclusion of the visit of the President of India to Afghanistan :

On the invitation of His Majesty the King of Afghanistan, His Excellency Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, President of the Republic of India, paid an official visit to Afghanistan from the 11th to 15th May, 1963.

Throughout his stay in Afghanistan the President of India was received with warmth and cordiality in keeping with the time-honoured and traditional relations between the people of Afghanistan and the people of India.

The President had talks with His Majesty the King of Afghanistan, His Excellency Dr. Mohammed Yussuf, the Prime Minister, other members of the Government and prominent personalities in Afghanistan.

The President had the opportunity to visit some development projects and construction sites around Kabul and Kandahar and to address a gathering organized in his honour at the University of Kabul.

His Majesty the King of Afghanistan and the President of India had a frank and cordial exchange of views on general issues of mutual

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interest and expressed satisfaction at the close and friendly relations existing between the two countries, which are fully reflected in the similarity of views held by them at the United Nations and other international gatherings.

The two Heads of State reaffirmed their countries policy of non-involvement in military blocs and their faith in the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of the Bandung and Belgrade Conferences; they considered the pursuit of these policies as useful and effective in promoting better understanding among nations and the cause of world peace.

The two Heads of State expressed pleasure at the recent attainment of independence by a number of countries formerly under colonial rule and reaffirmed their full support for those nations which are still struggling for their independence.

The two Heads of State expressed concern at the existing armaments race and over the fact that it has not yet been possible to reach agreement on a nuclear test ban and general disarmament and they expressed the hope that a solution would soon be found for these vital problems to the benefit of world peace and the security of mankind.

The two Heads of State expressed pleasure at the satisfactory development of relations between their two countries and reaffirmed their wish for the promotion and consolidation of these happy relations and for the development of fruitful cooperation in the economic, scientific and cultural fields.

The two Heads of State are convinced that direct contacts between leaders and responsible personalities of the two friendly countries are

useful for strengthening and consolidating the friendship between them and expressed the hope for the continuance of such contacts.

AFGHANISTAN USA INDIA INDONESIA YUGOSLAVIA

Date : May 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

CHILE

Indo-Chilean Trade Agreement Extended

Trade Agreement between India and Chile has been extended up to the end of December 1965. Letters were exchanged in New Delhi on May 3, 1963 between Shri D. S. Joshi, Secretary, Department of International Trade, Ministry of Commerce and Industry, and Dr. Luis Melo Lecaros, Ambassador of Chile, extending the Agreement.

The Indo-Chilean Agreement, which was signed in Santiago in 1960 and was due to expire on 31st December, 1962, had been extended earlier for three months.

The Trade between India and Chile has been increasing since 1960. The total trade between the two countries amounted to Rs. 231 lakhs in 1961-62 as against Rs. 176 lakhs in 1960-61. Indian imports from Chile consist mainly of natural sodium nitrate (a fertiliser). Major items of Indian exports are jute manufactures and tea. It is expected that some new Indian products, like railway equipment and sewing machines, will enter the Chilean market as a result of this extended agreement.

CHILE INDIA USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC RUSSIA

Date : May 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

DENMARK

Indo-Danish Agreement on Atomic Energy for Peaceful Purposes

India and Denmark have agreed to collaborate in the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. Dr. H. J. Bhabha, Chairman, Indian Atomic Energy Commission, and Mr. Hans

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Henrik Koch, Chairman of the Executive Committee, Danish Atomic Energy Commission, exchanged letters in Bombay on May 19, 1963.

According to these letters, the two countries have agreed to exchange information concerning the peaceful uses of Atomic Energy and research connected therewith, except information of a secret nature or information which either party is not free to exchange because it has been obtained from or developed in collaboration with a third party, or information which is of commercial value and which the party transmitting it desires to be subject to a special arrangement. They will also arrange for the visits of scientists and technical personnel as may be mutually agreed upon from time to time and will extend facilities for the purchase of nuclear materials and equipment required by either party to the agreement. Lastly, the two countries will cooperate with each other in the implementation of such joint project as may be mutually agreed upon from time to time.

The agreement which is in the form of exchange of letters will be in force for a period of five years from February 18, 1963 in the first instance, and may be renewed from time to time for such period as may be mutually agreed upon.

During the past few years there has been a limited measure of cooperation between Denmark and India consisting in the main of exchange of

unclassified information. The present agreement is the result of desire of Denmark to extend the area of collaboration in the peaceful uses of atomic energy. The Danish programme for the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, like the Indian Atomic Energy Programme, aims at the promotion of scientific, technical and industrial progress for the benefit of the community. The proposed agreement for collaboration is expected to promote friendly relations between the two countries and to prove mutually beneficial.

DENMARK INDIA USA

Date : May 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Prime Minister's Statement in Lok Sabha on Visit of Foreign Dignitaries to India

The Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru made the following statement in Lok Sabha on May 7, 1963:

Several distinguished representatives of friendly countries have visited Delhi during the last ten days. We have taken advantage of these visits to exchange views with them on matters of mutual interest, Mr. Ali Sabry, President of the Executive Council of the U.A.R., arrived in Delhi on his way back to Cairo from Peking on the night of the 26th April and left on the night of 27/28th April. Admiral of the Fleet the Earl Mountbatten of Burma, Chief of the U.K. Defence Staff, arrived in Delhi on 30th April and left on 3rd May. Mr. Duncan Sandys, the U.K. Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, was here from 1st May to 4th May. Mr. Dean Rusk, the United States Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, was in Delhi with Messrs. Phillips Talbot and William Bundy from 2nd to 4th May. Apart from the visits of these dis-

tinguished representatives of friendly countries, it was during last 10 days of April that the 5th round of Indo-Pakistan Minister-level talks on Kashmir and other related matters took place. It was also during this period that our Minister for Economic and Defence Coordination, Shri T. T. Krishnamachari, paid a goodwill visit to New Zealand and Australia. It is natural, therefore, that the Members of the House should want to know something about the talks and discussions that we had with various distinguished foreign representatives during this period. A large number of Calling Attention notices have been received in this connection and I am taking this opportunity of acquainting the House broadly with the nature of the talks we had. I cannot give details as these informal and friendly talks with representatives of foreign governments have, in accordance with normal conventions, to be treated as confidential.

INDO-PAKISTAN TALKS

As the House is aware, the Government of India have always been anxious to reach a settlement on our various differences with Pakistan

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

this connection like to draw the attention of the House to our repeated offers of a "No War" Declaration to Pakistan in pursuance of our sincere desire to have peaceful and friendly relations with them. These offers have so far met with no response. In my letter to President Ayub Khan last October, I had pointed out that we have to build up adequate defence potential to meet the Chinese threat but this new defence potential cannot and will not be used for any purpose other than effective resistance against Chinese aggression. I had also assured him in this letter that the idea of any conflict with Pakistan is one which is repugnant to us, and we on our part will never initiate it and expressed my conviction that the future of India and Pakistan lies in their friendship and cooperation for the benefit of both. I am sure the House fully supports me in my reiteration of these sentiments.

INDIA-CHINA CONFLICT

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

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

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

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

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

KRISHNAMACHARI'S VISIT

In this connection I would like to mention Shri T. T. Krishnamachari's recent visit to New Zealand and Australia. During these visits Shri Krishnamachari had talks with Prime Ministers of these two countries and also some of their colleagues. These informal and friendly talks have, I am sure, brought India and New Zealand and Australia closer together in their approach to problems of common interests. During the visit to Australia, Shri T. T. Krishnamachari was accompanied by our Cabinet Secretary and opportunity was taken to discuss questions of production of defence equipment and allied matters. It is intended to follow up the results of this visit by further visit of an Indian technical team connected with production of defence

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equipment to Australia and, perhaps at a later stage, by the visit of an Australian technical team

to India to get Australian technical cooperation in connection with our programmes of production of defence equipment.

VISIT OF SANDYS AND MOUNTBATTEN

Lord Mountbatten had planned to visit us in October 1962. This visit was postponed because of the crisis in the Caribbean. We were glad to see an old friend and exchanged views with him on our mutual problems. As Chief of the U.K. Defence Staff, Lord Mountbatten has been in close touch with the problems of our defence requirements both in the way of equipment and machinery for defence production to build up our defence potential to meet the Chinese threat. He discussed these matters generally with me, with the Defence Minister and with various Service Chiefs. The Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, Mr. Duncan Sandys, discussed with us the general question of our defence requirements, the progress of the Indo-Pakistan Minister-level talks on Kashmir and other related matters and Indo-Pakistan relations generally. During the talks he made it clear that settlement on Kashmir is not a condition to the military aid from U.K. to meet the Chinese threat to India. He added, however, that a settlement of the differences between India and Pakistan will greatly ease the U.K.'s task and hoped that progress will be made in the talks between India and Pakistan to settle their differences.

I would like to take this opportunity of saying a few words on reports about the grounding of IAF planes for lack of supply of British spare parts that have appeared in the press as a result of a question asked in the British Parliament on this subject. While some aircraft with flying units have temporarily become un-serviceable, it is expected that this temporary difficulty will be soon overcome in view of the great interest taken in this matter by all concerned. Our requirements of spare parts for IAF planes of British manufacture are being dealt with on the basis of priority. The main difficulty has been the availability of supply, with the Royal Air Force and with the British manufacturers, as some of the types of British aircraft in service with the IAF have gone out of production.

DEAN RUSK'S VISIT

In our talks with Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, which was in the nature of a tour d'horizon of the problems in which both India and the United States are interested, Secretary of State, Mr. Dean Rusk, assured us of United States sympathy and support to India against the Chinese threat. He made it clear that there can be no question of compromising with the Chinese threat and that the question of U.S. aid to India was not linked with the settlement of Indo-Pakistan differences including those over Kashmir. He added, that, so far as the U.S.A. were concerned, their view was that Chinese aggressive and expansionist policies posed a threat to the entire sub-continent and, in that context, they were interested in promotion of friendly relations between India and Pakistan. I told Secretary of State Dean Rusk that geography, our common bonds of history and cultural and other ties made it inevitable that India and Pakistan should have cooperative and friendly relations. In resolving our current differences including those on Kashmir, however, care has to be taken to see that both the methods and the lines of settlement of differences that may be followed should secure the main objective not only of resolving the differences but of promoting friendly and cooperative relations between India and Pakistan. It is of the utmost importance, therefore, that no inadvertant step should be taken which may, instead of making for improvement, worsen the climate between the two countries. It is in this context and in the context of the long-term nature of the Chinese threat that we welcome the interest of U.S.A. and other friendly countries who are helping us in meeting the problems we are facing.

TECHNICAL TEAM'S VISIT

An official team of technical experts has been visiting the U.S.A., Canada and the U.K. during the last three weeks in connection with our defence requirements. The team returned to Delhi on the morning of the 5th. Secretary of State, Mr. Dean Rusk, told us during his talks that the U.S. authorities would welcome the visit of Shri T. T. Krishnamachari for having further talks and discussions, in continuation of three exchanges between official experts. I had a recent message from Prime Minister Macmillan in which he,

mentioned, amongst other matters, that an early visit by Shri T. T. Krishnamachari to the U.K. will be useful. Shri T. T. Krishnamachari will be leaving for his visits to the U.S.A., Canada and the U.K. in a few days.

I have attempted in this statement to give a broad indication of the developments during the last few weeks and of the discussions we had with distinguished representatives of friendly countries who visited Delhi recently. While we must take and we are taking, with such assistance as we can get from friendly countries, necessary measures to safeguard our security and territorial integrity against the Chinese aggressive threat, our dedication to peace and peaceful ways and our desire to have friendly and cooperative relations with all countries, more particularly with our

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immediate neighbours, continue to be the guiding principles of India's foreign policy. We want to develop in freedom and independence according to our own genius. We will continue to take independent decisions, on the merits on each case, on all international issues that arise without prejudices or predilections of any kind. We do not want to interfere in the affairs of any other country nor do we covet an inch of any country territory. At the same time, we will not permit any interference in our affairs or any aggression on our territory.

INDIA EGYPT BURMA UNITED KINGDOM USA PAKISTAN AUSTRALIA NEW ZEALAND CHINA SRI LANKA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC RUSSIA PERU CANADA

Date : May 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

IRAN

President's Speech at State Banquet

At the invitation of His Imperial Majesty, the Shahanshah of Iran, the President, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan paid a six-day State visit to Iran from May 16, 1963. Accompanying the President as Minister-in-Waiting was Shri B. Gopala Reddy, Minister of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India.

On May 16, His Imperial Majesty held a Banquet in honour of the President.

Replying to the toast, President Radhakrishnan said :

Your Imperial Majesties, Your Excellencies,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am most grateful to His Imperial Majesty the Shahanshah of Iran for the kind invitation he extended to us to visit his country. Members of my party and myself have been greatly moved by the very affectionate welcome which we received this noon when we arrived. We have come here to see some of the ancient monuments as well as some of the modern achievements of Iran.

Your Imperial Majesty just referred, with legitimate pride, to the fact that the Buddha and Cyrus were produced in the same age. These great people do not belong to their own countries. They belong to the whole world. Cyrus found the world young and moulded it according to his own pattern. His achievements in communications, in administration and Organisation have afforded lessons for the later empire builders. More important than these are the basic policies which he adopted towards the peoples over whom he exercised sway. Herodotus tells us that he rescued Croesus from the funeral pyre of Sardis and made him one of his most honoured counselors. His policy towards beliefs of the peoples whom he conquered has been one of great generosity. The Old Testament Books Ezra and Esther tell us how Cyrus built the temple at Jerusalem and reconciled Jews to his own views. He maintained the shrines of other people and made generous gifts to them. This attitude of respect for other faiths has been one of Cyrus's basic policies. Your Imperial Majesty is still preserving the tradition as is evident from the fact that you sent me Id Greetings recently. We in our country adopt the same kind of attitude; we do not hold in scorn what other people hold

sacred. We have Hindus and Muslims, Buddhists and Christians, Sikhs and Parsees. They are all honoured, treated with equal respect and dignity and are given the freedom to profess their beliefs and practise their own rites. Spiritual courtesy must be regarded as the essential mark of a civilised human being. Almost all modern states today are adopting this great principle.

Your Imperial Majesty, you have referred to the intimate relations between our two countries. The Rigveda and the Zend Avasta have a family resemblance. You pointed out how Hafiz said that the parrots of India had a liking for the candy of Iran. I may quote another of Hafiz's sayings. Talking about himself he said, the black eyed beauties of Kashmir and the Turks of Samarkand sing and dance to the strains of the music of Hafiz of Shiraz. We have had Persian taught as a classical language in many of our Universities. It is a matter of gratification that many of your classics have been published for the first time in India and some of your newspapers were also published for the first time there. I have no doubt that we will continue to show the same interest in Persian as we have done hitherto.

Zarathustra tells us that we should act clean, speak clean, think clean. This is a heavy responsibility which at least the leaders should exercise. A careless utterance, a casual aside

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may confuse the people and cost them very dear. what a leader thinks today other people think tomorrow. it is that kind of attitude that we should realise when we exercise leadership.

Both our countries, as you mentioned just now, are facing the task of building a welfare state. We are trying to fight disease, ignorance, poverty, malnutrition etc. In so doing we are trying to apply modern methods of science and technology and trying to raise the living standards of our people. Some of the attempts which Your Imperial Majesty has recently made-agrarian reforms, the enfranchisement of the women, enabling workers to participate in the industrial enterprises-these are in the direction of democracy. Slowness of evolution is generally the cause of revolutions. If we wish to avoid violent

upheavals we should speed up the way in which we attempt to raise the living standards of the common people. The interest of the rulers and the ruled should coincide. That is the first principle of any kind of stable government.

Your Imperial Majesty referred to the need for having peace in the world if our attempts are not to be dashed to pieces. All the things that we are doing today Will come to nothing if there is a nuclear war. It should be our endeavour to prevent nuclear wars, bring about disarmament and world peace. Centuries ago, Cicero said that there cannot be one law for Athens and another for Rome. There cannot be one law today and another law later. We may not have a federal government soon; a world authority may be a distant scene; all the same, we should have a sufficient respect for law and a sense of justice. These should become ordinary features, features which are accepted by people all over the world. This should be the first step on which we can build a world authority or achieve world peace.

I hope that our representatives in the United Nations and such other organisations will work together reflecting the spiritual solidarity which we have had for centuries past and if we are able to do it, we would have made some little contribution to the establishment of peace in this world. I have great pleasure in proposing the toast of His Imperial Majesty, Her Imperial Majesty, Members of the Royal Family. We toast them all and the prosperity of the people of Iran.

IRAN INDIA USA ISRAEL SRI LANKA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC GREECE ITALY

Date : May 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

IRAN

Welcome Speech by H.M. Shah of Iran

Welcoming President Radhakrishnan, His Imperial Majesty the Shahanshah of Iran made the following speech :

Mr. President,

It gives the Empress and myself infinite pleasure to welcome Your Excellency in our midst to-night as our cherished and honoured guest, and as the representative of a country which has had the longest and most deep-rooted relations with Iran.

Two thousand five hundred years ago, at an epoch known as the golden age of ancient times, were born, almost in the same period, Buddha in India and Cyrus, founder of the Persian Empire, in this country. Ever since that time we have entertained intimate relations, based on our two great and original cultures.

For centuries before that, there existed close bonds between our two peoples in the realms of thought and philosophy, as testified by the sacred and religious books of the Indian and Iranians, inspired by similar customs and beliefs.

From time immemorial Persian poetry and literature have found admirers and emulators in India, and we are happy to recall the fact that during two and a half centuries, between the seventeenth and the nineteenth, Farsi was the official language of the Indian Court.

India has produced almost as many poets who have sung in the Persian language as we have had in this country; and the number of Persian manuscripts in existence in libraries all over India which bear evidence to the interest shown in our literature, forms the largest collection of its kind in the world-larger perhaps in Your Excellency's country than in Persia itself.

It is also worth noting that most of the Persian classics to appear for the first time in printed form saw the light, in the last century, in Calcutta and Bombay; and the first newspapers in our language were published in various parts of India, not to mention the number of Persian dictionaries and grammars which have appeared in your country in the course of the last three centuries.

At present there are more universities in India where the Persian language and literature are taught on a wider scale than anywhere else in the world.

On the whole, from the time when, according to the humorous simile used by our great poet Hafiz, the parrots of India relished the sugar of Iran referring to the popularity of his lyrics in

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your country, to this day, India has been the most lustrous centre of Persian literature and culture outside our frontiers—a fact for which we have always felt grateful appreciation.

I myself visited a number of these centres of Iranian studies during my unforgettable journey to your country and became closely acquainted with them.

Throughout the past, India and Iran have been two sources of culture and high ideals; at the present time our two Nations are waging a similar crusade against ignorance, poverty and disease, endeavouring to raise the standard of life of the common man. For this reason, like all the other countries engaged in the same immense task, we both need security and tranquillity in order to be able to pursue our goal in the field of social, economic and industrial reform; the most important consideration for us both is to cooperate to the full in the endeavour to preserve the peace of the world.

Your Excellency has come to us as the distinguished representative of an ancient land, an honoured friend of Iran. It is with a sense of pleasure that I have mentioned with warm feeling our cultural intercourse and our friendly relationship, and in that spirit I seize this opportunity to wish Your Excellency good health and happiness, as well as ever-increasing prosperity and progress for your great country.

IRAN USA INDIA

Date : May 01, 1963

Volume No

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IRAN

Address of Welcome by Mayor of Tehran

The Mayor of Tehran made the following speech presenting the golden key of the city of Tehran to President Radhakrishnan on May 16, 1963 :

Your Excellency,

On behalf of the citizens of Tehran, H.M. the Shahanshah, Royal Capital, and myself, I have the honour to extend the warmest and most cordial welcome to the President of India.

We are proud to have as our guest an eminent philosopher and a reputable scholar and famous educationalist as President of Republic of India, who has contributed greatly through his works and his university activities to better the understanding of not only the Indian people but the whole world.

The political and the cultural relations between Iran and India have profound historical origins, and I believe that nothing could better explain our connections than the statement, Prime Minister of India, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, has made in his famous book "Discovery of India". He says :-

"Few people have been more closely related in origin and throughout history than the people of India and the people of Iran."

I trust that your visit to Iran will help to further and strengthen the cultural and economic ties of the two nations.

People of the whole world are, with deep interest and admiration, following the enormous developments presently taking place in India, and this is our wish and hope that such develop-

ments be fruitful for Indian people in the years to come.

To express my feeling I repeat my welcome in Hindi :-

"Rashtrapati Jee,

MAIN APKA ES SOORYE AUR GULAB-WALE SHEHENSHAHI DEYSH MEIN HARDEK SWAGAT KARTA HOON."

IRAN INDIA USA

Date : May 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

IRAN

Reply by President of India

During his visit to Iran, the President, Dr. Radhakrishnan was presented the golden key of the city of Tehran by H.E. Mr. Ahmed Naficy Mayor of Tehran, on May 16, 1963.

On this occasion the Mayor gave an address of welcome to the President presenting him the key.

Replying to the address, President Radhakrishnan said :

Your Imperial Majesty, Mr. Mayor and my friends,

I am delighted to be here today on the invitation of Your Majesty and see this land of legend and enchantment with my own eyes.

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You have referred, Sir, to the age-old connections between India and Iran. The connections are not only ancient, they are modern.

It you look into our art, architecture, music, painting and calligraphy, you will see the profound influence that Iran has exercised on us.

We have an Indo-Iranian language which is spoken in many parts of our country--Urdu. And we have many universities where Persian is taught as a classical language.

I have no doubt that the activities which Your Imperial Majesty is now adopting for the improvement of the living standards of your people and bringing up this country to the standards of a modern, civilised state, will meet with great Success.

I am happy to be here and to receive the key of the city of Tehran.

IRAN INDIA USA

Date : May 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

IRAN

President's Speech at University of Tehran

The President Dr. Radhakrishnan was conferred an honorary Degree of Doctor of Letters by the Chancellor of Tehran University. Dr. Jahanshah Saleh at a Special Convocation held on May 17, 1963.

Speaking on the occasion the President said :

Mr. Chancellor, Mr. Dean and Friends,

I greatly appreciate the honour which this University has done me by admitting me in this academic community. It is only another indication that where science and scholarship are concerned, there are no distinctions of race or creed,

nationality or colour. Those who pursue science and scholarship, wherever they may be, belong to the one priesthood of spirit, and it is on the basis of this intellectual solidarity that we can build a world fellowship. Every university, therefore, has its contribution to make in bringing together the Cultures of the world, faiths of the world and making them understand one another. That is the basis on which this world, which has found itself as one body, can discover its soul and become a united world.

The racial affinities, the spiritual qualities which bind the Iranians and the Indians have already been mentioned. The Rig Vedas and the Zend Avesta have so much in common. The Iranians and the Indians belong to one ethnic family, though they happen to be separated today. And the ideas and beliefs, which they cherish today, happen to be continuous with the ideas and beliefs which they had at the start of their careers. Zarathushtra, who gave Zoroastrianism and its offshoots of Mithraism and Manichaeism to the world, emphasised certain points which are still preserved by us. He made out that the human soul is a battle-field between good and evil. The whole world is a conflict between good and evil—Ahura Mazda, and Ahriman. Human beings are today divided, riven, discarded personalities, and unless they are able to overcome the evil and integrate their own nature, they will not be able to have any kind of insight into fundamental reality. In other words, the inward and the outward must cohere, and must go together. It is only then we can call ourselves human beings, fulfilled human beings, not merely incomplete human beings as we happen to be.

How can we overcome this conflict between good and evil. The only way to do it is by the practice of certain spiritual exercises which are given to us. Men are called upon to discipline their natures, to meditate and be solitary. It is not loneliness that they are emphasising. Most of us in crowds are lonely, but many of us will be solitary. We are not lonely because we have the eternal companion. God is with us, in whose company we find solace and comfort. We are called upon, therefore, to develop meditation faculties, certain spiritual exercises by which we can integrate our nature. The purpose of all cultures is the integration of human personality. If

we, therefore, believe that man can rise from his present incomplete unregenerate, ignorant condition and can rise to the condition of wisdom, happiness and joy; if the way to it is the conquest of evil. then the way in which this attitude expresses itself is again put by Zarathushtra in three words. The task of humanity is threefold : to make the enemy into a friend; to make the wicked into a righteous man; to make the illiterate into a learned man. You find here emphasis on social service-social service, spiritual discipline, insight into fundamental reality. When Islam came into this land, it again emphasised these aspects : its freedom, its dignity, its equality, its power to make you understand the nature of reality. These, things were emphasised again. Sufism is the highest expression of the Iranian genius in the religious field. You find there the same qualities which were once observed in Zarathushtra's religion or in the Rig Veda itself. Dara Shikoh translated Upanishads and wrote a book

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called "The Meeting of the Two Oceans of Sufism and Vedantism." He made out that these two things emphasised the same aspects. You find there an emphasis on the transcendent remoteness of the divine as well as the loving intimacy of the Supreme. These two qualities are to be found in Vedanta and in sufistic doctrines themselves. The loving intimacy is there. It is Saadi who says : look at the generosity and grace of the Supreme. The slave has sinned, but the Supreme bears the shame. We have done something ignoble, unworthy of ourselves, but it is the Supreme that sustains the blame for it. He put it that way. He again told us the Supreme is not a Sultan in the sky residing in remote home. He is there dwelling in the inner-most depths of each human heart. He tells us my Father is nearer to me than I myself. But yet I feel that I am a stranger to him. It is this contrast, this polarity, so to say. Here is the divine in every human being and at the same time, because we are lost in the glamour of the world in the pursuit of the final goods which can never satisfy the infinite craving in man, we find that we are unable to discover what is there.

The presence of the divine is one thing, the consciousness of the presence of the divine is quite another. And any kind of religious fulfil-

ment consists in the process by which the presence is transformed into consciousness of the presence. Your great mystic Jallaludin Roomi says : "I was a mineral; I was a plant; I was an animal; I am a human being and I want to rise from my human level to a spiritual level. That is the end which is ahead of me."

Cosmic evolution has not reached its culmination when human intelligence was developed. It has yet a long way to go, man has to be surpassed. He has to go from beyond his present position to a position which is beyond his self. Here then is the Sufi doctrine, doctrine which says : I am the truth for which one of your great saints was executed, who affirms that the truth is not elsewhere; that the truth is in man and each one can discover it and he is a potential candidate for this divine status. That has been the faith. If it is so, it follows that there is nothing inevitable about the future. If each human individual has in him this boundless possibility which you call God, if he has in him the divine nature, there is nothing there which can be disregarded as final and ultimate. Omar, your great Mathematician-Astronomer, according to the English translation of Fitz-gerald, is reported to have said the last day of reckoning will reap what the first day of creation wrote. Well, If really Sufism, Vedantism, Mysticism, if they have any truth about them, then this doctrine that life is nothing more than an un-rolling of the process, than a ball which has been given to us at the start of creation, which is simply un-rolled as things happen, cannot be true.

The future has nothing inevitable about it. There is an indeterminacy of the future. Many historians who looked upon history said that they see in it no definite pattern; they see in it the play of the contingent, the play of the unforeseen, the play of the human factor, whereas in the lower realms there is something instinctive and automatic where things may be regarded as determined. So far as the human being is concerned, there is nothing fixed, there is nothing pre-determined. It is possible for him to mould events to suit his pattern. That is why human beings have before them the whole future. The gates of the future lie wide open. We need not think that we are more or less bound down to any particular course.

The presence of the divine which has been put in different words, we have said : That Art Thou. The Buddha has said each one has the essentials of both re-enlightenment. Jesus says the kingdom of God is within you. Mohamed said God is nearer to you than the very artery of your neck. All these people are affirming the presence of a divine element in human beings. It is this that confers on us dignity, that confers on us responsibility, that makes us believe it is possible for us to shape the future in any manner we choose. We should try to find out what it is that we want and, when once we know it, if we are firm in our view, if we act unitedly, there is nothing impossible for human beings to achieve.

It is because we are divided, we are fighting one with another; we are undisciplined in our nature, we are not united, that is why we have all the confusion which we come across in the world. The confusion of the world is a reflection of the confusion in your own souls. If we are able to discover this element, which is able to integrate our own nature, immediately you will find there is nothing determined, there is nothing fixed but the whole thing is open to us and it depends on us what we make of the future of this world.

Herodotus and Aeschylus both of them talked about the Persians. They both said here Your people valient in spirit; lovers of truth, who love to write, to shoot, to speak the truth and not falsehood. If they have suffered in the wars with the Greeks it is because they were inferior in their equipment; they were inadequate in their training. This is what Aeschylus tells us in his drama, the "Persians". This is what Herodotus tells us when he deals with the conflict between the Greeks and the Persians. Even though both these writers were Greeks, they were honest enough to admit that so far as intrinsic virtue

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and personal valour are concerned, the Persians were not inferior to the Greeks or to any other race. What they were inferior in is inferior equipment and inadequate training. That has been the curse, not merely of the Persians, but of the whole East. So far as the Africans and the Asians are concerned, the real problem was that

they were left behind in the battle for life. The race is to the swift and the strong, not to the lazy and the idle. We have turned to be lotus eaters, merely resting on the ores of the past, thinking of the time of the great things which we achieved. But we have also to see to it that in this world we have to reckon with the requirements, with the new challenges that are imposed on us. It is in the universities that you can bring about a blend between traditional values and modern knowledge. If you give up your traditional values; if the roots are cut away, the tree cannot live. You must preserve the traditional values which you have had. But assimilate with those traditional values, ideas of modern techniques, modern science etc. What is a University for? It is for the transmission of ideas and ideals of skills and techniques. These have to be transmitted from one generation to another and the ideals and the ideas may be the same but the skills and the techniques have been altering from age to age and unless we are able to reckon with the modern challenges, we will be left behind.

It is a great matter of satisfaction to me to know that in this University you have sections for modern science, technology and you recently started an institute for nuclear physics. All these things indicate that you are aware of the task which is assigned to universities and you are attempting your very best to bring about a synthesis, so to say, between the old and the new. The only way in which we can live in this world is to preserve the soul and re-mould the body so as to make it a fit instrument for achieving success in this competitive world.

It is my hope; it is my earnest prayer that this university may send forth into the world men of knowledge and virtue, of skill and refinement who will bring glory not only to this university but to the world at large.

IRAN INDIA USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date : May 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

Welcome Speech by Chancellor of Tehran University

Welcoming the President, the Chancellor of the Tehran University, H.E. Dr. Jahanshah Saleh said :

Mr. President,

It is a source of real pleasure for me to welcome Your Excellency to Tehran University.

You are well aware that from times immemorial the Orient has been the cradle of civilization that amongst all other Oriental countries Iran and India stand first and foremost in their contributions to world culture; and that these two great nations were the torch-bearers of knowledge, the forerunners of a fine civilization at a time when the civilized countries of the modern world were still plunged in the dim obscurity of ignorance or in the primitive stages of progress.

Linguistic affinities, national kinship and distinctive racial characteristics constitute the inseparable bonds of friendship and love that have brought the two nations together from the earliest times throughout the course of history.

India is fully cognizant of Iran's past and present. So is Iran of India's outstanding record of achievements and of the important role she has been playing and will continue to play in the dissemination of culture and in the uplift of humanity.

The traditional Indo-Iranian ties of intellectual and spiritual intimacy were greatly strengthened by His Imperial Majesty's visit to your wonderful land and will further be consolidated by Your Excellency's visit to Iran.

Tehran University is happy to note a rare combination of superior qualities of philosopher, orator, professor and prolific author in the pre-eminent personality of India's Head of State, and it is a high privilege for me to greet a ruling philosopher, a master mind of humanity in the

person of the President of great and glorious India.

In recognition of Your Excellency's achievements in the realm of education, literature and philosophy, and by virtue of the authority vested in me by the University Council, I confer on you the degree of Doctor of Philosophy honoris causa and admit you to all the rights and privileges thereunto pertaining. In token of our action I request the Dean of the Faculty of Letters, after a brief citation in Persian for the benefit of the Persian speaking audience, to present you with this Diploma and direct you to be invested with the academic gown appropriate to your degree.

Words fading me in this attempt to pay tribute to the paramount attainments of our erudite

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guest, I conclude with a free translation in summarized paraphrase of a poem from Iran's leading mystic Mowlavi who reflected a voice from heaven when he so eloquently emphasized the language of the heart: "Each race has been given a different form of expression. The Indians have their own way of praising and the Sindhi theirs. It is the burning heart that sparkles light and love, not the spoken word."

In short "where hearts are true, few words will do."

IRAN INDIA USA

Date : May 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

IRAN

President's Speech at Civic Reception

Following is the text of the speech of Dr. Radhakrishnan, President of India, at a Civic Reception held in his honour in Tehran on May 18, 1963 :

Friends,

I am very happy to be here this evening and see from the faces of the large crowds assembled here, your warm, friendly affectionate greetings to us from India.

Some time before the second millennium B.C., we belonged to one single family. A few of us went a little further east and some stayed behind. All the same, we maintained our connections all through these centuries and my visit today is only one single instance of that meeting of friends of centuries. I am happy to be here and see the glow, youth, the feeling in the faces of people, the eagerness of people to make a better life for themselves.

We live today in a crucial age of history. So many nations, which were submerged are now becoming free and independent. Almost all nations are trying their best to raise the standards of their common people. This may be regarded not merely as the age of the emerging unity of the world, but also as the age of the common man. Common man's necessities, food, clothing, and shelter, these are to be provided for all human beings so that the resources of humanity could be utilised for the best purpose..

I am, therefore, glad to be here in this city of Tehran and see the way in which new factories, industrial establishments and others are growing. What we need for a prosperous country, for a progressive country, are, wise leadership, clean administration, economic opportunity and social equality, national cohesion. You must have leaders who know where they wish to go, to find out what the ideals are, towards which nations are moving today. They must, therefore, guide us properly with regard to the goals we set before ourselves.

In implementing these ideals, you must have clean administration. People must try to put into the country what best they have and not to take from it whatever they can. Therefore, cleanliness, honesty of administration are equally essen-

tial. Economic opportunity and social equality are the needs of all human beings. Nobody wishes to be treated as inferior to other people. We are children of the One Supreme, and that Supreme intends that everyone of us should grow to maturity, should be partners so to say, in the quest for goodness, truth and beauty, not rivals in the pursuit of power. Therefore, it is that there must be a sense of social equality. The great religion of Islam which you profess, is against any kind of social inequality, and its precepts must be enforced in our daily life. If you have wise leadership, an honest administration, economic opportunity and social equality and if, in addition, you have a cohering purpose, some kind of guiding principle, a cementing bond which makes you all feel that you belong to one great nation, you will be a prosperous, progressive, civilised state. I have no doubt about it. It is exactly the same thing which the world at large requires.

I said we are in a crucial age. We are becoming a single unit. What is it that we require then? Wise leadership; once again, there must be leaders who took upon nations as subordinate to the interest of humanity as a whole, and you require people, administrators who are able to implement these ideals and enforce them. Just as we require to remove social and economic inequalities within a state, so should we remove racial discrimination, colonial domination, every kind of domination of one nation by another, economic, political, social, religious or racial. All these things will have to be removed if the peoples of the world should feel that they belong to one world, that they belong to an unit. They are really human beings first and foremost and later French, Germans, Iranians, Indians or Afghans. All these are subordinate to the one fundamental quality of humanity. If, therefore, the root principle of equality is established, if economic exploitation, political domination, racial discrimination are removed, the world will move forward towards achieving its unity. It is these which are the roots of

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all conflicts in this world. Everybody who is dominated wishes to throw away the domination. If you are racially discriminated against, you wish to protest against that kind of racial discrimi-

mination. If you are economically exploited, you wish to get rid of that kind of economic exploitation. More than all these, just as I said, for a nation you require cohesion, for a world you require community of ideals and purposes. All the nations of the world must become like minded. They must feel that they are working for one supreme goal, namely. enabling all parts of humanity to get to the forward state.

If a finger is hurt it is not the finger that feels the pain; it is the whole body, the whole human being that feels the pain. So if any nation is dominated by another or exploited by another, or racially discriminated against, it is an injury to the whole of humanity. It is not merely injury to that particular being. So it is that we in the United Nations try to develop a unity of ideals, a unity of purpose. The same principles which are necessary for national stability are necessary for international security. They are the rooting out of the forces which bring about conflict. Leadership, clean administration. economic opportunity, national cohesion and absolute equality and international unity, these go together.

I do hope that these youngsters who are not wedded to the past, who are advancing into the future. who are attempting their best to see a better world for themselves will see their dream accomplished. I wish them well.

IRAN INDIA USA

Date : May 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

IRAN

President's Speech at Reception by Indo-Iranian Association

The President, Dr. Radhakrishnan made the following speech at a reception held in his honour by the Indo-Iranian Association, at Farhang

Hall, Tehran on May 18, 1963 :

Your Excellency and Friends,

I am very grateful to you for the kind words which you have just said about me.

I am returning straight from a visit to your Museum. That visit was an education in itself. It impresses on you the antiquity and the continuity of the great Iranian tradition spread over four to five thousand years. It also points out to you the antiquity of our relations with Iran--the Indo-Iranian relations, of which this society is a symbol, the present symbol; so to say. I saw there a number of things which reminded me of the common substructure from which our two traditions grew up. I saw a picture of Darius the Second with the symbol of the Sun before him. Sun is said to be the visible symbol of the Divine, the symbol which conveys to us that there is an unseen mystery.. We call it (Sanskrit verse). You are the visible symbol, so to say, of the unseen reality which dwells above. I saw there the lotus flower, the lotus which has been used in India for many centuries, the lotus which indicates, however downcast and depressed we may be, there are possibilities by which we can make ourselves a beautiful offering to the Divine. The lotus arises from mud and dust but slowly becomes a flower of beauty and that flower of beauty is offered to the Divine as the human offering, so to say.

I saw those two things there, in that picture of Darius, the Sun and the lotus-symbols which are common to the whole Indo-Aryan tradition. The Greek God, Mithra, it later became the source of Mithraism, though the transformation effected by Zoroastrianism there, was very near conquering the whole European world. It was a question of touch and go, whether Christ was winning or Mithra was winning.

I saw the humped bulls in several of these cases in that museum. Your tradition has been such a long and continuous one; the remarkable feature is that you have preserved that tradition by assimilating whatever influences were brought to bear upon you. You had the quality of renewing Your tradition in response to the influences which were brought to bear on you during the different generations.

I saw there the Gandhara art. The same thing is found in India. And here again, when the Greeks came, their onward march of Alexander was checked by Mauryan emperors in India, but he did occupy parts of Iran and Afghanistan. You saw there the influence of Greeks, yet the traditional Iran was not disturbed. It was merely enriched. It was greatly influenced, so to say, and we come down even to the recent times of the Persian paintings, the architecture etc. Here again, you have influenced us a great deal and we find so much in common. The quality of self-renewal is what preserves civilizations in this world. If they are unable to renew themselves, they become static, stagnant, decay and die. If they have the vitality of genius, they are able to assimilate whatever is presented to them, and make them a part of their very being. That is what the Iranian traditions have done. If it is

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preserved today, if that museum illustrates to you the long reign of the Iranian tradition for nearly four to five thousand years, it is due to this quality of youth, of self-renewal, of the capacity to assimilate whatever is assimilable to your tradition and the capacity to throw away, reject whatever is not in conformity with your great tradition; discard the useless things, assimilate the things which are of use to you. That is what you find there. This Society, the Indo-Iranian Society, sets the seal, so to say, on this long, continuous tradition. Let us remember that the greatness of a civilization does not consist in its magnificent works of public utility or its great military heels or industrial development. It depends on the quality of the minds and hearts of the peoples themselves. Their minds and hearts have been shaped by your great literary artists-Ferdowsi, Jalaluddin Rumi, Saadi, Hafiz and innumerable other writers. They have shaped the minds and hearts of the Persian people. They have given to them an artistic temperament, a delicacy of refinement, a capacity to notice whatever is valuable. All these things are the product of the great literary minds who flourished in Iran.

The world today is becoming one. There was a time when people took it as axiomatic that everything in this world moves by the values

which Greece, Rome and Palestine have given. Today we recognise that there are other values of civilized life which are the contributions of Iran, India and China. Just as in ages past we were fed on one particular tradition, today we have to be fed on all the traditions which have enriched human civilization, because if there is one problem which is germane to us today, which is relevant to our generation, it is this emergence of the world into a unitary whole. You may have political arrangements, you may have economic alliances, you may have the United Nations Organisations, all these may bring together an external kind of unity, but what is necessary to sustain that unity is an intellectual and spiritual one. You must develop a world mind, a world conscience if a world authority is to be established properly. If such a kind of world mind is to be developed the contributions of Iran to that world mind are considerable. You will be there representing your specific values; you will try to enrich this world conscience by the specific contributions for which you have made yourself responsible for long ages.

Suddenly some things happen, political defeats, economic failures etc., but all these things need not depress us, need not dishearten us. So long as the soul is alive the body will be there. It may be weak, it may be frail, but you will be able to build for yourself in appropriate, suitable body to suit your own particular mental attitude. So the most vital thing in the world is the soul of a nation. It is not so much the wealth that you lose, you may regain it, or the health that you may lose, you may recover it, but once the soul is dead nothing on earth can revive it. So it is essential for us to preserve the soul of a great country like Iran. And I am happy to note that you are doing your utmost to preserving the soul of Iran. That soul is of immense importance, not merely to Iran but to the whole world.

We two countries have worked together, have worked together from the early times from the second century B.C., when the Indians and the Iranians separated themselves, one going farther east and the other settling down here. The whole nation is called Iran, Aryana, Aryavarta. The word 'Aryan' is common to all these three, Iranian people, the Afghans and the Indian people. They all arose from the same stock. They

will belong to the same family and when even the semitic influence of Islam came into Iran, into Afghanistan, into India, these things did not remain isolated, detached from the currents of these different countries. They were assimilated by them. The great mystic traditions which Iran has developed, the same kind of tradition which India is developing and has developed, these are instances to show that if you have life you can take in anything which is submitted to you. What you require today is a wider comprehension, a larger charity, a greater tolerance for other people's beliefs and cultures. These are the ideals which have sustained the great nations of the world. If you become self-centred, nationalistic, forget the universalistic trends which you have. you will pass out as so many nations in the world passed out. Commenting on the battles of Peloponnesian wars, Theodosius said : "Love of power is like a vicious harlot which seduces men and nations and brings them down to their ruin". If we are overtaken by a love of power we will pass out. If we are overtaken by a love of friendship or brotherhood, if we try to bring the whole world into a single unit, while differences of race, nationality and religion do not matter so much, while the fundamental emotions, the fundamental ideals and aspirations of people, where they are discovered to be exactly the same, beneath any kind of skin, beneath any kind of nationality, if you emphasize these human aspects,, as against the artificial aspects which are contingent, fundamentally irrelevant and which divide us one from another, if we develop that humanistic attitude, then the world will survive and we will also be able to say, we have done something towards survival of the world.

This Indo-Iranian society, I have no doubt, is emphasizing the points of similarity, the great points which combine our two nations together.

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This has to become not merely Indo-Iranian but the whole world society, society which brings together in this our generation on account of methods of transport and communications and scientific marvels of technical devices, it has become one and we have to give to it a soul it is groping for, a soul and that soul can only be one of humanism, tolerance and charity.

Date : May 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

IRAN

President's Farewell Broadcast

In a farewell message to the people of Iran broadcast by Radio Tehran on May 20, 1962, the President, Dr. Radhakrishnan said :

Tomorrow I leave your interesting country on my way home. I have been with you for only five days but these five days have been a great experience for me. I am touched by the heart-warming and affectionate welcome you have extended to me from the time I arrived till now. My visit has been a powerful reminder to me of the age-old ties between our two countries. We have a common heritage of culture and civilization. Through the centuries this has been renewed and reinforced by close contact and exchange of thoughts and ideas. Both you in Iran and we in India are proud of our past, but neither you nor we can afford to live in the past. The problems of today have to be faced with boldness and vigour if we are to be worthy of the noble past.

We have to take the fullest advantage of the opportunities which science and technology have brought within our reach and to use them for the benefit of the common man. I am happy to see that His Imperial Majesty and his Government are tackling the problems of today with determination. In this field our two countries can learn from each other's experience. And neither you nor we have the slightest wish to interfere in other peoples' affairs. Our only desire is to live our own lives in peace and freedom in our own way without interference by others.

On behalf of myself and the members of my party I thank His Imperial Majesty and his Government and the people of Iran for their kindness, courtesy and hospitality to us.

My best wishes to you all.

IRAN INDIA USA

Date : May 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

IRAN

President's Message to H. M. Shah of Iran

On leaving Iran on May 21, 1963 at the conclusion of his State visit, the President, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, sent the following message to His Imperial Majesty, the Shahanshah of Iran

As I leave the friendly country of Iran, may I convey to Your Imperial Majesty and to Her Imperial Majesty the Empress, most cordial thanks on my own behalf and on behalf of the members of my party, for the magnificent welcome and hospitality which we received during our brief sojourn in your midst. I was greatly touched by the warmth and spontaneity of the welcome offered to us by the Iranian people wherever we went-Tehran, Isfahan, Shiraz and Zahidan.

I value highly the frank and friendly exchange of views with Your Imperial Majesty. I have had the opportunity of seeing some of the development work that has been undertaken and accomplished by Your Imperial Majesty's Government.

I send my very best wishes for the happiness of Your Imperial Majesties and the members of the Royal Family and for the progress and

prosperity of the people of Iran.

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IRAN USA

Date : May 01, 1963

Volume No

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JAPAN

Joint Communique on additional Yen credit

The following Joint Communique was simultaneously issued in Tokyo and New Delhi on May 23, 1963.

As a result of discussions between the Governments of Japan and India regarding Japan's additional yen credit of 15 million dollars (Rs. 7.14 crores) for the first two years of India's Third Five Year Plan, which was announced by the Government of Japan at the Consortium meetings held in Washington on May 28, 1962 and July 30, 1962, an understanding was reached today to the effect that 5.4 billion yen credit (Rs. 7.14 crores) will be made available for the first two years of India's Third Five Year Plan in addition to the second yen credit of 28.8 billion yen by the Export-Import Bank of Japan together with private Japanese banks to assist in the financing of India's purchases from Japan.

The credit will be used for the Durgapur special steel and alloy project as well as for purchases from Japan agreed upon between the two Governments.

The credit of 5.4 billion yen is repayable over 15 years including a period of grace of 5 years. Details of the procedure have been discussed and agreed upon, and a loan agreement signed between the Government of India and the Export-Import Bank of Japan on behalf of itself and the

Japanese banks concerned.

In announcing the above credit arrangement, the Governments of Japan and India express their mutual hope and confidence that the traditional friendship which happily exists between the two countries will be further enhanced and promoted through the increasing economic co-operation. Including the present credit of 5.4 billion yen (Rs. 7.14 crores), the amount made available since the commencement of the Third Five Year Plan has been approximately Rs. 50 crores (37.8 billion yen-\$105 million). The grand total of the assistance extended by Japan to India so far amounts to Rs. 102.37 crores (77.4 billion yen-\$215 million).

JAPAN INDIA USA

Date : May 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

SWITZERLAND

Indo-Swiss Agreement on Air Services : Letters Exchanged

Diplomatic notes and formal letters relating to the amendments to the provisional Agreement on Air Services between India and Switzerland were exchanged in New Delhi on May 28, 1963. The notes are in respect of the amendment to the Annex of the provisional agreement, which were agreed to earlier, during the discussions held in New Delhi in January-February, 1962, between the two Governments. The formal letters embody the procedure for implementing the agreement.

Dr. J. A. Cuttat, the Swiss Ambassador in India, signed on behalf of Switzerland, and Shri M. M. Philip, Secretary, Department of Communications and Civil Aviation, on behalf of the Government of India.

Under the agreement, Air India operates three services per week through Switzerland via Geneva, and Swissair operate three services through India. two of which are via Bombay and the third via Calcutta.

As a result of this agreement Swissair can now touch two points in India, namely, Bombay and Calcutta, while Air India are entitled to touch Zurich in addition to Geneva in Switzerland. These two points, however, cannot be served on

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one and the same service. A provisional Agreement on Air Services between the Government of India and the Government of Switzerland was signed at Berne on June 24, 1949. Air India had started its air service through Geneva from June 8, 1948 under a temporary authorisation. Swissair commenced operation of their route through Bombay from April 1, 1947.

SWITZERLAND INDIA USA

Date : May 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Protocol for Technical Assistance from U.S.S.R. Signed

A Protocol was signed in New Delhi on May 16, 1963 by Mr. G. K. Chandiramani, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, on behalf of the Government of India, and by Mr. B. Romanov, Counsellor for Economic Affairs of the U.S.S.R. Embassy in India, on behalf of the State Committee of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. for Foreign Economic Relations.

The ceremony marked the completion of the delivery of equipment costing Rs. 36 lakhs to the

Indian Institute of Technology, Bombay, as a gift from the Soviet Union, under the Bilateral Agreement.

The equipment will be utilised in the laboratories for physics, electrical engineering, radio engineering, television, electronic devices and geodesy.

The Bilateral Agreement also provides for 25 Soviet professors to work at Indian Technological Institutes and for 50 Indian teachers to go to Soviet Institutes of higher learning, for advanced courses and research. The major part of this programme has also been fulfilled.

In addition to the above, the U.S.S.R. Government. have supplied to the Indian Institute of Technology, Bombay, equipment worth over Rs. 1.2 crores or ten million old roubles, tinder the United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance.

Under this programme sponsored by UNESCO, services of 15 Russian professors and three translators have been placed at the disposal of the Bombay Institute. In addition, 22 Indian teachers have gone to U.S.S.R. to receive technical training at Soviet Institutes of higher learning.

USA INDIA OMAN RUSSIA

Date : May 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Soviet Assistance for Oil Refineries : Protocols Signed

Plans for Soviet economic and technical assistance for the expansion of the oil refineries at Barauni (BIHAR) and Koyali (GUJARAT) and for the establishment of a second Precision Instruments Plant in Pudusseri, near Palghat

(KERALA) have been finalised between the Governments of India and the U.S.S.R. Protocols to this effect were signed in New Delhi on May 25, 1963 by Shri K. S. Sundara Rajan, Joint Secretary. Ministry of Finance, Department of Economic Affairs, and Mr. B. S. Romanov, Counsellor for Economic Affairs at the Soviet Embassy in New Delhi. The Soviet Ambassador to India, H.E. Mr. I. A. Benedictov, and Shri K. R. Damle, Secretary. Ministry of Mines & Fuel, were present. The protocols signed today follow the negotiations which took place between Shri R. K. Nehru, Secretary-General, Ministry of External Affairs, and the Soviet authorities in Moscow recently.

The present agreement provides for the expansion of the refineries at Barauni and Koyali each from 2 to 3 million tonnes of crude oil per annum during the Third Five Year Plan period. The foreign exchange costs of these two expansion projects will be-financed out of the savings of the 112.5 million roubles (Rs. 59.53 crores) credit extended to India in February, 1961.

The first 1 million tonne unit of the Barauni refinery is expected to go into production by the end of this year. The second 1 million tonne

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unit is expected to be in operation by about April, 1964.

The Koyali refinery is also being put up with Soviet assistance. The foundation-stone of this refinery, also in the public sector, was laid by the Prime Minister' Shri Nehru, on May 11, 1963. The detailed project report for the Koyali refinery, prepared by the Soviet designing organisation, has recently been approved by the Indian authorities. On the basis of the detailed project report, the working drawings will be prepared with maximum participation of Indian engineers. It is expected that the contract for the supply of equipment and materials from the U.S.S.R. will be signed shortly. Delivery of equipment and material will begin in the second half of the current year.

The construction of the first million tonne unit is expected to be completed by the end of 1964, the second unit. six months thereafter.

The foreign exchange costs of the Precision Instruments Plant in Kerala will also be met out of the expected savings of the 112.5 million roubles (Rs. 59.53 crores) credit granted to India in November, 1957.

This plant will manufacture hydraulic, mechanical and pneumatic instruments for industrial process control. The production pattern of the plan has been finalised in consultation with Soviet specialists.

It is the second Soviet-aided Instruments Plant to be constructed in this country. Together with the first one, designed for manufacturing electronic and electromagnetic instruments to be built at Kotah, it will meet the increasing demand of the developing Indian industry.

USA INDIA OMAN RUSSIA

Date : May 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Indo-U.S. Loan Agreement for Power and Coal Projects

The Governments of India and the United States signed in New Delhi on May 21, 1963 an agreement providing for an American loan of \$8.4 million (Rs. 4 crores) for financing the foreign exchange costs of a large expansion in the capacity of the Ramagundam Thermal Power Station in Andhra Pradesh.

At the signing ceremony in which the U.S. Ambassador Prof. John Kenneth Galbraith and Shri K. S. Sundara Rajan, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Finance, were the participants, the Ambassador stated that the United States would additionally make available Rs. 3.7 crores (\$7.8 million) from Public Law 480 funds to

meet the rupees costs of the project.

The Ambassador also announced that his Government had approved two more loans in foreign exchange to the Government of India. The first, for \$7.7 million (Rs. 3.7 crores), will finance the foreign exchange cost of a ropeway project in the Jharia coal fields. The other credit of \$5.1 million (Rs. 2.4 crores) will be used to double the output of the Dugda Coal Washery. Both of these projects located in Bihar State, will make a significant contribution to increasing the supply of coking coal to steel mills.

The four loans announced today total Rs. 13.8 crores. The three foreign exchange loans, negotiated through the U.S. Agency for International Development, have terms arranged to reduce the burden on India's economy and foreign exchange resources as do other U.S. A.I.D. loans. The loans are repayable over a period of 40 years with a grace period of 10 years. They are free of interest and carry a service charge of three quarters of one per cent per annum.

The existing Ramagundam Power Station has an installed capacity of 37,500 kilowatts. The United States will finance the installation of a 60,000 kilowatt turbo-generator with associated boiler and other facilities. This will enable the expansion of many industries in the Telengana area, including cement factories, collieries, paper and pulp plants, and textile mills. Ramagundam will also increase electric power supply to the metropolitan area of Hyderabad and Secunderabad.

The ropeway project in the Jharia coal fields, for which a U.S. loan was announced by the

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Ambassador, will transport 3 million tons of sand annually a total distance of 25 miles. The sand, obtained from the Damodar River, will be used to fill up mined spaces in the coal fields. Coal seams in the region are thick and the roofs of the mines are supported by vast coal pillars. These pillars contain good quality coking coal. By stowing sand, most of the coal in the pillars can be removed. The project will help increase coal

production by 1.5 million tons annually.

The expansion to the Dugda Coal Washery to be financed by the last of the loans announced today will also help increase the supply of good quality coking coal to the steel mills. The first stage of the coal washery, which is now in operation, processes 2.4 million tons of coal annually and the second, stage will double the capacity to 4.8 million tons. The coal contains upwards of 33 per cent of ash producing slate. Steel mills require coal with an ash content of not more than 17 per cent. Each one per cent of ash in coking coal in excess of this figure reduces blast furnace capacity up to four per cent. By a process involving the crushing and washing of coal, the coal washery supplies fuel acceptable to the steel mills.

The first stage of the Dugda Coal Washery utilised \$6 million from a line of credit extended to the Government of India by the U.S. Export-Import Bank, and the second stage will be financed by the present \$5.1 million loan. High ash content coal separated in the washing process will be utilised in the generation of electricity at the U.S. financed 420,000 kilowatt Chandrapura Thermal Power Station which is located close to Dugda.

USA INDIA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date : May 01, 1963

Volume No

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YUGOSLAVIA

Long-term Trade Agreement Signed

A five-year trade agreement between India and Yugoslavia was signed in New Delhi on May 4, 1963 following talks on trade and economic collaboration between a high powered trade delegation from Yugoslavia and an Indian

trade delegation.

The agreement was signed by Mr. F. Ljuba, Deputy Secretary of State for Foreign Trade and Leader of the Yugoslav Trade Delegation, on behalf of the Yugoslav Government and by Shri D. S. Joshi, Secretary, Department of International Trade, on behalf of the Government of India. Shri Manubhai Shah, India's Minister of international Trade, was present at the signing ceremony.

The long-term trade agreement will increase the trade between the two countries from the present level of Rs. 30 crores both ways to approximately Rs. 50 crores by the end of 1966 i.e. in the first three years of the five-year trade agreement. Further trade plan for the remaining two years and any increase in each of the first three years will be under continuous review by the official representatives of both the countries.

During the talks, which began on April 24, 1963 and concluded on May 4, 1963 discussions were also held between the two Delegations on the subject of techno-economic cooperation covering utilisation of credit extended to India by Yugoslavia as well as technical and industrial collaboration between industries and enterprises of the two countries. This agreement will enable both the countries to expand the trade between them to the mutual benefit of their national economies.

India will export to Yugoslavia iron ore, manganese ore and other mineral ores; coffee, tea and other agricultural commodities, deoiled cakes; textiles; engineering goods such as diesel engines, rolled steel products, pumps and transportation equipment; tanned and semi-tanned hides and skins and leather products. Yugoslavia will sell to India lubricating base oils, detonators, mining explosives, non-ferrous metals, construction and earthmoving machinery, marine diesel engines, power plants, some machine tools and other heavy engineering items.

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Date : May 01, 1963

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YUGOSLAVIA

Agreement for Supply of Ammunition Signed

An agreement for the supply of ammunition worth about Rs. 3 crores by Yugoslavia to India was signed in New Delhi on May 17, 1963.

Mr. Fiser Bernat, Export Manager of the Enterprise for International Trade "Jugoimport" Belgrade, signed the agreement on behalf of "Jugoimport" and Shri D. D. Sathe, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Defence, for the Government of India. H.E. Dr. Radivoj Uvalic, Yugoslav Ambassador in India and Shri P. V. R. Defence Secretary, were present.

The agreement provides for payment for the ammunition which will be supplied by "Jugoimport" in non-convertible rupees and in six instalments over a period of three years, the outstanding payments carrying an interest of 3 per cent.

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INDIA USA

Date : Jun 01, 1963

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President's Address to General Assembly

During his ten-day State visit to USA (June to 11), President Radhakrishnan addressed the General Assembly of the United Nations, New York on June 10, 1963.

Following is the text of his speech

I am very greatly honoured by the invitation to say a few words to this special session of the General Assembly.

The United Nations Organization symbolizes the hopes and aspirations of the peoples of the world for a central authority which can control the activities of all nations eventually. Science and technology have brought the world together and made of it a single body. Economic systems are becoming interdependent, intellectual ideas are circulating all over the world, and what is necessary is to give a soul to this organization which is shaping itself before our eyes. The United Nations hopes to supply that soul or that conscience to the world community which is emerging.

When the United Nations was started it had 51 members : today it has 111. Still, it has not attained universality. If the decisions of the United Nations are to be depended upon almost all the nations of the world should become members of this organization. That is the one security we have for seeing to it that our decisions are implemented by all nations.

INDIA AND U.N.

India was a founding member of the United Nations. To the best of its ability it has contributed to the work of the United Nations. It has supplied forces in the Congo, in Gaza and the Chairman for the Korean Commission. In all these ways it has tried to help the work of the United Nations. India has extreme faith in the organization and it will do everything in its power to strengthen the authority and influence

of the United Nations.

There are many people who think that the United Nations has not done all that one could expect of it. But we should look to the work it has done : The work in the Congo, the encouragement it gave to liberation movements and the way in which it brought about a dispassionate and objective discussion of the problems of disarmament and a nuclear test ban. In these ways it has done not unsubstantial work, though it may not have reached up to the expectations we had.

U.N. SPECIALISED AGENCIES

In the specialized agencies of the United Nations much good work is being done. The Charter of the United Nations affirms faith in the worth and dignity of the human individual. If you believe in the worth and dignity of the human individual, it is necessary for you to do anything and everything in your power to promote the integrity of the physical well-being of human individuals.

The Food and Agriculture Organization is attempting to remedy the defects which now prevail : namely, that two-thirds of the world's population suffers from malnutrition and hunger. That reality must be a reminder to us that we are not truly human until we are able to remove these difficulties.

The W.H.O. affirms that every individual has a right to medical care, to conditions of health and sanitation. The UNESCO was to protect the moral personality, the cultural distinctiveness of every individual. It is not enough merely to live as physical beings in this world. We must develop our minds, heart and spirit. The UNESCO, by all its work trying to do its best to promote the cultural personality, so to say, of human beings themselves. These things are being attempted by the different agencies which we have.

TRIBUTE TO POPE

In all these matters recently the Pope, whose death we mourn, has served the cause of humanity. As a true servant of God and humanity he tried to devote the last years of his

life to the reconciliation of the peoples. But the main task of the United Nations is to save humanity from the scourge of war to use the

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words of its Charter. How can we save human generations from war ? We are trying to remove the obvious causes of war : political domination, racial discrimination and economic exploitation. In the past history of the world these were the things which led to wars. If we try our best to remove political domination, that is, end colonialism, and if we also remove economic exploitation--in other words, bring about co-prosperity in all parts of the world and get rid of racial discrimination--we will build up a world which can work for peace, which can make for peace. It is true that we are unable to do it effectively.

DEVELOPMENT DECADE

This decade has been called a 'Development Decade', but actually the disparities between the rich and the poor nations have been steadily on the increase. The under-developed nations have not been able to get the technical knowledge and skill necessary for raising the standards of the people. Unless these things are brought to the doors of the common peoples of other countries of the developing nations, unless we help them with investment for capital, it is not possible for them to raise their standards. So what is a 'Development Decade' has not turned out to be truly a 'Development Decade'. We must take some special steps to bring about real development there.

But the most essential part of the work of the United Nations is to save the world from wars. What is it that we find actually? The piling up of armaments and nuclear tests. These things do not give us much hope. We feel that if these armaments go on piling up and if these stockpiles increase, by accident or mistake the world may burst into fragments. Even if that does not happen, when we have nuclear tests they are bound to injure not only present generations but also generations still unborn. We deliberately consign thousands and thousands of young children throughout the world to this kind of decadence, physical and mental. That is what

we are doing. Why is it that when we actually know what the results of these things are we are unable to prevent them ? There is something radically wrong.

VICTIMS OF PAST

We are the victims of the past : we do not wish to be the servants of the future. We are the victims of a nationalist and militarist kind of society. Other nations were regarded as supreme, and for achieving the aims and political ambitions of these nations we hitherto resorted to the use of force. But we have come to a condition when the nation-state has to be subordinated to the larger concept of world community. Unless we are able to do it, unless we give up the use of force, which is intolerable, detastable and wicked in a world where nuclear weapons have developed, it will not be possible for us to bring about peace in this world.

What are we trying to do ? It is a change in the minds of men that has to be brought about. We are still believing in the nation-state and in the right to use force to have our own aims realized. These are the things which have us by the throat. Though we are members of this international community, though we call ourselves members of the United Nations, our loyalties are to our own nation-states : They are not to the world as a whole, not to humanity as a whole. We must break away from the past, we must get out of the rut in which we have lived.

Gandhiji once said : "I want my country to be free. I do not want a fallen and prostrate India. I want an India which is free and enlightened. Such an India, if necessary, be prepared to die so that humanity may live."

WORLD COMMUNITY

Nationalism is not the highest concept. The highest concept is world community. It is that kind of world community to which we have to attach ourselves. It is unfortunate that we are still the victims of concepts which are outmoded, which are outdated, so to say. We are living in a new world, and in a new world a new type of man is necessary. Unless we are able to change our minds, to change our hearts, it will not be possible for us to survive in this world.

The challenge that is open to us is : Is it survival or annihilation ? It is easy for us to say that we wish to survive but what are we doing to bring about that survival? Are we prepared to surrender a fraction of our national sovereignty for the sake of a world order? Are we prepared to submit our disputes and quarrels to arbitration, to negotiation and settlement by peaceful methods ? Have we set up a machinery by which Peaceful changes could be easily brought about in this world ? So long as we do not have it there is no use in merely talking. The concept of one world must be implemented in every action if that one world is to become established. I have no doubt that the world will become one. As I stated the other day, it is in the mind of events, it is the will of the-universe, it is the purpose of Providence. We are being led from state to state to the concept of one family on earth. If we are able to achieve it, we shall do so by handling our own minds and hearts.

Our task today is to deal with the soul of men It is there that the changes have to be brought about. Before outer organizations are established,

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inward changes have to take place. An outer crisis is a reflection of an inner chaos and of the chaos inside the minds and hearts of men. If that is not removed, we cannot bring about a more satisfactory world order.

I have nothing more to say except to pay my tribute to your Secretary-General who has been quietly and unostentatiously doing the work of the United Nations despite so many obstacles, undaunted by many difficulties.

INDIA USA CONGO KOREA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date : Jun 01, 1963

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President's State Visit

The President of India, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, paid a State visit to the United Kingdom from June 12 to 23, 1963. Accompanying the President as Minister-in-Waiting was Shrimati Lakshmi N. Menon, Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India.

On June 20, a Dinner was given by the British Government in honour of the President at the Lancaster House, London.

Welcoming the President, the British Prime Minister, Mr. Harold Macmillan said :

Mr. President, my Lords, ladies and gentlemen : It is a very proud moment for me to have the happy task of saying a few words, and very few, to welcome you here, Sir, tonight. Your visit is in every sense historic. It is the first time that a visit of this kind has ever been made from the Head of State of another Commonwealth country to Great Britain. We have tried to make the pattern of the arrangements for you something different than the pure formalities of State Visits Suitable with foreign countries, but Something of the family spirit suitable with Commonwealth countries. We have been looking forward very much to this, and we hope that you will remember your visit with pleasure, if perhaps, with a slight sense of exhaustion.

You, Sir, know this country very well. You were for many years a distinguished professor at Oxford University. You epitomise in your own person, as well as in the high office you hold, all that is best in the relationship-the long relationship-between India and Britain, and we welcome you, Sir, not only for yourself but because you represent a great country, closely linked with ours for many years. It is not the moment even to touch on, still less to recapitulate, the history of the past. We know it well, and it has happily left for the future an enduring relationship between our countries which can never be destroyed. On the contrary, as perhaps the perils grow greater and the years continue,

this will become stronger all the time.

I have had the good fortune to make several visits to India, sometimes as a Minister and before that in private affairs. My family has been connected with Indian education for about 100 years to, I hope, our mutual profit. But, Sir, one much greater and most splendid field : there is hardly a home, a manse, a rectory, a country home, that hasn't its memories of the men and women who have gone out to try to serve India as administrators, as teachers, and in countless ways-those are the real links between us. At the time of the aggression upon India there was a kind of wave of sympathy, of natural sympathy, an indignation mixed with sympathy and determination to help. It was my good fortune to try to give expression to this on behalf of the British Government and people. I hope, Sir, that you have experienced in your visit something of this warmth and affection-not the showy, excitable, outward signs, but the inward affection that is really there. We hope that we can have repaid you at least in this sense something of the marvellous reception that India gave Her Majesty The Queen.

I believe it is the custom of Prime Ministers, whether they belong to capitalists, Marxists, or whatever it is, to be very fond of proverbs... proverbs. But I am going to quote not an English proverb but an Indian proverb, which says "it is not a far road to a friend's house." You, Sir, have travelled thousands of miles to our country and although the distances between us are great, the links are close and will grow closer. It is not a far road to a friend's house. We welcome you, Sir and we thank you for coming to us.

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Date : Jun 01, 1963

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Reply by the President

Replying to the British Prime Minister, the President made the following speech :

Mr. Prime Minister and friends : I am moved by the very generous and warm words which you have just expressed, Mr. Prime Minister, about the relations of our two countries, as grown there over the last 200 years or so, and never were these relations more close and intimate than they happen to be today. We remember the days when over two millions of our troops came to these different parts of the world in the last World War. and we remember with gratitude the single sentence which you uttered in the House of Commons when you heard about our conflict with China : "Will do whatever they ask." That one statement gave so much cheer and heart to the people of India when they were in trouble and difficulties. After all, India itself is a multi-racial, multi-religious entity, and it was when you left us, gave us power, a going concern with the result that today 450 million people spread over the vast continent from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin are bound together under a single administration with a great deal of political stability and also a sense of belonging to one country. That is itself an achievement of which not we only, but you can also be proud, as you gave us an administrative machinery, an Army and your system of law, the democratic institutions of independent judiciary-polling booths, elections, etc. Three elections we had, in 1952, 1957 and 1962, and for the 1962 elections we had 220 million people on the rolls and 120 million actually voted and the voting took place smoothly without any disturbance. without any kind of bad blood or bitterness, went on smoothly.

And we have sometimes to take harsh steps. This conflict with China put our democratic machinery to the test and it has survived it has stood the test properly and we are still working within the framework of democratic institutions. They have taken deep root in the country, and there is no doubt that every attempt to impose

any kind of totalitarianism will be resisted by all the people of India. It has entered into their blood-stream and whenever we are in trouble-I myself as the Chairman of the Upper House-we refer to May's "Parliamentary Practice" as our guide, and the Constitution itself says when there is nothing specific mentioned here the procedure of the British House of Commons is to be taken as the valid authority. It has found a place there.

I am saying that India is a multiracial, multi-religious, multi-cultural thing, bound together in one whole. So is the British Commonwealth. you have different races, different cultures, different religions, spread over continents, and if we are not to overlook the lessons of the past and if in the future we have to resist all these threats, menacing threats of nuclear weapons, etc., this Commonwealth should be a prelude to a world commonwealth, where all the nations an work together as free co-operating units in the world. In other words, a family of free nations. I say this because I know that even the so-called communist systems are moving away from their fixed points of view. I remember it statement made by Stalin to Roosevelt recorded in Mrs. Roosevelt's book : "in 30 years' time", Stalin told Roosevelt, "we will move from where we are and you will move from where you are, and we will approximate to each other." That is what Stalin told Roosevelt in 1942-43 and they are moving. When Mr. Khrushchev said that "we have a great deal to learn from capitalists", when he made out that compromise is the essence of Soviet policy, when, in spite of all the difficulties in Cuba, Berlin, etc. no Outbreak of hostilities has taken place, it shows the instinct for survival is stronger than even love of power.

And I have seen several illustrations of the way in which the Soviet people are able to laugh at themselves. I talked with Mr. Bertrand Russell this evening and I told him a story, which Mr. Khrushchev gave to a London audience. He said : "I went to Kolkhoz and asked a student Who wrote Anna Karenina?" The student shivered, didn't know what to say, and said "I did not write it." He took hold of the teacher and asked him : "What is the kind of instruction you give to your pupils?" Three days later the teacher came forward and said "He now confesses

that he wrote it." I want to tell you that when one can laugh at oneself in that way it shows there is hope and he is aware of the difficulties through which his system is passing.

I saw also a reported interview between your Foreign Secretary, Lord Home and Mr. Gromyko, reported in the "Sunday Times". The question was asked there again, "We Avant to know, Mr. Gromyko, whether a noise which comes from your country is due to your nuclear explosion or Mr. Molotov falling downstairs". and Gromyko's answer was : "Molotov has not any energy left in him, even to fall downstairs. You see that there again, Mr. Prime Minister- the Radio Irawon in Soviet Armenia had a quiz hour and I put the question "What is capitalism ? man exploiting man." "What is communism ?

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the opposite of it." Well, I am merely pointing out that the Soviet leaders are prepared to laugh at themselves and have asserted openly that the old theory of the inevitability of conflict between the two systems of capitalism and communism is outdated. It has no meaning, it has no force, it has no significance in this nuclear age, because such a kind of thing will not mean any survival of anyone, and therefore they are also moving, and perhaps what Mr. Stalin told Roosevelt is not altogether without point. So if once the Indian system of a multi-racial and multi-lingual and multi-religious and multi-cultural country bound together in one whole has given some kind of foretaste of the British Commonwealth with its different races, etc. spread over different continents separated by long distances, may it not be our hope, and not merely a futile hope, but a probable hope, that other countries might get into this family of free nations and make the world a safe place for humanity to live in? That is my hope.

Mr. Prime Minister, I thank you very much for your kind words.

USA CHINA INDIA CUBA GERMANY UNITED KINGDOM ARMENIA

Date : Jun 01, 1963

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UNITED KINGDOM

President's Speech at Commonwealth Society

The President, Dr. Radhakrishnan was the guest of honour at a reception, held in his honour by the Royal Commonwealth Society, London, on June 13, 1963. Speaking on the occasion, the President said :

Mr. President, friends, I did not come here to make a speech, I was told it was a reception, but now that your President has asked me to say a few words I may say that the fact that I, an ordinary commoner started as a teacher and worked almost the whole of my life as a teacher, that I should have been elected Vice-President and President of my country shows how democratic our constitution is and how it has given opportunities to all people not merely to political workers and others to rise into some prominence and serve the country to the best of their ability. When you think of a country which is nearly four hundred and fifty million strong professing different religions, speaking different languages, in different stages of development, all bound together in one unity with a sense of belonging to one home. think of it all and compare that achievement with what is happening in neighbouring States and other parts of the world and you will see that it is not a mean achievement. There has been administrative continuity, political stability and even the crisis which we had recently about China, even that has not disturbed the smooth working of democratic institutions in our country.

One of the things on which we take special pride in India is the peaceful co-operation of the different religions there. You will find Hindus, Moslems, Christians, Jews, Parsees and all their sub-sects, but they work together as citizens of one whole. Only when political considerations interfere religious distinctions acquire some pro-

minence otherwise it has been a country where all religions were welcomed not merely tolerated but were appreciated by the practitioners of other religions because there has been a great emphasis in the country on the character of religion. Religion is a personal encounter of the individual with the supreme and not merely a doctrinal conformity or ceremonial propriety. Such people may be religious at second-hand but those who are authentically religious are individuals who have been able to learn something, to feel the ultimate mystery which transforms their lives and works in them as a cleansing fire. Something which takes away all the baser passions of their nature. Such individuals are very rare and it is not possible for you to have too many of them because it is a costing process.

Because we thought that religion was a kind of personal insight into the ultimate reality we never laid much stress, exclusive stress, on any particular way, of approaching the Supreme or calling the Supreme. The ways may twist and turn but when you once reach the top the spiritual landscape which you discern is exactly the same. All those who by different routes have come up to the top are the people who belong to one family. We may belong to this particular denomination or other but if we are truly religious we will not quarrel about the names we give to the Supreme or the ways by which we reach the Supreme. This is a thing which came down to us from the early period. Ashoka cut in to rock and said "Do not quarrel about religions. Conquered is meritorious" he said. Samyavada a reconciliation, sadhu is meritorious-not quarrels. Do not imagine that you have a complete hold on truth. You may not have it. No religion has a monopoly of truth. You must try to know the god of their own gods who is expressed in different ways in different individuals -that's how we put it with the result that there were constitutions passed which regularized it. It was pointed out to us that every citizen of India has the liberty to profess, practise and

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propagate his religion so long as he does not injure the convictions of other people or things which happen to be offensive to moral sense. So long as you avoid them you are at liberty to

practise your own religion.

Similarly when we took up the question of language, we have fourteen different languages. Only recently we had legislation passed in the Central Legislature of making Hindi the official language of the country and giving English a place as an alternate official language which could be used for an indefinite period. That is what the legislature recently passed. That has brought about some kind of harmony in the country.

Then the parliamentary processes, practices and procedures which are observed in other parliaments or legislatures will remind you what happens in this country. We are taking them all over and whenever we are in difficulties we turn to May's parliamentary practice to solve our difficulties as you do here we do that also there. That is what we have been doing so far as that side is concerned, and the recent crisis which we have had--our people irrespective of their political parties whether they were members of the Congress Party or the Communist Party, Swatantra or the Jan Sangh. they all came forward and said so far as India's security and territorial integrity is threatened we are prepared to do everything in our power, and the basis of all these things is faith in the integrity of the human being. A faith which calls upon us to give every human being an opportunity for his bodily welfare for his mental alertness. We want to give everyone the opportunity to feed himself, to clothe himself, to shelter himself. We wish to provide these opportunities so we call it the Welfare State. but the most important point is, we believe, that the individual should not be sacrificed for any group or organisation. The individual may give himself or refuse to live himself but he should not sell himself or fend himself for purposes that do not appeal to his conscience. That is what we mean when we say the sanctity of the human individual for the sake of that we may have to sacrifice so many other comforts etc. It is that opportunity which we wish to Provide for all our citizens.

The greatest problem which we have been facing is the problem of hunger, unemployment, things like that, We have done a great deal in this direction but please don't imagine that we are anywhere near the goal of fulfilling our

ideals. They are still distant, we are aiming at them. We never had for example, anything like the famine we had in 1943. When our circumstances became difficult we begged, we borrowed, we bought, we rationed, we did whatever was possible for us and tried to see that nobody died from sheer hunger or starvation. If any such thing happened then we would be in a poor situation, and we are afraid of Parliament as you are I suppose. When such things happen then the country's stability is shaken, is undermined. You will find that I always say that there are certain things which are essential to the stability of a country, wise leadership. The leaders must be those who dedicate themselves completely to the well-being of a community, and administrative integrity. If there is corruption in high places, if people can't be trusted, if the aid which we get from other countries is misspent, misused apart from our own resources, then that means people lose faith. Social upheavals are generally costly. If you have dissensions among the leaders and corruption in the administration, if you wish to avoid any kind of upheaval you must try to preserve the integrity of your administration, you must try to see that those who come to the top are disinterested, dedicated servants who have nothing else in their life to look for except the well being of the community for which they are appointed. When that sort of thing is there, economic misery-if you are having economic misery you can't have any kind of moral insight or spiritual development. If people are dying like flies what is it that you can have-nothing very much.

Wherever revolutions have occurred in this world, I have noticed it, they are all due to these things. What happened in the Soviet Revolution, an absolutist government which killed all people who had any spirit about them, they cut up the church, defeat on all sides, economic distress, people dying like flies. People thought anything for a change. These are not conditions that could be tolerated at all. Other revolutions-Chinese, Egyptian, wherever you have had them you "I see there selfish leadership, dishonest administration, economic distress, lack of a national purpose, the very essence, so to say, of the solidarity of a nation. When these things are lacking you will never be able to get any satisfactory society. You will be always unstable and afraid of what is going to happen to you but so

long as you are able to guarantee these things to our people, our people in the common sense, they have some fundamental faith and if they believe that you are caring for two things, individual dignity and human fellowship, you may be sure-that you will be trusted and your country will be stable.

We have been able to maintain the stability of our country, the cohesion of our country because we have given them a purpose and we have had magnificent leadership, and we have had, as far as possible. an honest administration. If there is any dishonesty-there is such an uproar we shall all raise our voices, and we all say that this

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must be put an end to. You cannot have wide disparities of welfare and poverty, so many people living luxurious lives and others living in mud butts. A sort of thing, a painful reality which touches the conscience of every decent thinking man. If he has got any element of compassion about him, any conscience about him, he cannot stand this kind of wide distance which separates the illustrious few from the millions of people who suffer.

Well, these are the things which we are trying to the best of our ability to inculcate into ordinary human beings. We wish to give them courage, compassion, dignity, we want to make them feel that we are born into this world to love and create not to hate and destroy. If we are able to give this sense, make them feel-that a country has been here for four or five millennium-there must have been some vitality which sustained this country in spite of all the attacks we have had throughout the centuries, that we are still alive, still vital, still looking forward, still dissatisfied with our present, still not merely adoring the past but looking forward to the future. So long as we have this kind of impulse in our minds the future of our country, of every country for that matter, is safe and we shall try our best to help one another. It is no use merely criticising other countries. Every country has its skeleton in its cupboard. There is no country which is free from all blemishes or all mistakes. Our intent should be to find out what our deficiencies are and not merely look to the other man's deficiencies. Look within yourself and try to get rid of the insufficiencies from which you happen to suffer.

It you are able to do it you will push your country forward, if you are unable to do it you will drive it backward. Leadership really consists in anticipating the future, in forestalling events and trying to find out how revolutions are brought about and to avoid them if you can. If you prepare the conditions for a revolution you will get it. If you are trying to get rid of these things let us have it. Our country is passing through a very exciting period, it is a peaceful revolution though. We are trying to get the confidence of our people, we have the confidence of our people and when any election takes place you will always see that the people are all more or less sensible.

Once upon a time I was asked how much it cost me to become the Vice-President of my country by another Vice-President of a great nation. I told him that it cost me 10 dollars. "What" I said "Yes", because when my name was put up for the Vice-Presidentship it was discovered that it was not on the voters list and I had to pay a penalty of 50 rupees to get the name inserted, and that was all that my Vice-President's election cost, in other words there was no other candidate and we got through. The Presidential Election-I had to be there, there was no campaigning on my side, I never asked for one man. There were two candidates who were put up because-they came to me and told me that they wanted to show that it was a democratic election, and the, result was to my five lakhs and 80,000 votes the two others got 10,000 votes.

It gives you an idea of how the country is getting accustomed to proper democratic processes and so far as the public and foreign relations are concerned we are struggling our utmost to develop an attitude of international sobriety and never get lost in the temporary things, never meet crises as they come but have a long strategic plan by which you will be able to help yourself and help other people also.

As I said, I came with no intention of speaking here but I have spoken a lot-forgive me.

UNITED KINGDOM CHINA INDIA USA EGYPT CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date : Jun 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

UNITED KINGDOM

President's Speech at Guildhall Reception

The President, Dr. Radhakrishnan was the guest of honour at a reception held in his honour by the Lord Mayor and Corporation of London at Guildhall on June 21, 1963.

Replying to the presentation of address by the Lord Mayor of London, the President said :

Lord Mayor, Your Royal Highness, Distinguished guests :

I am very grateful to you, Sir, for the lavish words which you have used in talking about me and my country which shows your generosity and affection for us which I appreciate deeply. You referred to the concept of Commonwealth. Her Majesty the Queen, with great imagination and skill is doing her utmost to convert that concept into a living reality, and we are all indebted to her for that. You spoke about our taking over parliamentary democracy, your system of law including minor processes, procedures and practices in our Parliament from your thought and practice. My friend, the Speaker of the Lower House, the Lok Sabha, People's House is here. He will testify to the fact that every day he has to turn to May's "Parliamentary Practice"

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twice or thrice and we took up parliamentary democracy and we have adopted adult franchise. It is a symbol that we wish to treat all people as equals whatever be the race, sex, class or community and what we are now attempting to do is to make the like of these people somewhat ampler and richer than it used to be. In this task of modernisation, we have been receiving

great assistance from this country and others also, this country pre-eminently. We are thankful to you for that.

One thing occurred to me that in one or two matters we may have something to teach you. In our parliament, we have about 52 members, ladies but I am told, in this Commons, the Court of Aldermen etc., there is not a single lady. Well, any way that is one. Another thing that I may tell you is Mr. Gandhi had a day of silence. He thought we talk too much, and it is better for us to have one day when we shut our mouths and don't waste words. I think, if there is less talk in the world, the world will be a better place. Well, then what it happens to be. Someone spoke about the pursuit of knowledge and duty which you now find is not peculiar to Great Britain, but is also found elsewhere. There is no question that whether you take the pursuit of truth or the pursuit of beauty or the pursuit of sanctity or holiness, these are not the monopolies of any countries or continents. You have sanctity and holiness in the West as you have scientific achievement in the East. This is a question of distribution of emphasis, in different ages possibly. Once upon a time, in mathematics, grammar, logic etc., the East had considerable contributions to make. Today, the West is making tremendous progress in science and technology, but that does not show any kind of inaptitude in the one of this or the other.

The rational and spiritual sides constitute two essential aspects of human nature, and wherever you find human nature you will find the capacity to reason and the capacity to contemplate. Both these things are to be found all over the world and we need not make distinctions on such things. We had the good fortune during our struggle to have for our guide a man of spirit, a man in whom you saw the hidden fire, the secret kingdom in which the Invisible dwells. He called himself a religious man and as a religious man he felt that every kind of tyranny has to be opposed, tyranny of nation over nation, class over class, race over race. He worked for the equality of man, and the brotherhood of man. That was the great ideal for which Gandhi lived and died, He asked us to wage war against every kind of injustice, oppression, inequity, a war in which no lives were lost, no homes were burnt but the participants come out chastened in spirit.

He wits the man who told us that eternity is not something distant or in the future. It is there, dwelling in the present in every man and whatever work we undertake must be undertaken with the perspective of the Eternal, that is the kind of advice which Gandhiji gave us and it is because we had such a man for our guide that the relations between our two countries have been smoothly broadened out into one of friendship and partnership in the pursuit of the great tasks of Humanity. He made one statement I do not wish to live in this world if it is not united. I do not wish to live in this world if it is going to be a cockpit of strife among sovereign nations, with national hysteria, with racial bigotry, and organised jealousies. He said such a world is not fit for human beings like me to be in. I want the world to get united. This is what he said.

When you look at the way in which we have progressed in our country, we started it with complete confidence in the stability and security of the world. We thought everything was going to pass on smoothly, and we will enjoy the fruits of our labours, and we settle down. Came the first World War which shattered our illusions and smashed our ideals. We found ourselves that we were living in an artificial atmosphere. The war came. We won the war but the peace was lost. What happened? Unconditional surrender, we said. The enemy must be squeezed till "the pips squeaked", as they put it. And then there is the great saying which the Buddha gave us: Victory breeds hatred the conquered live in sorrow. He taught us this 2500 years ago. Victory breeds hatred; the conquered live in sorrow, wait for an opportunity to wreak their vengeance. Nihilism, disillusionment, despair overtook the world, and we had the Second World War. We won it. Today, we are still obsessed by the terrific anxieties of what we are going to do with these spectacular technological devices and nuclear weapons.

If we do not learn from the past, we have to live it over again. If the two World Wars have not taught us the need to settle down in peace, to settle down what we are bound to settle down to when the war is over, if you have to remain will have to live together in peace and amity. What is it that prevents us from adopting the same procedure before passing through a terrific

catastrophe ? Is it necessary for us every time to pass through bloodshed to make this world into shambles and then get together and then say we want to live together as friends and no more as enemies. Here is a golden opportunity for the great leaders of religion or politics to express the will of the age, to express the purposes of Providence, the desire of the whole universe that we are intended to live together as friends and not look up on one another as enemies

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disguised, or in some other way. A union of hearts, a communion of minds, these are the things which we require today.

We have all the opportunities. Science and technology have given us the resources by which we can feed the whole world. They have given us the resources by which ideas could be circulated all over the world. Radio communications, transport, all these things have made it possible for us to believe that the one nationality which we have is the human race and the world is our Home. All the things that are necessary for establishing such a kind of functioning reality, they are available to us. All that is necessary is a shakeup of human nature, a regeneration of human nature. It has to come out of its rut. Status quo is not a way of life. It is something which we have to break through. There have been periods in the history of man, when we broke through such surface, such deadlocks and came to recognise one another as friends. It is such an opportunity that is now awaiting the human race.

We live at a very crucial period in human history. It depends on the leaders, the political leaders, the religious leaders, all the leaders who have got the power to influence the minds and motives of men, it is for them today to call out boldly, squarely, without ambiguity or prevarication. Say the world is intended to be our Home. Everyone is our kindred. It is a family that we have to establish on earth. That is the thing that is now open to us. The Commonwealth has brought together a number of races, number of nations. They all work together as members who acknowledge certain ideals. I do not say mere acknowledgment of ideals means the implementation of these ideals, it does not

follow. We have acknowledged so many things in this world, Yet, there is this thing in man's nature. The Good that I would, I do not. The Evil that I would not that I do. That has been told us. In our country we have a saying. "I know the right but I cannot adopt it. I know the wrong, I cannot abstain from it." It is there that duality in human nature, this human being is a paradox, is a contradiction, at once the glory of Creation, and the scandal of Creation. That is what he is. What you need is a re-generation of human nature. You must enlarge your vision, increase your understanding, grow in grace. That is what is necessary if we are to get off into a new type.

It is my earnest hope and devout prayer that all those who have got the authority, the power, the influence and the leadership will do something to bring to its halt the present piling up of armaments, the present testing of nuclear weapons-these things which are disastrous to humanity, they will have the courage to say, "Stop this thing. This is unworthy of man." Lord Mayor, you hold an important position here. This building has been there for 500/600 years and he has been the Lord Mayor for 515 years. Am I right ? Something like that. 604 ? He has a very important position. I do hope that when he has a chance he will do his utmost for bringing about this ideal of one family on earth. It is St. Paul who told us, God is above all, through all and in all. If it is so why should we not practise in our every day life ? That is my hope and the Corporation will no doubt do its best.

May I ask you to drink to the health of the Lord Mayor and Corporation of London?

UNITED KINGDOM USA

Date : Jun 01, 1963

Volume No

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UNITED KINGDOM

President Radhakrishnan made the following speech on June 13, 1963, while opening Canada's fifth biennial exhibition of paintings at the Commonwealth Institute, London :

Your Majesty, your Royal Highness, Distinguished Guests, I am very happy to be here and undertake this pleasant task of opening the Fifth Biennial Canadian Art Exhibition.

Her Majesty has been generous in her account of Indo-British relations and of my personal contribution to the strengthening of those relations. Your vision of the future, the future of the world, mutual progress through freedom, justice and peace to a Commonwealth of free cooperating nations of which our Commonwealth is a foretaste, is something which appeals to us all. 1926 you said. was the year in which I came to this country, it was the same year in which Lord Balfour at the Imperial Conference made the preparations for what came to be called the Statutes of Westminster. The British Commonwealth is not an economic bloc or a political association. It is an assembly of free nations of the world having their own domestic policies and foreign policies and yet co-operating one with another to work for the progress of mankind.

It was Burke who said magnanimity in politics is the highest wisdom. Several countries which

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had European descent like Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Eire obtained their independence before the Second World War. After the Second World War we attained our independence. There were differences you said, but may I say here that the transfer of power to India is one of the greatest acts of reconciliation in human history. A country of a different race, a different culture working with the British nation and peoples of Australia, Canada, New Zealand, Eire etc., and all other countries, that was the preparation so to say for the development of independence in other countries. Leaders of Britain

have been wise to discern the direction of history, the mind of events and felt that the greatest support for the Commonwealth would be a free independent India-that happened. How much we reciprocated your goodwill and work is evident from the fact that when we had the chance of electing a Governor-General we chose an English nobleman to be our first Governor-General and as you yourself said when you came, when the Prince came earlier, you felt the warmth of affection and goodwill which the people of India had.

The British connection has entered into the bloodstream of India's history. Several policies, procedures, processes we adopt are all taken from the British Constitution. For example, equality before the law, non-dogmatic approach, avoidance of all extremes and trying to work out solutions in a spirit of compromise and adjustment of differences and not pressing your own views to the logical conclusion, all these things we have got from the British example and British history. They have become now a part and parcel of our history.

More important than the political arrangements and economic alliances is the understanding between peoples. That kind of understanding is brought about by a knowledge of other peoples culture, their art forms, that's the way in which we shall get to the heart of another country. If we wish to know the soul of another country it is reflected in its literature, in its art. Art really is the poetry so to say of human life. Other things merely give us the sustenance, the wherewithal by which we can live, but the kind of good life which we have to live depends on the way in which we use our freedom for the purpose of expressing our own souls.

As I went round this building I thought here you are doing vital work, work of fundamental importance, the understanding of one another, that's the basis of all human fellowship and if this world goes on progressively I have no doubt that this world will settle down to a peaceful, prosperous human fellowship with one goal which we all have. We should not be dispirited by difficulties and obstacles, we have to have our faces turned towards the sun which is there without any kind of hesitation in our minds.

The Canadian Art Exhibition which Your Majesty has just requested me to open will show us how vital the Canadian people are. What they are doing now, what in the last two years their creative artists have produced. Art if it is to be of the highest form should not merely entertain or appeal to our senses, not merely instruct our minds by imparting knowledge, but should transmit vitality, should overwhelm our being and make us see differently, give us new eyes by which we can see the same things and that is the fundamental aim of all art. It must appeal to the senses, it must appeal to the mind, it must appeal to the spirit of man, it must entertain, instruct and educate and elevate the spirit. I have no doubt that the work which is being done by the Canadian artists which you will see for Yourselves soon, has all these great qualities.

CANADA UNITED KINGDOM USA AUSTRALIA NEW ZEALAND INDIA

Date : Jun 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

UNITED KINGDOM

President's Speech at Marlborough House Press Reception

The President, Dr. Radhakrishnan was the chief guest at a reception by the British Commonwealth Secretary, Mr. Duncan Sandys to the Press at Marlborough House, London, on June 12, 1963 :

Replying to the welcome accorded to him on the occasion, the President said :

Mr. Duncan Sandys and friends-I am grateful to you for your warm and generous words of welcome to me. I am no stranger to this country. I have worked here for a number of years, and I now happen to be the elected head of a Commonwealth country, in fact, the largest Commonwealth country.

When you spoke about my work as teacher, thinker, etc., it was kind of you to refer to these things. When you talk about the Order of Merit-that has got some people-many people of respected names belonging to this country and a few non-British nationals; and the two members outside who are honorary members are President Eisenhower and Dr. Schweitzer. And I happen

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to be the third. I appreciate the honour and the words that you mentioned that the Queen said to me this afternoon.

So far as our country is concerned, you know what is happening there. It is easy to be unduly critical but I would like you to consider-nearly four hundred and fifty million people, professing different religions, speaking different languages, belonging to different geographical areas with their distinctiveness, all held together, these fifteen years after independence, by administrative continuity and political stability. If you turn around and see what is happening in smaller countries, you will appreciate the importance of this fact.

You will appreciate that when once we had political freedom, we tried to use it for the purpose of raising the material standards of our people. Our greatest enemy is poverty and it is that that we are attempting to fight. We are fighting it by all the means and resources at our disposal. The road is long and the goal is not very near; but yet, the struggle is on and we are doing our utmost.

Another thing that you have to remember is-we established social equality by means of adult franchise, the rich and the poor, men and women, all those who are above the age which qualifies them for maturity, are entitled to vote. And we had three general elections, and all of them, speaking generally, passed off very smoothly. And even the recent crisis we had, put our democracy to the test and we survived the test and we are still progressing and operating within the framework of democratic institutions.

We have got problems of our own, which we are trying to solve as peacefully as we can. But

when conflicts are thrust on us it is our duty to protect the integrity of our people and defend the security of our country. This conflict is not of our choosing. It is something for which we have not prepared ourselves. So hereafter it is essential that we should be well protected, well guarded. We don't want to build our defences for the purpose of occupying other people's territories, or attacking other people. We want to defend Ourselves when attacked. That's the purpose for which we are trying to build up our strength.

We were greatly heartened by the statement made by your Prime Minister when the crisis first occurred-Britain will do everything in her power to assist India. The kind of affection and friendship for India that you people have shown spontaneously on that occasion; your government then reflected not merely the views of your government but the sentiments of the common people in this country. I have no doubt about it.

And I have no doubt that we will go on working together until we are able to see to it that love and justice prevail among the peoples of our two countries and the world.

USA UNITED KINGDOM INDIA

Date : Jun 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

UNITED KINGDOM

President's Message of Greetings to British People

On the eve of his departure for India, after his 12-day State visit to the United Kingdom, the President broadcast over the B.B.C. the following message of greetings and good wishes to the British people on June 20, 1963:

Friends, before I leave this country I should like to say a few words of greetings and good wishes to the British people. Her Majesty, the Queen, made excellent arrangements for us and looked to even the smallest details of our visit. We are grateful to her. The other members of the Royal Family and the Prime Minister and the Members of the Government were all kind and considerate to us throughout our stay. We were welcomed at the Buckingham Palace and the Holyrood Palace in Edinburgh and in Windsor Castle. We were able to see some of your great scientific institutions including power station, the Radio Telescope and the Nuclear Power Station at Berkley. We were greatly impressed by the ability, the spirit of devotion and dedication which was seen in your great workers there.

Our students, found in large numbers in different universities, and we were able to meet some of them. They have come here to acquire technical knowledge and skill which are not easily available in our country. They have had better opportunities and therefore we expect them, when they go back to our country, to be of service to our people in raising their living standards. Being a parliamentary democracy, we are obliged to raise the living standards of our people and make every citizen have a freer, fuller and richer life. In this great task of modernisation we have received considerable assistance from the British people apart from the training which British institutions are giving to our young men and women. I hope when they get back they will

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work with a sense of humanity, a sense of fellow-feeling and will have a sense of purpose in their lives; after all, life is not a merry-go-round. We have no right to be happy. We have a right to be true to ourselves and be of some service to humanity.

The story of Indo-British relations has been one of patient and determined effort on the part of the Indian people and sympathetic understanding by the British. Not that it was all smooth-sailing. We have had our periods of stress and strain but ultimately we reached our goal, we got our independence and we willingly agreed to be members of the Commonwealth. Our relations today are based on mutual respect, friend-

ship, a sense of brotherhood and concern for each other's well-being.

I should like to thank every one who has been of assistance to us in this country; they have done so many acts of kindness to us and we carry with us very pleasant recollections of our visit to this country and I wish the British people well in the future.

INDIA USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date : Jun 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

President's Speech at White House Dinner

The President of India, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan paid a State visit to the United States from June 2 to 11, 1963. Accompanying the President as Minister-in-Waiting was Shrimati Lakshmi N. Menon, Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs. On June 3, President Kennedy held a Dinner in honour of President Radhakrishnan at the White House.

Speaking on the occasion, the President said :

Mr. President and friends, I am grateful to you for your very kind words. I have been here just 24 hours, I suppose, and in that short interval I have been able to feel the warmth of your welcome, the welcome of the people of this country. You spoke about the common bonds between our two countries.

On the 1st of August, 1942 former President Roosevelt wrote a letter to Gandhi and said "We two people who believe in knowledge and righteousness must make common cause to fight the common enemy." And these are words uttered by President Roosevelt in 1942 in a letter

which he wrote to Gandhi. "Democracy and righteousness"... that's how we put it. "Democracy" meaning that we look upon every individual as one capable of unlimited possibilities .. it is our duty to do our best to make every human being physically fit, mentally alert, and spiritually alive. For that certain fundamental necessities are required. Poverty must be fought, disease and illiteracy must be removed, and everyone must be given a chance to grow better, to feel nobly, think well and act greatly. That is the aim of democracy. That's why we say democracy and righteousness should go together.

We are now trying to build a world, a world of free, co-operating nations which can work in peace, security and freedom. The conditions necessary for it are available today : science and technology, modern transport and communications ... have made the world into a single whole physically. Political arrangements and economic alliances are also bringing the world together. Intellectual ideas more or less the same are circulating over the whole world ... and yet we have a sense of helplessness. We feel that we do not know what awaits us. It is a problem which ever), thinking man is now concerned about.

What is it that is wrong? The conditions are available, the future is not predictable, but the past gives us some hope. We have progressed from the stage when we were clothed with skins and armed with stone clubs ... we have come to the present position. It is due to the spirit of man, the spirit of man which always looks forward and tried to transform the world-not merely get conformed to it-but transform the world itself by transforming ourselves.

We have heard it said that man is a paradoxical being-full of contradictions-and the glory

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of the world and the scandal of it--may be the crown of creation, but if he does not act well may go down. He is an unfinished being, he has to complete himself, and by discipline and by dedication he can do so. Both of our countries are working for that goal, and I hope that in this endeavour we will succeed.

May I ask you to rise and drink to the health

of the President of the United States of America.

USA INDIA

Date : Jun 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Welcome Speech by President Kennedy

Welcoming President Radhakrishnan, President Kennedy made the following speech :

Mr. President, I want to express a very warm welcome to you, to this House and again to this country. We are honoured to have you as the representative of your country, as the President of your country, and also as a distinguished former teacher and professor.

Here in this country we have never gone as far-nor may I say to Professor Galbraith do we plan to go so far-as to make a professor President of the United States, but we admire those countries that do.

I want to express our very warm welcome. The United States and India are the two largest democracies in the world. We take great pride and pleasure in proclaiming that fact and we expect those who live in the outer regions to be duly impressed.

I do think it is important for us to recall the obligations that go with that form of government. Mr. Churchill once said that democracy is the worst form of government-except for all the other systems that have been tried. It is the most difficult, it places upon those who are governed in such a manner the most heavy obligations-not only to improve through a system of freedom the life of their people, but also to bear the heavy burdens which go with maintaining freedom in a

difficult and hazardous world.

We are particularly glad to have you here, Mr. President, because of your own distinguished contribution-not only to the welfare of your country, but also with those great matters which spread beyond your country and surround the world : and understanding of life, of its purpose, meaning, its direction, its hopes.

So I hope all my fellow countrymen will take the same pride in welcoming to the United States the first President of India, a country with whom we have had the most intimate associations, closer today than ever before, and also take the same pride that we have in having as our guest a distinguished teacher-in the larger sense of the word-the President of India-and to the prosperity of his people and to his well-being, I hope we will all drink.

USA INDIA

Date : Jun 01, 1963

Volume No

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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

President's Speech at State Department Luncheon

During his State visit to the United States, President Radhakrishnan attended a Luncheon given in his honour by the Secretary of State, Mr. Dean Rusk on June 3, 1963.

The President made the following speech on the occasion :

Mr. Secretary and friends : I am happy to be here this noon and listen to the very flattering words which Mr. Dean Rusk has just uttered. I was greatly impressed by his statement that we two countries are engaged in a partnership, a partnership of the development of democratic

ideals in this world. Columbus came to America trying to find his way to India ... and now from America I should get back to India to complete history.

Your great President, Washington, gave you two precious gifts : freedom and democracy. Freedom as head of the Revolutionary Army... democracy as the first President responsible for the Constitution, a Constitution which gives us the rights of liberty, equality, fellowship, justice, etc. Your Constitution does not say Americans are all born equal, it says all men are born equal, all of them have a right to life, liberty and happiness. It is a charter of human liberty intended for the whole of mankind and not merely for your own country. Such a universal declaration of rights was given by your Constitution. The

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echoes of that Constitution are to be found in our Constitution. Mahatma Gandhi gave us both these things, gave us political freedom-though he worked it out in his own way-and in this struggle for freedom he also laid stress on economic security, political liberty and social equality. These are the principles which we have incorporated in our Constitution and we have been trying our best to implement these ideals during the last 15 years or so after the transfer of power. We have succeeded to a large extent by industrializing ourselves and modernizing ourselves. I believe there is an element of moral greatness in industrial progress for it enables the ordinary people to live according to higher standards and in their assertion of social equality there is great beauty and strength.

Today when I met a lady member of your House of Representatives I asked her : "How many lady members do you have in your Congress ?" She said : "Eleven-in the Senate, two." Eleven plus two-thirteen. We have in the two Houses in our country 52 ... four times that number. And we are not satisfied with that representation. We want to see it increased, go up. that is what we are all anxious about. The Minister-in-Waiting for me here is my friend, Lakshmi Menon. you will find her here.

Now all I wish to say is we have been trying to implement these things ... we have a long way

to go, but yet the steps we have taken are not inconsiderable. We are aware of the little done and the vast undone. Democracy has taken roots in our country... the general elections demonstrate it. We had in the last election over 220 million voters, of whom 120 million actually voted, and we had 238,000 polling booths. These elections are conducted in a quiet, peaceful way ... if there are exceptions, they are exceptions that prove the rule. Even the Chinese crisis has demonstrated the strength of democracy. We were able to impose on ourselves measures of great self-denial, a very austere budget which ordinarily the country would not be able to bear ... as we assented to by open discussion and by parliamentary consent. It shows the way in which we are coming to democracy. We would rather perish than submit to any kind of totalitarianism or tyranny if imposed on us. It is to democracy and to democratic ideals that we are wedded. And I hope that people in this country realize that fundamental fact. And if they realize it, I have no doubt that a partnership will be in weal and in woe and in all cases we will be able to stand together, whatever may happen.

May I ask you to drink to the health of President Kennedy.

USA INDIA

Date : Jun 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Welcome Speech by Secretary of State

Welcoming the President, Dr. Radhakrishnan, the Secretary of State, Mr. Dean Rusk made the following speech :

Mr. President, honoured guests from India, distinguished members of the Senate and House

of Representatives, ladies and gentlemen :

We welcome you, Mr. President, to Washington's monsoon. And since I have had the privilege of sharing at least two year-round seasons in New Delhi. I am sure that you would understand when we simply say about this rain that we need it, because in fact we do.

The President has already expressed to you the warm welcome which we in this country extend to you on this visit. You have in this room notable friends not only of India but of you personally. If there is an occasional empty chair, it is because it has kept ... the weather has kept people from coming in from other parts of the country by airplane from actually getting off the ground.

When a very distinguished ambassador from India was in this city, she had a problem because at diplomatic dinners the men went off in one direction and the ladies went off in another. The men talked politics and had something to report to their governments the next day, but apparently the ladies did not. So she complained, and Our Protocol Office-shall I say with an unusual burst of imagination-circulated the word around the diplomatic corps that the Indian Ambassador was to be considered an honorary stag.

Now, since we are largely a gentlemen's party today and some of our guests may be getting questions from their wives, I hereby declare all ladies present as honorary stags.

Mr. President, long before you assumed this position as the highest servant of your own people, you were respected-may I even say revered-by all of us as a great spokesman for men who want to be free in whatever part of the world. We recall, for example, on one occasion you said that the basis of democracy is the recognition of the dignity of the human being. It affirms that no individual is good enough to be trusted with absolute power over another and

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no nation is good enough to rule another. This is a notion which is profoundly felt by the American people. We understand that this notion that there is moral law which imposes restraints

upon the exercise of raw power is as ancient as your own Indian tradition. It is as modern as the latest aspiration of people not yet free to be free. It was articulated for us I think most effectively by Thomas Jefferson ... it has been articulated for all men of goodwill even this year by Pope John in his "Pacem in Terris". These are utterly fundamental notions which you have articulated not only for your own people, but for people around the world... something in which we feel with you a profound partnership.

You come to us today as the President of India, the largest democracy, the great democracy of the East, whose President is visiting a great democracy of the Western hemisphere. And we have known in our constant association with the United Nations how much there is of common commitment in common purpose between our two countries. And we also know that you have been called upon, your country, to serve the United Nations in ways in which we ourselves could not ... in Laos as Chairman of the International Conciliation Commission; in the Congo in making a notable, may I say burdensome, contribution to a decent solution to that country through your troops and through your officials which you made available to the United Nations; and in many other respects you have signalled your dedication to that decent world order represented in the Charter of the United Nations.

There have been points on which you and we as nations might have differed, we are different peoples situated in different continents, faced with different problems, and yet these underlying commitments to the kind of world order we are trying to bring into being, into the basic notions of democracy, have given us the broadest bases of common interests in which we together can move forward.

I want you to know, Sir, that we in this country feel a great interest, shall I say national interest, may I even say it selfish interest, in the success of this great democratic experiment in India, an experiment not as old as our experiment but one which is for ever moving toward fresh adventures and fresh accomplishments to solve human problems through the democratic process, and for this we feel an association which gives us a great satisfaction. We are interested in your success, the prosperity and the safety of

your people, safety from whatever direction it might be undermined or attacked.

And in the promise which democratic institutions can hold forward ... that rapid economic and social development can come to relieve your own people of their distresses and the burdens of human life.

So for this partnership we are grateful and we believe your visit here will signal this partnership at a most opportune time.

Ladies and gentlemen, may I ask you to rise and drink a toast with me to His Excellency, the President of India.

USA INDIA LAOS CONGO

Date : Jun 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

President's Speech at New York University

The President, Dr. Radhakrishnan was awarded a Degree of Doctor of Laws by the University of New York at a Special Convocation held on June 11, 1963.

Speaking on the occasion, the President said

Mr. President, Mr. Chancellor, and friends : It is a great honour for me to be here this afternoon and to receive this degree of Doctor of Laws from New York University. I appreciate it very much because of my intimate connection with your Chancellor who was a colleague of mine in the UNESCO Executive Board and whom I visited at Illinois University some years ago.

It is a pleasure for me to know that your President was at Oxford at a time when I held a Chair there ... in the years '47 to '50 he

happened to be there ... and he tells me that he attended some of my lectures at that university. I believe this kind of intellectual cooperation is essential for the new world which is facing us today. We started off with a great deal of confidence at the beginning of the century until that confidence was shattered by the First World War. In the subsequent years we passed through phases of nihilism, confusion, excitement and had no definite purpose and the Second World War came. And after the Second World War we are now in a period of what is called "The Cold War".

Here are two great groups standing against each other, piling up armaments, threatening the world with destruction ... I say unwillingly ... because all these powers, so far as I know, are interested in coming to some kind of settlement and saving the world from destruction. That is their real purpose. But officials are obliged to

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take views which are against their personal convictions on account of the pressure of circumstances and events. It is my earnest hope that this present deadlock will be resolved and the world will settle down to a peaceful community. That is my earnest hope.

Whether it is science or metaphysics or religion that we think of, all these things are there to tell us about the freedom of the human individual. When we are told that scientific developments mean the dominance of determinism, the dominance of the environment, we have to demur to such a kind of speculation and say : The scientist, if he affirms anything, he affirms the responsibility of the individual ... his capacity to sit in judgment over the environment, mould the environment to suit his own purposes and his own wishes. He is trying to overcome the limitations of his physical being, he is trying to escape from the necessities of nature, he does not want to be a mere instrument of nature, a mere part of nature or a fraction thereof. He is asserting individuality, the freedom, the inwardness, so to say, the subjectivity of the human soul. He is affirming that man may be a composite of subject and object if we overlook the subjective character and merely look upon ourselves as a thing, as a mere machine, as an object, we are dehumanizing

ourselves.

So many things are happening in this world which tend to that process of dehumanization. They are all leading us to believe that man has no hold on the development of events, that events will take their course, whatever the man may do. But if you look at the history of the world it tells us all the progress that has happened is due to the initiative of the human individual, to the assertion of his will, to his supremacy over the environment, to the tendency by which he says : It is not possible for me to submit to nature, I care for freedom, I wish to escape from coercion.. whether that coercion be historical, scientific, natural or environmental, whichever it may be, I wish to escape from that. It is the aspiration for freedom that is asserted and established by the scientific quest, by the scientific tendency to dominate nature.

It is exactly the same tendency to escape from necessity, to escape from the tyranny of time, that constitutes the reality of the metaphysical quest. All the metaphysicians in the world-if they are of a religious nature or of an opposite kind-they always tell us that one thing we are trying to assert here is : How can we escape from all the tendencies of the physical world, tendencies which lead to decay, lead to death? How can we escape from death ? The metaphysician asks : If time is all, if it is a series of perishings and creations. if nothing is stable, if nothing abides, if everything passes away, is there any value in this world, is there any meaning, is there a pattern in this world ... are we merely the victims of this stream of time, or is there any purpose ?

It is again this desire to escape from the tyranny of time with its death and other things. A great metaphysician said : "It may be a fleeting fear for people who don't think about it, but for people who think, contemplate on this predicament in which human beings are placed, it is a primordial fear, it is a fear which is rooted in us." Is it possible for us to escape from that fear ?

The answer which has been given us : It is possible for us to escape from that. All the metaphysicians, all the religious seers have asserted it : Who shall save me from the body of this death ? The crucified Lord is not the last word

on the subject. Christ is risen. In other words, the mortal spirit is there, it is not subject to the vicissitudes of time, it is something which supersedes all those things, it is that spark of celestial fire which is found in each human individual, Which is NOT subject to chance, it is not subject to natural necessity.

So when people come to us and tell us that the future is inevitable, that there is nothing for the human individual to do, that he is merely the servant to the forces of nature, the forces of the environment, when he talks like that, he overlooks the whole history of humanity, the whole history of our progress. At every stage the progressing individual, the free responsible individual, asserts his supremacy over environment.

So today, when this deadlock faces us, when we are confronted by this menacing piling up of nuclear armaments, and when people tell us by accident or by mistake or by some chance something might happen, we are overlooking that spark of freedom that each individual possesses. If we believe in that, there is no question that the gates of the future are wide open and it will be possible for us as a human individual with boundless possibilities to overcome what seems to be the inevitability of the future.

There is no such thing as any inevitability so far as human life is concerned. We are degrading human nature, dehumanizing it, making humanity a mere robot ... well, that is the sort of thing which is against the spirit of all science and of all metaphysics and of all religion. I feel that even science should not make us believe in the omnipotence of matter or the omnipotence of necessity. It shows to us the superiority of the human mind. If this human mind surrenders its humanity, makes itself into an object, lapses

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into rigidity and routine and doesn't understand the boundless possibilities which are located in that creative side of human nature, it is then that we become victims of necessity, dialectical, mechanical, historical or even providential. There is no such thing as God dictating the future of events completely. We are coworkers with the divine spirit, we are called upon to

cooperate with him for carrying out the great purpose for which we were invited into this life. if he is a creative spirit, every scientist, every technologist, is a co-creator ... he is doing something which would be duly regarded as the prerogative of the divine. The divine uses the human individual. Every human individual has in him this eternal spark, this creative element. If we overlook it, we are untrue, unfaithful, to our own education, to our own humanity.

The purpose of the world is to make men, human beings, into humane beings, into beings who are civilized, who abhor cruelty who can't stand the torture to which men are subject unnecessarily. So long as there are iniquities to be overcome, errors to be corrected, evil to be surmounted, the human individual has a task to fulfil. And he can fulfil that task because the intelligence of the Supreme Power or the Divine has its location in the human heart. It is there-fighting, so to say-the undivine parts. So much of it is darkness, yet the light is there, and the light will overcome the darkness until at last the human individual becomes a manifestation of the true spirit of man.

A university must stand for the pursuit of truth and goodness. Intellectual integrity has been the fundamental principle of human life. The other day I was referring to John Huss, who was the Rector of the Charles University of Prague. There, in his last days, when the Magistrate went up to him, when fagots were piled round his neck, and told him : We shall withdraw the fagots and release you if you recant, otherwise, our instructions are to light the fagots. His answer was : "Light the fagots." One last word he said : "I want to assert here and now that a good German is preferable to a bad Czech." He stood for intellectual integrity and universal humanism.

These are the two qualities which mark out a university. These are the ideals for which we are prepared. We must work with those ideals and that love and justice prevail in the affairs of men.

Thank you, Sir, for the degree which you have been pleased to confer on me.

USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC CZECH REPUBLIC

Date : Jun 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Kennedy-Radhakrishnan Joint Communique

During his stay in Washington, the President Dr. Radhakrishnan, had talks with President Kennedy and other leaders of the U.S. Government on matters of mutual interest. At the conclusion of their talks a joint communique was issued on June 5, 1963.

Following is the text of the joint communique:

At the invitation of President Kennedy, Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, President of the Republic of India, is paying a State visit to the United States from the 2nd to the 11th of June. During his stay in Washington, Dr. Radhakrishnan met the President and members of the United States Government, including members of the Congress, and had a frank and friendly exchange of views with them on matters of mutual interest.

In their discussions during the past two days President Kennedy and President Radhakrishnan have reaffirmed that relations between the United States and India, world's two largest democracies, are based on a large measure of agreement on basic values and objectives.

The President of the United States and India agree that the striking advance in science and technology has put enormous power in the hands of men which can be used either for the benefit of humanity or for its destruction. It is, therefore, necessary for all concerned to see that international cooperation in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations is promoted, that peace is maintained and that the enormous power which science and technology have given is used for the betterment of humanity. The two Presidents express the hope that the Governments and peoples of the world will dedicate themselves

to economic and social betterment, particularly in the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The President of India spoke of the determination of the Government and the people of India to preserve India's territorial integrity and of their efforts to improve the living standards of the people within the framework of a liberal parliamentary democracy. The President of the United States reiterated the deep interest of the Government and the people of the United States in these endeavours, and reassured President Radhakrishnan that India could count on the warm sympathy and effective assistance of the United States in its development and defence. They agreed that their two Countries show a

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mutual defensive concern to thwart the designs of Chinese aggression against the subcontinent. Both Presidents recognized the vital importance of safeguarding the freedom, independence and territorial integrity of India for peace and stability not only in Asia but in the world.

President Kennedy voiced the admiration of the American people for the great accomplishments already achieved and for the spirit of sacrifice and dedication displayed by the people of India.

President Radhakrishnan expressed the gratitude of his nation for the generous assistance provided by the United States to the Indian people in support of their development and defence. The two Presidents reaffirmed the dedication of their peoples to the cause of peace and freedom in the world. They "are confident that their two countries will continue to cooperate in the future, as in the past, in the attainment of these common objectives. President Kennedy and President Radhakrishnan consider that their highly satisfactory talks have contributed to closer understanding between their two countries and their two peoples.

USA INDIA

Date : Jun 01, 1963

Volume No

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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Indo-U.S. Barter Agreement Signed

The Governments of India and the United States of America have entered into an agreement to facilitate the export of ferro-manganese, manganese ore, beryl ore and mica from India to the United States in exchange for American cotton. The agreement was signed in Washington on June 27, 1963 by Mr. Orville Freeman, Secretary for Agriculture, and the Indian Ambassador, Mr. B. K. Nehru.

The total volume of commodities covered under this agreement will amount to Rs. 20 crores each way making a total turnover of about Rs. 40 crores.

Under the agreement, India will be able to export to USA during the next 18 months 1,28,000 tons of ferro-manganese, 3,00,000 tons of manganese ore, 6,000 tons of beryl ore and mica worth one crore of rupees. In exchange India will import approximately 2,75,000 bales of cotton.

The agreement will be operated on behalf of the two Governments by the Commodity Credit Corporation (CCC) in Washington and the State Trading Corporation of India. Details of the sales and purchase contracts with firms in USA and India necessary to implement this agreement will be finalised through these two agencies.

USA INDIA

Date : Jun 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

WORLD FOOD CONGRESS

President's Speech at Food Congress

The President. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, who paid a ten-day State visit to the U.S.A. from June 2, 1963, made the following speech at the World Food Congress in Washington on June 4, 1963

Mr. President and friends : I am happy to be here and say it few words on this historic occasion.

This World Food Congress is fixed for this year which marks a twentieth anniversary of the resolution passed at the Hot Springs Conference under the direction of Mr. Roosevelt when establishing the FAO, It is also the mid point of the Freedom From Hunger Campaign. These are to be regarded as Vital for the future of the world' Wherever you find social upheavals or great unrest, the basic condition that brings them about is want and hunger.

One of the greatest events of our generation is the emergence of many nations in Asia and

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Africa into freedom. When once they have obtained their freedom, they are anxious to ameliorate their material conditions. They have been aroused from the torpor of centuries. Once upon a time when they suffered from want and hunger, they silently surrendered their souls to the divine or to Providence or to nature and adopted an attitude of resignation.

Today conditions are different. They are not prepared to acquiesce in the conditions that pre-

vail. They are today rebellious. They ask us : Why should so many millions in this world suffer from want, privation, hunger, etc., when there are conditions available to make every one of them physically comfortable and mentally efficient ? What is it that prevents them from having this proper distribution of the elementary necessities ? They are prepared today to fight the established order with the raw courage that is born of desperation-with no other weapon than mere readiness to die.

In other words, the painful reality of the starving millions of the world must rouse the conscience of those who are placed in better conditions. If they don't recognize this reality and don't take steps to bring about a more satisfactory distribution of food in this world, they have to condemn themselves as deficient in the human qualities of compassion and love.

A great saying is there : "Love your neighbour." Who is your neighbour ? Whoever is in need, wherever he may be, in whatever part of the world he may find himself, he 'is your neighbour, and he has a claim on your abundance. What this Congress attempts to do is to bring about more satisfactory conditions and see to it that people are properly fed and don't suffer from malnutrition.

The necessary sources are available ... there is only cussedness in the human heart which prevents a fairer distribution of these things. This Congress will rouse the conscience of the peoples of the world to the need for satisfying the elementary necessities from which many people in this world still suffer,

There are countries which have surpluses. others which have shortages ... some enjoy Over-production, others suffer from under-production. President Kennedy represents a country which has over-production. I represent a country which symbolizes underproduction. So both of us have got together on this platform today so as to make an appeal to the world that we stand together for the ideals which we hope to pursue, the ideals by which the awakened nations of the world, the developing nations of the world are helped by aid and assistance to increase their production so as to give them the basic condition of life : food supply is the most elementary thing. Mere

life is the basis, so to say.

There are all these things available to us at the present moment. Nations can take the advantage of the greatest scientific techniques and modern appliances that are available for us. fertilizers, better seeds, irrigation, etc, And if they adopt all those things and if there is an intensive educational program, and if you take this new knowledge to the doors of the people who are working in the fields, etc., you will be able to make them understand how they could improve themselves.

What we are interested in is not merely giving them aid. but assisting them in the process of self-development. That is what we should attempt to do. I hope this World Congress will bring about measures and see to it that the new knowledge which is available is brought to the doors of the peasants and farmers and others who are there. Education is necessary. Policies are easy to frame. but implementation depends upon administrative efficiency. In many countries we suffer from administrative sluggishness. It is that that has to be put an end to. We have to see to it that policy makers and implementers work with a single purpose-dedicate themselves to the task of doing this first elementary thing-feeding the millions of this world.

If the knowledge which is likely to be utilized here in this Congress for the framing of directives to the nations of the world, if that knowledge is adopted by the nations and policies are framed for that purpose, I have no doubt that this World Food Congress would have done a greatly rewarding task.

I wish your endeavours all success.

USA LATVIA

Date : Jun 01, 1963

Volume No

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President's Goodwill Message

The President, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan sent the following message to the World Food Congress, which opened in Washington on June 4, 1963:

I send my greetings and good wishes to the world Food Congress. Of the many International Conferences held in recent years this, Congress is one of the most important, as the subject of its deliberations concerns the well-being of millions

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all over the world. Most of the countries in Asia and Africa which have earned their political freedom during the last fifteen years are faced with a variety of problems but none is so important and so urgent as that of adequate food and nutrition. scientific development and technological research have brought within the reach of mankind the possibility of solving the problem of food at long last. But the problem of finance remains; so also that of better irrigation, better seeds, better fertilisers, and in many countries it balanced and equitable land system. Each country has to find its own ways of solving these problems but most countries in the under-developed areas of the world will require assistance and co-operation of the more fortunate countries. The Congress will have served its object if it can stimulate a spirit of self-help on the one hand and of mutual co-operation and assistance on the other. Peace and stability can never be maintained in this World if more than half of its population have to remain hungry throughout the year,

LATVIA

Date : Jun 01, 1963

Volume No

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Shri S. K. Patil's Speech at Commission on "Role of People and Citizens' Organisation"

The Union Food and Agriculture Minister, Shri S. K. Patil, Leader of the Indian Delegation to the World Food Congress, made the following speech at the Commission on "Role of People and Citizens' Organisation" of the World Food Congress, in Washington on June 6, 1963:

Mr. Chairman,

I am grateful to you for giving me this opportunity to address the delegates to this conference from several countries. Yesterday, at the plenary session, Dr. Arnold Toynbee made a significant observation. He said that if the people of India and China who constituted about 40 per cent of the world's population concentrated their energies on having more food instead of quarrelling over bits of boundaries whose contribution to the world's food supply is infinitesimal, much good will be done to the world's food production. I agree with the latter part of his statement. That brings me to the subject on which I am going to make some observations in my speech. I am referring to Dr. Toynbee's statement only to put the record straight. It takes two to make a quarrel, but here one was enough to make the quarrel. But, as I said, I agree with the second part of Dr. Toynbee's statement. Even since this unfortunate thing happened in our country, may I assure you, Mr. Chairman, that efforts in stepping up our agricultural production have become more intense than ever before and that the Chinese aggression has not retarded our agriculture. Considering the progress of our agriculture in the past few months, it will be quite clear that what Dr. Toynbee said in regard to the Indo-Chinese dispute is not really true as far as food production is concerned.

To the masses in our country, the Freedom From Hunger Campaign is not a slogan but a movement with a mission. That mission is a sacred one, aiming as it does, to eradicate hunger and want from the millions who are affected by the wide gap between elementary needs of sustenance and their fulfilment. This fulfilment can

be attained only with social and economic development. If we consider the political and social consequences of mental and material backwardness which the existence of poverty and want inevitably lead to there can scarcely be any doubt that that backwardness is one of the most important threats to the peace and stability of the world. It is, in fact, the value and sanctity of human life itself that is at stake and it is the peace and happiness of mankind with which we are dealing in this congress.

Few things have captured the imagination of the under-developed and developing countries so much as the campaign that was launched three years ago with the immediate objective to rouse public awareness and consciousness of the extent of hunger prevailing in the world and the further objectives of taking material steps to deal with the tremendous problem of removing it. That the campaign is not a slogan but a movement is fully exemplified by what has been done in my own country. There the campaign has certainly Succeeded in galvanizing into action various bodies and institutions who are its participants and in focussing attention on the problem dealing with them. The practical aspects of the campaign have found their expression in the schemes of development which have a positive agricultural bias.

The programme of agricultural development which we have been implementing all these years and intensifying in the years to come is, as is natural, a multi-purpose one. It involves the Use of the various agents of production to the extent that they can be made available to our farmers. The difficulties of progress on an organised line in a developing country like ours can be appreciated if I gave two significant facts.

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The total area under cultivation in India is 325 million acres. There are 65 million farmers. The level of education in the agricultural community even today is not such as to make it easy for us to convey to the farmer the lessons of practical science except through large-scale demonstrations which cost money and need manpower.

It is because of these limitations that we had to restrict a significant but very promising pro-

gramme of intensive and concentrated application of all the agents of production on a scientific basis, known as the 'Package Programme' to only 15 selected districts in the whole country. Even this programme was possible because of the assistance that we received from the Ford Foundation to whom and whose experts who have helped us in arriving at the technique of the problem, I should like to pay a sincere tribute, but I must emphasize that the programme would not have been a success had it not been for maximum peasant involvement.

Mr. Chairman, if I have given these details, it is only because I wished to pose before you the difficulties of dealing with such a tremendous problem even in a country like ours which has the benefit of definite ideals, of a well-considered pattern of development and of the existence of conditions of progress, and to show that citizens' action takes a different aspect and form according to the community in which it operates. Even the progress that we have achieved has to be assessed in terms of gaps that remain to be covered. Those gaps are the legacies of centuries of neglect, of apathy, of lack of scientific attainments and of the inadequacy of resources in technical manpower and equipment. Yet, if you consider that the average citizen of the world today is impatient of progress and has much easier and more ready means of becoming aware of his own backwardness in relation to others and that there are both persons and philosophies eager to exploit the resultant discontentment, you will agree that every hour counts and that every effort must be made in the shortest possible time to deal with this world problem. The more I think of these problems affecting not only my country but others in different parts of the globe, the more I am convinced that they can be successfully tackled only by the world community in a spirit of brotherhood of common behaviour.

This international effort by the world community will be of no avail if we are not in a position, fruitfully, to channel that enthusiasm into productive efforts. Action of citizen groups must be viewed as part of the wider complex of a developmental effort in which the assessment of the problem, the size of the gap between supply and demand if present trends persist, given the increase in population growth and the utilisation of resources, the adaptation of techni-

cal solutions to the particular conditions of developing countries. The formulation of a philosophy, of the methodology for the extension of scientific knowledge of practical utility amongst the million farmers, and the mobilisation of the most important and precious resources of all, namely manpower, are all welded together. In this process we shall all learn from each other. Our 'Package Programmes', which I have just mentioned, related to programmes of overall development, are similar to the programmes of our spearhead development zones initiated elsewhere by the FAO from which efforts can be spread out with care and overall economic growth accelerated, an exchange of experience between such programmes would have great value for all. Needless to say these programmes too depend on maximum goodwill and citizen co-operation.

There is obviously an immense amount to be done. Ours' is a many-faced task. Let this Congress, therefore, spare no effort in diagnosing the causes of hunger and malnutrition and prescribing to the best of its ability the basic remedies. Let it not lose sight of the fact that its success depends on the enlistment of one and all to this common cause, and in presenting its solutions let it be conscious of the fact that each Community must find its own way, its own form in which energy and goodwill of its citizens can be adequately activated.

Let us take inspiration from the faith and belief that inspired the Hot Springs Conference, the deliberations of which contained in them the seeds of the organisation which, during the 18 years of its existence, has brought hope and succour to millions throughout the world.

Before I close I should like to refer to one important aspect of our agricultural production, which is not so well known to many outside India. India is a NO country with a population of over 440 million people. The consumption requirements of this vast mass of humanity are produced by India herself. What we import constitutes hardly 4 per cent of the total food requirements of my country. In other words, 96 per cent of the food requirements is produced in the country itself. We hope that, in the years to come, as the impact of our agricultural programmes would be felt on actual increase in agricultural production--they are bound to be--we shall be less

and less dependent on imports of food from abroad. On the other hand, we shall, God willing be able to augment in a substantial measure the food supply to the rest of the world.

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INDIA CHINA USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date : Jun 01, 1963

Volume No

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WORLD FOOD CONGRESS

Joint Communique

The following is the text of the Joint Communique signed in Washington on June 8, 1963 by, Shri S. K. Patil, Union Food and Agriculture Minister and Mr. Orville L. Freeman, U.S.

Agriculture Secretary:

During the course of his visit to Washington to head the Indian delegation to the World Food Congress, the Minister of Food and Agriculture, Mr. S. K. Patil, presented to the President of the United States, to the Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Orville L. Freeman, to the Secretary of State, Mr. Dean Rusk, and to other top officials of the United States, the views of the Government of India on India's Food and Agriculture situation in relation to the United States Aid Programme. Minister Patil took the occasion of these discussions to point out that this aid, including the technical assistance, and particularly the 4-year Indo-United States Public Law 480 Programme which he had signed in Washington on May 4, 1960, had been of inestimable value to the development efforts of India. He said that it had been of great benefit in helping India's own agricultural production move forward, in meeting the needs for current con-

sumption, in maintaining the stability of prices of agricultural commodities and in assisting in the build-up of buffer stocks. the progress made, assistance can now begin to taper off so that in the next five to ten years, India would need no more food aid from the United States.

Minister Patil said that when the present agreement comes to an end in June 1964, India would require a much smaller PL 480 Agreement, possibly of the order of ten million tons' in four years. Owing to increased production, India has taken less wheat than anticipated and therefore it may be possible to extend the period of time for shipments of wheat under the current Agreement for another year beyond June 30, 1964. Since rice is the main staple food of India, Minister Patil stated his intention of building a stockpile of rice of nearly two million tons during the next four years.

Secretary of Agriculture Freeman and other United States Government representatives indicated appreciation of the constructive use made by India of United States Assistance under the Food for Peace Programme and the vigorous way in which India was facing its problems. The Secretary indicated the desire of the U.S. Government and, he felt, American agricultural producers and the people of the United States generally, to assist India to cope with her problems in line with the programme outlined by Minister Patil within the limits of authorities established by the United States Congress and the availability of commodities.

It was agreed that detailed discussions of measures which could be taken to meet India's future needs under PL 480 would take place later in the year since the current PL 480 Agreement still has a year to run and may be extended. To meet India's immediate needs for rice, it was agreed that shipments of about 150,000 tons under the current Agreement would be made available, with shipments to begin soon.

An Indian delegation has been meeting with representatives of the United States Government in the annual review of the current food Agreement. Details on the implementation of the Agreement for the year beginning July 1, 1963 are being discussed in preparation for authoriza-

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MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS EXTERNAL PUBLICITY DIVISION
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

ALGERIA GHANA INDIA JORDAN SOUTH AFRICA SWITZERLAND UNITED KINGDOM USA

Date : Jul 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

ALGERIA

Prime Minister's Message of Greetings

The Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru sent the following message of greetings to Premier Ben Bella of Algeria on the occasion of the first anniversary of Algeria's Independence on July 4, 1963 :

On this memorable day when you are celebrating the first anniversary of Algeria's independence, I have great pleasure, on behalf of the Government and people of India, and on my own behalf, in conveying to you and, through you, to the Government and people of friendly Algeria our warm and fraternal greetings.

Our own country and the other countries of Asia achieved their independence in the years immediately following the war. It was our deep conviction, however, that Asia's liberation would not be complete if Africa remained unliberated. From the very start, therefore, since we became independent, we have considered the cause of the African peoples as our own. We have followed the heroic struggle of your own people for freedom with the utmost admiration and sympathy. The struggle has had its martyrs; countless men, women and children have suffered for the cause. We join you today in saluting them; their sufferings have not been in vain and they have added a rich chapter to the history of the movement for freedom.

The leaders of Africa are now engaged in other tasks which are of the utmost significance for Africa and the world. We are following their efforts to bring about a closer unity in Africa with sympathy and admiration. The Conference of Heads of States which was held recently at Addis Ababa was warmly welcomed by us. The nations of Africa have given a lead to other nations which we value. We also value the efforts that are being made to uplift the peoples and to eliminate backwardness and poverty which are a heritage of the past.

As we are facing similar problems in India, we hope to profit from Africa's experience. We wish to strengthen our friendly co-operation with Algeria and the other African nations. In this hour of rejoicing, however, we cannot forget the African peoples who have still to achieve their liberation. Our warmest sympathies are with them and they have our full support in their struggle. The continued existence of colonialism and racialism in parts of Africa is not merely an insult to the dignity of man, but also a threat to the peace of the world.

I am grateful to you for inviting a Special Delegation from India on this occasion. I am asking the leader of our Delegation to present this message to you and to convey to you my warm regards and best wishes for the happiness and prosperity of the Algerian people.

ALGERIA INDIA USA ETHIOPIA

Date : Jul 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

GHANA

Shri Dinesh Singh's Message to Ghana on its National Day

The following is the text of a talk by Shri Dinesh Singh, Deputy Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs, broadcast over All India Radio on the occasion of the National Day of Ghana on July 1, 1963 :

On this happy occasion of the anniversary

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of the proclamation of the Republic of Ghana
I send my greetings and good wishes to the people of Ghana.

It is now six years since this beautiful West African country acquired its freedom. Ghana's independence was the beginning of independence for many other countries in Africa and Ghana has played a valuable role in this great liberation movement. Her struggle against colonialism and racialism are well known all over the world.

Ghana's achievement is not limited to only helping independence movements in Africa, she has made singular contribution in bringing about unity in Africa. Her efforts in the solution of international problems and the preservation of peace have been greatly valued. Only last year she took the lead in holding the World Assembly on 'the World without the Atom' with a view to bringing an end to the dangers of nuclear devastation. India collaborated with Ghana in this noble venture.

There have been many other occasions of close collaboration between Ghana and India. They have stood hand-in-hand against colonial-

ism and indeed against any other form of domination of one country by another. Their continued effort together with some other friendly countries to liquidate colonialism and to reduce international tension has made history in the United Nations and elsewhere. There have also been other specific areas of co-operation. For instance, India had lent the services of an expert to make the initial financial study on the Volta River Project and India has sent many other technicians, engineers, doctors, teachers and administrators to help in the development of Ghana.

It is easy for India to co-operate with Ghana because there is identity of purpose. Both Ghana and India are following the path of planned economic development to raise the living standards of their respective peoples. Both Ghana and India firmly believe in the policy of non-alignment and both are dedicated to lessening of international tension, removal of colonial domination and promotion of understanding between nations. This has enabled both the countries to take interest in each other's experiments in the development of their countries and to work closely together in the international field. It is indeed a happy friendly relationship.

We are grateful to Ghana for their contribution in the Colombo Conference held to find a peaceful solution of the problems created by the Chinese aggression on India. Their timely action and efforts to find a solution will, we hope, bear fruit.

Once again I wish the people of Ghana happiness and prosperity and success in their ventures.

GHANA INDIA USA SRI LANKA

Date : Jul 01, 1963

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INDIA IN THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri R. K. Nehru, Secretary General, Ministry of External Affairs, and Leader of the Indian Delegation to the United Nations Economic and Social Council, Geneva, made the following statement on the 'General Review and the Development Decade' on July 8, 1963

Mr. President,

There are two items on our agenda which we are discussing jointly today, the General Review and the Development Decade. These two items, in many ways, represent the very heart of the work of the Council. In his admirable statement yesterday, the Secretary General drew our attention to the vast area covered by these items. The area, in fact, includes the entire range of United Nations activities in the economic, social and human rights fields. Some of these activities, as the Secretary General pointed out, relate to the present and the immediate past, while others relate to the future. Their broad purpose is, however, the same and in judging the activities and assessing the results, we have to apply the same test. The test which

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has been suggested by the Secretary General whether the United Nations is making the greatest possible impact on the problems of the developing countries, whether it has achieved reasonable balance in its efforts to assist the various sectors of development and whether all aspects have been covered and the right emphasis placed on the various activities.

We agree that this is the right test and we greatly appreciate the Secretary General's dynamic approach to the problems, of development. Some of these problems, in a sense, have engaged the attention of the United Nations from the very start. Economic and social development has always stood in the forefront of the objectives of the United Nations. However, little was done in the past and action, on the whole, was somewhat spasmodic. It was only 2 1/2 years ago that the United Nations took a new initiative and a more decisive step to achieve

the objective. By unanimous vote, in the 16th session, the General Assembly decided that the current decade should be designated as the Development Decade and that concerted measures should be launched with a view to bringing about for each developing country, a minimum annual rate of growth of the aggregate national income of 5 per cent at the end of the decade.

Thus, a target was set for development--a minimum target to be reached in a minimum number of years. This was a new and important step and by taking this step, the United Nations has helped to focus attention on a problem which has implications of the utmost gravity for the world.

The problem arises from the fact that while affluence is beginning to be a condition a general and widespread condition for a limited number of fortunate nations, in the world as a whole there are more people today suffering from hunger and want than there ever have been before. The people in question represent no less than 3/4th of the world's population. The problem, therefore, is how to ensure better conditions of life, or even tolerable conditions, for the vast majority of the world's population and how to bridge the gap, or to reduce the disparities, between the rich and the poor nations.

It is now universally recognised--and this by itself is an important gain--that these disparities are a source of danger. A disquieting feature of the situation, is that the disparities, instead of being reduced, are steadily increasing. This not merely offends the conscience of the world community, but is also a threat to peace. It is a threat to peace for many reasons. Nation after nation has gained its independence during the last few years and the peoples are on the march everywhere. They will not quietly submit nor is it right that they should submit to the conditions which existed in the past. Their demand is for a better life, for the ending of poverty, and for rapid economic and social development. This demand must be met and, if there is no other way, the Governments and peoples will use the most drastic measures to lift themselves by their own efforts. Self-help is, of course, essential, but if there is no help from outside, on the basis of friendly co-opera-

tion, the struggle for betterment will be harder. Internal tensions will be created which, step by step, will lead to greater external tensions.

There is a better way, however, of bringing about rapid development and social and economic changes. This is the way of international co-operation which has been accepted for the Development Decade by all member-States of the United Nations. Our task now is to quicker results and to make international co-operation effective. To this end, the Secretary General was requested to develop proposals for the intensification of action in the fields of economic and social development by the United Nations system of organisations. He prepared a valuable report and we accepted his proposals in our meeting last year. We also requested him to prepare a more detailed programme embodying proposals for action with respect to the basic factors of economic growth, bearing in mind the objectives of the Development Decade. His new report is before us and we have to consider not only his proposals which are no longer proposals as the activities described have already been set in motion, but also some important questions relating to the machinery, methods and procedures of the development work of the United Nations system or organisations.

I shall deal with the procedural questions first. We have examined the Secretary General's proposals and are in broad agreement with his views. Even if our resources were much larger, it would be necessary to take steps to utilise them properly. Large and unlimited resources do not necessarily lead to effective results. The method of utilisation is important, and it is even more so in our case, as our resources do not necessarily lead to effective results, we have to carry out vast programmes to achieve the objectives of the Development Decade. We agree, therefore, that it is necessary to establish some system of priorities for the work. We also agree that a functional classification of the activities of the United Nations organisations in the economic and social fields will be helpful. We are interested in the

other proposals though we would like to consider more carefully the proposal for the various technical assistance programmes. We have always had some doubts about the merger of the special fund with EPTA. We agree that if development work is to be carried out effectively, there should be closer co-ordination and greater concentration of effort. Anything which helps to bring about maximum results at minimum expense will have our support. Therefore, in principle, we agree with these proposals and we shall examine them carefully at a later stage in the Committee. We shall also examine the proposal for the establishment of a United Nations Institute for Training and Research. The Secretary General has given cogent reasons for the establishment of such an institute on the basis of voluntary contributions.

These proposals, however, although important, touch only the fringe of the development problem. The Secretary General, I am sure, will accept this view. The real problem is how to bring about a rapid advance to the objective which has been set for the Development Decade. The objective of a sustained rate of growth of 5 per cent at the end of the Decade is modest enough. If India were to reach this objective, the per capita income at the end of the decade would be only 100 dollars per year. For the countries of Asia and the Far East as a whole, it has been estimated that a rate of growth of 5 per cent will mean nothing more than a doubling of the standard of living, which is already among the lowest in the world, in 25 to 30 years. If the population increase which is among the highest in the world is not brought under control, the doubling might take 45 to 75 years. These figures help to illustrate the gravity of the problem the developing countries are facing. It has been argued, therefore, that a higher target than a 5 per cent rate of growth should be set for the Development Decade. A higher target would, of course, be better, but the question is, are we likely to achieve even the 5 per cent target? The actual rate of growth for, many developing countries in the first three years of the Development Decade does not hold out much promise. The position, therefore, is serious and we feel that more intensive steps should be taken to remove the obstacles in the way of development.

The obstacles, as we see them, are partly lack of adequate resources which impede the development work of the United Nations organisation and partly-and more importantly-the restrictive trade and other policies of the more developed countries. The report which has been placed before us shows the various activities and development programmes of the United Nations organisation. We value their work, and we accept the statement that every effort has been made to keep the concept of the development decade at the heart of all this work. However, a detailed study of the report seems to show that the programmes of work have not been organised on a scale which will lead to the attainment of the target. This is our broad impression and we hope that we are wrong. We realise that the scale of work must necessarily be determined by the size of the resources. It does seem to us, however, that much of the work which has been listed for the next few years of the Development Decade is such as would normally have been carried out or would have shown a normal increase, even without the requirements of the Decade.

This is in no sense a criticism of the programmes and we appreciate the work that has been done with the limited resources in hand. The main obstacle to development, however, as we see it, lies elsewhere. I referred a moment ago to the restrictive trade and other policies of the developed countries. I do not wish to be misunderstood. For our own development programmes in India, we have received friendly help from many countries which are in a position to help. We have received help from the countries of the West and also of the East. Naturally, in this field of development, the main effort has to be internal. The primary responsibility for initiating programmes and for providing the resources to carry them out must be that of the developing countries themselves. This is what we are doing in India and in spite of the enormous increase in our defence expenditure, which has been forced on us by the aggressive activities of an unfriendly neighbour, we are determined to carry through our Third Five Year Plan of national development which will bring us nearer to the take-off stage. The burden which our people are carrying is a heavy one, but they are carrying it willingly.

However, we are facing some difficulties and as this is also the experience of other developing countries, I shall mention them briefly. We value the aid that we are receiving from the more developed countries of the world. What troubles us, however, is that the quantum of aid as well as the terms are not in all cases such as to make our burden easier and to facilitate an advance towards the target. It has been recommended time and again that the quantum for all developing countries might be raised to the minimum level of 1 per cent of the national income of the more developed countries.

This will mean next to nothing to the more developed countries, but will help to bring about a transformation of the developing countries of the world. On the question of terms

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also, it has been recommended that aid should not be tied to specific projects and interest rates and period of repayment should be easier. We hope that the more developed countries will show a fuller appreciation of the need to supplement adequately the domestic efforts of the developing countries in the field of development and will also in the interest of the world community as a whole, take progressive steps to implement these recommendations.

The question of trade is even more important. This is one of the biggest difficulties which the developing countries are facing. How are they to increase their earnings of foreign exchange in order to promote industrialisation and the rapid development of their economies and to repay their external loans if restrictions are placed on their exports to the more developed countries? I will not go into too much detail as this question will be discussed in the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. All that I would like to say is that progress towards the achievement of the target which has been laid down for the Development Decade with the unanimous support of the developed countries is likely to be slow, if fuller facilities are not given by these countries to the developing countries to enlarge the export, not merely of their primary commodities, which are in any case, showing a decline both in regard to demand and prices, but also of their manufac-

tures and processed and other goods.

I would like to say in this connection that we are gradually overcoming these difficulties in the case of some developed countries. Our own trade, i.e., India's trade, with the Soviet Union and the other countries of Eastern Europe is smaller in size than our trade with other developed countries. However, we welcome the fact that it is expanding rapidly and we welcome even more the composition of the trade. While we import capital goods and machinery from these countries, they are taking an increasing proportion of our manufactures and processed goods in return. This helps us in many ways in carrying out our plans of general industrial development. It is our hope and I am sure it is the hope of all developing countries that similar facilities in the fields of exports will be extended to them by other countries and that the developed countries as a whole will accept the principle of full consideration of their trade policies with their aid policies. This will put the developing countries in plans for the diversification of their production and exports and enable them to advance towards the target of the Development Decade-

INDIA SWITZERLAND USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC RUSSIA

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INDIA IN THE UNITED NATIONS

Statement by Shri Natwar Singh on Colonial Territories in Africa

Shri K. Natwar Singh, Indian Representative, made the following statement on July 12, 1963, in the U.N. Committee of Twenty-four on Kenya, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and Zanzibar

Mr. Chairman,

My delegation has followed with keen interest and attention the discussions in the Committee relating to Kenya, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and Zanzibar. We do not consider it necessary to attempt to go over the historical background and colonial past of these territories. The Government and people of India have had a deep and abiding interest in the freedom struggle of the brave and valiant people of the continent of Africa, and it is a matter of great concern to us that colonialism, in some of its worst forms still prevails in parts of Africa. But in large parts of the continent, the brave and heroic people have overthrown the yoke of colonialism and African countries have taken their rightful place in the comity of free nations.

The people of Kenya have made tremendous sacrifices for achieving their freedom and independence. To the heroic people of Kenya go our warmest congratulations. Under the leadership of Mr. Jomo Kenyatta, they are now on the threshold of freedom and before the year is out, we hope we shall have the honour of having them with us at the United Nations. When Mr. Kenyatta assumed office as Prime Minister of Kenya a few weeks ago, the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru sent him the following message and I quote :

"I am happy to convey to you on my own behalf and on behalf of my colleagues in Government of India our warm felicitations and sincere good wishes on your assumption of office as first Prime Minister of self-governing Kenya. This is indeed a historic occasion and is a momentous step in Kenya's peaceful march to full sovereignty and independence. We have watched with great interest and sympathy progress of Kenya along path of its destiny and are confident that under your wise and enlightened

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leadership, people of Kenya of all races, and creeds will prosper and progress and that Kenya will be a force for peace and understanding in Africa and in the world."

Mr. Chairman, my delegation would like to place on record its appreciation of the role the United Kingdom has played in the transfer of power in Kenya. Mr. Chairman, my delega-

tion has never hesitated to express disappointment or disapproval of the policies of the United Kingdom Government when that was called for in regard to some of their colonial territories. On the other hand, we have also not failed to give them credit where credit is due. It is a matter of deep satisfaction to my delegation that the combined wisdom of the Administering Authority and the statesmanship of the leaders of Kenya have found a solution to the problems which at times seemed baffling. My delegation would like to express the hope that Kenya could, perhaps, be used as a model by the United Kingdom authorities in tackling similar problems in some of their other colonial territories.

The leaders of Kenya have not asked for and do not seem to need any lessons from us and we feel that it will be inadvisable and improper for us at this juncture to attempt to make any definite recommendation or adopt resolutions. All that we can do is to express our joy at their achieving their aims and objectives and wish them all success and good luck in the future.

The events in Zanzibar have taken a hopeful and positive turn and it is the hope and belief of my delegation that the United Kingdom Government will fulfil their pledge of granting independence to the Territory at the earliest possible date. The people of Zanzibar have struggled long and have now achieved internal self-Government and we have no doubt that very shortly they will be an independent State.

My delegation heard with great satisfaction the declaration made by the representatives of the United Kingdom Government that the ill-begotten Central African Federation which had been imposed on the people against their will would be given its burial by the end of this year. No one is likely to shed any tears at its demise and for our part we would like to say that it is good riddance to bad rubbish. As a result of this development, Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia will soon become independent although certain details remain to be worked out but we have no doubt that under the leadership of Dr. Banda, independent Nyasaland will grow from strength to strength and the struggles and sufferings, of the people of Nyasaland shall not have been in vain.

In Northern Rhodesia too, the picture is

hopeful. Mr. Kaunda is the outstanding figure in the, Government of that Territory, and we anxiously await the announcement by the, Kingdom Government of the, date on which Northern Rhodesia will achieve its independence. We are confident that the Administering Authority will take expeditious measures to speed up the implementation of the declaration contained in Resolution 1514 and both Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia will become independent at the earliest possible date.

Mr. Chairman, my delegation would like to state that we heard with great interest the statement of the representative of Tanganyika, in which he announced that a Federation consisting of Tanganyika, Kenya and Uganda will shortly be formed. We welcome the creation of this Federation which has the support of the free people of Tanganyika, Kenya and Uganda. This development of greater strength through unity will perhaps be a trail blazer for other peoples to follow.

In a recent message to Prime Minister Ben Bella of Algeria, Prime Minister Nehru stated and I quote:

"Our own country and other countries of Asia achieved their independence in years immediately following the Second World War. It was our deep conviction however that Asia's liberation would not be complete if Africa remained unliberated. From the very start, therefore, since we became independent, we have considered the cause of African people as our own The Prime Minister further stated in the same message "Leaders of Africa are now engaged in other tasks which are of utmost significance for Africa and the world and we are following their efforts to bring about a closer unity in Africa with sympathy and admiration. The Conference of Heads of States which was held recently in Addis Ababa was warmly welcomed by us. Nations of Africa have given a lead to other nations which we value and we also value the efforts which are being made to uplift peoples and to eliminate backwardness and poverty which are heritage of past. As we are facing similar problems in India we hope to profit from Africa's experience. We wish to strengthen our friendly co-operation with Algeria and other African nations. In this hour of rejoicing however we cannot forget African

peoples who have still to achieve their liberation. Our warmest sympathies are with them and they have our full support in their struggle. Existence of colonialism and racialism in parts of Africa is not merely an insult to dignity of man but also a threat to peace of the world."

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Date : Jul 01, 1963

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JORDAN

Trade Agreement between. left and Jordan Signed

An agreement to develop and strengthen trade and economic relations between the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and India was signed in New Delhi on July 18, 1963. Mr. Abdullah Salah, Jordan's Ambassador in India, signed on behalf of his country and Shri D. S. Joshi, Secretary, Department of International Trade, Ministry of Commerce and Industry, signed for India.

The agreement is initially valid up to December 31, 1964 and is renewable year to year.

Possibilities of expansion of trade between India and Jordan had been discussed and details of the agreement finalised on the 19th of last month by an Indian delegation and a Jordanian Trade Delegation.

The main items of export to Jordan are tea, engineering goods, electrical goods, textiles and jute goods. Rock phosphate is the major item of import from Jordan.

The volume of trade (both ways) between India and Jordan had increased from Rs. 22.38 lakhs in 1959 to Rs. 146.75 lakhs in 1962.

The export of tea from India increased from Rs. 10.45 lakhs in 1960 to Rs. 41.12 lakhs in 1962.

JORDAN INDIA USA

Date : Jul 01, 1963

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NUCLEAR TESTS BAN TREATY

India's Decision to sign the Treaty

The Government of India issued the following Press Note in New Delhi on July 27, 1963, welcoming the Nuclear Tests Ban Treaty :

The Government of India have welcomed the recent announcement of the agreement reached between the U.K., the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. on a treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water. The Prime Minister described it as "good news for them, good news for us and good news for the whole world".

The Government of India have decided to sign this Treaty as soon as it is available for signature.

The Government of India hope that all countries who genuinely cherish peace and who are concerned with the health and progress of humanity will sign the present treaty. They also hope that the prohibition envisaged in the treaty will soon be extended to underground tests as well.

The treaty agreed to between the U.K., the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. is a landmark in international co-operation. The Government of India trust that this first step will, along with other collateral tension-reducing measures,

build up international confidence and speedily lead to a treaty on general and complete disarmament.

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INDIA UNITED KINGDOM USA

Date : Jul 01, 1963

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NUCLEAR TESTS BAN TREATY

Prime Minister's Messages

The Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, hailed the Treaty banning nuclear tests, and sent on July 29, 1963, the following messages to President Kennedy, Mr. Khrushchev and Mr. Macmillan.

Text of Message to President Kennedy

It is with considerable gratification that on behalf of my colleagues and on my behalf, I offer our felicitations on the successful conclusion of talks held in Moscow between Secretary Harriman and his British and Soviet colleagues on a treaty banning nuclear tests in atmosphere, in outer space and under water. We have since announced our decision to sign this treaty as soon as it is available for signature.

This test ban agreement is an important landmark in international co-operation and understanding. We trust that this welcome beginning will lead to wider agreements in other collateral tension-reducing measures and to speedy conclusion of a treaty on general and complete disarmament.

Text of Message to Mr. Khrushchev:

On behalf of my colleagues and on my own behalf, I would like to offer our felicitations on the successful conclusion of the talks on a treaty banning nuclear tests in atmosphere, in outer space and under water which you initiated on the 15th of July in Moscow. The Government of India have announced their decisions to sign this treaty as soon as it is available for signature.

The Moscow agreement is an important landmark in the history of international co-operation and understanding. We trust that this welcome beginning will lead to wider agreements on other collateral tension-reducing measures and to speedy conclusion of a treaty on general and complete disarmament.

Text of Message to Mr. Macmillan:

Please accept our congratulations on the historic agreement reached in Moscow between Lord Hailsham and his United States and Soviet colleagues on a treaty banning nuclear tests in atmosphere, in outer space and under water. We have welcomed this agreement and announced our decision to sign the treaty as soon as it is available for signature.

The test ban agreement is a landmark in history. It is an augury of greater international co-operation and understanding and will, we trust, lead to other agreements on tension-reducing measures and to speedy conclusion of a treaty on general and complete disarmament.

USA RUSSIA INDIA

Date : Jul 01, 1963

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SOUTH AFRICA

India's Action against South Africa's Policy of Apartheid

The Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, issued the following Press Note in New Delhi on July 13, 1963 :

The struggle of the people of India against the racial policies of South Africa covers a period of over half a century. Well before India became independent Mahatma Gandhi reacted strongly against policies of racial discrimination practised in South Africa and, in the early years of this century, waged one of the most significant struggles in history-the passive resistance movement-for asserting human equality and dignity. Long before the representatives of the United Nations framed their Charter, Mahatma Gandhi led the peoples' non-violent movement "to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person (and) in the equal rights of men and women", "without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion".

The Government of India raised the question of racial discrimination in South Africa from the very inception of the United Nations and from that time onwards, the Government of South Africa began its history of disregard of

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the Resolution of the United Nations. Subsequently, at the 7th Session of the General Assembly in 1952, India, along with 12 other Member-States of the United Nations, raised the general question of "race conflict in South Africa resulting from the policies of apartheid of the Government of the Union of South Africa". Between 1946 and 1962, the U.N. General Assembly passed 26 resolutions against the racial policies of South Africa. The Security Council also passed a resolution on the subject in April 1960. There have been a number of other resolutions on the policies of apartheid in the territory of South-West Africa. The Government of South Africa not only refused to comply with the provisions of these resolutions but also persistently violated the principles and provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration of Human Rights.

As the Government of South Africa continued to ignore repeated requests, recommendations, admonitions and condemnations of the world Organisation, 34 Member-States of the

United Nations, including India, moved a Resolution in the 17th Session of the General Assembly in 1962, deploring the failure of the South African Government to comply with its earlier Resolutions and deprecating that Government's racial policies and measures. The Resolution which was adopted by an overwhelming majority requested Member-States to take certain diplomatic and economic steps against the Government of South Africa to bring about the abandonment of the racial policies of that Government [1761 (XVII)]. Operative paragraph 4 of the Resolution requested Member-States to take the following measures :

- (a) Breaking off diplomatic relations with the Government of the Republic of South Africa or refraining from establishing such relations;
- (b) Closing their ports to all vessels flying the South African flag;
- (c) Enacting legislation prohibiting their ships from entering South African ports;
- (d) Boycotting all South African goods and refraining from exporting goods, including all arms and ammunition, to South Africa;
- (e) Refusing landing and passage facilities to all aircraft belonging to the Government and companies registered under the laws of South Africa.

India was the first country to take diplomatic and economic sanctions against the South African Government. Even before its independence, it had withdrawn its High Commission from the Union of South Africa and prohibited trade with that country. That was in 1946. Since the passing of Resolution 1761 (XVII) by the General Assembly of the United Nations, the Government of India has reviewed the position and taken necessary action in full compliance with the Resolution :

- (a) Breaking off diplomatic relations with the Government of the Republic of South Africa or refraining from establishing such relations.

The High Commissioner for India in the Union of South Africa was recalled in 1946. The Mission itself was withdrawn in 1954. Thus, there have been no formal diplomatic contacts between India and South Africa since 1954. However, some contact was maintained between the two Governments through their Missions in London mainly in order to implement the various resolutions of the U.N. General Assembly urging negotiations between them on the question of treatment of persons of Indian origin in South Africa. The Government of South Africa, however, persistently refused to negotiate in terms of these resolutions. This contact has accordingly now been broken off.

- (b) Closing of ports to all vessels flying the South African flag.

In implementation of Resolution 1761 (XVII), the Government of India has instructed the authorities concerned not to allow vessels flying the South African flag to touch Indian sea ports.

- (c) Enacting legislation prohibiting their (Indian) ships from entering South Africa.

Indian ships do not call at South African ports. However, instructions have been issued to the authorities concerned to prohibit Indian ships from going to South African ports, The Government of India has adequate powers for this purpose under the existing laws and it is not necessary to enact fresh legislation.

- (d) Boycotting all South African goods and refraining from exporting goods, including all arms and ammunition, to South Africa.

There has been a general ban on trade between India and South Africa since 1946. Since 1953, the mandated territory of South-West Africa, which is being administered by South Africa, has also been covered under this ban. The movement of some items mainly of cultural and religious interest was, however,

nels on humanitarian grounds. The Government of India has examined this matter again and issued instructions that, apart from bona fide personal effects of travellers, post cards, letters, aerograms and telegrams, only the following items will be allowed for movement between India and South Africa through postal and other channels :

- (i) books and periodical publications (magazines) and newspapers;
 - (ii) blind literature;
 - (iii) free unsolicited gifts from relations and friends, including family and personal photographs if paid for at letter postage rates or printed matter rates, if admissible. These cannot be sent through parcel post. The value of such a gift should not exceed Rs. 200;
 - (iv) packets containing sweetmeats and blessings for the Muslim devotees by the Durgah Committee, Ajmer, provided that no packet exceeds 1 lb. in weight and that the packets are accompanied by certificates from the Nazim of the Durgah showing that they are bona fide offerings by devotees; and
 - (v) pictorial representations with religious and social background.
- (e) Refusing landing and passage facilities to all aircraft belonging to the Government and companies registered under the laws of South Africa.

There is no traffic between India and South Africa by Indian or South African Airlines. However, under the relevant international conventions, aircraft registered in South Africa can be permitted to overfly India while operating scheduled international air services, to land at Indian airports for non-traffic purposes and to make non-scheduled flights to, through and over India. In view of the Resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations specifically forbidding these facilities, the Government of India has informed the International

Civil Aviation Organisation that they will not allow aircraft registered in South Africa to land at Indian airports or to overfly India.

The Government of India has fully implemented the terms of the U.N. General Assembly Resolution 1761 (XVII). It hopes that all other Member-States of the United Nations and, indeed, all countries of the world will do everything in their power to bring about the abandonment of the cruel and inhuman racial policies of the Government of South Africa.

SOUTH AFRICA INDIA USA UNITED KINGDOM CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date : Jul 01, 1963

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1995

SWITZERLAND

Technical Co-operation Agreement Signed

On the basis of a bilateral technical co-operation programme, the Federal Council of Switzerland has decided to grant a sum of Swiss Francs 1,640,000 (Rs. 17,876 lakhs) covering the first phase of three years for the realisation of an agricultural development project in Kerala.

An agreement for implementing this project was signed in New Delhi on July 12, 1963 by Shri S. Krishnamurti, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Finance, Department of Economic Affairs and Mr. J. A. Cuttat, Swiss Ambassador in India.

The present agreement covers only the first stage for the second stage can be taken into consideration if the first is successful. The first stage covers a pilot plant on Government land of about 500 acres at Munnar.

The commitments for the Munnar pilot plant cover :-

1. Construction of a fodder station to explore the soil and to determine the most suitable kinds of grass seeds.
2. Construction of a veterinary and sperm station for artificial insemination and the combat of epidemics and parasites.

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3. Construction of two cattle breeding farms, of 50 units each, to start cross-breeding experiments.

In addition, training courses will be held for agricultural advisers in Kerala on cattle breeding and fodder production. Preparatory experiments will be carried out at the Peermade, at about 1,000 metres above sea-level for the second enlargement stage.

SWITZERLAND INDIA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

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U.S.A. AND U.K.

Radar Training Exercises in India

The Government of India issued the following Press Note in New Delhi on July 22, 1963 :

Ever since the large scale Chinese aggression against India in October, 1962, the Government of India has been particularly concerned with the need for strengthening the Indian Air Force to enable it to provide adequate protection to our cities, our industrial complexes, and our

vital defence installations in the event of a large scale air attack by the Chinese. For this purpose, Government of India has sought assistance from all friendly countries, including the Commonwealth, the United States and the U.S.S.R. In response, a Commonwealth/United States Air Defence Mission visited India earlier this year.

The United States have offered to provide a set of radar installations and connected communications equipment which will cover almost the entire northern border. This offer has been accepted since radar coverage is the first requisite for effective air defence arrangements. The United Kingdom is also providing electronic and communications equipment of assistance to the air defence of India.

Since it will take 12 to 18 months before permanent radar units can be ready and be installed for use, the U.S. Government has offered to send some mobile radar sets to this country to provide coverage and initiate training of I.A.F. personnel on these mobile radar sets in the interim period. These sets will remain the property of the U.S. Government and will be withdrawn when permanent radar installations are set up.

This radar and communications equipment which is being procured from the United States will incorporate the various technological advances in the field of radar and communications and will be highly sophisticated. The Indian Air Force personnel will require to be adequately trained in the use and maintenance of this equipment. The United States Government has agreed to initiate this training on the mobile radar sets so that the entire radar and communications equipment to be installed can be fully manned by I.A.F. personnel.

As an important part of the training of the I.A.F. personnel in this sophisticated radar and communications equipment, it has been agreed by the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom that high performance fighter aircraft from their Air Forces may visit India temporarily and participate in joint training exercises with the Indian Air Force, under

overall Indian Air Force aegis, to help in testing the equipment and in enabling Indian Air Force personnel to master its use. These exercises will also provide an opportunity to the Indian Air Force squadrons to practise alongside fighter aircraft from the U.S. and the U.K. from which they will gain valuable experience regarding the latest techniques of air defence,

While agreeing to these joint training exercises the United States and the United Kingdom Governments have expressly stated that these joint training exercises will not mean any commitment by these Governments to assist India in its defence should it be attacked, although the

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United States and United Kingdom Governments have agreed to consult with the Government of India in the event of such a contingency. The Government of India on its part has made it quite clear that the defence of India, including its air defence, is wholly and solely the responsibility of the Government of India. These joint exercises which will be of short duration will be carried out for the purpose of imparting training and experience to the Indian Air Force.

Discussions with the U.S.S.R. regarding the assistance for strengthening our air defence that can be provided by that country are going on.

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BRITAIN

British Loan to India

An agreement for a loan of L 10 million (Rs. 13.33 crores) to the Government of India from the British Government was signed in New Delhi on August 26, 1963 by Shri L. K. Jha, Secretary, Ministry of Finance, Department of Economic Affairs, and Mr. R. H. Belcher, Acting British High Commissioner.

This loan is part of the offer made by the British Government at recent meetings of the Aid India Consortium in Paris and Washington of further aid amounting to æ-30 million (Rs. 40 crores) to be committed in 1963/64 as part of their contribution towards the foreign exchange costs of economic development under India's Third Five Year Plan.

The loan is for a period of 25 years, but repayments of principal will not begin until after the seventh year. In view' of India's special

circumstances, and in accordance with the undertaking given by the British Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations in Parliament on July 17, the interest that would otherwise be due during the first seven years of the loan will also be waived.

The loan will be used to finance the purchase of a wide range of goods manufactured in Britain, and as it will be disbursed within the next few months will be of immediate benefit to the Indian balance of payments.

The loan will be made under the Authority of Section 3 of the Export Guarantee Act, 1949. The rate of interest after the first seven years will be at the normal rate for Section 3 loans, i.e. the rate on each drawing will be based on the Exchequer borrowing rate for a comparable period, plus a small management charge. It is estimated that on the basis of current interest rates, the effect of the waiver of interest is equivalent to a reduction in the interest rate over the life of the loan from about 51 per cent to a figure below 3 1/2 per cent.

The signature of this agreement brings to \approx 108.5 million (Rs. 144.67 crores), the total of loan agreements signed since the beginning of the Indian Third Plan period in April 1961, out of the total of \approx 125 million (Rs. 166.67 crores) now committed. Discussions are proceeding between the two Governments for the allocation of the balance of \approx 16.5 million (Rs. 22 crores).

INDIA USA FRANCE RUSSIA

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HOME AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

President's Independence Day Message

Broadcasting to the Nation on the eve of India's Independence Day, the President, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, said :

Friends,

It gives me great pleasure to say a few words on the occasion of the 16th Anniversary of our Independence Day.

From the time we attained our independence, we have looked upon political freedom as the essential instrument for raising the economic and social standards of our people. We have tried

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to establish new standards and values and give a new face to our country. The extent of our achievement is a matter of history.

We have yet to go a long way to the achievement of our goal. There are still relics of feudalism where so much is surrendered by so many to so few. These relics require to be removed as speedily as possible if we are to build a social and economic democracy.

What is called the revolution of rising expectations, if not carried out successfully, gives rise to frustration, cynicism and despair, which are not healthy for any society. Our basic policies, however, have aimed at reconstructing our society so as to give no chance to these unhealthy trends. By applying modern methods of science and technology to agriculture and industry we have been striving to increase agricultural production and industrial output, build roads, schools, technical colleges and universities and step up housing schemes and medical facilities.

In our country 70 per cent of the people are engaged in agriculture and allied pursuits and 80 per cent of export earnings come from agricultural produce but agriculture does not expand rapidly. We have tried by different means to increase our agricultural output and in the Third Five Year Plan we aim at attaining self-sufficiency in food-grains. This self-sufficiency can be achieved not by shouting slogans, but by very determined effort on the part of our people.

Fertilizers, better seeds and adoption of modern

implements are the only ways by which the output can be raised. This depends on wise leadership and administrative efficiency.

On the industrial side, we have been trying to increase our industrial output through the development not only of major industries but of small industries in rural areas. But delays and difficulties have appeared in transport, coal, power and steel. With regard to transport and coal, conditions are now much better and are likely to improve in the near future. We are making strenuous efforts to overcome the short supply of power. If the Bokaro Project is put through the steel position will improve.

On the social side, we are attempting to spread education-scientific and technical. If we are to adjust ourselves to the rhythm of the new world, our people should adopt a rational and scientific outlook in matters of health, sanitation, etc. In schools and colleges, as well as in self-governing institutions, we have to develop a sense of decency in public behaviour. Unfortunately at the present moment we have factional strife, personal rivalries, pressure groups, scramble for power, which impede the development of a national ethos. It is our earnest hope that our people will subordinate their personal interest, and groups loyalties to the strengthening of the moral fibre of the nation.

We do not wish our economic, social and educational programmes to be impeded by the imperative need to strengthen our defences. We are attempting to meet by higher taxation and measures austerities of the increased defence expenditure. We have to pay for civilisation as well as for defence. Defence, I hope, will not be a permanent problem.

It is unfortunate that our relations with China are still strained. It is our earnest desire to have these and our differences with Pakistan settled in an atmosphere of peace, goodwill and friendship. The threats posed to us at this stage should not deter us from pursuing the path of peace.

It is not our ambition to compete with China by raising large armies but we wish to have enough strength to resist attack and defend our frontiers.

In a situation like the present one, our people should work together with unity and purposefulness. The ugly scenes we sometimes see in legislative chambers and public meetings do not bring credit to us and I hope very much that such things are avoided. Strong conviction need not result in rude behaviour.

In the international world it is our purpose to work for a fellowship of free nations where each individual nation will have opportunity to contribute its best in art, literature, science and scholarship.

There is a temptation for each nation to look upon itself as the very centre of the solar system and to believe that "there is no nation like ours-na bharata saman desam". Such ideas have to be discarded in the present world context.

In human history nations have come into being in order to meet certain needs which are not to be regarded as permanent. A number of independent sovereign States, each closed and hostile and ignorant of what is outside itself, does not correspond to the needs of the new world. It is tragic blindness that bides from us the patent fact that we are all members of the human family. It has to be sustained by the innumerable ties that bind the nations. We should discard the heresy of nationalist separateness.

Victory in a thermonuclear war has become idiotic and absurd. The Test Ban Agreement is a modest beginning in the process of bringing out a reconciliation between the communist and non-communist worlds, It is the first agreement reached on arms control after nearly 18 years. The plans for the exploration of outer space reached by the United States and the Soviet

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Union are another illustration of mutual co-operation. If this co-operation is pursued in the realm of fighting the natural scourges which afflict humanity, we may move forward towards the distant goal of one world. The call of our age is to accept love as the law of life in both national and international spheres.

There is nothing inevitable with regard to our national or international efforts, about poverty, unemployment, national coherence, or even disarmament. Man, when truly human, is not merely the product of history, but is the moulder of history. What is called the contingency or unforeseeability of history is due to the free-will of the human being. He is not a victim of necessity--naturalistic historical or dialectical. He uses this necessity as a means for achieving freedom. Our hope for the future lies in the wise choice which the leaders of the world will make in the present context.

If we put forth our determined efforts, we can overcome these evils which afflict our country and transform it into a modern civilized State where people work in a co-operative way and build up our country.

There is hardly any man who is guiltless of wrong doing. Let us forget small things and give our best to the great cause of building a new India--nava bharat. Let us renew our resolve today to work with determination and earnestness for this sacred cause.

INDIA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC USA CHINA PAKISTAN

Date : Aug 01, 1963

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Prime Minister's Statement in Lok Sabha

Speaking on the no-confidence motion against the Government in the Lok Sabha on August 22, 1963 the Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru made the following references to India's foreign policy :

PANCH SHEEL

.....I do not think I need say much about non-alignment. It has been adequately discussed and Shri Krishna Menon spoke a great deal about it with ability. But I would ask Acharya Kripalani to consider whether he was right in saying-I believe he said it-that Panch Sheel was Panch nonsense. Now, I should like him to tell me which part of Panch Sheel is nonsense.

I was surprised to bear him using the word 'nonsense'. I submit that Panch Sheel is the only basis for international relations. Anything else is not civilised relationship and leads to trouble, conflict and war. The fact that China, after subscribing to Panch Sheel, breaks it and attacks us does not make Panch Sheel wrong. Obviously, the fault is of China, if you like to say so. But the Panch Sheel is not wrong, the principles underlying international relationship.

An hon. Member : There cannot be only unilateral interpretation of Panch Sheel.
Prime Minister : I am submitting that Panch Sheel is a right principle to lay down. The implementation may be wrong from one side or the other. That can be examined. But it is a principle that is not only right but a civilised principle which must exist between countries unless they are mutually at war and so to some extent the present major conflict between Soviet Union and China is based on that. China does not believe in peaceful co-existence. It says so and Russia says, it does. Of course, behind that lie national conflicts between the two.

AKSAI CHIN ROAD

Now, there is one thing more. It was said by Acharya Kripalani as well as by others that I hid from Parliament the fact of Chinese aggression for a long time. I have dealt with this in the Lok Sabha previously and I do not want to go into any detail because it can easily be seen in my previous speeches and answers. And I do submit that this is entirely a wrong idea. What happened was that in 1958-it was end of 1958, late autumn-we first heard of the Aksai Chin road being made. We did not know where it was exactly. We sent two sets of people separately to find out where it was, whether it was in our territory or not, because Aksai Chin road spreads out behind that. It took months for

them to come back because all these are real mountaineering expeditions. One of them came back after some months and the other was captured by the Chinese. All this took months. We wrote to the Chinese to say, that "We had sent some people on our territory and whether they knew anything about them, and that they had not yet come back." Thereupon, they replied, "Oh, yes. They transgressed our territory and we arrested them. But now as we are friends with you, we are releasing them." That was the first regular information we had that Aksai Chin road had been built in our territory. That was in 1958.

In October 1958 I think we sent a protest about this matter to the Chinese Government. About this time---end of 1958 or beginning of 1959---the Tibetan rebellion took place against the Chinese rule and our attention had been rather diverted. The Tibetan rebellion took place; people came from Tibet; later the Dalai Lama came; many refugees came. And in our subsequent communications to China those things took rather the first place. But reference was continued to be made about this Aksai Chin road.

We first informed Parliament about this in 1959---I forget the exact date at the present moment, but it was in 1959. It might be said that we might have informed them three or four months earlier. We must have been waiting for that reply from them; and as soon as the reply came the Tibetan and other developments took place, and we informed Parliament. There was no long delay in it, and there was obviously no desire to hide anything from Parliament. Now, Acharya Kripalani has said that we should break off diplomatic relations with China. He asked, "why don't we declare war?" AU I can say is that it would be very unwise for us to do so. It may be a brave gesture. But in our opinion it would be unwise; it will not help us in any way, and it may hinder us in many ways. Nothing comes in the way of our strengthening our defences, as we are trying to do so to the best of our ability and at the same time always trying to keep the door open, whether it is Pakistan or whether it is China, for peaceful settlement, provided it is honourable and in keeping with our thinking.

No TREACHERY IN NEFA

Now, Acharya Kripalani said something about our defence; and I asked our Defence Minister to give me a note on this question and I shall read that note. I wanted to be sure that what I said was correct.

"Shri Kripalani has alleged that the decision taken to drive away the Chinese Army as announced by the Prime Minister on his way to Ceylon was taken without any consultation whatsoever with the officers in charge of the Army in NEFA, that it is a political decision arrived at in Delhi and that it was astounding that military decisions of the battlefield should be taken without consulting the Army Headquarters at the spot by civilians. He has challenged the Government to publish the NEFA Enquiry Report as people have reason to believe that there has been treachery.

The Enquiry Report cannot be published in view of the secret nature of its contents and the security risk involved. But the Defence Minister intends to make a statement relating to the contents to the extent they can be disclosed on the floor of the House during the session.

The allegations made by Shri Kripalani are absolutely without foundation. Decisions on important matters—and decision with regard to the attitude to be adopted in case of attack by China was an important matter—could only be taken at Delhi. There could not be one decision; a number of decisions had to be taken as the Situation developed from time to time. Some decisions were taken by Government in full consultation with the Chiefs of Staff and other senior Army officers concerned and in the light of their expert advice. This applies particularly to the decision that the Army should not withdraw in October-November 1962 from its forward positions in NEFA. While decisions of a certain nature can only be taken ultimately by Government, it is incorrect to say that decisions were taken without consulting the appropriate army authorities. The charge of treachery is, of course, baseless."

This note the Defence Minister has given me. I may mention this, because it was on my way

to Ceylon that I was asked by the press correspondents about the frontier situation. I told them that we intend pushing them out. I do not see anything wrong about it, and that, as a matter of fact, was our decision, our military decision; the date was not fixed; and that was the only thing that I could say at that time, and I refused to say anything else.

An hon. Member : The press report was that Government had ordered the Army in NEFA to push them out. not that it was intended to push them out, but they had ordered them to push out.

Prime Minister : That may be so; it might have been that. We had told the Army to push them out.

An hon. Member : You had issued instructions to the Army.

Prime Minister : But my point is that that was not a sudden inspiration which I had. That was

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the result of talks with the Army generals and others, and on their advice-not their advice that I should say it to the press.

ARMY BEING MODERNISED

Shri Krishna Menon had said something about the kind of Army that we had inherited. It is a good Army from the point of view of the soldier, but it was not a modern Army. It is all very well for it to go and function as a part of the British Army in the Great War; and that did well. All our efforts have been concentrated on gradually modernising it. The modernising process is so expensive; if we take the whole Army, it would involve about Rs. 1,000 crores, taking the Army even as it was. And with the continuous pressure on us, on not spending too much, I know, and my colleague the Finance Minister knows, very well how repeatedly demands were made from the Defence Ministry or the Army Headquarters for more expenditure, but we discouraged them; sometimes, we might have cut them down too; they were in such fantastic figures, in geometrical proportion, or in astronomical figures that if suddenly somebody asks for Rs. 500 crores it will be difficult to give it, and it is always

difficult except when you are faced with a war situation, when the country and Parliament and everybody thinks differently. That is what has happened now. As regards the amount we are spending now, the taxes that the Finance Minister has put would probably have met with if there had not been this war or semi-war situation facing us. Even so, the process of modernisation was given some start.

There is one thing that I must say, and that is that I am surprised at Acharya Kripalani talking about the Army and saying it has no clothes and no shoes, as if we send them naked to the field; I do not understand this. I think my hon. friend said in his speech that they did not have shoes or boots.

The hon. Member : I said that it did not have shoes for those high altitudes; I was referring to mountain boots with which they can work in snow. I have made my point very clear. I did not say that they had no shoes.
Prime Minister: Everyone had stout boots.
The hon. Member : But stout boots do not work there.

Prime Minister : They do work, but it is true that for going in the snow, you do want snow boots.

The hon. Member: That was my complaint. That was all my complaint. They did not have snow boots.

Prime Minister : Everyone had blankets, shoes, clothing etc. What happened was this; they did not take more blankets because they had to carry them. So, they said 'Send them by air afterwards'.

The hon. Member : But there is a Government communique asking for these.
Prime Minister : Of course.

An hon. Member : That was after the debacle.

Prime Minister : That is perfectly true. because

An hon. Member : You had nothing.

Prime Minister : We were giving these not only to those people at the front but also to others, even to newcomers, because now people were

also joining the Army. But everyone of them had two blankets, plus two more which they had to take but which they had left over, because they did not want to carry them and they had said "Send them by air".

SETTLEMENT WITH PAKISTAN

I have not said anything about Pakistan. In fact, very little has been said about Pakistan by hon. Members who have spoken, except that some reference has been made to Shri Rajagopalachari's kind offer of Kashmir to Pakistan. Our policy consistently will be, will continue to be, to seek some settlement with Pakistan. It is not a question of settlement about Kashmir or some other matter, but a settlement which removes our bitterness against each other and brings a feeling, which creates co-operation between the two countries. There can be no other objective to aim at.

One of the Members of the Opposition Parties talks, I am sorry to say, very irresponsibly about things like Akhand Bharat and the like. They do talk about that. That is in the programme which they issued. They may not have said so here. That is very harmful. It is not merely folly, but it does harm, because it frightens the people in Pakistan, that people here want to upset Pakistan. Nobody here wants to do that and can do that, and it would be extreme folly if India ever tried to do that; it would ruin India, ruin Kashmir and ruin Pakistan.

I feel we may have been wrong in minor things. But I think that throughout these many years since Pakistan came into existence and the Kashmir trouble arose, we have always looked forward to a settlement of it. But a settlement does not mean our doing something which is completely wrong from our point of view, Kashmir's point of view and the people of Kashmir's point of view. That is a different matter. We shall continue to do that.

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SETTLEMENT WITH CHINA

Indeed, I may say even about China that we shall always leave the door open for an honour-

able settlement with China, whenever it may come. It may not come soon; it may come later

We are living in a strange world, and if I may submit, our foreign policy-that is a test of it-has succeeded in putting us vis-a-vis other countries in a far more advantageous position than China is. It is no small matter that we have not only the goodwill but the active help of great powers like the United States and the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union has been helping us in various ways and, as the House knows, in regard to Kashmir, it has been our staunch supporter.

USA INDIA CHINA RUSSIA PAKISTAN CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date : Aug 01, 1963

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NEPAL

President Radhakrishnan's Speech at Banquet for H. M. King Mahendra

At the invitation of the President of India, their Majesties the King and the Queen of Nepal paid a State visit to India from August 27 to 30, 1963. On August 27, the President, Dr. Radhakrishnan gave a dinner in honour of Their Majesties the King and the Queen of Nepal at Rashtrapati Bhavan.

Speaking on the occasion the President said

Your Majesties, Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen : It is my very great pleasure, Your Majesties, to welcome you both and the members of your party on behalf of the Government and the people of this country and I express the wish and hope that your stay here, formal and informal, would both be interesting and enjoyable.

The monarchical tradition in Nepal has been a very long one. The first Lichavi King said: My purified heart tells me that I shall work for the good of my people. I will try my very best to make my people as happy as possible. My duty of the King is to work for the good of the people over whom he is said to rule." It is that great tradition which Your Majesty has inherited. Happiness is not something which is merely outward in character.

You are paying a visit to Amarnath. When I was in Kathmandu for your Coronation, I visited Pashupathinath Temple and I saw that Ashoka Column of the third century B.C: inscribed "Here the Great Buddha Sakya Muni was born". Everyone who goes there is impressed by the spirit of religion that prevails in the country and your intending pilgrimage to Amarnath is an expression of that spirit of the country. Many of us live on the outward scene. We live from day to day, from hour to hour. There is no pattern, no purpose. There is, no studying of our depths, no kindling of the inner light which is there lying dormant all the time. It is the great Buddha's maxim "Om mani padme hum" the jewel is in the lotus. The Hindu saying is Deho Devalaya Namna--the body is the alaya of God. So, each human individual has in him a secret source of sanctity, a sense of holiness, a spark of divinity which we in our hectic existence overlook altogether and that is why we have so many cases of neurosis and instability. There is not that inward anchorage in which alone people can find real comfort. These great maxims which we have announced years ago have not been put into practice by us. They require that we should afford every human individual, man or woman, every kind of opportunity to grow into their fulness. When we talk about self-expression, we must have a self before we can express it. When we once have self, all opportunities should be afforded to us by which that self-expression could be realised.

The recent reforms which you have brought about assert equality of man and woman before the law, prohibit polygamy, encourage widow remarriages and inter-caste marriages and condemn unequal marriages. We have had terrific instances in our history to show what disastrous results these unequal marriages have had. You know the story of Rama-how one wife wanted

her son to be installed on the throne.

In spite of all the lessons which our scriptures tell us, we have still a social order which is unequal in character, inequitable in its nature. These

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social evils come down to us from ages past. It requires great courage to scrap them but you have had the courage to scrap them and introduce new social code is a matter which is a gratification to us all. But I should warn inserting anything in a code is different from implementing it in practice.

We have inserted in our own code the abolition of untouchability, the repudiation of caste so far as public relations are concerned but we still know to our cost how these things have obsessed men's minds have still a hold on them. Disciplined effort, education and propaganda are necessary before these laws become actual functioning realities. That is a thing which we should remember all the time. Again you are trying your very best to adopt planned economic development and try to see to it that all individuals have got the minimum comforts necessary for their clothing and shelter.

Millions of our people everywhere all over the world are illiterate and are submerged in the shadows. do not lead even a kind of animal existence where they can scrap some food. Such are the intolerably inhuman conditions in which people live in many parts of the world. If we want to remove these evils, it is essential for us to increase our wealth, plan development, improve our industries-and make it possible for our ordinary people to say that 'we are proud to belong to a country which looks after us and which gives enough facilities for the expression of our own selves etc.'.

If social freedom, religious freedom and economic freedom are given to the people, you may take it that they will surmount tribal loyalties. the smaller group feelings which they have and work for national cohesion. There will be a national consciousness developed and the individuals will feel that they are effectively participating in the work of the administration. in the work of the Government. These things will

inevitably follow.

The steps which you have taken are only the beginnings but these beginnings, if successfully carried out, will lead ultimately to a civilised modern Nepal and you would be the author of such a State.

All these things count for nothing unless we preserve peace in this world, unless we have that feeling of 'Maitri' on which the Buddha insists, the feelings of 'Sneha' according to the Gita--friendship for all human beings and for all countries and understanding of other's problems and not merely sitting on judgement on them, trying to find out what the difficulties are under which other nations are suffering. If we are able to get into their skin and find out what their problems are, we will have a greater understanding of the difficulties and sympathise with them.

The world suffers from a lack of communication. If communication is there, not merely the outward communication but the inward communication of heart to heart of the understanding of the problems of other people, this world will become a happier place than it happens to be at the present moment.

We have so many things in common---common past heritage, common aspirations for the future and common ambitions for working for a fellowship of free nations of the world. This federation of fears, so to say, has to be knocked down and a federation of free peoples will have to be established. When we have so many things, when we are neighbours ourselves, your security and stability are as vital to us as our security and stability are vital to you. We can, therefore, work with this one common objective of making the people of our two countries happier and better than they happen to be.

Our friendship is based on cultural links, on geographical proximity, on historical traditions, on a great heritage to which we are both heirs. It is my ambition that our policy towards each other must be one, if nothing more, of friendship and well-being of our people.

It is my great honour to request you to drink to the health of Their Majesties, the King and the Queen of Nepal.

Date : Aug 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

NEPAL

Nepal King's Reply

Replying to the toast. His Majesty the King of Nepal said

Mr. President, Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, permit me, first of all, to express our greeting and food wishes to the friends present here tonight at this pleasant function held to mark the occasion of our second friendly State visit to India.

Nepal and India have lived together in peace and amity since ages past. We adhere to our long-cherished belief that this historical relationship between our two countries can be further

165 strengthened. Nepal and her people have firmly held that the problems that tend to crop up sometimes between two independent and neighbouring countries can be settled honourably in an atmosphere of free and frank exchange of views and on a basis of mutual goodwill. And at the same time, it is not a new and strange proposition to state that every Nepali is always firm and uncompromising in his devotion to the good of his country and the Nepalese people. That there have appeared of late hopeful signs in a world divided into two power blocs is a matter of no mean significance and gratification. It is our firmly held belief and devotedly pursued policy that an atmosphere of peace, amity and goodwill with-all can and must be gradually created and firmly established by a progressive lessening of tension in international relations.

We not only hope but also believe that constant efforts in the interests of peace and friendship in this part of the world will be made by India under the leadership of her experienced and peace-loving leaders.

In the end let me express our sincere gratefulness to His Excellency the President of India for the generous and friendly words he has just expressed, and allow me, ladies and gentlemen, to request you to join me and raise your glasses for the health and long life of His Excellency Dr. Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, the President of India.

NEPAL INDIA USA

Date : Aug 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

NEPAL

King Mahendra's Banquet in honour of President Radhakrishnan

His Majesty the King of Nepal held a banquet in honour of the President, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, at Ashoka Hotel on August 29, 1963.

Proposing a toast to the President, the King of Nepal said :

We are all very happy to welcome you at this banquet held in honour of His Excellency the President of India. The frontiers of Nepal and India. are contiguous for hundreds of miles. Since ages past, the peoples and governments of these two countries have been living in an atmosphere of mutual goodwill and co-operation. To our mind, there is no reason why this relation of peace and friendship cannot be further strengthened for all time to come if honest efforts are made towards it by the peoples and the governments of the two countries, on a basis of equality and mutual respect for each other's equal rights. It is always possible to achieve

this goal because there have ever existed good and uninhibited relations between our two countries in a number of fields. We are also grateful to you for the facilities afforded to our students to study in your educational institutions. Given goodwill and mutual co-operation, we feel no difficulties would be encountered in solving all the problems that could possibly spring forth or be caused to arise between our two countries. That is why Nepal has long been advocating uninhibited, free and frank exchange of views to avoid possible bitterness in our relations with each other.

As it is a matter of joy and happiness for all of us to perceive hopeful signs of efforts being made by the big powers to decrease tension in the interests of world peace, so also it would be a matter of regret and sorrow to see tension prevailing in one's neighbourhood and Nepal is equally firm and will remain always firm in her belief that the only friendly policy is the policy of complete non-interference by one nation in the affairs of others.

In consonance with the traditions of the country and the interests of her people, Nepal is today wholeheartedly engaged in her own programmes of progress and development in her own manner within the framework of the partyless Panchayat system. We have neither time nor inclination to get enmeshed in the disputes and conflicts of others. We desire to strengthen the ties of friendship with all States including our neighbours. We have always welcomed with gratitude open-minded co-operation and assistance from friendly countries desiring to help us in our programmes of development.

We are glad to announce the happy news that His Excellency the President of India has kindly accepted our invitation to pay us a visit in Kathmandu and His Excellency's Nepal visit is to take place soon. We are confident that visits like this will result in greater friendship between our two countries. Now, ladies and gentlemen, I have pleasure in proposing a toast to the health, happiness and long life of the President of India and the prosperity of the people of India and her leaders.

NEPAL USA INDIA

Date : Aug 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

NEPAL

President Radhakrishnan'S Reply

Replying to the toast proposed by the King of Nepal, the President said :

Your Majesties, Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen : I am grateful to Your Majesty for the very kind words you have expressed. We are sorry that you are leaving us tomorrow morning. You came day before yesterday. Tomorrow morning you leave us. Your stay has been very brief and yet I hope you are able to feel the warmth of affection and goodwill which the people of our country have for you and the people of Nepal.

I went down today to see the Nepalese Exhibition of Arts and Crafts. I saw there the striking similarities between our own arts and crafts and those of Nepal. Some of the things which struck me, which I thought would be of some use to us even in this late age, I saw there the figure of Narada, one of our legendary figures always carrying tales from one to another, poisoning the minds of people, creating confusions and conflicts and misunderstandings. I hope our two countries will avoid listening to Narada's voice. I saw again there the Mahishasuramardhini, the figure of the Devi which calls upon us to suppress our Own baser instincts, raise our spirit and try to lead a tranquil kind of life. The beast is not outside us but it is in us and the suppression of the beastly instincts in us is very essential for any kind of civilised life. Unless we are able to govern ourselves, we cannot govern others. Therefore, wise leadership con-

sists in self-control and anticipating of events that are ahead of us. We must anticipate events, forestall what is likely to happen, recognise the trends and developments of the world in which we live and make our people adjust themselves to those things. The whole world today is passing through a great social and economic revolution, Both our countries are in the middle of that revolution. They are unfinished. They are still at work and if we want to introduce peace and prosperity among our own people, what we have to do is to see to it that this social equality and economic equality for which all people are crying in all parts of the world, are satisfied. This hunger for equality, for self-respect, for dignity this is a thing which is now coming up in all parts of the world and we have to recognise these emerging impulses and satisfy them.

With a compact population of about 10 millions, with these principles of social and economic equality on which Nepal Government under the guidance of His Majesty the King is now embarking-if these things are carried out, you will have a contented people and that contentment is the basis of political stability, security. I have no doubt that these will be done. And if there is any manner in which 'his country can help you, I have no doubt our Prime Minister would have assured you of all the assistance of which we are capable. I therefore feel that this friendship between our two countries Will be an enduring one because it is based on community of ideals, community of interests and purposes. It will be an enduring one and Nepal and India will stand together in facing the new challenges which the world is throwing at us.

May I request you to drink to the health of Their Majesties, the King and Queen of Nepal and enduring friendship between India and Nepal.

NEPAL USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC INDIA

Date : Aug 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

NEPAL

Joint Communique

The following is the text of the Joint Communique issued in New Delhi on August 30, 1963 :

On the invitation of the President of India. Their Majesties the King and Queen of Nepal paid a State visit to India from 27th to 30th August, 1963. Also accompanying Their Majesties were Dr. Tulsi Giri, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Mrs. Giri. Their Majesties are leaving for Kashmir on an informal visit. Their Majesties will be visiting other countries till September and will spend a few more days informally in India on their homeward journey visiting Bombay, Poona and Gwalior.

Their Majesties received a warm and affectionate welcome during their stay in New Delhi. They attended several functions organised in their honour. Their Majesties will, during their Kashmir stay, be going on a pilgrimage to Amarnath.

While in Delhi. His Majesty had friendly and informal exchange of views with the President and with the Prime Minister on matters of mutual

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interest. His Majesty had also talks with the Ministers of Home Affairs and Defence of the Government of India. The discussions covered a wide range of subjects of common interests to Nepal and India and the current international situation.

His Majesty and the Prime Minister agreed that maintenance of peace and peaceful conditions was essential for the well-being of all developing countries. In this context, they welcomed the agreement on the nuclear test ban treaty as the first step towards relaxation of international tensions and agreement on general

and complete disarmament which is a matter of vital concern to the whole of humanity.

His Majesty and the Prime Minister reviewed the progress in the execution and administration of development projects undertaken in Nepal by the two Governments. They agreed that this collaboration should continue and be extended to other fields in accordance with the desire of His Majesty's Government, through the governmental agencies and otherwise. The Prime Minister conveyed to His Majesty the agreement of the Government of India to extend assistance for the construction of Sonauli-Pokhara road, which will connect the State of Uttar Pradesh in India with the regions of West and Central Nepal.

In the course of the discussions, His Majesty acquainted the President and the Prime Minister with the progress made by Nepal and also with the objectives of social and economic reforms sought by Nepal to be achieved through the medium of the Panchayat system by the actual participation of the people. The Prime Minister described to His Majesty the progress made in India under the current Third Five Year Plan particularly in the field of community development, co-operation and Panchayats. His Majesty expressed Nepal's sense of gratitude to the Government of India for their co-operation and assistance for the development of Nepal. He explained the need for the diversification of Nepal's trade and commerce for her developing economy and stressed that freedom of unrestricted transit is of vital interest to Nepal. The Prime Minister expressed the hope that trade between India and Nepal will continue to expand on the basis of the most favoured nation treatment by both sides and reassured His Majesty of the Government of India's continued readiness to assist Nepal in all possible ways in furtherance of His Majesty's plans for social and economic development of the country.

His Majesty and the President and Prime Minister agreed that frank exchanges of views helped to promote a better understanding and contribute further towards cementing the good relations between the two countries. They further agreed that such personal contacts at different levels from time to time should be maintained as they were necessary for nourishment of the traditional bonds of friendship bet-

ween the two countries in keeping pace with the changing situation of this region and the world at large. His Majesty believed that the President's forthcoming State visit to Nepal would contribute much towards further cementing these bonds of friendship.

The President and the Prime Minister welcomed the opportunity afforded by the visit of Their Majesties for renewal of the personal contacts which they value. The President informed His Majesty that he was greatly looking forward to his own forthcoming visit to Nepal.

NEPAL INDIA USA

Date : Aug 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

NEPAL

Indo-Nepalese Trade Talks: Joint Communique

The following is the text of the joint communique issued in New Delhi on August 3, 1963: At the invitation of the Government of India a Nepalese delegation led by His Excellency, Shri Yadu Nath Khanal, the Royal Nepalese Ambassador, visited Delhi from July 26 to August 2, 1963, and had talks with officials of the Government of India concerning transit facilities required by Nepal, and other matters connected with Nepal's trade. These talks took place in an atmosphere of cordiality, friendship and mutual understanding.

The Nepalese delegation stated that His Majesty's Government would require transit facilities from Radhikapur on East Pakistan-India border and Wagah on West Pakistan-India border. The Government of India would be willing, they were informed, to provide the necessary arrangements and facilities required by Nepal for the flow of its transit trade, within the

framework of the Indo-Nepal Trade and Transit Treaty of 1960. His Majesty's Government were requested to indicate the expected volume of trade, Nepal's requirements of wagons and the points of destination etc. so as to enable the authorities in India to determine the character and quantum of facilities to be provided. The Bond System provided for in the Indo-Nepal Treaty to regulate Nepal's transit trade

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was also discussed. The Nepalese delegation stated that as it stood in the way of the normal development of Nepal's transit trade, the Bond System should be abolished. The Indian delegation assured the Nepalese delegation that, within the framework of the Indo-Nepal Treaty the Government of India would do everything possible to facilitate Nepal's trade and to remove any practical difficulties arising out of the operation of the Bond System.

The two delegations agreed to resume discussion of this question of the Bond System at Kathmandu during the talks scheduled for October, 1963.

The Indian delegation stated that some of the tariffs of His Majesty's Government seemed to discriminate against India, and that the rates of import or export duties on some goods coming from or going to India had been increased by His Majesty's Government contrary to what, in the view of the Government of India, was contemplated in the Treaty. The Nepalese delegation contended that His Majesty's Government had observed, and were, indeed, anxious to observe the provisions of the Treaty and assured the Indian delegation that rectification, where necessary, would be promptly effected. It was agreed that there should be further exchange of information in this connection. Nepal's needs of iron and steel goods, galvanised iron sheets etc., and the ways and means of supplying the same from India were considered at some length. The Nepalese delegation was assured that India would continue to endeavour to meet Nepal's requirements to the full, despite shortages in India and India's own pressing requirements.

it was agreed that as envisaged in the Treaty

of Trade and Transit between Nepal and India, periodic consultations should take place between His Majesty's Government and the Government of India at regular intervals, and that delegations of the two countries should meet for this purpose, once every quarter, at Delhi or Kathmandu as convenient. The Indian delegation has thankfully accepted His Majesty's Government's invitation to visit Kathmandu for the next series of talks in October, 1963.

NEPAL INDIA USA PAKISTAN

Date : Aug 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

PAKISTAN

Prime Minister's Statement in Lok Sabha on Indo-Pakistan Talks

The Prime Minister Shri Jawaharlal Nehru made the following statement in Lok Sabha on August 13, 1963 regarding the joint Indo-Pakistan talks on Kashmir :

On the 7th of May last I made a statement in this House in which I referred to the joint talks on Kashmir and other related matters between India and Pakistan which had then still not concluded.

These talks originated from a joint statement which the President of Pakistan and I issued on November 29, 1962, announcing our agreement to make a renewed effort to resolve the outstanding differences between India and Pakistan on Kashmir and other related matters, so as to enable the two countries to live side by side in peace and friendship. On the 30th November I made a statement in the House in regard to this joint statement and referred to the discussions which I had had with Mr. Duncan Sandys, Minister for Commonwealth Relations of the U.K. and Mr. Averell Harriman, Assistant

Secretary of State of the United States.

In pursuance of the joint statement our delegation led by Sardar Swaran Singh, Minister of Railways, participated in six rounds of talks. In all these six talks, spread over nearly five months, Pakistan showed no readiness to discuss anything apart from Kashmir.

As I have stated on many occasions previously, it has always been, and continues to be, India's policy to seek friendly and co-operative relations with Pakistan. The lack of such friendly and co-operative relations between the two countries would not only be unfortunate but would do violence to the long standing ties of geography, history and culture between the two countries. We are convinced that the only proper course for the two countries to adopt is to develop co-operative and friendly relations and live as good neighbours. In the larger interests of the two

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countries, we have been anxious to bring about a settlement of all Indo-Pakistan differences, including Kashmir, on a rational and realistic basis. It was in this spirit that we agreed to have joint talks but, as the house is aware, in spite of every effort made by Sardar Swaran Singh to arrive at an equitable and honourable settlement, these talks ended in failure.

From the very beginning, the Pakistan Government took various steps which came in the way of a settlement. On the eve of the first round of talks in Rawalpindi, Pakistan announced its so-called "agreement in principle" with China on Kashmir's border with Sinkiang. The timing of this statement was apparently intended to provoke India to refuse to start the talks the next morning. We felt that this was a bad augury for the future of the talks. Nevertheless, because of our earnest desire to arrive at some settlement, we decided to continue with the talks.

During the first plenary meeting, the Pakistan representative expressed his disinclination to discuss any of the Indo-Pakistan differences other than the Kashmir question which, he insisted, must be settled first. Sardar Swaran Singh in his opening speech listed various subjects which required to be discussed. But Mr. Bhutto insisted on confining himself to Kashmir only.

Even on Kashmir, because of Pakistan's insistence, considerable time was spent in friendly but futile discussions on the old idea of plebiscite which, chiefly because of Pakistan's own acts of obstruction and non-implementation of the U.N. Commission's resolutions, had already proved to be impracticable, particularly in the light of irreversibly changed conditions in the last fifteen years.

This was followed by the signing of the Sino-Pakistan agreement under which Pakistan gave away as much as about two thousand square miles of our territory to China. The fact that this was done in the course of our talks indicated how little importance Pakistan attached to our talks. It was extraordinary that while these talks were taking place, Pakistan was busy handing over a large part of our territory to China which had invaded our country. The object apparently was to present us with a *fait accompli* in one part of our territory of Jammu and Kashmir, while keeping her hands free to negotiate for the remaining part of the State. We might have been justified in not proceeding with the talks at this stage. Nevertheless, we proceeded with them after recording our strong protest.

The Rawalpindi talks, despite Pakistan's preliminary agreement with China, had ended with the leaders of the two delegations issuing an appeal for moderation in mutual criticism. The joint appeal had hardly been made by the leaders of the two delegations in December when Pakistan launched an unprecedented campaign of vilification against India not only in Pakistan, but also in the capitals of Europe through their responsible officers. Thus, it appeared clear from the beginning that Pakistan was interested not so much in a settlement of outstanding differences or even of the Kashmir problem, but only in making political capital out of the situation created by Chinese aggression against India.

When the Pakistan Delegation shifted from a futile discussion of plebiscite to the consideration of a possible political settlement, they began to put forward astonishing proposals. Pakistan claimed the catchment areas and the water-sheds of the three Western rivers the Chenab, the Jhelum and the Indus.. in Jammu & Kashmir, on the ground that these rivers had been allotted to

Pakistan under the Indus Waters Treaty. Our delegation pointed out that the Indus Waters Treaty protected Pakistan's interests fully and gave her no ground to claim any territory in Jammu and Kashmir on the basis of the use and development of waters. If every lower riparian claimed the territory of the upper riparian on the pretext of its water requirements, the maps of many countries in the world would have to be drastically revised. By that argument, the lower riparian might even claim Tibet because the Indus and the Brahmaputra start in Tibet. No less absurd was another of Pakistan's claims to Jammu and Kashmir, namely, that they must have the State to protect their Grand Trunk Road and their railway line, the security of which, our delegation was told, was essential to ensure, what Pakistan called, its "defence in depth". Finally, Pakistan claimed Kashmir on the basis of its Muslim majority. This was a vicious communal approach repugnant to the entire spirit animating our national struggle for independence, and contrary to our Constitution and to our whole attitude to the problem of relationship between the State and the individual.

Pakistan's objective was obviously not a rational and realistic solution of the problem. They were just out to claim the entire State of Jammu and Kashmir, leaving to India, as it happened, in a forgotten moment of generosity, an insignificant area in the extreme south, roughly coinciding with the district of Kathua. Even more astonishing was the offer obviously induced by their awareness of India's need for the defence of Ladakh against China, that Pakistan would be willing to agree to an interim arrangement in the Valley for a period of six months or a year, to enable India to deal with the Chinese. All that this could mean was that India might continue to commit its men and resources for the defence of Ladakh against the Chinese threat but that

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once its effort and sacrifices had liberated Ladakh, India should abandon the State in favour of Pakistan. Another proposal was the so-called internationalisation of the Valley again for a period of six months, followed by some method of ascertaining the wishes of the people. This was

the old and discarded idea of a plebiscite, without Pakistan having to implement the conditions laid down in the UNCIP Resolutions.

Faced with this deadlock, when a breakdown of the talks seemed inevitable on the last day, our delegation again offered a No-War agreement together with a practical and immediate disengagement of troops, thus hoping to reassure our neighbour that our efforts to strengthen our defence against the Chinese aggression constituted no threat to Pakistan. A No-War agreement, we said, could include a specific undertaking that the two countries should continue to seek peaceful solutions of the problem, because we did not want the problem frozen. Such an agreement could be registered with the United Nations to give it an international backing. Pakistan rejected this offer. Their delegation also refused to agree to remit the matter to the two Governments for a review and for considering other appropriate steps towards a peaceful settlement. Thus, Pakistan achieved what it had aimed at from the very beginning, that is, a non-settlement and a deadlock on everything that should have been covered by the phrase "Kashmir and other related matters". This is where the Ministerial level talks with Pakistan ended.

In the early part of May, Mr. Dean Rusk, U.S. Secretary of State, and Mr. Duncan Sandys paid a visit to India, Delhi. In the course of discussions, the question of Kashmir came up again. We assured them of our earnest desire to have a settlement provided this was fair and equitable. As an earnest of this desire of ours, we said that we would be prepared to have the good offices of a mutually accepted personality, even though previously we had declined a similar proposal. Pakistan, however, continued to make quite impossible demands. In the first week of June, the President of Pakistan said at Sargodha that no useful purpose would be served by the adoption of such procedure. Other Pakistan spokesmen have been suggesting impossible terms of reference. They wanted a time-limit, suspension of arms supply to India during this period, etc.

We used to be told by many friends, even by leaders in Pakistan, that a settlement of the Kashmir issue was essential in the interest of joint defence of the two countries, At one time,

Pakistan made a grievance of the fact that while she was offering joint defence to us, we were not Willing to accept it That the proposal of joint defence was no more than a propaganda stunt, has now been made perfectly clear by the statements of Pakistan leaders. They have publicly declared that even if the Kashmir issue was settled amicably, Pakistan will not go either to the defence of India against China or change her friendly relations with Peking. On July 17th last. Mr. Bhutto is reported to have said in the Pakistan National Assembly that an "attack from India on Pakistan today is no longer confined to the security and territorial integrity of Pakistan", but "involves the territorial integrity and security of the largest State in Asia". He also said that if India were to turn her guns against Pakistan, the latter would not be alone in that conflict. He was obviously referring to China. The fact that India has no intention whatever of threatening the security of Pakistan or of turning any guns towards her, was ignored and the repeated offers of a No-War pact were forgotten. Pakistan today has only one object, and that is to malign India and to damage us in every way. They do not want to see us strong enough to stand up to China. They would like us to remain weak and helpless against the Chinese threat. They do not like to be told that the arms aid to India has nothing to do with Kashmir.

We have made it clear that while we are, and shall continue to be, anxious as ever on a settlement of our problems with Pakistan, based on rational and realistic considerations, there is no question of our considering any proposals for internationalising or division of the Valley, or joint control of Kashmir, and the like. If and when a settlement is arrived at, it must obviously be a peaceful one, not affecting the stability and progress already achieved, and must strengthen the friendship between the peoples of India and Pakistan: without this, no settlement has any meaning.

During the talks, India not only exercised great patience and restraint. but also offered generous concessions, though in vain, in the hope of winning Pakistan's friendship and opening a new chapter of fruitful co-operation between the two countries. While 'we continue to cherish this hope, there is little possibility of a settlement so long as Pakistan persists in its irrational animus

against India. The concessions which we offered to Pakistan are no longer open, and they must be treated as withdrawn. We do not wish our generosity and sincere desire for friendly relations with our neighbour to be treated by its Government as a jumping off ground for further claims. While the break in the talks is a matter of deep regret, we have to accept the facts, and we must wait for a more opportune moment for a settlement of all our differences with Pakistan.

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Date : Aug 01, 1963

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PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BULGARIA

Instruments of Ratification of Cultural Agreement Exchanged

The Instruments of Ratification of the Cultural Agreement between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Republic of India were exchanged at Sofia on August 26, 1963.

Mr. Guero Grozev, First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and Mr. Jagan Nath Khosla, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of India in Bulgaria, exchanged the Instruments of Ratification of the agreement concerning cultural relations between these two countries signed in New Delhi on February 20, 1963.

The Agreement which will remain in operation for a period of five years, aims at strengthening the existing ties of friendship and promoting better understanding and closer co-operation between the two countries in educational, scientific, social and cultural fields.

The agreement came into force from August 26, 1963.

BULGARIA INDIA USA

Date : Aug 01, 1963

Volume No

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PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Prime Minister's Statement in Lok Sabha on Chinese Troop Concentrations

Prime Minister Nehru made the following statement in the Lok Sabha on August 16, 1963 on Chinese troop concentrations along the India-China Border :

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

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

Apart from the fact that there has been no response from China to the constructive suggestions that we had made for peaceful settlement of

the differences, some alarming developments have since taken place along the India-China border areas which have been causing us concern. The House will remember the hostile and negative attitude adopted by the Chinese Government to the Colombo Conference proposals. The Chinese, in total disregard of the Colombo proposals, proceeded to implement their so-called declaration of unilateral cease-fire and withdrawal and proceeded to set up 26 civilian posts in the demilitarised zone in the three sectors ostensibly "for normal movement of border inhabitants, prevention of the activities of saboteurs and maintenance of public order along the border". Seven (if these so-called civilian posts were set up unilaterally in the demilitarised zone in the Western sector in violation of the Colombo proposals which laid down that there should be civil posts of both sides in this demilitarised zone. In the

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

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

This is not all. They have inducted fresh troops into Tibet and augmented the strength of their forces along the border. The strength of the

Chinese forces along our borders today is larger than what it was at the time of the unprovoked massive attacks in October, 1962. Apart from this augmentation of Chinese forces, a further development has been the forward movement of these troops to camps and strong points nearer the Indian border than they were last October. There has been, during the last few months, considerable activity by way of construction of barracks, gun emplacements, storage dumps and air-fields near the Indian border. There has also been great activity in the construction of roads, laying of underground telephone lines and construction of inter-connecting subterranean trenches along these border areas. Chinese land and air intrusions into Indian areas and Indian air space have also increased considerably, particularly during the last few months.

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

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

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

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

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CHINA USA INDIA SRI LANKA

Date : Aug 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

RUMANIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

Indo-Rumanian Cultural Agreement

Under the Cultural Agreement of 30th of April, 1957 between India and Rumanian People's Republic, a programme of cultural and scientific exchanges for 1963 was concluded in New Delhi on August 20, 1963.

The programme under the agreement for the year 1963 outlines the exchange of scientists, educationists, journalists, artists, experts on techno-scientific subjects, radio and television programmes.

A Rumanian professor, specialist in oil industry, will work at the Indian Petroleum Institute at New Delhi and Dehra Dun.

An Indian professor of Hindi language and

Hindi literature will work at the Rumanian University at Bucharest.

Both countries agreed to grant scholarships for Indian and Rumanian students, for studies in various fields.

Exchange of publications, translations of science and literary works by distinguished authors of both countries will be facilitated by each side.

The programme was finalised by the Ministry of External Affairs of the Republic of India and the Embassy of the Rumanian People's Republic in India.

INDIA USA ROMANIA

Date : Aug 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

SOMALI REPUBLIC

Prime Minister Nehru's Speech at Dinner for Somali Prime Minister

At the invitation of the Government of India, His Excellency Dr, Abdirashid Ali Shermarke, Prime Minister of the Somali Republic, paid a visit to India from August 12 to 15, 1963. On August 12, Prime Minister Nehru gave a dinner in honour of the Somali Prime Minister at Rashtrapati Bhavan.

Proposing a toast to the Prime Minister of the Somali Republic, Prime Minister Nehru said :

Mr. Prime Minister, Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, the twentieth century has been an exciting one. Perhaps we feel the excitement very much because we have lived through part of it. It has seen two great and horrible wars, the deve-

lopment of the atom bomb and the use of it and the continuing development of nuclear weapons casting horror all over the world. We have seen the development of science and technology at a tremendous pace and many other things. We have seen some of the old countries of Asia, including India, attain their freedom. But I think perhaps in the long list of history the most exciting that has happened, that is happening in the twentieth century is the awakening of Africa. In the 19th century, we did not see but read about the rape of Africa, the grabbing of parts of Africa by colonial countries. Somaliland was itself divided up to what was called British Somaliland, French Somaliland, Italian Somaliland, as if the Somalis had no individuality of their own and they were given out individualities according to the nations that grabbed them and ruled over them. This happened in many other parts of Africa and elsewhere.

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

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

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

We welcome you Mr. Prime Minister as repre-

senting that great movement of change in Africa and we wish you all success in it and more specially in your own country. And we offer you all our goodwill and good wishes and our hand of friendship and co-operation in this great task in which you have engaged. We ourselves are engaged ever since our freedom in the big adventure of building up a new India. Not wholly new, we are very old and we value our past and cherish it. Nevertheless, we have to put on a new garb, understand the new world and function in it, the world of science which brings with it opportunities of development, of welfare for all our people, because ultimately freedom means freedom of people not only political but economic. And we are engaged in this task of developing India and trying to give the fruits of freedom to our hundreds of millions of people. It is a tremendous and very difficult task but I think we have made good to some extent, laid the foundations for it and we have every hope and belief that we will go along this path progressively, succeeding in our endeavours. I have every hope and belief also that the countries of Africa will also develop and increase the welfare of their people. It is for each country to determine the best way it can do it. There are some things which are common, common problems in your country and ours, some of these are peculiar to each one. And we believe that each one should solve its own problems, develop its own genius, its own particular background and all of us would help the others in doing so.

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

We live in a world which is a peculiar mixture of horror and of hope. The horror comes from fears of war, fears of conflict, racial conflict, a

world conflict. Fortunately, there has been some tendency in the recent past to lessen this fear of war. The recent partial test ban agreement by itself does not go very far-I refer to the test ban agreement between the United States of America, the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom which I understand your country is signing and joining and which we have already signed and joined and many other countries. As I said, it does not put an end to all fear of war and the dangers remain but it is a historic step forward, a step away from the continuing race for armaments and ever-increasing danger of bursting out into a war. Therefore, we welcome this step as a great step, a historical step and something which may lead to many other improvements and which may ultimately lead to complete disarmament and the countries devoting their strength to development of their people and co-operation with others. And fortunately although that is the hope that we have and since we became independent we have striven for peace all over the world. Even before, our struggle for independence, under our leader, Mahatma Gandhi, we thought and worked in terms of peace. Naturally that persists in our outlook.

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

That is the lesson which history teaches us and which specially is the thought of India's teachers. So we shall strive to continue for peace in the world and peace even with those who may be opposed to us today. And I hope that ultimately we shall succeed because any other course is a course leading to disaster which is the course of folly. In particular we look forward to co-operating with these great countries of Africa which though separated from us by the Arabia Sea and the vast ocean, is in fact our neighbour because the sea both separates and connects. So I hope we shall have good neighbourly relations, good co-operative relations and in so far as on

can help the other, help may be given because it will be advantageous to both the countries or all the countries concerned.

so we are very happy of your visit although it is rather short. I hope it may be possible for you to come for a somewhat longer period later and see the India of today which is a strange mixture of the past, the ancient past and the present and even, if I may so, of the future. I can assure you not only that you have been welcomed in Delhi and will be welcomed as long as you are here but whatever part of India you may visit, you will find a cordial welcome. so I express my gratitude to you for having somewhat changed your programme at the last moment and included a visit to India and I wish you and your people Mr. Prime Minister, all growth and happiness and welfare.

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

MALI INDIA USA ETHIOPIA SOMALIA

Date : Aug 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

SOMALI REPUBLIC

Reply by Somali Prime Minister

Replying to the toast proposed by Prime Minister Nehru, the Somali Prime Minister Said:

Your Excellencies, the Head of the Indian Government and Guest : I would like to be excused for speaking in Somali, because first my English is not good enough to enable me to speak to such a gathering and for another thing, it might be a good thing if your Excellency and the other guests may get used to the sound of the

Somali language. It is a special honour for me to include in my various travel this visit to India although, as your Excellency said, I had to squeeze it as my programme was prepared before India was included in it. I have great pleasure to be here this evening as your guest and I am happy to meet all these guest, I express my gratitude, your excellency, for your kind invitation and for the excellent hospitality and welcome we have received his morning on arrival in Delhi.

I can say, your Excellency, that perhaps you know more then I do that good relation existed for a long time between our two countries, although for some time, neither of us had the freedom of maintaining contact with each other due to colonial powers. In a seance I can say Your excellency, that the colonialism that came to Africa might have been due to the fact that the Europeans wanted to assure for themselves passage to India and so in their efforts to colonise India they had to colonise Africa, particularly in East Africa, the colonialists came after the opening of the Suez Canal. For a long time Africa has been in darkness and I think until very recently, there where only there or so independent Government in Africa including Ethiopia and Liberia. However, I am glad to say that now many African countries are independent and those free independent countries are lighting the torch of Independence in dark Africa. I can say that although India has been in part the cause of colonising Africa, I can say that India and other asian countries have been as well the cause of the freedom of Africa, because without the independence of India and other asian countries, Africa would not have own independence. India has always been the experiment, and when it was discovered that india could no longer be kept as a colonial country it was decided that it will be not of much use to keep Africa also under colonial rule.

This visit to India has given me a special honour of meeting your excellency and other great Indian leaders and to be able to discuss with you matter of special interest between us as well as international affairs. I can say, your Excellency, that my visit this morning included a homaage to the memory of Mr. Gandhi, who was not only an Indian figure but also an Asian figure. He was the first man to initiate the movement for freedom in Africa, specially south Africa, and I

can say that Mr. Gandhi was an international figure and not only an Indian or an Asian figure. In fact Mr. Gandhi was the initiator of Afro-Asian solidarity.

Your Excellency also mentioned about world peace. I do not think that any of the countries of the world really wants war, I also do not think that there is much danger of a world war at a moment. I do not believe that any Government is really thinking or on a world wide scale anything could be achieved. There is a great hope, however, that there can be real understanding between people of the world, so that every thing could be achieved peacefully. I can also say that there is an indication of improvement since the two greatest powers of the world have come to some sort of agreement for the first time in several year. If some agreement has been reached between these two great Governments,

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the rest of the world can assist in achieving peace and for this reason my Government saw nothing wrong in accepting this agreement. Although we can say that this particular agreement may not Completely remove the danger, I feel that if the rest of us bring sufficient pressure on these Governments, improvement can be achieved.

There is, therefore, a great hope for achieving world peace, and we can all try to utilise the results of this development by using the huge amount of money for peaceful development, which in the past was used for production of weapons.

I would like to repeat again MY gratitude and thanks to the Indian Government and the Indian people for this invitation and for the great welcome we have received during our stay in India. We shall convey this welcome and great hospitality we have received, to our people and I assure Your Excellency that this will be appreciated not only by me but by the whole of the Somali nation.

I would now like to propose a toast to the health of His Excellency the Prime Minister Mr. Nehru.

MALI INDIA USA ETHIOPIA LIBERIA SOUTH AFRICA

Date : Aug 01, 1963

Volume No

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SOMALI REPUBLIC

Joint Communique

The following is the text of the joint communique issued in New Delhi on August 16, 1963 :

At the invitation of the Government of India, His Excellency Dr. Abdirashid Ali Shermarke, Prime Minister of the Somali Republic, visited India from August 12 to 15, 1963. The Prime Minister was accompanied by H.E. Mr. Ali Mohamed Hirave, Minister of Information, and other high officials.

The visiting Prime Minister called on the President of India and the Vice-President and held discussions with the Prime Minister, Members of the Planning Commission, the Minister of Scientific, Research and Cultural Affairs, the Minister for International Trade and the Minister of State, the Deputy Minister and other representatives of the Ministry of External Affairs. He participated in the Indian Independence Celebrations on August 15, 1963. The Somali Prime Minister and his party visited the Indian Agricultural Research Institute, the Okhla Industrial Estate and places of historical and cultural interest in Delhi. He also visited Agra to see the Taj Mahal and other historical monuments.

The Prime Ministers of India and the Somali Republic took the opportunity of this visit for a frank and informal exchange of views. Their talks, which took place in a cordial atmosphere, covered many matters of mutual interest and

concern, including recent developments in the international situation. They also exchanged views on problems of specific interest to their two countries. Their talks revealed a close similarity in their general approach to world problems. The Prime Minister of Somalia made a reference to the contribution of Mahatma Gandhi and India towards the emancipation of the peoples of Africa and Asia from colonial domination. The Prime Minister of India stressed the special ties of fraternity and community of interests and aspirations which unite the people of India with the peoples of Africa ; the Indian Ocean which lies between India and Africa serves also as a link uniting India with the African continent. The two Prime Ministers exchanged views on the developments which have taken place in Africa. They expressed the view that colonialism in all its forms and racial oppression are a denial of the human personality and a threat to peace. They noted with deep satisfaction that in Africa, in Asia and elsewhere the old order is now changing. They hailed the achievement of independence by many nations of Africa. The Prime Ministers welcomed these developments which have opened up perspectives before the African peoples to attain their full stature in freedom and dignity. The Prime Ministers regretted that in some parts of Africa colonialism and racial oppression continue and they condemned the policies of racial discrimination and the denial of fundamental human rights.

The Prime Ministers hailed the Conference of Heads of African States and Governments as a landmark in the history of Africa and expressed the hope that the resolutions adopted at that Conference will be progressively realised. The two Prime Ministers recognised that the prime need of the hour is the promotion of world peace and the lessening of international tensions. India and Somalia are deeply interested in the preservation of peace which is an essential condition for economic and social progress and for meeting the expectations of the people for a better life. In this context, they welcomed the signing of the test ban agreement between the Governments of U.S.A., U.K. and U.S.S.R. as a step

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towards the goal of complete disarmament. Both their Governments have adhered to this agreement.

The two Prime Ministers noted with satisfaction that there is room for co-operation in many fields between Somalia and India. The Government of India have agreed to meet, to the extent possible, the requirements of the Somali Republic in respect of doctors, agronomists, veterinarians and other technicians. They affirmed the common resolve of their Governments to strengthen the close and friendly relations which already exist between their two countries. The Prime Minister of India while expressing pleasure at this visit expressed the hope that the Prime Minister of the Somali Republic will pay an extended visit to India at a future date to enable him to travel and to see for himself the developments taking place in different parts of the country.

MALI INDIA USA SOMALIA UNITED KINGDOM

Date : Aug 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

SOUTH VIETNAM

Prime Minister's Statement in Lok Sabha on Buddhists in South Vietnam

The Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru made the following statement in the Lok Sabha on August 30, 1963 on the treatment of Buddhists in South Vietnam, in response to a calling-attention notice :

On the 8th of May 1963- Buddha Purnima Day-an incident involving a gathering, consisting mainly of Buddhists, took place in Hue, a town in South Vietnam, in which some people were killed. Since then Buddhists, who constitute nearly 80 per cent of the population of South Vietnam have been agitating strongly for the removal of certain measures which they consider to be discriminatory. The demands that they placed before the South Vietnamese authorities were as under :

- (i) the international Buddhist Flag should be allowed to be flown in the same manner as in the past',
- (ii) there should be no discrimination in religious matters and the Ordinance which gives a privileged position to the Christians and the Chinese religious bodies should be rescinded,
- (iii) there should be freedom of worship and the Buddhists should not be hindered in any way from freely exercising their religion,
- (iv) compensation should be paid to the relatives of those who lost their lives in the incident of the 8th of May, and
- (v) there should be no reprisals against the Buddhist leaders involved in the incident.

Discussions then took place between the Buddhist leaders and South Vietnamese authorities and agreement was reached restoring some of the privileges asked for by the Buddhists. According to the Buddhists, however, this agreement was not implemented by the various agencies of the Government. This led to further demonstration.

A Buddhist monk publicly burnt himself on the 11th of June in Saigon. Since then, four Buddhist monks and a nun also burnt themselves. There were demonstrations by other groups, including students, and the authorities are alleged to have used violence against them. Finally, the South Vietnamese Government proclaimed Martial Law on the 21st of August. Reports indicate that the army and police personnel entered the Pagodas and arrested a large number of priests and laymen. Many people are believed to have been killed and injured during these raids. Some high-ranking persons including the Foreign Minister have also resigned their offices and posts.

Various Buddhist countries have expressed their distress at these tragic happenings in South Vietnam. The Prime Minister wrote a letter to the President of the Republic of South Vietnam at the time reports were received of the understanding reached between the Government and the Buddhist leaders in Vietnam and he expressed the hope that necessary follow-up action would be taken in a generous and liberal manner to remove any misunderstandings or fears that the Viet-

namese Buddhists may have. The Permanent Representative of India at the United Nations was

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also asked to mention the matter to the Secretary-General of the U.N.

In view of the frustration of the agreement reached between the Government and the Buddhists and in view of the latest developments including imposition of Martial Law, representatives of various countries, like Ceylon, India and others have been considering in New York the steps that should be taken to persuade the South Vietnam Government to obtain a satisfactory settlement of the Buddhist grievances. Some of the suggestions made in this behalf are :

- (i) to convene a Special Session of the General Assembly of the U.N.,
- (ii) to form a Sub-Committee of the Asian-African members of the U.N. to approach the Secretary-General to convey their concern to him and to request him to use his good offices for arriving at a satisfactory settlement, and
- (iii) to convene a non-official meeting of the Buddhist members of the U.N. to consider the matter and suggest solutions.

These talks are still continuing,

The Government of India are deeply concerned at the reports of ill-treatment of the Buddhist leaders and others in South Vietnam. this is principally a human rights problem and the Government of India are consulting other like-minded Governments with a view to suggesting appropriate steps that should be taken so that the situation in Vietnam is improved and the fears and grievances of the Buddhists in that country are removed.

VIETNAM USA INDIA

Date : Aug 01, 1963

Volume No

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U.S.A. AND BRITAIN

Prime Minister's Statement in Lok Sabha on Air Training Exercises

Prime Minister Nehru made the following statement in the Lok Sabha on August 19, 1963 on the agreement between the Government of India and the Governments of the U.S.A. and Britain on the supply of radar and related communications equipment and the training of Indian Air Force personnel including joint air training exercises

In the statements that I made last week I acquainted the House with certain recent developments along our borders and particularly referred to the concentration of Chinese forces along our northern borders. Since the massive Chinese attack last October, we have been engaged in building up the requisite defence potential to meet any future aggressive threat from China.

Apart from strengthening and equipping the Indian Army to meet the special defence needs of the situation along our borders, we have also been considering various ways of strengthening the Indian Air Force and our air defence arrangements.

Action has been taken to make up the deficiency in Indian Air Force transport capacity by acquisition of additional transport planes--AN-12s from the U.S.S.R., Caribous from Canada, High Altitude helicopters from France and the U.S.S.R. and Fairchild Packets from the U.S.A.

Deficiency of certain types of spares for our Air Force planes is also being made up by getting these from France and the United Kingdom.

The lack of early warning and contiguous radar coverage has been another deficiency which seriously limits the capacity and the effectiveness of the Indian Air Force to provide adequate protection against a likely Chinese air threat. This deficiency is being met by an agreement reached with the U.S.A. and U.K. for the supply of radar

and related communications equipment and for training of Indian Air Force technicians to man these installations. A press release on this subject was issued sometime back. Copies have been placed in the Library of the House for ready reference.

The main features of this agreement are

(1) To start with the U.S. Government will send to India some Mobile radar sets with related communications equipment. Indian technicians will be trained and

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will progressively assume responsibilities for the operation and maintenance of these installations.

(2) Within a period of 12 to 18 months the United States Government will also send a certain number of permanent radar installations with related communications equipment which will cover almost the entire northern border and which will replace the mobile installations sent earlier. These permanent radar installations will be the property of the Government of India and will be manned by Indian Air Force technicians who would have been trained in the use of these sets.

(3) A complicated and extensive system of radar coverage like the one proposed to be set up requires to be tested under operational conditions through Air Defence Training Exercises with a variety of planes including high performance aircraft. The United States, the United Kingdom and the Australian Governments have agreed that high performance fighter aircraft from their Air Forces will visit India temporarily and participate in Joint Training Exercises under overall Indian Air Force aegis for this purpose.

Our pilots and air crew will also gain valuable experience regarding the latest techniques of air defence from these Joint Training Exercises. At all times, during the air exercises and otherwise, responsibility for the air defence of India will

continue to vest in the Indian Air Force.

The holding of these Exercises does not commit the U.S. or the U.K. Governments to any action in the event of a Chinese attack upon India. In accordance with normal Commonwealth understanding the British Government will in this event immediately consult with the Government of India. Similarly, the United States Government will consult with the Government of India regarding further assistance in India's air defence. We, on our part, have made it quite clear that the defence of India including its air defence is wholly and solely the responsibility of the Government of India.

I find that these arrangements have been misunderstood and various types of criticisms have appeared. Some people have said that these exercises are of no help to India as we do not have high performance supersonic aircraft. The question of acquiring high performance supersonic aircraft is a separate matter. But it is necessary that our technicians who will man the radar and the related communications equipment must get the necessary training to work with all types of aircraft-those that we have as well as other high performance aircraft.

Another criticism is that by allowing foreign aircraft to come here even temporarily and take part in these joint training exercises under the aegis of the Indian Air Force, even if these are exercises for purposes of training, we are in some way departing from our basic policy and allowing bases in India to foreign aircraft. I find it difficult to appreciate this criticism. We want our Air Force technicians to be trained fully to man this highly sophisticated equipment including effective handling of the equipment under operational conditions and servicing of all varieties of aircraft including high performance aircraft. We do not at present have high performance fighter aircraft of our own. But that is no reason why we should not go ahead with this training using high performance foreign aircraft who are willing to participate in these training exercises under the aegis of the Indian Air Force. These foreign aircraft will come for a limited period-for a few weeks- participate in the joint training exercises and go away.

If we wait till we acquire high performance air-

craft and train our pilots to man them before we undertake training of the Indian Air Force technicians in manning the permanent radar and related communications equipment, the whole programme of strengthening our air defence will be delayed for a considerable time. There is no need to delay this. We must go ahead as quickly as we can. We have, as I said earlier, made it quite clear that this participation of foreign aircraft for a few weeks merely for training purposes does not make the slightest difference in our basic position that the responsibility for the air defence of India is solely that of the Indian Air Force.

Before I conclude, I would like to add that a technical team which had gone to U.S.S.R. and Czechoslovakia to explore the possibilities of getting defence supplies returned to Delhi three or four days back. The general report given by the team indicates that there are good prospects of acquiring additional equipment we require for strengthening our air defence arrangements and for our defence production and other defence requirements.

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USA INDIA CHINA CANADA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC FRANCE UNITED KINGDOM
AUSTRALIA NORWAY SLOVAKIA

Date : Aug 01, 1963

Volume No

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U.S.A. AND BRITAIN

Prime Minister's Statement in Lok Sabha on AIR-VOA Agreement

The Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru made the following statement in Lok Sabha on August 14, 1963 regarding the agreement with the Voice of America for the acquisition of a

high-powered transmitter

The need to strengthen All India Radio's external broadcasts had been repeatedly brought to Government's notice and this need became more urgent after the Chinese aggression towards the end of 1962, more particularly in the context of the vicious and venomous propaganda against the Government of India by Chinese broadcasting services directed in various languages to bordering areas of India and to various Indian regions, as well as to the countries in South East Asia and Africa. A decision was taken in November, 1962 to explore the possibility of obtaining high-powered transmitters on reasonable terms from countries where such transmitters were available.

The preliminary enquiries made in pursuance of the decision to explore the possibility of acquiring a high-powered transmitter showed that the only transmitter of this kind readily available was with the Voice of America, who mentioned in March, 1963 the possibility of their offering the transmitter on certain terms to the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. As we felt strongly the need for a high-powered transmitter to counteract the Chinese propaganda, the Government of India decided to ascertain the terms and conditions on which such a transmitter could be acquired from the Voice of America.

Discussions between the officials of the Government of India and the U.S. officials concerned continued, with some intervals, from March to June, 1963. While it was known that the possibility of Voice of America broadcasts being made through the transmitter under Indian control presented a difficulty, it was agreed to go ahead with the discussions and see what the terms and conditions relating to the offer were.

I was consulted on two or three occasions but did not go into the whole matter at any particular stage. The matter was, however, briefly mentioned to me before the agreement was signed and, in that context, I must assume responsibility.

Immediately thereafter it became clear that this arrangement was not in consonance with our general policy and will, if further pursued, not only make Indo-U.S. relations a subject of controversy inside India but will prejudice our main objective of counteracting anti-Indian propaganda broadcast from Chinese radio. We have taken

up these matters with the U.S. authorities and are discussing with them how the difficulties mentioned above can be met. These discussions are going on. Any decision will have to be in consonance with our basic policies.

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MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS: EXTERNAL PUBLICITY DIVISION
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

AUSTRIA USA INDIA PAKISTAN

Date : Sep 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

AUSTRIA

Agreement for Avoidance of Double Taxation of Income

A comprehensive agreement for the avoidance of double taxation of income between India and the Republic of Austria was signed in New Delhi on September 24, 1963.

Dr. Georg Schlumberger, Ambassador of the Republic of Austria in India, signed on behalf of the Government of Austria and Shrimati Tarkeshwari Sinha, Deputy Minister of Finance, signed on behalf of the Government of India.

The agreement will come into force after it has been ratified by both the Governments and a notification has been issued by the Central Government.

The Agreement was negotiated at Vienna in October 1962, when an Indian Tax Delegation headed by Shri V. V. Chari, Additional Secretary, Ministry of Finance visited Austria at the invitation of the Austrian Government.

Volume No

1995

INDIA IN THE UNITED NATIONS

Shrimati Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit's Reply to Pakistan's Allegations

Shrimati Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, Leader of the Indian Delegation to the United Nations, made the following statement in the General Assembly on September 30, 1963, in reply to Pakistan Foreign Minister's allegations against India with regard to Kashmir

it is a matter of deep regret to my delegation that the Foreign Minister of Pakistan has chosen to make serious allegations against my country, allegations which are full of inaccuracies and misstatements. During the seventeenth session also, the delegation of Pakistan made similar allegations which we then refuted. One of the points just raised has been under consideration of another principal organ of the United Nations for several years. I should like to remind the members that it was India who brought the complaint to the United Nations. I would have preferred not to burden the Assembly with another detailed reply but in order to keep the record straight, and lest our silence be misconstrued, I am obliged to answer the allegations that have just been made.

The Foreign Minister of Pakistan has said that the central issue in Kashmir is that of self-determination and that both parties had accepted this. I would like to deny categorically here and now this assertion of the Foreign Minister of Pakistan. And I would like to add, with all the authority of the Government of India, that the issue in Kashmir is one of aggression, of Pakistani aggression, committed in 1947 and 1948 and which continues to this day.

Pakistan would have the world believe that the Kashmir question began with the Security Council resolution of January 1949. The truth is sometimes embarrassing and this story has an ugly beginning for which reason, no doubt, Pakistan finds it inconvenient to call attention to it. It is necessary for me to crave your indulgence, Mr. President, to remind representatives that the Kashmir story began with attempts by

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Pakistan to place an economic stranglehold on the State of Jammu and Kashmir immediately after the withdrawal of the British from India.

When economic pressure proved unavailing, Pakistan encouraged tribal raiders to pass through its territory and start a reign of plunder, arson, rape and murder with a view to terrorizing the Kashmiris into submitting to Pakistan rule. For those who have no knowledge of that terrain, I would like to explain that it would have been the easiest thing in the world to stop those raiders at the two bridges connecting Pakistani territory with Kashmir. All our appeals to Pakistan to prevent the raiders from coming in having proved unsuccessful, it was India who brought the case to the Security Council. When the case was first argued in the Security Council, the then Foreign Minister of Pakistan made a categorical statement. He said :

The Pakistan Government emphatically deny that they are giving aid and assistance to the so-called invaders or have committed any act of aggression against India. On the contrary and solely with the object of maintaining friendly relations between the two dominions, the Pakistan Government have continued to do all in their power to discourage the tribal movement by all means short of war."

When, however, the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan arrived in India in July 1948, facts could no longer be suppressed and the same Foreign Minister had then to admit that regular units of the Pakistan Army had been fighting in Kashmir since May 1948.

The Commission then accepted that the presence of Pakistan troops in Jammu and Kashmir constituted a material change in the situation

from that earlier represented by the Government of Pakistan, which was a polite way of saying that Pakistan earlier had misrepresented the situation at the United Nations.

We had of course known that the so-called raiders which had entered Kashmir from Pakistan were Pakistani volunteers all along. Later, Sir Owen Dixon, eminent Australian jurist and United Nations representative for India and Pakistan, expressed the view that the entry of hostile elements into the territory of Jammu and Kashmir in October 1947 "was contrary to international law". Therefore, after the Commission's finding, India would have been perfectly justified in urging that, her case having been proved, the United Nations should arrange to vacate Pakistan aggression or otherwise India would be forced to do so in self-defence. But in the hope of peace with a people who had been, until a few months earlier, our compatriots, and at the urgings of certain Western Powers, we accepted certain compromises. One of them was a cease-fire-and this at the time when Indian forces were advancing the second was that if the United Nations was able to ensure Pakistan's complete withdrawal from the State of Jammu and Kashmir, we would accept Pakistan's demand for a plebiscite. It is necessary to make it clear that that plebiscite was spoken in the limited context of a compromise formula, and this is quite clear in the relevant United Nations resolutions. The Foreign Minister of Pakistan quoted paragraph I of the January 1949 resolution, but he conveniently left out paragraph 2 of that resolution. I will, with your permission, read this paragraph out to you :

"A plebiscite will be held when it shall be found by the Commission that the cease-fire and truce arrangement set forth in parts I and II of the Commission's resolution of 13 August 1948 have been carried out and arrangements for the plebiscite have been completed." (ST/DPI/SER.A/72, Annex. IV, page 1.)

Now what are these parts I and II of the Commission's resolution of 13 August 1948 which were a precondition to a plebiscite ? Part I deals with cease-fire and part II refers to the truce agreement under which the United

Nations was to secure the total withdrawal of Pakistan regulars and "volunteers", and not until this had been completed were arrangements for a plebiscite to be undertaken which would include the withdrawal of the bulk of Indian forces. but not the whole of them. India was sovereign in Jammu and Kashmir and there was no question of India's complete withdrawal.

This compromise formula, which is now mixed up by Pakistan with the question of self-determination, was not implemented because Pakistan refused to withdraw its forces from Jammu and Kashmir and tried, in further futile negotiations to achieve a position of equality with India in Kashmir. After Pakistan sabotaged the compromise, formula, India would have again been justified in renewing hostilities, and it was this fear on the part of Pakistan which at that time led them to sign a military pact with the United States of America, in 1952, to strengthen their position not for defence against communism, but to secure the fruits of their aggression against India. Fifteen years have elapsed since the compromise formula had been arranged. Pakistan deliberately chose not to comply with these resolutions. It is not possible now to proceed on the basis of those resolutions. As Mr. Jarring has stated in his report to the Security Council dated 29 April 1957 :

"....the implementation of international

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agreements of an ad, hoc character which has not been achieved fairly speedily may become progressively more difficult because the situation with which they were to cope has tended to change." (S/3821, para 21).

That is precisely what has happened. It is too late for Pakistan now to suggest getting back to the situation which existed in 1948 and 1949.

As regards India's sovereignty in Kashmir and the legality of accession, neither India nor Pakistan, nor for that matter the United Kingdom, can question it, as they were all parties to the Indian Independence Act of 1947. The State's accession to India cannot be challenged on the legal plane. India's sovereignty in Kashmir stems from the act of accession and is complete and total. Proposals for a settlement of the question in the interest of harmony cannot

ever extinguish that sovereignty. Even this year we made certain proposals to Pakistan to settle the issue, but that cannot mean that our sovereignty in Kashmir was compromised. It is relevant to point out that at the 240th meeting of the Security Council, Mr. Warren Austin, the then representative of the United States, said

"This in an affairs between nations, and with the accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India, this foreign sovereignty went over to India and is exercised by India. and that is how India happens to be here as a petitioner."
(S/PV.240, p. 371).

It is in the exercise of this sovereignty in Kashmir that India has had to come into conflict with China in northeastern Kashmir. One has only to compare this exercise of sovereignty with Pakistan's surrender of territory to China from that part of Kashmir which is under its illegal occupation. Their concern for the integrity of Kashmir is also apparent from the fact that they blame us for not agreeing to a similar compromise with China by surrendering Ladakh. it is so easy to be charitable with other people's territory.

I come now to the question of self-determination. The principle of self-determination has been accepted by the General Assembly and India has been one of its strongest supporters. It does not, however, apply to the present case, since it is not applicable to a section of a people. It applies to all those territories where, by force of arms or by the vicissitudes of history, people are held under an alien power. If the policy of self-determination were to apply to parts of constitutionally created States, most of them would be broken up. The plea of self-determination in a plural society could mean nothing but disruption. And may I add that most of the new States in Asia and Africa fall into this category. That is why, I venture to suggest, the United Nations tried so hard to prevent the secession of Katanga on the plea of self-determination.

If religion is the criterion for self-determination, are we to separate Catholics from Protestants in Europe and in America, or Muslims from Christians in the Near East or in Africa? Self-determination cannot be merely a process

of disintegration or fragmentation. When self-determination is applied to minorities in a nation-State, often new minorities are created. It is interesting to recall that Prime Minister Suhrawardy of Pakistan declared in 1956 that the creation of Pakistan, despite the presence of 9 million non-Muslims in that country, put an end to the two-nation theory on the basis of which Pakistan was created. He said : "All of us, Muslims and non-Muslims, are Pakistanis first and last." This illustrates that now either Pakistanis do not believe in the two-nation theory or that self-determination is not the right of a new minority.

May I crave your indulgence, Mr. President, to draw the attention of this Assembly to certain relevant facts ? Did Pakistan permit the people of the Princely States in Pakistan to exercise the right of self-determination after the Ruler acceded to Pakistan? As was disclosed in the West Pakistan High Court a few years ago, the accession of the State of Bahawalpur was forced on the Ruler of that State. The Khan of Kalat revolted against accession and was arrested and detained in 1958. In neither case was the principle of self-determination applied. When Pakistan purchased the territory of Gwadar from the Sultan of Muscat, what happened to Pakistan's solicitous regard for people's right to self-determination? No opportunity was given to the people to say whether in the second half of this. the twentieth century, they wished to be bought like chattel. Is Pakistan prepared to grant the right of self-determination to the Pakhtoons?

Self-determination is a democratic process. There has not been a single general election in Pakistan are not fit to exercise such democratic on the comparatively limited franchise which obtained in British days. The President of Pakistan has repeatedly said that the people of Pakistan are not fit to exercise such democratic rights. and after fourteen years of independence the people are now being educated in basic democracy. It is gratifying to find that Pakistan considers Kashmiris to be more fitted for the democratic right of such self-expression even though they had no experience of it in the earlier British days.

Pakistan, by not withdrawing - its troops.

blocked a plebiscite which would-have been the

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second stage of the United Nations resolution. The people of Kashmir, who could not wait for ever, therefore, framed their own Constitution through a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of universal adult franchise and ratified the Ruler's accession. This is certainly a much more widespread exercise of democratic rights than has ever been practised in Pakistan. During the same period it would be well to note that the Pakistanis instead of moving forward on the road to democracy have actually moved backwards and discarded even the limited practice of representative institutions developed under the British.

The solicitude of Pakistan for the self-determination of Kashmiris might have been better appreciated had some measure of self-determination been extended to territories under Pakistan's own control. It is ironic that a Government that has denied the democratic rights of universal and direct suffrage to its own people, a Government that says that parliamentary democracy is not suited to the genius of its own people, should advocate self-determination for the people of a neighbouring country which has had elections on a universal adult franchise three times since independence.

If Pakistan really believes in the principle of self-determination, why did it invade the State in the first place? The demand for the self-determination of Sudeten Germany was followed by an attack on Czechoslovakia by Nazi Germany. Pakistan chose to follow the reverse procedure: only when aggression in Kashmir failed did Pakistan become a champion of self-determination for the Kashmiris.

I come now to the question of Pakistan's fear of India, about which we hear so constantly. I am grateful to the Foreign Minister of Pakistan for saying that:

"No country regrets more deeply than mine the outbreak of border conflict between its two giant neighbours, China and India." (A/PV. 1220, page 11.)

This is in refreshing contrast to what has been stated by his colleague, Pakistan's Central Minis-

ter for Information not so very long ago. He said :

"The world had seen that the so-called Sino-Indian war has been no more than a mock fight on which India wanted to cash in for boosting her armies and diverting the attention of her people from internal problems."

It is, therefore, good to know that the Foreign Minister now says that this conflict has been a matter of deep and direct concern to him and that its repercussions have complicated the problems of Pakistan's own security. He further expressed his belief that the dispute can be resolved peacefully.

As he is well aware six non-aligned countries did attempt a peaceful solution in a conference in Colombo. India accepted these proposals but China refused to accept them. We have not seen any criticism from Pakistan for this Chinese rejection of the Colombo proposals. The Foreign Minister however, views

"..... with deep apprehension the radical alteration in the delicate military balance by the augmentation of India's military strength." (A/PV. 1220, page 11.)

He says:

"Our fears of the resulting danger to the security of Pakistan are not purely psychological; they are deeply rooted in history and flow from the evidence of India's readiness to resort to military force to settle disputes with its neighbours. Similar fears have also been voiced in other countries of the region." (Ibid.)

We have not heard of any such fears expressed by any of our neighbours other than China. The only other country which expresses this concern at the augmentation of India's military strength is Pakistan. The Foreign Minister speaks of the delicate military balance of the region and he views with deep apprehension an alteration in this balance. There was no such deep apprehension of the alteration in the delicate military balance of the region by Pakistan when it sought and obtained substantial military aid during the last few years. Accord-

ing to United States press reports the military aid from the United States during this period has been something like \$1,300 million. Not even a tenth of that amount has so far come as military aid to India, a country with about five times the population of Pakistan. Yet this aid from friendly countries in our hour of need, for which we are deeply grateful, has made Pakistanis. in the words of an American journalist "hysterically anti-American".

Pakistan's security is guaranteed by military pacts with two great Powers who are committed to come to its help in the event of an attack on it. How can a State with such strong guarantees from two great Powers and maintaining, with outside assistance, armed forces out of all proportion to its size and defensive requirements, fear an attack from India which is under threat of a country which has the largest conventional army in the world.

That Pakistan's fear of India is obviously not genuine is proved by the fact that Pakistan has consistently refused the standing offer of India for a "no-war" pact to be registered in the

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United Nations and without prejudice to its position in Kashmir. If Pakistan were really afraid of India, is it not reasonable to expect that it would have welcomed such a no-war declaration ?

Pakistan obviously wants to settle Indo-Pakistan disputes by recourse to force. India has given the clearest assurances to Pakistan that the arms supplied by the United States and the Commonwealth would not be used against it. That apparently does not satisfy. What more can we do to reassure Pakistan? Pakistan has never given any such assurance to us in regard to the massive military aid which it has received over the last ten years. Rather, it resented America's assurance to us that United States military aid would not be allowed to be used against India. As a matter of fact, when Pakistan used American arms in fighting on the Afghan border, President Ayub strongly criticised the United States for having questioned the use of American arms for that purpose. "Do they expect us to put them in cotton wool?" he asked.

A country which once claimed to be the greatest crusader against communism, which joined organizations with the avowed object of containing communism and obtained military aid on that ground, apparently has no qualms of conscience now in contracting a marriage of convenience with the People's Republic of China, which is the only country in the world today which believes in the inevitability of war and is prepared to wage aggressive wars in furtherance of its national policy. The Foreign Minister of Pakistan recently informed the Pakistan National Assembly that Pakistan had got some assurance from the largest State of Asia---obviously referring to the People's Republic of China---that it would come to Pakistan's aid in case of a confrontation between Pakistan and India. Apparently, Pakistan has now greater faith in Chinese promises than in SEATO. From SEATO to the Sino-Pakistan Agreement is indeed a remarkable metamorphosis. It does not require much imagination to discern in this strange alliance the common objective of keeping India militarily weak in order that it may be unable to resist aggression.

We have heard that there has been a great deal of infiltration into Pakistan. The Foreign Minister of Pakistan has deliberately misrepresented the facts by saying that India has been expelling tens of thousands of Muslim citizens of India across the border into East Pakistan. The truth is just the opposite. There are about 50 million Muslims now living in India 3 million of whom are in Kashmir.

As the Indian census figures for 1961 will show, during the period 1951 to 1961, there was an increase of 25.6 per cent in the population of Muslims in India against an overall increase in population in India of 21.5 per cent. Does this show that we are driving out Muslims from India ? Not only is no Indian Muslim leaving India; the fact is that Pakistani Muslims in large numbers have been infiltrating into the surrounding Indian States of West Bengal, Assam and Tripura. This is clearly proved by Pakistan census figures. It will be seen from these figures that the Muslim population in East Pakistan increased by 26 per cent during the period 1951-61. It is significant, however, to note the much smaller in-

crease in some of the districts of East Pakistan bordering India. Noakhali had an increase of only 4.7 per cent, Comilla 15.4 per cent, Bakarganj 16.8 per cent and Sylhet indicated a rise of only 13.9 per cent against the overall provincial increase of 26 per cent. The Indian census figures for the neighbouring border districts of Indian States are complementary and reveal that the population of Muslims in Tripura rose by 68 per cent and that there was an increase of 200 per cent in the Muslim population of Darjeeling, 74 per cent in Dinajpur, 62 per cent in Malda, 63 per cent in Nadia, 49 per cent in Garo Hills and 88 per cent in Khasi and Jayanti districts. These figures speak for themselves and there is a telling increase in the Muslim population of 25.6 per cent in India as a whole. Every natural demographic consideration will show that this big increase could only have been possible by large-scale influx from neighbouring districts in East Pakistan, particularly from those districts which, according to the Pakistan census figures, show an abnormally low increase in population.

These statistics prove conclusively that there has been no pressure against Muslims in India, but there has been in fact a large infiltration of Pakistani Muslims into India. This has created a difficult economic and political problem for us.

As I have already pointed out, the Pakistan census figures show that the population of Muslims in East Pakistan increased by 26 per cent. The population of Hindus, however, remained virtually constant during the entire ten-year period. The total population of Hindus as shown in the 1951 census of Pakistan was 9.2 million. The total population of Hindus in East Pakistan, according to the 1961 census, was 9.4 million. If the Hindu population had increased approximately in the same proportion as the Muslims, there would have been an increase of roughly 21 million. How does one explain this lack of increase in the Hindu population? Our records show that about 2 1/4 million Hindus were forced out from

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East Pakistan into Indian territories as refugees, and this is the only possible explana-

tion as to why the Hindu population in East Pakistan has remained stationary.

The Government of Pakistan, ever since its creation, has followed a communal policy based on the pernicious two-nation theory. It is as a result of this policy that 2 1/4 million Hindus have been forced to flee East Pakistan during the period 1951-61. This policy has a double advantage for Pakistan. In the first place, it helps Pakistan to get rid of its Hindu population from East Pakistan, the Hindus from West Pakistan having been already practically eliminated. Secondly, it helps to make East Pakistan equal in population to the Western wing. Of Pakistan's 93 million people, 51 million, including 9 million Hindus, live in 55,000 square miles of East Pakistan and 42 million live in 320,000 square miles of West Pakistan. If 9 million Hindus could be squeezed out, the population in the two wings would be equal and would then be a strong argument for West Pakistan's insistence on parity with East Pakistan in the matter of representation in the National Assembly.

No, Mr. President, the Indian Muslim is very well able to look after himself and needs no protection whatsoever from the Government of Pakistan. If that Government must show solicitude for the well-being of Muslims who are not their own nationals, I suggest they could more profitably use their good offices with their friends of the Government of the People's Republic of China, not to persecute or drive out Muslims from Sinkiang.

INDIA PAKISTAN USA AUSTRALIA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC CHINA OMAN GERMANY
NORWAY SLOVAKIA SRI LANKA

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INDIA IN THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri M. R. Shervani's Statement on Racial Discrimination

Shri M. R. Shervani, Member of the Indian Delegation to the United Nations, made the following statement in the General Assembly on September 30, 1963 on the draft declaration on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination.

Mr, Chairman:

The General Assembly resolution 1780 (XVII), which we adopted last year, requested the Human Rights Commission through the Economic and Social Council to prepare a 'Draft Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. India, being a member of the Human Rights Commission and the Economic and Social Council, had actively participated in preparing the draft, which is before us in document A/5459. Drafting of an important declaration such as this is no doubt a difficult and formidable task especially when there are bound to be divergent views, coming as we do from different parts of the world representing a conglomeration of cultures and ideas. I will, therefore, be failing in my duty, if I do not congratulate the Human Rights Commission for the excellent contribution it has made in preparing this draft.

Mr. Chairman, with your permission, I would like to recall that the 21 member Human Rights Commission found themselves at sea when several different texts of the draft declaration were presented by various member States. Naturally, it was difficult, if not impossible, for a large body, such as Human Rights Commission, to reach agreement on every word and every article, in the time at their disposal. Therefore, at the suggestion of the Indian Delegation, the Commission decided to create a working group which consisted of Chile, France, Lebanon, Liberia, the USSR and the USA to iron out the differences and formulate an acceptable draft. Our able and distinguished Chairman, Dr. Casanueva, was also the Chairman of the Working Group, and it was largely due to his efforts that we now have a draft for consideration. What I want to emphasize is that the draft we have before us is a result of considerable deliberations, expert advice and several

compromises reached in the Working Group and the Human Rights Commission. I do respect the wisdom and the views of the distinguished delegates on this Committee who have suggested amendments. but I wish to point out that while approving a document of this nature it is almost impossible to reach perfection from every point of view. However, the Delegation of India feels that the basic and the most important problem is to formulate as quickly as possible without losing any time, a Draft Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, a draft which would be acceptable to as large a majority of members as possible. I am, therefore, of the opinion that we should not dwell too much on the wordings of the draft, which has been prepared by an expert body such as the Human Rights, Commission. I would

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say that there is a large area of agreement and it should not be difficult to reach unanimity.

Mr. Chairman and distinguished delegates, the very fact that we have given top priority to this item in this Committee, reveals the genuine desire of everyone of us assembled here to see that we adopt a Draft Declaration as expeditiously as possible. Many Heads of States, including President Kennedy, and other Foreign Ministers, in their opening statement in the Plenary have laid stress to the importance and urgency of complete elimination of all kinds of racial discrimination. Even though the declaration in its present form may be considered weak by some countries, if we adopt it, we would have crossed another important milestone in the history of human rights. Such a declaration passed without delay will have far reaching political and social consequences. The distinguished delegate of Ghana pointed out the other day, that it is very difficult to shut our eyes and ears and draw a sharp line between what is political and social, as after all, many political problems arise due to social and economic inequality. Attainment of universal peace and goodwill is impossible unless we cast away all forms of racial discrimination. It is for this reason, Mr. Chairman, that this Declaration will, apart from helping the elimination of racial discrimination, promote peace, prosperity and advancement of the human race.

Mr. Chairman and distinguished delegates, the struggle of the people of India against the racial policies of some States covers a period of over a half century. Long before India became independent, Mahatma Gandhi reacted strongly against policies of racial discrimination practised in South Africa and, in the early years of this century, waged one, of the most significant struggles in history in South Africa—the passive resistance or "satyagraha" movement—for asserting human equality and dignity. Long before the United Nations framed its Charter, Mahatma Gandhi led the peoples' nonviolent movement TO REAFFIRM FAITH IN FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS, IN THE DIGNITY AND WORTH OF THE HUMAN PERSON (and) IN THE EQUAL RIGHTS OF MEN AND WOMEN, WITHOUT DISTINCTION AS TO RACE. SEX, LANGUAGE OR RELIGION. The Government of India raised the question of racial discrimination from the very inception of the United Nations. At the 7th Session of the General Assembly in 1952. India, along with 12 other member States of the United Nations raised the general question of "race conflict in South Africa resulting from the policies of apartheid of the Government of the Union of South Africa". In view of the limited time at our disposal and also because apartheid is the subject of another Committee. I would not like to elaborate on that problem, because here we are concerned with the specific task of drafting a general declaration.

India has a population of 450 million people of all races where one can find darkest of the dark people and fairest of the white races. Yet, she does not offer unequal treatment to any of her citizens because of race color or creed. The liberality of this policy can only be appreciated if we contrast it with the notorious policy of apartheid in South Africa. The Constitution guarantees freedom of conscience, worship, speech and expression, and prohibits discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste or sex. Our Constitution included a declaration on human rights. It also incorporates certain Directive Principles which seek to direct State policy with a view to securing a social order in which social, economic and political justice shall inform the institutions of national life without any form of discrimination.

Every day many eminent men and women make references to racial discrimination. Mr. Paul Hoffman, Managing Director of the United Nations Special Fund addressing the International Management Congress held in New York stated on 20th September 1963, and I quote :

"May I say, somewhat parenthetically but without reservation, that there is no substance whatsoever for the pernicious myth that lighter skinned people have a greater inherent capacity for absorbing education and training or for leadership than people with darker skins ? Any close look at the peoples of the world will reveal that the human race is made up of about the same cross section of types in every country. Intelligence, capacity, ability and even poverty know no color line."

President Kennedy in his speech before the General Assembly asserted that the United States opposed discrimination anywhere in any form including his own country and said that his Government was working--"to right the wrongs of our nation". The initiative taken by President Kennedy in abolishing discrimination even in the immigration laws of the United States is indeed a great and bold step forward.

Sir, it is my suggestion that we should put a deadline for 'amendments because we are considering a draft which has been prepared by an expert body such as Human Rights Commission and its working group. As I said a- while ago, it is my understanding that the text before us has been formulated after a great deal of compromises on every side. What is important is

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that while we are trying to make detailed surgical operation of the draft. we should not run the risk of killing the draft or finding ourselves in a delicate position of not being able to accomplish our objective due to lack of time. It is therefore of utmost importance and urgency that we try to deliver to the Plenary during this session, a draft declaration on elimination of all forms of racial discrimination in the interest of universal peace and goodwill. Generally speaking Sir, my Delegation would like the Draft in its present form to be approved as a whole, as a measure of compromise of divergent views:

but if amendments have to be discussed. I would like to make some comments on behalf of my country.

Since you have asked us to comment initially on the first six preambular paragraphs of the draft, I merely want to say that : it is rather difficult for my Delegation to support the U.K. amendment, document A/C.3/L.1064, because in substance and terminology it makes the paragraph slightly weaker, whereas the Declaration, in my humble opinion, should be as strong as possible. I support the three-power amendment contained in document A/C.3/L.1065, cosponsored by Nigeria, Paraguay and Peru, and also the Australian amendment, document A/C.3/L.1066. I have no objection to accepting the Tunisian amendment contained in document A/C.3/L. 1071, or amendments proposed by the Latin American Countries vide document A/C.3/L.1073. I reserve my right to intervene Mr. Chairman, on other amendments regarding the articles of the Draft Declaration.

Mr. Chairman, with your permission, I would like to conclude by" quoting Rabindranath Tagore, who won a Nobel Prize in 1913 for his works on Gitanjali :

"Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high;

Where knowledge is free;

Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls;

Where words come out from the depth of truth;

Where tireless striving stretches into arms towards perfection;

Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary desert sand of dead habit;

Where the mind is led forward by thee into ever widening thought and action;

Into that heaven of Freedom, My Father, let my country awake."

INDIA USA TOTO CHILE FRANCE LEBANON LIBERIA GHANA SOUTH AFRICA UNITED KINGDOM
NIGER NIGERIA PARAGUAY PERU AUSTRALIA TUNISIA

Date : Sep 01, 1963

Volume No

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Prime Minister's Statement initiating Lok Sabha Debate on Foreign Affairs

Initiating the debate on international situation in Lok Sabha on September 16, 1963, the Prime Minister Shri Jawaharlal Nehru made the following statement :

This is almost a periodical resolution that is considered by this House, and it is a good thing, both for the House and the country, if I may say so and for the Government, that this is so considered and various aspects of this problem are debated here.

The foreign policy of a country, obviously and primarily, has to deal with the interests of that country, with the defence of freedom of that country, freedom and integrity, with the advancement of that country. At the same time, these questions have to be viewed in any mature consideration of the problem in the wider context of what is happening in the world. No country is isolated and can pursue its own path regardless of what is happening elsewhere.

WORLD ORDER

Therefore, our foreign policy has always been looked at by this House, in view of the context of the world, more especially from the point of view of advancement of peace and co-operation in the world. In the ultimate analysis, if I may say so, although I do not know whether this particular aspect has been laid stress on in this House previously, most thinking persons realise now

that there is no future for the world except ultimately, not perhaps too soon, by the development of some kind of a world order. That may not be near enough to us today. But it was good to realise that it is in this developing context that we have to view events that happen in the world and in our country.

In any event, quite apart from the possibility of a world order coming into existence within a fairly short time, we are most interested, and this House and this country repeatedly said so, in the maintenance of peace in the world and so we have laboured for peace and disarmament which is a prelude to that peace and for the other aspects of this problem.

NON-ALIGNMENT

In doing this, we have naturally co-operated with, in the United Nations, other similar-minded nations in measures to ease tensions and conflicts. And because we attach value to this policy and because we inherited, if I may say so, an outlook and the approach, we have followed a policy which has been called a policy of non-alignment; that is, maintaining India's independence and freedom to take decisions on national and international questions that may arise on the merits of each case and not attaching ourselves to any military bloc or to have any alliance for military purposes with any other country.

We think that this policy is right basically; it is right from the point of view of any idealistic approach. It is right as events have shown during the past few years from the practical point of view. We think it is right now here today and any swerving away from it would be harmful to our interests, to our freedom and to our integrity apart from not serving the cause of world peace. We have sought and played our part in various peace-keeping operations in various parts of the world, by active participation in the disarmament committees and we have signed, as the House knows, the partial test ban treaty and have supported the principles of peaceful co-existence.

Another aspect of our policy is naturally the rapid economic and social development of India and in so far as the foreign policy helps in that we

have to pursue it subject, always, to keeping the main principles for which we stand. We have received considerable help from the consortium countries including the United States and also from the USSR and other socialist countries in the implementation of the current Five Year Plan and in assurances to help for the Fourth Plan. We realise that with all the help we may get from abroad it must be remembered that the main burden falls on our own country and the bulk of the resources for implementation of the Plan has to be found from our internal resources. To this has to be added now the heavy burden of defence expenditure in order to strengthen our defences, especially in view of the Chinese invasion.

CHINESE AGGRESSION

While we have inevitably to strengthen our defences because of our conflict with China and because of the aggressive postures adopted by the Chinese Government, even in regard to China we are keeping the door open for peaceful settlement of differences and have made it clear that if the Colombo proposals are accepted in toto we would be prepared to take the next step for consideration of our conflicts. We have further suggested that we are prepared to refer the matter to the Hague Court or to have arbitration by agreed arbitrators. To these two latter proposals, although they were made months ago, we have had no formal reply from the Chinese Government

PAKISTAN

In regard to Pakistan it has been our consistent attempt to settle all our differences and resolve them peacefully. This necessitates climates which help in such an approach. That climate is totally absent at present on the part of Pakistan. In fact the position has considerably worsened recently because of the various attempts made by Pakistan recently to join with China on the sole basis of aggression against India. It is clear that Pakistan and China have nothing in common and in fact till recently, or even now, Pakistan is tied down to various military alliances directed against China. Yet curiously these approaches have been made and all kinds of statements appear from time to time to show that great love now existing between Pakistan and China. It is based not on any affection or love

or common ideals but purely for aggression against India.

TEST BAN TREATY

In the international sphere one of the most important things happening recently has been the test ban treaty signed by the United States and the USSR and England and subsequently adhered to by about 100 countries. This by itself is not a very big thing but it is a historical development and a very big thing seen in the perspective of what has been happening in the past years and the repeated attempts to make a break in the arms race. We have, therefore, welcomed this as the world has welcomed it, apart from very few countries who have objected, notably China and a few other countries. This has led to an entente between United States and the USSR and

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an opening out of other avenues of possible settlements. From the world point of view this is the biggest thing that has happened and we hope that this will continue and ultimately result in full disarmament.

SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS

Another very vital and very important thing that has happened recently is the progressive deterioration of the relations between China and the Soviet Union. Perhaps hon. Members who may not have followed this may think that this is a new development but actually it has its roots in the last several years. In essence you may say that almost the seeds of it were sown from the moment when the new Chinese Government came into existence. In the last four or five years this has been developing and now it has reached a point which sometimes looks as if it was not very far from a break. Inevitably any such conflict between the Soviet Union and China has far reaching effects on the world and on us.

COLD WAR

We have been living for the last many years, since after the last war ended, in an atmosphere of cold war. We have often protested against this. We have tried our best to keep away from it because we think that cold war is bad, fundamentally bad; morally and ethically bad; and

practically bad. And it is dangerous when behind the cold war the nuclear weapons are hidden somewhere. Perhaps it may break out; that cold war was in effect between the two sets of countries: the communist and the anti-communist. It was said by some people that it was a cold war against international communism, and by the other side that it was against international capitalism or imperialism, colonialism and the like, and mountains of literature have been published on this and speeches delivered and what is more, people's passions have been swept this way and that way. Gradually it has begun to appear that ideologies, however important they might be, are less important in governing international relations and national interests. Under the cover of ideologies other interests play.

For the last few years, in fact, since the war, the fact has become apparent that two great, biggest powers are the United States and the Soviet Union, and the other so-called great Powers take a back place. If there is to be peace or war it will depend on the Soviet Union or on the United States. Naturally the others may encourage it or hold it back. No doubt their ideas come into conflict; their systems of Government and economic policies are different. But I do submit that the real conflict was not on their ideologies, whatever people may talk about it, but the fact of two greatest powers in the world, each one of them dislike the other and want to limit each other's power and authority because they look upon it as a rival. It was a kind of thing that happens repeatedly in history; even now great changes take place. So, the change was happening on a world scale.

Many have talked about international communism; we see a tremendous break in the communist world, that is between the Soviet Union and China, and some other countries too, but mainly between these two. So, this concept of international communism, monolithic, has been shaken. We see on the other side among the western nations, sharp differences which pull them in different directions. Even in this atomic ban treaty, France has not agreed to sign it, for various reasons. So we see that these two major power blocs are confronting each other; armed to the teeth, and representing different ideologies. This has undergone a great change, and is undergoing a great change. Unfortunately, people's ideas do

not keep pace with the things that are happening in the world. Unfortunately, some of our hon. friends on the opposite side are getting so stuck up in their grooves of thought that they do not see the changing world and do not keep pace with it. They repeat the same slogans and they think that they are going through a deep thinking process by repeating them.

I said that sometimes the people are not moving in relationship with the changing world of today. This talk of communism versus anti-communism governing the world is no longer wholly relevant. There are conflicts of course between ideologies, but it is not wholly relevant. There are changes taking place on both sides of the world and both are governed more not by ideological approaches but by national interests. Today, as between Soviet Union and China, there may be differences in ideology. I am not competent to decide or express an opinion, about that. But fundamentally it is a conflict of national interests and international approaches. Therefore, we in India fortunately in a large measure have kept outside these ideological conflicts; the mere fact that we adopted non-alignment helped us to keep aside, apart from these; ideological conflicts which have a tendency to smother the mind and prevent thinking rightly, because when one thinks of limited conflicts, one is excited about it and does not see things dispassionately and objectively. So, the attitude of non-alignment helps to keep the mind straight to some extent; it does not completely prevent us from going wrong but it does help.

Our problems are today—we can discuss them at length—about our conflict with China and our tension and conflict with Pakistan. These are two of our major problems, apart from economic and other problems. But even these problems

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have to be seen in this larger context of the world and not separated from everything just as if we were two persons cut off from the rest of the world and trying to down each other,

I do not propose at this stage to say much about China or Pakistan partly because I have made statements about that several times in the course of the last two or three weeks in this House, and partly because I would prefer to say

something after I have heard hon. Members throwing some light on these problems.

AFRICA

Another aspect to which I would like to refer is the major development that is taking place in Africa. During the last few years a large number of African countries have become free and independent and are facing new problems. Still, in spite of that, some countries in Africa, notably the Portuguese colonies, are fully under the Portuguese colonial domination, and till that is removed---South Africa, with its apartheid and racial doctrines which are a continuing menace not only to the people there but to the whole of Africa and the world-we have to struggle against colonialism and racialism.

I would like to refer next to the Addis Ababa conference which was held sometime ago this year where all the Heads of States of Africa gathered together and achieved a remarkable measure of unity, in spite of their differences. That was a very happy sign and we must congratulate them and help them so far as we can.

NEPAL

One matter, which has been referred to recently in the course of questions, is Nepal. Our relations with Nepal are particularly good at the present moment. Some hon. Member asked me to say if there was absolutely no difference in outlook. I cannot say that in regard to a large number of hon. Members of this House that we are all completely alike and there is no difference. That kind of question does not permit of a suitable answer. But as countries, we are co-operating. We recognise each other's view-points. We do not interfere with each other and we hope to further each other's good.

FOREIGN POLICY

Ultimately, foreign policy, however much we may play about with it, depends on the strength of a country. It does also depend on some other factors. For instance, the part our foreign policy and India have played in international affairs in the last ten years or so has been far in excess of our internal strength. It has been able to play that part, not by throwing our weight

about-we have no great weight to throw about-but because of the correctness of our policy, which was appreciated in other countries and which drew their attention; and, India counted far more than its either military or financial or economic strength was entitled to. Normally, foreign policy depends on military strength and economic strength. We have neither, enough I mean, to impress or make any difference to the world. Nevertheless, our foreign policy succeeded in a great measure. I am not referring for the moment to our troubles with China and Pakistan. I am saying generally, considering that apart and it is for us to consider whether that policy, which has brought us such good results and increased our prestige and position in the world should not be continued with such variations as circumstances may demand.

CONTINUING PROBLEMS

The world today is full of problems. Some people remind us, "Why haven't you settled with Pakistan all these years?" My reply is, that it is not due to any attempt on our part to avoid a settlement. We have tried hard and we will continue trying hard. But' apart from that, it is well to remember that most of the problems today in the world go on from year to year, without settlement. Take the problem of Germany, a major world problem. Take the problem of Berlin, a very major problem. When people advise us and criticise us for not settling our problems, it would not be polite for us to answer in this strain, but it is well to remind them how world problems continue to drag on, because they have roots in other matters and it is not merely a question of bargain.

Take the problem of Indo-China. In spite of the agreement in Geneva seven or eight years ago when the French finally left Indo-China, in spite of that, in spite of the International Commissions there and the great interest displayed by other powers, the problems are not being solved and they continue. Somehow they are connected with wider international problems.

Even our conflict with China has become to some extent connected, although the two things are separate, with the increasing conflict between the Soviet Union and China. Looked at from the point of view of China, it is probably far

more important for China to be on good terms with the Soviet Union to get economic and financial help from the Soviet Union, than to have an adventure in India. Some people imagine that China's aggressiveness in India was partly due. I do not say wholly, to the growing deterioration in its relations with the Soviet Union., That may be so. Anyhow, there is no doubt that it affects US. It is a matter of major importance what a great power like the Soviet Union does. what

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attitude it takes towards China, towards India and other countries.

But I would beg to say that in spite of the world having so many problems and continuing problems, which go on from year to year because the roots are deep and each is connected with another problem, so that till some solution is found for the basic problems, the other problems are not solved, still I would venture to say that the general outlook in the world today is somewhat better than it has been in the past. It is a more peaceful outlook. It aims more hopefully towards a peaceful world and towards a solution of world's problems. That may or may not apply to our immediate problems with China or Pakistan, but that atmosphere does help. In this larger context of international affairs, our weight has been cast-and I hope will always be cast-in favour of the preservation of peace and co-operation between nations and I hope we will not be swept away by momentary passions and lose sight of that real objective which every country in the world should have.

MALAYSIA

With regard to Malaysia, exactly a year ago, when I attended the last Prime Ministers' Conference at London, this question was brought up before the conference in the context of Great Britain gradually withdrawing from its colonial territories. We naturally thought it was a good thing for Great Britain to withdraw from its colonial territories and we expressed our willingness that this should be done. That was our attitude. Many months afterwards, some trouble arose in regard to this in Indonesia and the Philippines. We hoped that this matter would be amicably settled and what little we could do, we did to that end. It did appear several times that there

was a settlement on these points. The matter was referred to the U.N. for finding out the views of certain inhabitants in south-east territories. The U.N. sent some observers and they have, I believe, reported that they are in favour of this amalgamation and formation of Malaysia. Naturally, we accept the report of the U.N. So far as Malaysia is concerned, my colleague, the Minister for External Affairs, has gone to represent us in Kuala Lumpur. We hope that the slight friction that exists between Indonesia, Philippines and Malaya will be settled satisfactorily and Malaysia will have a good start.

USA INDIA CHINA SRI LANKA TOTO PAKISTAN PERU FRANCE SOUTH AFRICA ETHIOPIA NEPAL
GERMANY SWITZERLAND MALAYSIA UNITED KINGDOM INDONESIA PHILIPPINES

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Prime Minister's Statement initiating Rajya Sabha Debate on Foreign Affairs

Initiating the debate on international situation in Rajya Sabha on September 2, 1963, the Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, made the following statement :

Some hon. Members of this House expressed their wish to have a discussion on the question of the Sino-Indian conflict on the border and also the White Paper that I placed before the House a short while ago containing the correspondence between the Governments of India and China. It seemed to me then that it would be better to have the discussion on a somewhat wider canvas because things are connected with each other and if hon. Members so wish, they can concentrate on the White Paper or on the Sino-Indian conflict. But it is better, I think, to take these matters all together because they affect each other.

It is obvious that international affairs, so far

as we are concerned, are largely affected by our conflict with China and to some extent with our strained relations with Pakistan but nevertheless it is better to have before us the full perspective.'

TEST BAN TREATY

In thinking of the world perspective, I would like to state that the two most important things that have happened in recent years are, first of all, the signing of the Test Ban Treaty-Partial Test Ban Treaty-by the United States of America, by the Soviet Union, by the United Kingdom and, I believe, by about a hundred other countries subsequently. That treaty does not take us very far but it is highly important and significant because after years of discussion and arguments, this has happened and it breaks the ice, as it were, and gives us an opportunity to go ahead both in regard to disarmament and inputting an end, gradually perhaps, to the cold war attitude of nations to each other. That is a very vital matter and if it leads in that direction, as I hope it will, it will be a significant event in history.

SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS

The second thing that has happened more or less in recent months-but it took some time to grow to that extent-is the strained relations between the Soviet Union and China. It is a matter of world importance, not merely to those two countries but also to the general position in the world and it is clear now that it has arrived at a critical stage that affects us also, not that we are anxious to see other countries falling out among

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themselves but still something that affect- us. something that increases our good relations with other countries, is welcome, and otherwise too it has an effect on the Sino-Indian conflict.

These are the two major events in the world picture today that govern the international situation and will probably continue to govern it for some time and I would like these to be borne in mind when considering our own particular problems.

VIET-NAM

There is a third thing which is not of so much importance but of local importance and that is the development in Viet-Nam, the conflict between the Buddhist element there and the Government and it should be remembered that the Buddhist element is 80 per cent. of the population. On the one hand it has been our desire not to interfere in their internal happenings. Naturally, that is our normal policy. On the other hand normally our sympathy went down to the Buddhists there, not merely because they are Buddhists although it is natural for us to feel for them. but also because of the extraordinary developments there which led to a number of Buddhist Bikshus or Monks to bum themselves up, immolate themselves by burning themselves which is not a usual thing and can only happen if there is a very strong feeling. Apart from that, this thing affects the whole outlook in South East Asia and that is, a difficult question is made more difficult.

Our attitude has been informally to approach President Diem to which he was good enough to reply saying that they were coming to an understanding which they did on paper but apparently, according to the Buddhists. that understanding was not lived up to or was not implemented. Again some efforts are being made to that end. Also we have been in touch with the Government of Ceylon especially and our view has been that whether the matter is to be taken up in the United Nations or in some other Conference of Buddhist countries. we shall largely abide by the decision of the Buddhist countries. If they want a Conference, we shall go to it. If they want to take it up in the United Nations, we shall, naturally, express our opinion there. But we have felt that perhaps it might not be worthwhile or desirable to take it up in the U.N. because that would introduce many other factors into this question and it might become even a question of the cold war there, and all those factors may come in the way of a solution. But nevertheless- and although some other countries felt that way too-we have clearly stated that if it is desired to take it up in the U.N., we shall participate there. For the present, these discussions are taking place in New York and in the U.N. and in some of the Buddhist countries and in Viet-Nam, and I Hope they will lead to some satisfactory result which would be far better than having long discussions in the U.N. which might, instead of helping to solve the question, embitter the various

parties concerned.

The General Assembly of the United Nations is going to meet soon this month in about less than three weeks time, and many of these important questions may probably come up there. And yet where it is a question of vital importance, the question of disarmament and so on, one feels that it is not likely to be settled in the General Assembly, and the real progress is made between the big countries, chiefly and notably the United States of America and the Soviet Union. And that is why this Test Ban Treaty is of so great a significance, because it opens the door for further consideration of those problems. Once some kind of an understanding is arrived at outside, between these various countries, then probably it will be the right time to bring it up before the U.N. and get it passed with a measure of unanimity.

NON-ALIGNMENT

So far as we are concerned there is often a talk of our policy of non-alignment. We adhere to it and we consider it important. Non-alignment so stated, the very meaning of the word, is a negative thing. It is important; but our real policy is much more a policy of working definitely for peace in the world and for cooperative relations between our country and other countries. The policy flows from that and we have adopted the policy of non-alignment and it is important. It is important because it is part of that very approach, which is a vital approach today for the world, we think, and which we think has, to some extent at least, helped by the new developments in the international situation.

SINO-INDIAN CONFLICT

Sir, as I said, the most important thing for us at the present moment is the Sino-Indian conflict. With regard to that, a short while ago, I made a statement in this House which represents our position, and I placed a new White Paper. The Chinese Government, as one could see from the White Paper, has carried on a virulent propaganda against us in a large number of countries and, of course more especially, in China itself. Even the messages we receive from them are couched in offensive language, often departing greatly from the truth. In spite of this our policy has been and continues to be one of solving our problems, in so far as we can, by peaceful

methods and at the same time, naturally, to strengthen our defensive apparatus as much as possible, to meet all contingencies. There is no conflict between the two policies and we can give

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up neither. If we give up the first and rely only on military means to solve this problem, that will be not only rather opposed to our approach to the world but also possibly harmful ultimately even to us. But although we adhere to our approach and try for a solution by peaceful methods, we must make it perfectly clear that such a solution can only be in keeping with our honour, self-respect and integrity. It is impossible for us or for anyone to say what action the Chinese Government might or might not take at a particular moment. Therefore, we have to strengthen ourselves and we are doing so

I may remind the House that on the 3rd April of this year, we sent a note to the Chinese Government where we laid stress on five points, given in the White Paper No. IX. I shall read those five points.

- "(i) The Government of China should accept, without reservations, the Colombo proposals just as the Government of India have done.
- (ii) The acceptance by both sides of the Colombo proposals can be followed up by a meeting of the officials to arrive at settlement of various matters left by the Colombo Powers for direct agreement between the parties and to decide the details regarding implementation of the Colombo proposals on the ground.
- (iii) The officials of both sides concerned can then take action to implement these proposals on the ground so that agreed cease-fire arrangements are established on the ground.
- (iv) Thereafter, in the improved atmosphere, India and China can take up the question of their differences on the boundary question and-try to reach a mutually acceptable settlement in one or more than one stage. If a settle-

ment is reached, this can then be implemented in detail on the ground.

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

A little later, on the 1st of May, I wrote a letter to Prime Minister Chou En-lai in which I referred to this Statement of ours, this note of ours, to the Chinese Government and I emphasised it.

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

In spite of that note and this reminder, no answer has come to us yet to these proposals, although many notes have come from them in

regard to other matters and they are continuously carrying on propaganda that it is they who want a peaceful settlement and we come in their way by bringing in such things as the Colombo Proposals and the rest. It is quite extraordinary—the method of Chinese propaganda. It is extraordinary in two ways, firstly, the great departure from truth and secondly, the offensive language. We have been used to some offensive language from other countries also occasionally but nothing approaches the attitude of the Chinese Government and the Press in regard to India. So, that is our broad attitude to this Sino-Indian dispute or conflict and the other side of that attitude is speeding up our defence apparatus to meet all the perils that face us.

PAKISTAN

Then, Sir, a new development has taken place, as the House knows, in recent months. This is in regard to the coming closer together of Pakistan and China. With Pakistan, as is well known, it has been our constant, continued and earnest endeavour to settle all our problems and develop a peaceful, friendly and co-operative attitude. We are convinced that that is the only objective we must aim at in regard to Pakistan.

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In spite of Pakistan and India becoming separate and two independent countries, they cannot get rid of geography and history and the ties that have bound them together in the past. It is inevitable that we should aim at friendly and co-operative relations. We have tried to do so without success. We shall continue to do so but in addition to the animus which Pakistan appears to have against India, she has now, chiefly because of that animus, developed closer relations with China because both these countries are unfortunately full of hostility against India. It is clear that in existing circumstances, that is, Pakistan tying up more and more with China, there can be no hope of a satisfactory settlement with Pakistan. The whole outlook of Pakistan must change before any satisfactory agreement can be approached or realised. Some days ago, I placed on the Table of the House, a statement in regard to the talks we have had with Pakistan and other developments. That represents our approach to this question and we stand by that

I might inform the House, in regard to the Colombo proposals and the developments since then, that we have kept all the Colombo Powers informed of these developments as well as of Chinese concentration along our borders.

ADHERENCE To NON-ALIGNMENT

I do not wish, Sir, to take up much of the time of the House at this stage. I would rather leave such time as there is for hon. Members to make their criticisms and suggestions. I would again repeat that in our external policy we attach great importance to what has been called non-alignment with any particular bloc. It is true that because of the Chinese aggression, we have developed further bonds with some countries who have helped us. Naturally, that was the result but that does not mean that we have weakened in our desire to adhere to non-alignment fully, that non-alignment again being a part of the broader policy of working for world peace and co-operation. We have arrived at a state when any other policy may lead to world disaster and as our part of it, we adhere to non-alignment.

PRESIDENT'S VISITS ABROAD

May I say a few words about certain matters which have distressed me ? The House knows that our respected President visited the United States of America and the United Kingdom some time ago. His visit was a remarkable event from every point of view. As the President of India, he was greatly welcomed but also in his own individual capacity, because of his learning and wisdom, he created a great impression wherever he went. Now, some people, including, I believe, some Members of this House, and some newspapers criticised the President and said that he had given expression to views which are not in consonance with our foreign policy. This criticism is completely wrong and baseless. In fact, it is not proper to criticise the President in this way but factually too, it is incorrect. There is no word said by the President in his foreign tours which does not completely fit in with the policy of the Government of India. It is unfortunate that this was done because the President cannot obviously go about defending things and replying to such allegations. Therefore, I am taking this opportunity of mentioning this matter before the House.

CHINESE EXPANSIONIST POLICY

I submit, Sir, that although we have got into difficulties-there are the old difficulties with Pakistan and the new difficulties, not very new but relatively new, with China-the foreign policy we have pursued has been broadly the correct one. Naturally, we cannot control the other countries. We cannot affect their policies too much and we have to face certain development,- which are partly historical, partly the effect of previous events and partly such things as are bound to happen in some form or another after the growth of independent India and the revolution in China-these two countries coming into close contact, having different views, different approaches and the Chinese possibly disliking the presence of any great country next to them, a country which adheres to different structures of Government and economic policy. And, in accordance with their past history, whenever they have been rather strong, they have been expansive. Evidently they thought that we came in their way of expansion. They have given us trouble on our borders and yet probably it does not seem a mere expansion of their vast territories that is behind this move. It is stated, as one reason for this action they have taken against India, that it was not connected with India directly but rather connected with their growing conflict with the Soviet Union. They have been deeply annoyed at the fact that the Soviet Union has ceased to help them, technically, financially, with credits and otherwise.

The Soviet Union have withdrawn their technicians and these people who had gone from the Soviet Union. Even though the Soviet Union had rapid growth of China, rapid industrial growth. It was quite impossible for China to have made progress it has made without the help of the Soviet Union. Even though the Soviet Union helped them, they did not like and criticised the Soviets helping other countries like India and possibly, according to their thinking, they could prevent that in the future by the action they

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took against India. It is a curious argument and I do not say it is wholly a correct one. I am merely putting it forward that many competent observers think so. It may be observed that no

country in the world is keener on showing that India is not non-aligned than China.

Some hon. Members of this House may be in line with China on this issue but at the present moment no country in the world says with such force that India is not non-aligned; in other words China does not want India to be non-aligned. Our being non-aligned according to them and our talking about peaceful co-existence, etc. goes against their policy completely. They believe in a country being with them or against them; no middle course and that is one of the reasons why they have fallen out with the Soviet Union and by creating conditions when we cease to be non-aligned they think that that would produce an effect on Russia and would show that their policy is wrong. According to their thinking, there cannot be any peaceful co-existence with countries or any real non-alignment. In that sense the whole conflict between China and India takes this wider international aspect. Of course, China has been and is trying its hardest to increase its strength, to become powerful industrially, militarily and otherwise. As it is, from the point of view of the army, it is a country probably with the biggest army in the world, No. 1 country, not in regard to its technical development, not in regard to other things but in regard to army, it is. But in spite of that it has suffered a great deal lately by its development being checked by various factors, some perhaps because of the policy it has pursued, some climatic reasons and natural disasters, and there is a feeling of anger and frustration at anything that comes in the way and the possibility is that because of this feeling of frustration they may indulge in adventures which ultimately may not do them any good but for the moment they might.

There is a question frequently asked as to whether China is going to attack India in the near future. It is difficult to give an answer to it because the answer can only be given by the Chinese. The fact that they have undoubtedly gathered large numbers, concentrated large numbers of forces in Tibet and more especially on the Indian frontiers, not only troops but supplies in dumps, etc., can only be thought of in terms of some action which they contemplate because it is a very expensive process for them to do this. They have to bring them from 3,000 miles from China. Why should they indulge in this expen-

sive process unless they have something in their minds ? On the other hand their political declarations are opposed to this and other factors too seem to be opposed to it. Anyhow we cannot take a risk about that and we must prepare ourselves with all our strength to meet such contingencies as might arise.

I shall not take up more time of the House now because I should like to hear other Members and their criticisms and then possibly reply to them later.

USA INDIA CHINA PAKISTAN CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC SRI LANKA RUSSIA PERU

Date : Sep 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Prime Minister's Reply to Rajya Sabha Debate on Foreign Affairs

Replying to the debate on international situation in Rajya Sabha on September 3, 1963, the Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, made the following statement :

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

COLOMBO PROPOSALS

An hon. Member said that we had accepted the Colombo proposals too quickly. I do not quite understand how he measures the quickness of a decision. Normally I should say any decision that we have to make will have to be made

quickly. The Government of India has a reputation, not in this respect but in some respects, for delaying matters. This is the first time I have heard of this criticism being made.

The hon. Member : When it is needed, we are lacking and when it is not needed to give immediate attention we perhaps take decisions unnecessarily in haste.

Prime Minister: Well, I do not yet know. Here were proposals made to us and to China by the Colombo Powers. China at first said they accepted the proposals, the principle underlying the proposals or the proposals in principle, whatever that might have meant. When it came up before us we had to give an answer, if not that day, the next day. We could not have postponed an answer for long, nor could we have prevaricated about it, because the whole idea

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was that we should accept or not accept, as the case may be. We could not say, we will accept subject to certain other conditions or changes. That meant non-acceptance, which in fact, China did.

If the hon. Member wanted us to follow the Chinese example, I think it would have been completely wrong from every point of view, from the practical point of view, from the psychological point of view, from the effects it was likely to produce and it would have given an advantage to China. We could not have criticised China for having put conditions for acceptance if we also had put conditions. As a matter of fact, in practice, this fact that we accepted them has been very much to our advantage.

Now, what are the Colombo proposals? They are not proposals for a settlement. There is no settlement involved. They were certain proposals to create an atmosphere which would enable us to meet, to consider the problems before the two countries which might have resulted in a settlement or might not have, whatever it was. So, it was not that we were accepting certain proposals for a settlement quickly or not, but we were trying to help in creating an atmosphere which might lead to discussions which might or might not lead to a settlement. For us to say that we were not prepared to create that atmosphere could neither have been in consonance with any policy

that we pursued nor practically good.

SINO-PAK AIR TREATY

Then, an hon. Member asked us something about the Sino-Pak air treaty, whether these two countries will be permitted to fly over Indian territory. Well, to begin with, we have had no approach from either country yet seeking for permission to fly over Indian territory. It has not come to us. We have seen something in the newspapers about the treaty. Secondly, so far as China is concerned--quite apart from this treaty--our policy has been and continues to be not to permit their aircraft to fly over Indian territory. So far as Pakistan is concerned, we have arrangements with them mutually applicable for them to fly over our territory and for us to fly over their territory and this possibly may fall in that, some clauses of those arrangements. However, till this question arises, we cannot give an answer in what form it arises. Thus far it has not arisen for us. In other words, neither country has approached us in regard to that matter.

SOUTH VIET-NAM

Then, South Viet-Nam was referred to and it was said, that if China is invited to a Buddhist conference, this would be improper and presumably we should not attend that. We were criticised somewhere, perhaps in this House or the other House, for not having been forthcoming in regard to these disturbances in South Viet-Nam. I read a statement both in the other House and in this House in regard to what had happened. We have been taking a great deal of interest in it. We have been greatly concerned in regard to it and we have done whatever we could informally. Formally we thought it would not be right for us to move in such an internal matter. Now, having done that, in regard to a possible conference of Buddhist States, if we were asked, our answer would certainly be : if it is held, we shall attend it. Whether it is going to be held or not, I do not know. Obviously we are not the sponsors. Some Buddhist country will sponsor it and it will be held presumably in some Buddhist country. Whether it is Ceylon or Thailand or some other place, I do not know. For us to say to them, to the sponsors, whom they should invite and whom they should not invite would be rather odd and

improper, coming within their discretion, whatever we may think as to who should be invited or not. And certainly if they happen to invite some countries like China, whose invitation we might not wholly approve of in the circumstances, I do not think it will be at all proper for us to tell them that because you have done that we will not attend that conference or you should not do it. That would only create illwill for us in other countries and it is a bad precedent for us to lay down that we should interfere in the choice of those who are invited by the sponsors of the conference.

Here in India conferences are held, sometimes international conferences, where countries are invited with whom we have no relations. The question has arisen as to what we should do about it, that is to say, if the conference is held in India, but not under our sponsorship; it is held under the sponsorship of an international association. And we found we could not object to the invitation of any country, whether we recognise it or not, if the sponsors invited them and they are members of an international organization. For instance, Formosa : We do not recognise it; we have no relations with it. But in an international conference, of which the Taiwan Government is a member and they are invited by the international sponsors, we cannot object. We have to devise special means for their coming here because we do not recognize their passports. Therefore, special means are devised. They come with some kind of certificate, just an identity, which is recognised for the purpose of their entry and their taking part in the conference. So, I submit that it is entirely

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for the country, the sponsors of Buddhist conference, if it is held-it has not been settled that it will be held-to decide whom they will invite and whom they will not invite.

VOICE OF AMERICA

Something was said about the VOA transmitter discussions and agreement and the difficulties in regard to breaking the agreement. I recognise that breaking an agreement arrived at is inconvenient. It causes some difficulties, although it was within three or four days of this that this

point was brought up. But the whole point is that adhering to the agreement raises infinitely more difficulties. We have to choose between the two and we have come to this decision, as I said in my statement here, that the agreement should be revised radically and if it cannot be revised, then we shall do without it.

JOINT AIR EXERCISES

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

NON-ALIGNMENT

I do not think this in the slightest degree affects our policy of non-alignment which continues and will continue. I do not know how some hon. Members think of non-alignment. For instance, another member, I think hon. Member Shri Vajpayee, asked us where was non-alignment in the case of Israel, in the case of Hungary. Neither Israel nor Hungary has the slightest thing to do with non-alignment. We may have been right or we may have been wrong, that is a different matter. This has nothing to do with non-alignment at all. Non-alignment is something quite different. It is not joining military blocs which have existed all this time and created a lot of trouble and tension. We did not join it. Non-alignment is a thing which gives us freedom of action, which gives us freedom to function as we think best, which is a part of our independence. Now whether we apply our independence sometimes wrongly or rightly is a separate matter which we can discuss, but this has nothing to do with non-alignment. So these joint air exercises we feel are for our benefit and do not at all affect our policy of non-alignment, because circumstances as they have taken shape since the Chinese invasion and which have led us to ask for large-scale aid from foreign countries to which many countries have responded-it is certainly something which normally previously we

would not have done. Previous to this we had not asked for aid of that kind. We did not do. But under pressure of events we had to do; but we have done so under the clear understanding of all concerned that this will not affect our policy of non-alignment.

An hon. Member said something about the Soviet Union not helping us as much as they might have done and something about the notes being given back. I have not quite followed this business, whose notes or what notes. The papers we gave back to them on training contained our requests for what we wanted, details of that.

The hon. Member : I referred to the training of our airmen in Soviet Russia. Though they went there to have training to fly MIGs, they were not allowed to bring their notes with them.

Prime Minister: I have not heard of this. I do not know. It may be because the Russians are anxious about their things, as indeed not the Russians only but many other countries are. The Americans are, equally anxious that their secret papers or instructions should not be conveyed to anyone else. So are the Russians. It may be because of that they might have not given them any special papers to carry. But I do not know about it, I cannot say very much.

About the Colombo proposals, again repeatedly hon, Members on the other side said: "When will they end?" I do not understand it. I wish they would understand what the Colombo proposals are. There is no question of their ending or not ending. Colombo proposals by the Colombo Powers to create certain conditions which would enable us to go further and discuss matters ourselves. They are not any specific proposals for a settlement of our problems. They are just to create certain conditions. If the Chinese do not accept them, well, those conditions are not created. Where do we come in? They ask if Colombo proposals end now, When they are created, however they are created, by Colombo proposals or something else, well, we intend to take advantage of that atmosphere to consider the matter in a different light. It has no meaning at all saying that the Colombo proposals end by such and such date and after that they would not apply. They do not apply be-

cause they have not been agreed to by the Chinese Government. All that this means is that after a certain date we may fix even if the Chinese Government agree to them, we will not agree. That, I think, is a perfectly absurd suggestion.

An hon. Member : Since I raised the point, I should like to mention here that under the

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Colombo proposals a demilitarised zone has been created. The Chinese have entered the demilitarised zone and set up civilian posts. When we say that the agreement is not binding we reserve to ourselves the right to take action by entering the demilitarised zone and setting up our check-posts there. That was my point.

Prime Minister : So far as the right is concerned, there is nothing to prevent us from exercising the right today. Because the other party has not fully agreed to them, we may also at any moment, if we so choose, if it is considered practical and advisable for us by Army authorities and others, take that action. Whether we do it or not depends upon us and not on what the other party might say or do. Therefore, the question of saying that the Colombo proposals end simply means that here is a certain, call it if you like, a door that might, we thought, lead to some steps forward when we can discuss this matter. Now I am free to confess that even if we discuss this matter with representatives of the Chinese Government, the chances of agreement seem rather slim and dim because of their general attitude; that is a different matter., But to close the door and to say that we will never have a settlement with them, I think, is completely wrong in principle and in practice. Therefore, I have repeatedly stated that we shall always keep the door open whatever happens. Even if an active war is taking place, even then the door will be kept open because ultimately every country after the bitterest and bloodiest war comes to some agreement with the other country. It is absurd to say that we will never agree. it all depends on what the agreement is and under what circumstances it is made.

OPEN DOOR POLICY

I remember that an eminent gentleman, Mr. De

Valera, said in the old League of Nations-I happened to be present there and I remember that he was then presiding over the old League of Nations at Geneva-"After every war, however had it may be, there is some kind of a peace". So he said : "Why not have the peace before the war takes place?" It may not be possible always but it is a sensible proposal. So I think it is right that we should, looking at the conditions in the world and in India and specially in regard to the Sino-Indian conflict or for the matter of that our difficulty with Pakistan, always keep the door open. Of course, what we do about it depends upon circumstances. Any understanding should be according to our honour, integrity and all that. That is admitted, but to say that we will never keep the door open is, I hope hon. Members will forgive me for saying so, infantile. It has no meaning and it refers to some attitude which in the Middle Ages might have been taken, not today, not in the world as it is today. So there can be no question of our saying that the Colombo proposals end, because they do not come in our way of doing anything we like. They would come in our way if they are, accepted by both parties and we had to take steps.

Yesterday I ventured to read from a note that we sent to the Chinese Government-I think on April 3rd, I do not recall exactly, or May-in which five points were put down. Point number one was the acceptance of the Colombo proposals by both parties. Point number two was that on the basis of that, officials of both parties should work out the implementation of those proposals on the ground. Point number three was-I am sorry I cannot correctly remember it. Then the meeting of the representatives of the two Governments to consider further what should be done. And the next point, I think, was, if this meeting fails to achieve anything, then we have suggested either a reference to the World Court at the Hague or, if that was not agreed to, arbitration by one or other agreed to by the parties.

So, at the present moment, nothing arises for us. The Colombo proposals do not come in our way of doing anything that we want to do. And yet we keep open the door to further advance, to further talks between the two Governments, and it will be improper not to do that at any time, especially at the present time in the context of the world happenings.

FORMOSA

An hon. Member made a very remarkable proposal--well, at least I consider it remarkable --when he said that we should support Formosa in the United Nations. I was rather taken aback by this proposal which is not merely supporting Formosa, it is upsetting everything that we have said and done in the last 13 years. In this quiet proposal lies uprooting everything that we have said and done and making generally in the international affairs--if I may say so--fools of ourselves with 'no policy, no firm views and generally drifting about from place to place. I am surprised that anyone, whatever his views may be, should propose that to us.

In the United Nations, China is acknowledged as a founder-member, as a permanent member of the Security Council and other Councils. There are not two Chinas that are acknowledged there. The only question that has arisen repeatedly in the United Nations has been, what is China? And it has been, on the face of it, patently wrong to say that the Island of Formosa, however good it may be, is China; it is not China. And the whole trouble has arisen by using this phraseology and thinking in a way which has no relation to actual facts. Now, what may happen in the future, I do not know, and it is for the

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parties to consider, to agree to. If they agree to anything, we shall naturally agree. We have no other desire. But at the present moment the only question is: What is China? According to the Charter of the United Nations--and I submit, if you consider that--the only country that is China is China and not some other country.

SOUTH AFRICA

Then there was some criticism made about our attitude towards South Africa. I do not quite understand it. When the I.L.O.--the International Labour Organisation--held a conference recently, there were questions raised about South Africa and Portugal participating in the conference or not participating. A number of African countries raised these questions, and our instruction to our representative there was to support the African countries' proposal in this matter throughout, and they did support it. In fact, we

also walked out with them at one stage. We had, however, pointed out at another stage when there was a suggestion by them to expel South Africa and Portugal from these meetings, that constitutionally and according to the Charter of the United Nations, it was not possible to do so. And ultimately, the resolution put forward was to ask South Africa and Portugal not to participate, which in fact South Africa and Portugal did; they walked out and did not participate. But to say apparently it was hinted at—that we took up an attitude opposed to that of the Africans is not right. That is, instructions were—South Africa's withdrawal till they conformed to the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, the provisions of the Charter being against racialism and all that.

ARMED FORCES FROM WEST

An hon. Member was pleased to observe, why not accept armed forces from the West to help us? Of course, why not do many things? Why not hand over India to somebody else? Why not put an end to India's independence? Why not confess to the world that we are too weak to do anything, let others defend us?

The hon. Member: It is only to the extent of saving our country that we want armed forces from elsewhere.

Prime Minister: Obviously so. The hon. Member's explanation is obvious. I knew that his intention was to save our country. To save our country by handing it over to somebody else to save?

The hon. Member: We want only help and as soon as that help has fructified, we will ask them to go out.

Prime Minister: The hon. Member is a learned person. He must know something of the history of India or of other countries and that such help fructifies in a different way. But what is much more important is this feeling in the country, creating a feeling of helplessness in the country. That is fatal to any country. I am sure nobody in this House wants this country to have a feeling of helplessness. It is one thing to take help from others, but to create a feeling that we cannot do it, that other people have to do our job of protecting our independence, is a fatal thing. We will

then actually lose psychologically and emotionally and otherwise the sense of independence and that will be followed by losing independence itself.

The hon. Member: We want assistance, not substitution of our troops by foreign troops.

Prime Minister : I have got that. May I say that the greatest countries in the world, the greatest powers in the world, cannot give us that ? They will give us arms, not men. And they will be helpless and useless to us. Let the hon. Member think a little of how battles are fought and wars are conducted and who conducts them.

May I suggest to him that there is no country in the wide world which have, strictly from the practical point of view, apart from arms-I am leaving out arms-men who can function better in these mountainous areas than the Indian soldiers. I am not praising the Indian soldiers exactly although they are entitled to praise. But owing to certain conditions, modern warfare is more and more inclined towards very intricate and sophisticated weapons from the air especially otherwise too, in fact. all kinds of missiles and other things.

In that, obviously we cannot compete with the most advanced nations. We may get some from them and we may use them ourselves. But as men we can compete with anybody. In this warfare in these mountains. certainly, you can use sophisticated weapons but ultimately you have to depend on men. You have had an example of this. I do not say so with any disrespect.

We had the conflict in Korea where the American army had the latest weapons and their opponents had primitive weapons and it was not very advantageous to the allied armies. In spite of their latest weapons and all that-they had everything-it was not advantageous. So, here if you have to fight in Ladakh or N.E.F.A. at 15,000 ft. or 18,000 ft. altitude, you will be helped, of course. by the weapons, if you have good weapons, but the best of weapons will fail if you have not got the human beings who are used to hardship. And the sophisticated countries are not used to too much hardships,

if I may say so. They are used to high weapons. Of course, I would absolutely rule out any foreign soldiers coming to India. If they come, they come as enemies. That is a different matter, like the Chinese have come, and we, have to meet them on the ground and fight them. And their coming here with the idea of helping us, they will not help us. They cannot help us, and they will not send them I tell you. They are not so foolish as to send their people in the high mountains here to get bogged up there and get into trouble. Nobody would send their troops. Even if we ask for them they would not send them and we should not receive them. This is something that has been carved out in our hearts. Our history has told us how people have come to help and stayed on, how people have come to help like this and imperilled our independence. That should be ruled out completely whatever happens.

We have no lack of men in this country. We have no lack of good trained men who can become our trained soldiers. At the most we can say that the tools are lacking, they do not have the latest weapons. That we are prepared to take from anybody and we are taking some. Even this, I would submit, merely trying to get the latest, most sophisticated, tools is not always desirable for various practical reasons.

DEFENCE SET-UP

Now, Sir, it was somebody-I forget who said it-someone pointed out that there had been a slant in our minds that China would not Attack us. Perfectly true. There had been a slant in our minds in the past, not completely but partly. And I should like to go back a little to state before the House how our foreign policy, and partly our defence policy, as a part of our foreign policy, has grown.

Immediately after independence we succeeded to an army. Till then it was a, competent army, good army, good men in it. Nevertheless, it has always been a small part of the British army, useful, apart from local troubles, useful for being sent as expeditionary forces, if there was A big war, to help the British. They did well because they were brave men and competent men. All our policy was laid down in White hall. There was no policy-making con-

cern here. All our officers-till then there were hardly any senior officers. There were, I believe, a few Colonels and a Brigadier or two at the time of Independence ; I forget the exact number-most of them were trained in British methods in England and looking up to it for inspiration in regard to army training. We got all our material for our armies and Armed Forces from England. We had to get out of this habit of dependence. We had to think for ourselves. We had to build up our own Army Headquarter and Air Headquarters. It was not practically an easy matter, not that the men were not competent. They are very good. Some of them, they are good. But they did work in a rut created by the British. Just soon after we had trouble with Pakistan on the Kashmir borders. And as it was, both Pakistan and our people, the armies had more or less the same background, the same training, the same type of people. And if we had failings, they too had the same failings because of the same training, etc. After a year of that, a little over a year, there was Cease-fire.

Now, if hon. Members will try to think of the whole background that we had developed in the past, we had been criticising for long, the Congress had been criticising, every public man in India had been criticising our heavy expenditure on Defence and on the Army. We were anxious to build all the resources we had for economic betterment, for industrialisation, for all that. We were anxious then not to spend too much on the Army. I am talking of about 10 or 12 years ago--to save money there. We were also anxious because we realised that the real strength of the country, even from the Defence point of view, is the industrial apparatus behind it, industrial background. We cannot in times of crisis depend on getting arms, etc. from abroad. We have to do it ourselves. So that does not strengthen the country essentially. It helps. But in a crisis if you have to rely on everything from outside then even if small things go wrong, you cannot use them, you have got to get spare parts from outside. Therefore, we thought that even from the point of view of the defence of the country, we should industrialise. No country that is not industrialised, is militarily strong today. There is no doubt about it. That was an essential thing. A few guns that we may get from abroad, a few aircraft that we

may get from abroad, that was useful for the time being but not for long. You go back again to the old position of weakness.

Therefore, we decided then that we should save money, as I have said, from Defence and apply it to the schemes of development and industrialisation, industrialisation, of course, including defence factories and plants essential for Defence. But the real thing was that the whole background should be industrialised, that is, industrialised and scientifically advanced. There was no other way of making India strong, politically strong or strong in defence matters, no other way. So after the Cease-fire in Kashmir, we had hoped that the Cease-fire would result in some kind of a settlement and we saw no other country which was going to attack us

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or to trouble us in the military sense, we decided to reduce our Army slowly of course, but we did it. And we did actually start reducing it-I forgot the number. We reduced. We did, start reducing it. May be, for about a couple of years we did that. After that we saw that instead of coming to an agreement with Pakistan, as we had hoped to, there was constant trouble, constant threats on behalf of Pakistan. And we were advised and we accepted that advice, that we dared not reduce our Army too much in view of these threats. The only obvious, possible adversary that we saw was Pakistan then.

China was not in the picture. It came just a little later in Tibet. So we stopped the reduction of the army after that but the question remains, another big question, of modernising the army because our army was not a modern army as armies go. Even in the last war it was a very good army but did not have probably modern weapons. After that developments took place in weaponry and other things and obviously our army did not have them--transport trucks, lorries, etc. We were still dealing with these that were left overs from the war. We bought some, of course, but not enough. Our equipment was lacking in that respect. We were thinking of building it ourselves. That was the only way to do it. We cannot have large numbers of lorries and trucks by hundred thousand importing them and spending vast sums of money

without any economic benefit and without the assurance that we will have them when we want them.

So the schemes of defence factories for defence needs such as trucks and tanks were started. These schemes take a long time in maturing. Take the one thing which has been talked about so much, the automatic rifles. The scheme was started several years ago. It was discussed repeatedly in our Army Headquarters. The principle having been agreed to, it was discussed where to get them from, how to get them. Some people were still of the opinion that we should buy it from abroad and not make it. Others, in consonance with our policy, thought that we should try to make them otherwise we will not get them and apart from spending a lot of money, it will be fruitless, it will not give us return if we buy it. Ultimately we decided to make it. Which country should help us in this? We went to Belgium, I think, a big firm in Belgium. There were some controversies about whether we should go to that firm or not. While the controversy was going on, that firm got involved in a big scandal in Belgium itself, nothing to do with us. Naturally after that we left that firm. We had to go to some other firm and all this resulted in delay.

The decision to have automatic weapons was taken two or three years, I think, before this, Chinese invasion and the fact that we are making automatic weapons today is due to this very fact that long before we had started this process. Now we are making them in some numbers which is increasing day by day but if we had not started two or three years earlier, we would not have done it. All this takes a tremendous deal of time. Even in England where they adopted the automatic weapons recently, fairly recently, I forget when but fairly recently, it took them time to decide whether they should take to them or not take to them and what kind of thing to take to.

So, all this happened and it is perfectly true that because of our shortage specially of foreign exchange and generally expenditure, we were very stingy about defence expenditure. Many a time our Defence people, our Army Headquarters, pointed out to us that they wanted vast numbers of lorries and trucks, they

wanted other things. Well, we argued with them : We quite realise that you want them but we are hard up and unless there is an immediate necessity, we would rather apply it to some steel plant or something like that. It was because we did not expect any attack from China at that time. Even after their coming into Ladakh, we did not expect any major invasion of this type and we wanted to expedite the processes that go towards making these things here and to make ourselves strong to meet anything rather than wait for purchases from abroad which are never very satisfactory because the slightest spare part being missing, you lose the whole whatever it may be-a gun or aircraft or anything. That was the position.

I remember many a time when our senior Generals came to us, wrote to us and wrote to the Defence Minister : "We want these things." The Defence Minister said : "Of course, we want them. Put up before our Defence Committee". Well, we possibly agreed to one-tenth of what they had asked and nine-tenth we did not. Hon. Members will remember that it is one thing to modernise the army, as should be done in the army. It was a matter involving vast sums of money. We know that now. It involves not hundreds but in fact, seen as a whole, it involves thousands of crores. It is not an easy matter. Of course when you are faced with this extreme difficulty like the Chinese invasion, you have to do it, whatever happens. That is a different matter. You can get it too from other countries, friendly countries, you can tax your people much more than you normally could but imagine in peace time, how far you can create that atmosphere when people will bear these burdens, these very special and heavy burdens of taxa-

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tion and when other countries, friendly countries, will be prepared to help you to that extent. It is only when the danger comes and shakes you up that you can get more money by taxation, you can get more money by loans, credits or gifts from outside.

So when we had to consider these things before this danger came, it was in a peace-time atmosphere although we were apprehensive of what might happen, what the Chinese might do in the future. It was not an immediate trouble and we thought, the more we build these things

in our country and more particularly the more we build up the industrial background of our country the better it would be. That is the most important thing. You cannot have just one thing to produce aircraft. The whole thing is co-related, the powerful defence apparatus and scientific apparatus. So we spent some time over building up the scientific apparatus and I think it has grown rather well I do not compare it with major countries but It is a good scientific apparatus employing now-I do not exactly know-about 2,000 to 3,000 good scientists in the Defence Science apparatus and we built up other concerns too.

So I should like hon. Members to keep this in mind, this background. We criticise our Army Headquarters or Chiefs of Staff or other Generals. Some of them may be worthy of criticism, I do not say nobody is but we must realise the circumstances they worked in. They are competent people, they are as good as any other Generals, they had worked and gone through these processes for years, they have had 30 or 35 years of service and what not and then they have to face a situation which is almost entirely novel to them. The terrain is novel, the condition is novel and the method of Chinese warfare is novel. It is very easy for us to say now that they should have known this, they should have learnt this and prepared for it. First of all preparing for it itself meant spending vast sums of money.

BORDER ROADS

Apart from the equipment, all our frontiers were hundreds of hundreds of miles away from the roads and roads are to be made over the most difficult terrain in the world. We had taken this in hand. We made the Border Roads Organisation. They had made hundreds of miles of roads but still they are incomplete. They are making them more and more and the Border Roads Organisation has done a good bit of work, good work. There have been complaints about it but please remember that even the complaints were, on enquiry, found to be not bad; but there was some mischief there but people have been tried for it: but please remember that the Border Roads organisation was not just in one place in the NEFA or in the corner of NEFA, Bomdila and other places. The Border

Roads Organisation spreads from U.P., Himachal Pradesh to Ladakh. There are different units we have had good reports of almost all the units. The one unit for which we did not have good reports was unfortunately of Bomdi La, the Tusker Unit. We enquired into it. Many of the charges made were found to be exaggerated. Some were found to be correct and we are taking steps and we are proceeding against these persons, officers and others, who were concerned. But as a whole, the organisation has done well and made roads all over these mountains—the Himalayas—right up from the borders of Nepal and U.P. to Ladakh. It is an enormous job that they undertook and they are doing it pretty well. It is a tremendously long job, these thousands of miles of roads being made. I am just pointing out the circumstances in which we are functioning, which condition our thinking. Hon. Members may think that we were careless with our defence. It is always, of course, possible that if we had foresight and had known exactly what was going to happen, we would have done something else. But in the nature of things, we could not have done very much more. Something more we could have done, certainly. But we could not have produced the roads unless we had built the roads. We could not modernise the army quickly, for it takes so much time to modernise an army and we would have to spend vast sums of money. That was the problem before us.

An hon. Member: Could we not have provided at least the equipment for the purposes of training ?

Prime Minister: We are not now going into those details. As a matter of fact, I believe there was enough equipment, but the equipment was rather spread all over India. It was there, but it may not have been available at a particular place, because we had to face the situation rather quickly, and we did not have time and the climate was changing. I am not going into details. I am just venturing to tell the House the background that we had to face and the background that our army staff had to face. First of all, there was the general background, right at the beginning of our independence, of not spending too much on the army, of keeping a competent army, but not increasing it. We

wanted to keep a competent army, and we actually reduced it then, and afterwards we had to increase it. Secondly, although we tried to modernise it, the process was rather slow because of the costliness of it. We thought of modernising it to the extent that we ourselves

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were producing the things, and some things we imported.

All these factors tended to lessen the equipment with us and gave tremendous advantage, to a country like China with an army which has been in active fighting trim, taking part in fighting for, I think, roughly thirty-five years or so. Not all of them but the core of it, right through the thirties, forties and fifties, they have been like that, apart from Korea, apart from their original fighting with the Kuomintang troops and their internal troubles. And then they came to Tibet. So they are hardened rough people, tough people, and specially concentrating on mountain warfare, living in high altitudes. That was a very important factor before us-the altitude-and our troops being sent from here from sea levels of 500 ft. or 700 ft. to suddenly 15,000 ft. No doubt wise people would have thought of acclimatising them and making them accustomed to high altitudes. But when a crisis comes, we have to take it and we sent our troops immediately there. Of course, it is absurd to say they did not have shoes and all that. They had shoes and they took their full complement. They did not take as many blankets as they were entitled to get and as they were given, because they did not want to carry them. They took two with them. They were given four. Others were sent later. And there was some loss in sending them because they had to be air-dropped.

One more difficulty we had was that we had no proper communications. There were no roads there. We took on this battle in a place which was disadvantageous to us and very advantageous to the Chinese. They had roads right up to the other side of the border and they just came over and met us. We had to supply our people from the air and at that time the snow started falling and many of the things that were sent were lost in the snow or went down the khud. These are mistakes no doubt,

lack of experience, of doing things in a hurry, whatever it was. But I would venture to say that I do think that it is slightly unfair for us to run down our Army Generals, because they had to face conditions for which they were not at all prepared, and they could not easily prepare. I could cite good many examples. The French Army in a sense is one of the finest armies. It used to be the finest army in the world, but it could not hold on against the guerillas in Indo-china. The result was the Geneva Conference. All the training that the army gets is training of a different type, to meet armies of its own type. They did not get much training for guerilla warfare and in the last great War the Japanese simply swept over South-east Asia. Malaya, Indo-china and all those South-east Asia areas were swept by the Japanese, because the Japanese also are a tough people who had been trained in that way, and the British army training did not help them there.

AGGRESSOR'S ADVANTAGE

The aggressor, especially an aggressor with a new type of warfare, has a tremendous advantage. Even in other places it was like that. In the last War, hon. Members will remember, there was the sudden collapse and disappearance of the British Army. There in France, in Dunkirk it disappeared. But it was a good Army and it made good afterwards, after learning the lessons. We must take these things and see them in their perspective and not blame individuals who were caught in these difficulties. I don't mind Government being criticised. The House has every right to criticise the Government but I do feel that we should be fair to our officers who generally did well; there were one or two who did not, but that is a different matter: Broadly speaking, they did well and they had to face a situation which was formidable and very difficult. So it was that our foreign policy grew with this background of difficulties.

FALL OF TIBET

But as I stated previously, right from the day the Chinese came into Tibet we felt that a new danger threatened us, not immediately, but the fact that a great and powerful country had come

right up to our borders, borders which had been, more or less, dead and peaceful, was a great change. We realised that and we thought that we should gradually prepare for it, in the main again, by building roads. Roads are essential for reaching our border. Then of course many things happened. They came to Tibet in a bigger way and later, two or three years later, there was the Tibetan revolution and the Dalai Lama came here. All these were warnings to us that things were happening there and we took that warning but that warning did not and could not lead us to assume a bellicose attitude towards China because that would not have helped us at all. It is very well for us to become aware of what was happening and to prepare for it; that we could but to threaten China or to have a pugnacious attitude towards China was merely not to our advantage at all from any practical point of view. It would have created the very situation which we are trying to avoid or postpone, immediately. I should like 'all these facts to be borne in mind.

Today, we have got to face, as we had to face, first Pakistan's threat to us and its bellicose

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attitude and then the Chinese. Now we have to face both of them, possibly together.

I do not wish to apologise for what Government has done or not done but there, was a certain compulsion of events and no Government, however much it may have differed from our way of thinking, could have functioned very differently from what we did, keeping in view always the tact that the real thing before us was to strengthen India basically, not superficially by getting an odd gun or an odd aircraft, but by industrially getting stronger and thereby raising the economic potential of the country which is very important because no country can fight unless the economic potential is fairly good.

KASHMIR

Now, there are problems like our problem of Kashmir and people say that it has been there for many years, twelve years, thirteen years, fourteen years and not settled. There are many problems like that. Hon. Members know the problem of Germany and Berlin which has been pending ever since the Great War and it has not been

solved. Why ? Behind this problem are fears, suspicions, hatreds. They cannot be solved. Behind the Kashmir problem-it is not a simple problem of Indo-Pakistan relations-is the background of hatred, suspicion and fear and until we get rid of these, it will be difficult to solve this problem. Now that Pakistan appears to have taken a step to line up with China, naturally that background becomes still worse. That is why it was suggested many years ago to have a "No War Pact" without freezing any question. All the questions would remain and we should consider them but this would remove the sense of fear. If that is done, it would be much easier to solve all these problems. So far as Kashmir is concerned, the House knows very well that legally and constitutionally Kashmir is completely a part of India. There is no doubt about it and nobody can challenge it but looking at it from other points of view, from practical points of view, it is obvious that any change in Kashmir would have disastrous consequences, disastrous for the people of Kashmir, disastrous for India and for Pakistan. Therefore, it is no good people telling us, as some people do in some other countries, that we must be generous about Kashmir, generous at the cost of whom ? At the cost of the people of Kashmir, at the cost of the people of India ? It is quite absurd. Kashmir is a State of the Indian Union, and autonomous State as other States and something more than that and any attempt to alter this, to change this situation would, I think, be very bad for us. Of course, there are limits to which we can go in settling the question and we went far enough, but, here again, we cannot do anything whatever the consequences. This must be realised by all concerned.

Some of our people, who are friends in India, talk loosely as if Kashmir could be put in a plate and handed over to Pakistan. Well, they may do anything they like but that will be the death of India, ruin of India and the ruin of Kashmir. The whole attitude, if you put it that way, may mean that we may also hand over a good deal of India to China . Either the whole thing goes to the other, either you have the mentality to fight and to preserve your independence or you lose all strength and rely on others. and to please them you do this or that. I do not think India will be worth living in if it loses that sense of freedom and independence.

May I say a word here? Some hon. Members referred to pressures from the United States of America and the United Kingdom, pressures in regard to Kashmir and hinted that their help to us, arms, etc., were conditioned to some extent by our agreeing to come to terms with Pakistan. That is not correct. There is no doubt that the United States and the United Kingdom have been anxious and continue to be anxious for a settlement between India and Pakistan about our various issues, especially about Kashmir, but at no time did they tie this up with any aid they were giving us. In fact, they made it perfectly clear that the help given had nothing to do with this and that they would give us any help that we wanted. They have been giving it to us but they have been closely attached to Pakistan even by treaties and they are close friends of ours. Naturally, they wanted us to come to a settlement between us not realising perhaps or the internal and external complications of these questions and the background that I ventured to place before you.

An hon. Member: The question we would like to know in this connection is this : Was there any indication on their part about the nature of the settlement that we can arrive at and whether the question of mediation was also raised ? Did the Government of India make it clear that the question of the status of Kashmir would not be within province of any such discussion ?

Prime Minister: From time to time various suggestions for talks have been made, some of which we have not at all accepted even to discuss.

I would beg of this House to remember that we have difficult problems to face on our frontier with China. That is difficult enough, because China, whether we like it or not is a different matter, is one of the most powerful countries of the world today with an army bigger than any army in the world and, apart from the modern and highly sophisticated weapons, an army which can face any army in the world

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barring none, is a trained army. Although the biggest army, it has difficulties, of course, logistic difficulties, internal difficulties,--that is a different matter. They have all these difficulties

but apart from these, I am not, if I may say so, exaggerating the strength of China. We must realise how strong it is and we must realise also how weak in some ways it is and we must realise also our potential and actual strength. I think our potential strength is great and actually is growing but whatever that may be-it may be because of the past training that I have received-I dislike plunging into major wars or small wars which may lead to major wars. In the modern world, it is not my own opinion but generally, we try to avoid them because the consequences are terrible and terrible for the people generally. We are living in very dangerous times, revolutionary times in the world. The world is changing very rapidly and one hesitates to take a step which will land us into all manner of difficulties and land the world too.

We are resolved obviously to preserve the honour and integrity of our country but merely passing a resolution is not enough. It has to have strength and training behind it and all that accompanies that training. We have been trying to do that. We have been trying to fashion our foreign policy to meet this situation and I think our foreign policy, not because of any special virtue in us or in our policy, has succeeded in this respect-I am talking about last year or so broadly and a great majority of the countries in the world in Asia and elsewhere appreciate that policy and sympathise with us and some of them help us. It is true that some countries in Asia and elsewhere hesitate to say much just for the simple reason that they are afraid of the power of China. That is so but there has been a consistent change in the attitude of countries in this matter; it has changed in our direction. Some of the big countries like the United Kingdom are helping us; yet the United Kingdom is having closer relations with China now than it has had in the past chiefly for business reasons and trade. They are having an Exhibition in China after some months. They are selling their aircraft and other things to them. We cannot complain of that. Countries behave according to their own interests. They are helping us and we are grateful to them.

There is one thing more and I have finished. Hon. Members referred to my remark last year, soon after the Chinese invasion took place I had said that we had been living in a world of un-

reality. What exactly did I mean by it. I cannot catch my mood at that time wholly but what I meant was, this world is cruel. We thought in terms of carrying the banner of peace everywhere and it has betrayed us. China has betrayed us; the world has betrayed us. Our efforts at peace and following the path of peace have been knocked on the head. Now we have to take to war; we are forced to, much against our will. That is what I meant. I was not thinking of any particular policy but the outlook with which we had faced. I think it was a good outlook; any other outlook would not have done us much good practically and it would have done us a great deal of harm psychologically and emotionally. We have a great deal of goodwill in the world because of that outlook and I think that is to our advantage. In those circumstances even if we had a different outlook we would not have added much strength to our defence forces because of what I have said, because of our financial resources and because of the incapacity of ours from getting any help unless there is a serious crisis as it happened later.

SUCCESSFUL POLICY

I submit, Sir, that our foreign policy, by and large, has been a right one, a good one and a successful one. Naturally keeping to its main features it has to be adapted here and there to changing conditions. The world is changing. As I said yesterday the two major things that have happened in the world are this test ban treaty and the rift between Russia and China not only on ideological grounds. No doubt it is a conflict of interests. In this connection, may I say that some of our friends, some of the Communist Members of this House and outside who had to face a very great crisis of conscience, have not quite got over it yet. Some of them --I do not say all but quite a considerable number of them--I regret to say in this crisis where the future of India was involved still continue to favour the Chinese outlook. Some do not, many do not perhaps; that is the trouble they have to face but we have to lace a larger trouble and we shall face it with strength.

HUNGARY ISRAEL RUSSIA SWITZERLAND SOUTH AFRICA PORTUGAL KOREA LATVIA BELGIUM
NEPAL PERU JAPAN FRANCE GERMANY

Date : Sep 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

WORLD FEDERALISTS CONFERENCE

Prime Minister's Address

Addressing the All-India World Federalists Conference in New Delhi on September 4, 1963, the Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru said :

Madam Chairman, Lord Attlee, Distinguished Guests, Excellencies and Friends :

It is a privilege to be present here on this occasion, and yet may I confess to you that this is the first time I have attended, at any rate a formal meeting, of the World Federalists or the other organisations with, more or less, similar ideals of building up a world order. It is not because I had any doubts of the extreme necessity of this objective. But sometimes, I confess to my shame, I had some doubts as to whether those who are working for it were thinking of practical steps to that end or were rather losing themselves in theoretical ideals. I do not mean to say for an instant that ideals are not very important. I think it will be a poor world, if people give up idealism.

As Lord Attlee has said, and also the speaker who preceded me today, this matter is not a question of some distant future or of merely some vague ideal, but it is very much of the present. It may take some little time or some more time, but it is an urgent matter for us to think about and work for.

I suppose, in theory, almost every intelligent person will agree; logically you are inevitably driven to that end and I do not quite see myself

or anyone can disagree. They may raise difficulties, point out the existing difficulties and, therefore, be rather hesitant about saying much about a world order. Whether you argue it logically or emotionally that is the only possible objective which you can have, not only because of the difficulties and the dangerous possibilities of wars nowadays but otherwise too; the whole history of the human race points to ever larger circles, of cooperative circles, even in some ways larger circles of peace and order.

NATIONAL STATE

We developed nationalism, the national state. Before that there was something much smaller and much more quarrelsome. The national state brought more or less peace and order within the State. But the national state itself became very aggressive towards other states and even today it is largely so. But the State is becoming bigger and bigger and we have arrived at a stage when the next step must comprise the world and all the States, not putting an end to the national state.

ONE WORLD

The national state will have its freedom and autonomy and independence, giving up part of its independence to world order, world organisation, because even today I think most people recognise that nationalism is a very strong feeling. It is a good feeling to a large extent till it turns, perhaps, into an aggressive bad feeling towards others. So, inevitably we have to work for one world. What form it may take, it may not be perhaps easy to define now. But the objective must be there. And that world state, among other things, must have a world police force. And now that creates grave difficulties, but it certainly must be based on more or less a demilitarised humanity, that is, the present approach to arms and building up huge forces and armaments must go.

DISARMAMENT FIRST STEP

Disarmament is inevitable in it, otherwise there can be no world state. That is obvious. And if you have disarmament, it seems to me inevitable that you should have some kind of world authority and a world police force. All these raise enormous difficulties at the present

moment, but those two are essential. If that is so, probably the very first thing that we must aim at is disarmament-as complete as it can be-not merely limited to nuclear weapons, although that is very important, but wholesale disarmament.

I am quite sure, if disarmament comes, the other steps will be relatively easy. Disarmament must be accompanied by some kind of world force. And if that is there, then the chief difficulty today-what is the chief difficulty apart from the ambitions of some countries-the chief difficulty is fear; fear, apprehensions, sometimes dislike, but chiefly fear.

Now fear is a very bad companion, for any individual or any country to have. And yet it oppresses us. All our countries, even the biggest countries, the most powerful are afraid of some other powerful country. It is extraordinary. And

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the more powerful you are-the more arms-apparently the more is the fear.

The real obstacle in the way of humanity progressing is this all pervading fear of somebody, of definitely some other country or some unknown fear. Now, how can we get rid of that fear? That is a very difficult thing. But obviously one way of doing it is to remove the causes of fear; that means, at any rate, the military causes, the fear of military might of one country overwhelming another. Of course, any other approach where the present political or social order creates fears, creates repression, must go, that is, colonialism, racialism and the like. They naturally will have to go. And once there is some kind of agreement about widespread disarmament, the basic reason for fear will probably largely disappear. Once that happens, it almost follows first of all, some kind of world authority backed by some world police force, and you get the beginnings of a world order.

UNITED NATIONS

Lord Attlee mentioned how he was present at San Francisco when the United Nations was established. Now we have been groping, the world has been groping, for some kind of world organisations and authorities for ever so long.

The League of Nations was there. It failed. It did good work in its time, but it failed. The United Nations took its place, profiting by some of its failures and it has done exceedingly good work, and yet nobody will say that it is a perfect organisation. As it is ever since San Francisco, when it was formed, the organisation has grown tremendously. It has more than doubled itself. More nations have become free and become members of it and the present structure of the United Nations is not very satisfactory. It does not represent the United Nations as it is. It represents a state of affairs as it was after the World War. Well, something has to be done to make it more in conformity with present-day conditions of the world. How that has to be done is another difficulty, because if it is a question of changing the charter-many things require a certain unanimity of the big countries-apart from what the other countries may wish to do. That unanimity is not probably likely to be achieved in the near future, though I hope it will come.

Therefore, although many of us have strongly felt that the United Nations should change, should have some modifications introduced, some changes in its structure, we have not taken any active steps to that end for fear that any attempt to do so will create heated argument and Controversy and conflict, just as even in disarmament.

Disarmament is hardly a question which you can decide by votes in the United Nations. All the smaller nations, or relatively not powerful nations, can easily out-vote the big nations, but the big nations will not agree to that. They will not disarm by the votes of a number of persons. They are influenced no doubt by it and so one looks forward to the big armed nations coming to an agreement among themselves, aided no doubt by the advice and influence of others but essentially themselves. Once they do that the next step becomes easier for others to join in.

TEST BAN TREATY

One of the most hopeful signs recently has been this agreement between three major countries, United States, the USSR and the United Kingdom for this partial test ban treaty, which

has I believe, successfully been accepted and signed by about 100 or more countries. By itself it does not go very far, but it is a very important step to break through the ice or break through the fear which surrounds people. Possibly, I hope, fairly soon it will lead to some other results. Once that progress is made and it leads to disarmament, then the fear that engulfs the world will grow much less. It will be easy then to talk about greater cooperation, and possibly even of a world order, which may possibly be based on the present United Nations or whatever, else it may be, I do not know.

Many of us have criticised the United Nations, often enough, and I have no doubt continue to criticise it, but the fact is that the United Nations, the mere existence of it, has been a tremendous thing for peace in the world. It has prevented many difficult situations from developing into war. It has not been perfect, nothing is perfect. but it has laid the foundation of some world co-operation-not always-but often enough.

I think the next step whatever you may aim at, is bound to be disarmament, disarmament leading to lessening of this atmosphere of fear that surrounds all countries, big and small. Also of course no country that is being dominated over by another country can ever put up with these conditions. There will be trouble. Therefore, one must recognise this idea of putting an end, as it is largely being put an end today, to colonialism and its like and racialism. In other words, we have to aim at a world which has become disarmed not very largely, where the countries live in peace and cooperation and there is peaceful co-existence.

CO-EXISTENCE

To endeavour to force down any particular political or economic or social order in any

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country would obviously be wrong and could obviously create trouble. In fact, it must clearly lay down in any world order that each country should live its own life, develop according to its own genius, have its own political organisation, economic structure and the rest. No doubt, when you proceed in that way, one country will influence and affect another and there will be much

greater learning from each other than there is when there are solid blocs opposed to each other. That may happen.

But recognition of peaceful co-existence between countries differing in political or economic or social structure is quite essential and freedom of each country to develop along its own lines, without any kind of compulsion by another country. If that is agreed to and established, that can be done, it is being done largely now-not the recognition of peaceful co-existence, but to some extent that is being done too-it is recognised but not wholly. And disarmament takes a very big step forward, immediately you create ground for the consideration, fruitful consideration of world authority.

May be, as I said, the United Nations themselves may be changed somewhat and made to fit into its new role and gradually, I believe, will get accustomed to it as countries have got accustomed to national governments and not small feudal or quarelling little entities. That seems to be the only future for the world, if it survives and does not succumb to a major war which will destroy it.

Therefore, as a non-member of the World Federalists Organisation, I welcome your efforts, your organisation, because it is necessary, even if it was a distant ideal; it is necessary to work for it and to make people realise it and think of it and make them realise that it is not a purely idealistic thing but a very practical thing which has become essential if we are to progress or even survive.

INFLUENCE OF GANDHIJI

I wish you, your organisation all success. We have been trained, specially men of my generation in India, under Mahatma Gandhi. Although we are rather poor specimens and we often failed him in many things, though we should have done according to his teachings; nevertheless we were influenced by him and moulded by him and to some extent that remains, in spite of the hard knocks that we have had to bear. Therefore, in that sense, the background in India is perhaps suited for the wide acceptance of this ideal.

You hear in India all kinds of things that are happening, difficulties of communities, major and

minor; each community, apparently trying to sit on the other. That is partly an exaggeration and partly it is true, here and elsewhere. Now that can, I imagine, be dealt with much more effectively and easily in a larger framework of a world order than in a limited framework. Once you get out of that limited framework into this larger order, you will not be pursued by old animosities, old jealousies and conflicts; possibly it may be easier therefore to fit in with that new order.

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GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

AFGHANISTAN INDIA CHINA USA PAKISTAN JAPAN

Date : Oct 01, 1963

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AFGHANISTAN

Indo-Afghan Cultural Agreement Signed

A cultural agreement between the Government of India and the Royal Government of Afghanistan was signed in Kabul on October 4, 1963, by Prof. Humayun Kabir, Union Minister of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs and Education, and Dr. Ali Ahmad Popal, Education Minister and Second Deputy Prime Minister of Afghanistan.

The agreement comprises nine articles which will further strengthen the relations between the two countries in the fields of education, culture, art, sports, exchange of professors and students.

The agreement, which will be valid for five years, is renewable. It will come into force after ratification.

AFGHANISTAN INDIA

Date : Oct 01, 1963

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HOME AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Prime Minister's Broadcast on National Solidarity Day

On the eve of the National Solidarity Day (October 20), the Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, in a broadcast to the nation on October 19, 1963, said :

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

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

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

Why, then, do we celebrate this day? I think it is right that we celebrate it, because it is easy to celebrate successes; it is much harder and more fitting, I think, to take lessons from our failures, from our weaknesses so that people can convert those weaknesses into strength. We are ever since this sad experience of last year trying to build up our strength, our military strength, our air strength and all that, but, remember, that the real strength of a nation lies in its mind and

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heart, in its firm determination to face all dangers and to preserve the freedom and integrity of the nation.

Who was the bravest man that India has produced in our times? You know that. Mahatma Gandhi was by far the bravest man whom I have ever met. He was not a man of arms, using arms, he was not a man who suppressed others but he was a man who was invincible in the strength that nobody could suppress him or buy his soul for anything that could be done. Now, we are not wholly following Gandhiji's way, because we have resorted to arms, to armies and air forces and navy.

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

If a country is united in this, if there is solidarity among the people, then not merely arms can conquer it.

So while we prepare for strengthening our army and air force, we all of us must always remember that real strength will come from the unity of the country and from the hard work that we put in. We have got, I think, that basic solidarity in our people. We saw that at the moment of danger last year, when the Chinese invaded us, and suddenly all kinds of people rose to the occasion and pledged themselves to meet this menace with all their might.

That was a heartening sight, but sometime afterwards when the immediate danger seems to have passed, when there was no actual fighting going on, many of our people relapsed into thinking of other things and forgetting the menace and the danger, although the menace and the danger were there still; and rather lost themselves in mutual squabbles and complaints and slogans and the Eke. That shows that although we are basically united and there is something in us which rises up when danger threatens, when the threat does not appear obvious again we soften and go back to our petty troubles and petty conflicts.

We have the Chinese menace before us. We had even before that occurred, and now will continue to have the real menace of our poverty; and we have to fight that as stoutly and as bravely as we can fight any enemy who invades us, because only then can we build up our nation, by building up our people and making them happy and contented.

Therefore, this habit of ours to slacken, when no immediate danger threatens us, is bad. We must get over it. We talk of solidarity and unity, and yet we know that in our country, behind

this certain feeling of solidarity and unity, there are many forces which are fissiparous, which separate us and which are used for separating us and it is unfortunate that some people forget the essential question, the essential unity of the country, by encouraging these forces.

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

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

So I am not asking you to forget this rich variety of our people, but I am asking you to remember that variety itself will go and everything that we value will go, if we do not remember that unity is essential; and that unity is not a superficial unity on the map or of some Constitution, but the unity of heart and mind, which makes us feel like a large family, which has to be defended, which has to be worked for, and which will lead us to co-operate with each other.

But apart from that. today, we have this menace of the Chinese invasion. That menace is no longer less than what it was, although for nearly about 11 months or so no actual fighting has taken place.

If we slacken. if we forget our duty, if we become complacent. then we are lost.

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

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

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

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

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

I wish you well, therefore, on this day which is a day which should remind us when we failed in our duty and forgot that the first duty of an individual and that of a country is to defend itself against an enemy's attack.

INDIA USA CHINA

Date : Oct 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

HOME AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Prime Minister's Broadcast to Armed Forces

The following is a free translation of Prime Minister Nehru's broadcast to the Armed Forces of India :

It was this day last year that the Chinese attacked us in NEFA and shortly after in Ladakh. We suffered some reverses and had to yield some ground. You know that these ups and downs are the normal fortunes of war. Today I am speaking to you in order to tell you that we frequently think of you, especially because we know the difficulties and the rigours of cold at high altitudes which you are facing.

The invasion which the Chinese launched against us last year was something strange, because the Chinese professed friendship for us and led us to believe that they will maintain friendly relations with us. But they deceived us and invaded us with a large army. It is clear that they were preparing for this invasion for long, because a heavy invasion like this could not take place suddenly. They launched this invasion after full preparations and crossed into our borders.

In Ladakh, they had already been encroaching upon our territory gradually. Therefore, we had established posts there to check them, but the invasion which they launched in NEFA on October 20 last year and the intrusion which they made about 5 weeks before this was something new. It was an invasion backed by long preparations and heavy forces and equipment. It had a tremendous impact on India and in a way on the whole world, because it made us realise the real intentions of China. We had some suspicions about it before, but we never thought that they would launch this unprovoked aggression, in violation of all international laws.

Only a short time before they launched this heavy invasion, we were talking with them to find out ways of settling our differences by mutual negotiations. Despite this, they mounted their big aggression. This inflicted some loss on us but, in my opinion, it also resulted in some gains. It opened our eyes about them and about other things. Our Jawans had to face great odds on our borders. Many of our men were killed and many were taken prisoner, but wherever there was real fighting and specially in Ladakh, they fought the Chinese aggressors with great gallantry and courage, and it may be said also with success. The Chinese got some advantage on account of the element of surprise and heavy numbers.

So what was our duty in face of this invasion? Evidently we could not surrender to force and allow the Chinese to occupy our country. We can never submit to aggression, however long we may have to fight and whatever difficulties we may have to face. That is why I said in my broadcast last year after the Chinese invasion that we may have to fight on for years.

At present there is a lull in fighting, but you know that Chinese forces are massing and making preparations on the other side of the border. Therefore, it is necessary for us to make full preparations. A nation which loses its heart and sense in the face of adversity can never maintain its freedom for long. We won our independence after great difficulties and we are not going to give it up in the face of any aggression.

Therefore, it is our duty to increase our armed strength and we are doing so. We have to increase our air strength and we are also doing that and making preparations. Our preparations will go on-but the greatest thing which the army --whether officers or men-need is their courage and skill. If this courage fails even the biggest of weapons could be of no avail, But I have every confidence in our forces.

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Our Jawans are gallant and trained men and can give a good account of themselves in fighting. They can stand up to any odds. So we depend upon them. But they have to be backed by the whole country and have to be provided with equipment. The whole country has to care for them and for their families. This is our duty and we are doing it. Their families, their wives and children, are the wards of the nation and it is the nation's duty to look after them.

Today we recall the happenings and reverses we suffered last year. I send you my affections and blessings and assure you that we will defend our country in every way and fight any one who invades our country with all our strength. We will make full efforts to throw him back.

All of you, the whole army, the airmen and those who work in defence factories. have a great part to play in this task because wars are not fought today on borders alone. The whole nation has to fight by producing arms and other things

and in other ways. So we will do our part and we are confident that our gallant men will never bow their heads before any enemy. We have every confidence in you. It gives us great courage to know that you are standing fast at your posts and facing the severe cold in the mountains with cheerfulness.

This is all that I have to say to you today. This day has a special significance for us. This is the day when we were attacked and we observe this day in order to increase our strength and our unity and to re-dedicate ourselves to work with re-doubled vigour. I again send you my blessings and good wishes.

INDIA USA CHINA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date : Oct 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

President's U.N. Day Broadcast

The President, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan broadcast on October 23, 1963, the following message over the All India Radio on the eve of the eighteenth United Nations Day (October 24):

Friends,

On the eve of the 18th United Nations Day, may I say a few words.

With every year the activities and usefulness of the United Nations Organisation are becoming more and more evident. In recent times in the solution of the problems of Cuba, West Irian and Congo, the Organisation played a useful role. Its work has been somewhat hampered by the pressures and passions of the cold war. Yet it remains the only hope of effective international co-operation for world peace.

WORLD PEACE

At no time in human history has the possibility of world peace and welfare been so great as at present. Science and technology have released sources of power capable of remaking the world. We could now achieve ways of life under law and order that would usher in a golden era. The resources-human and material-for the achievement of this goal are today available to us. On the other hand, the potential for total destruction of human civilization is equally great. In a nuclear war there will be neither victors nor vanquished. Both of them will perish together. A war in such circumstances is sheer madness. If we oppose nuclear wars we should oppose all wars, for a war with classical or conventional weapons is likely to become a nuclear war. There is no such thing as a just war. If we wish to avoid wars we will have to work for peace. The only defence against war is peace. I am certain that a total ban on nuclear tests will soon be adopted by all countries and prepare the way for general and complete disarmament.

The essential conditions for a stable world order and peace are freedom from colonial domination, the rooting out of race discrimination and the economic development of under-privileged nations.

The United Nations must set up a machinery by which subject nations are led to become independent by peaceful means. It has been doing good work in this direction. It has been helping nations to resist tyranny, exploitation, domination of one nation by another. There are still in Africa many parts, under colonial rule.

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RACE PREJUDICES

Race prejudices are to be found in almost all countries of the world, but where many nations are ashamed of them some exalt them and make them into law of the land. In South Africa law discriminates against the whole population on account of the colour of their skin or racial origin. While other nations are apologetic about the vestiges of race discrimination which they are attempting to remove, South Africa is aggressive in its attitude. Its policy of apartheid or strict racial segregation has met with opposition within

and without. The suppressed Africans are becoming desperate. Desperate men resort to desperate remedies. The South African Government should reconsider its policy if it is to avoid a general upheaval.

What seems to be somewhat remote from the present age is the conflict between the Catholics and the Buddhists in South Vietnam. The harassment of the large majority of the population in South Vietnam is a violation of fundamental human rights and will, I hope, be terminated soon.

IMPROVING HUMAN CONDITIONS

The world must assume the responsibility for poverty, hunger and disease which prevail in many parts. So long as there are impoverished and hungry nations, there will always be a temptation to violent upheavals. We should, therefore, strive to strengthen the United Nations and its specialised agencies which are engaged in this task of improving the human conditions in large parts of the world. A world which is suffering and miserable should be made to thrill with hope and joy.

There is a fundamental historical trend in the development of modern society and a general desire to understand other people and live with them in friendship. With increasing facilities for communications there is greater understanding between the peoples of the world. We have relaxed relations between the two great nuclear powers, the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. They are also co-operating in space research and the exploration of the moon. The new hot line link established between Moscow and Washington is intended to safeguard the world against any human accident or miscalculation. There is also an understanding between the Roman Catholic Church and Communism which were regarded as hostile to each other. All these are signs of the eagerness of the people to live together in peace and harmony.

A trend in the opposite direction is the Sino-Soviet rift which evidently started with the Soviet Union's refusal to supply nuclear arms to China. Despite periods of aggressive expansionism China, by and large, has been devoted to peace and friendship among nations though she is now suffering from a black-out of her loyalty to world

peace and harmony. We earnestly hope that the present mood of China is a temporary one.

The greatest challenge man faces today is man himself. The Chinese philosopher Lao-Tzu said, "All is clear. I alone am clouded." When our knowledge is increased, our behaviour has to become worthy of our knowledge. For this a mere understanding of human nature is not enough. An increase of moral sensitivity is called for.

NEED TO STRENGTHEN U.N.

Humanity is not a mere Organisation but a living organism united from within by those spiritual values which are inseparable from man's dignity and freedom.

eko devah sarvabhutesu gudhahagudhah
sarvavyapi sarvabhutantaratma

There is one God, hidden in all things, all pervading, the inner soul-of all things. We tear asunder this invisible bond and break the body of humanity if we use violence against one another. May we be given the courage and the wisdom, the love and the faith to mould the new world.

We should do our utmost to strengthen this organisation and make it an instrument of authority and power in the affairs of the world. We would like to see the United Nations Organisation with legislative, executive and police functions, as it is the only way in which we can save future generations from the scourge of war. This ambition is not to be treated as a distant dream. It is an urgent necessity. Let us all work for it

INDIA USA CUBA CONGO SOUTH AFRICA VIETNAM RUSSIA OMAN CHINA BHUTAN

Date : Oct 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Prime Minister's Speech at U.N. Day Celebrations

Presiding over the United Nations Day celebrations in New Delhi, on October 24, 1963 the Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, made the following speech :

Year after year, we come here on this day and there is always a danger of these annual functions becoming a ritual which we follow without, perhaps, attaching as much importance to it as

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it deserves. Yet ritual or not, it is desirable and necessary that we should remind ourselves of the United Nations, what it stands for, its very fine Charter and what it has done during the 18 years of its existence.

Most of us criticise the United Nations. I have often criticised it, but the fact remains that it is rather difficult to imagine what the world would have been without the United Nations. We take it for granted that it is a good thing; and suppose the United Nations had not been there, how many times in the last 18 years the world might have again entered into a phase of violent and big-scale conflict.

CONSIDERABLE ACHIEVEMENT

I do not mean to say that the United Nations has by itself stood guard and prevented this possible conflict. Many forces have been at play but, by and large, the United Nations has represented those forces and prevented many conflicts from developing. That is a tremendous service that the UN has done, apart from the other great service of directing the world's attention towards positive programmes of dealing with social and economic matters.

So, looking at it from the positive point of view-what it has achieved, and the other point of view what it has prevented from developing badly-the achievement of the U.N. has been very considerable. The fact that it has not become an ideal world association yet is not the reason why we should think less of it. After all, the U.N., ever since its formation, has represented the world as it found it. When the first Charter was drawn up-the Charter is very fine --yet, there are many things in the Charter, not

the ideals and objectives which are beautifully stated, but in the organisation of the United Nations, which, perhaps, can be criticised.

But really that criticism not the fault of the U.N. but rather of humanity as it was then after the war, the big nation States and the small ones. For instance, there is the provision for something that is called the veto. That also represented things as they were then. There is always the difficulty in trying to translate some ideal that we have in our mind into practicality. Now, today, there are any number of institutions in the world, organisations, trying for a one world federal government and all that. Conferences are held. In theory, I suppose, many of us are struck with that ideal of the whole world becoming an orderly world, with no country being allowed to disturb the peace of the world, And I suppose ultimately it is bound to happen, some such thing arises, unless the world destroys itself by war on a larger scale. And yet these excellent organisations which dream of one world sometimes, it seems to me, do not take into consideration the actual facts of the world, we live in, the actual fears, hates, which create the difficulties that face us.

The wonderful thing, therefore, is that in spite of all this condition of the world, the United Nations has survived these 18 years. It is an extraordinary fact. It has survived and successfully survived and helped solve many problems.

It may not have solved all our problems; they have failed here and there, but on the whole it has helped in keeping the peace in a big way and in resolving many of the problems that have occurred. That is a tremendous service and, I suppose, if it goes on functioning, as it has been doing and better still, it will progressively not only solve problems but gradually make people realise that it is folly to indulge in actions which lead to war. That, after all, is a fundamental object of the United Nations, to rid the world of war and its progeny.

So, criticising as we may well do, the United Nations, we must recognise the great good it has done. The mere fact of its existence and functioning and people coming there and discussing matters, is itself a change from the quarrels and conflicts that arise between the great nation States

and small nation States which may often lead to war. Again and again, we have been on the verge of some major conflict, which, thanks to the wisdom of statesman, has been averted.

DISARMAMENT

But behind that always has been the United Nations, although the United Nations may not have taken an active step in that particular conflict. Their mere presence has helped to create an atmosphere and it has been a kind of safety-valve, where people could discuss these problems.

The biggest problem from the point of view of the United Nations and, indeed, of all of us is that of disarmament. We have not succeeded yet; I remember, many years ago when the League of Nations functioned before the last war, I was interested in their discussions on disarmament. There was a Preparatory Committee for Disarmament. It met for a long time-I do not know how many years-and produced large volumes of reports and proceedings of its work, of the difficulties it had to face in meeting problems.

Well, difficulties are there, and the difficulties are really in the minds and hearts of men. It did not succeed in doing much and ultimately war came. Now since then, the United Nations has come into being, instead of the old and rather weak League of Nations; and they have been struggling with this problem of disarmament, committees, commissions and all that and one would

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be justified in saying that the progress made has not been remarkable. Yet, I think progress has been made. Why has this progress been made? Probably, largely, because of the increasing realization of the terrible nature of modern war with its massive weapons of destruction. It is the atomic bomb and the hydrogen bomb that has helped to move the world towards some disarmament and peace.

STEP IN RIGHT DIRECTION

The Chairman referred to the Test Ban Treaty which, by itself, is not a very great step, but from another point of view, it is a very important step and it has been accepted as such, treated as such, all over the world. It is a step in the right direction. It has broken through a certain

barrier of thinking and action, and, therefore. it has brought the promise of greater steps to be taken later. I believe some efforts are being made still to supplement that with other steps and there is a certain air of optimism that these efforts might succeed.

It would, perhaps, be not quite fair to expect wonderful results to come quickly in regard to disarmament. It is a complicated and difficult subject; ultimately, the difficulty lying in the fears and apprehensions of human beings and States. But, nevertheless, the air is more favourable for steps to be taken now than it has been in the last many years; and we must all hope that such a result will come and work for it in so far as we can.

Behind this fear of war, there are the fears and apprehensions of nation States, fears against each other. All of us suffer from these fears. There are the old perils of a continuing colonialism, or of racialism, and so long as these continue, they will always have seeds of conflict in them, possibly breaking out into war. Therefore, the United Nations has very rightly laid great stress on the removal of these anachronisms in the present-day world, colonialism, imperialism and racialism. If these were once removed that would not mean the solution of problems all over the world, but it will remove a constant irritant and lead to some human dignity.

I hope that the United Nations would proceed on the lines it has itself indicated and try to find a suitable solution of these problems and in doing that, it requires public opinion. In fact, what it has done has been largely due to the fact that public opinion has been strongly roused in all countries against the continuation of colonialism and racialism. We can all help in that process, and thus gradually bring about a world which is relatively free from these fears and apprehensions.

Of course, it will then be more possible than now to devote the world's resources to remove these terrible things such as hunger, disease and other things which prevent people from advancing in many countries.

We have now the campaign against hunger. We have other campaigns which are very good and should be encouraged. The fact is that these

things go together. If there is poverty, all the rest of the brood of poverty come-hunger, disease, illiteracy and squalid living. We have to go to the roots of this matter and going to the roots of this involves attacking the evil as it is; and it involves large-scale investments in these countries, investment to improve the human beings there, not only the agricultural output and the industrial output, but improve the human beings. Much has been done, but compared to what can be done and should be done, it is relatively little.

If it was accepted that war was not likely to take place, war had been practically put out of bounds, then all the money that is spent in preparations for war could be utilised to better purpose. And we would see the world improving with rapidity and all these basic evils gradually being tackled, just as we tackle, say malaria, put an end to it, or typhoid and illiteracy.

POPULATION PROBLEM

Much has been said about the population problem. It is, indeed, a very difficult problem all over the world and in countries like India specially, possibly even more so in countries like China. Well, I am not personally concerned with what happens in China, I don't control it, but I am greatly concerned with the Indian situation. And I think that it does require a great deal of attention in India and other countries, how to deal with this population problem.

As you, perhaps, know we are as a Government and otherwise, too, we are paying a great deal of attention to it. And yet it seems to me that the basic way of tackling the population problem one can tackle it directly family planning and all that-but the basic way is to improve the standards of living of the people. We come back to that. Some people think-what is the good of your trying to do that if your growing population eat up whatever success you achieve in economic matters. That is only partly true but it is a wrong concept, because the more we advance in the economic sphere in well-being in the manner of our living, the easier it will be for us to tackle the population problem. A country which suffers tremendously from poverty cannot tackle any such things really successfully. It should try to-I do not mean to say I am not much interested in tackling it directly-but I am

quite certain the real first problem before India,

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as with other countries, is to tackle basically this economic problem, the problem of poverty; and as we advance from that front, we shall be able to tackle the population problem with greater ease.

WAR AGAINST POVERTY

I have often said, we talk about war, abolishing war. The only war we want is a war against poverty and disease and its brood. And that is a war which can be fought now.

We have the science and technology and other things. Give us the weapons to fight it. If we could turn our mind, the world's mind to that. Fortunately, the United Nations has helped in doing that, the United Nations and its other organs and institutions which have grown up under its wings, has succeeded to some extent- in turning the world's mind to these beneficent activities which they are pursuing.

TREMENDOUS SERVICE

So, the direction is all good and right, But as we know to our cost all the goodwill and the good thinking is sometimes swept away by passion, by fears, and we are plunged into mutual destruction. How to prevent that? That becomes the basic issue before the United Nations. Let us hope it will, step by step, solve that major problem and thus ensure a future which will be much better than the present for the peoples of the world and which will rid them at least of this menace of war and all the evil that it brings.

So, while we should and may criticise the United Nations and try to improve it, I think it is capable of improvement, as it has grown, it does not exactly represent what it was 18 years ago; still we must recognise that it has done a tremendous service to the world and it is difficult to conceive of the world now without the United Nations.

If the United Nations had not been there, the world of today might well have been quite different. So it is right that we should pay tribute to it, today, and other days too, and try to help

people to realise what it stands for and work for it.

INDIA USA CHINA

Date : Oct 01, 1963

Volume No

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INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shrimati Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit's Statement in the General Debate of the General Assembly

Shrimati Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, Leader of the Indian Delegation to the United Nations, made the following statement in the General Debate of the U.N. General Assembly on October 11, 1963:

Mr. President, permit me to offer you my sincere felicitations on your election to your high office. I, too, have had the honour--for me unique--of guiding the deliberations of this august body and I am aware of the demands that will inevitably be made upon you. May I pledge the co-operation of my delegation in the work ahead ?

It is a decade since I last had the privilege of addressing this Assembly as a representative of India. The world has seen many changes in these ten years. The most dramatic of these have been man's flight into space and his ability' to orbit the globe. This marks the beginning of a new age radically different from any change that has preceded it. In the Assembly itself another and equally significant change has taken place by the emergence of Africa. The participation of the new African nation adds strength and dignity to our Organization. From a small Assembly of sixty nations in 1954 we have now grown to nearly twice that size.

Without the United Nations it might not have been possible for so many countries to achieve freedom in a comparatively short period without serious strife. Because of the United Nations

the process of political transformation has been easier and there is a measure of security for the newly born. We Welcome the evolution towards universality in the United Nations by the addition of the new nations whose distinguished representatives sit here today.

We in India have a special reason to rejoice in the freedom that has come to African countries. As far back as forty years ago when our own independence seemed a distant dream we identified our struggle with all those who, like us, were pawns of colonialism. Successive resolutions of the Indian National Congress of that period will bear this out. It was our deep conviction that Asian freedom would be incomplete if Africa remained unliberated. Colonialism and racialism were not only insults to the dignity of man, but a grave threat to the peace of the world. We tried in whatever ways, were open to us to hasten the process of that liberation and we shall continue to do so as long these evils exist.

India extends a warm welcome to the three-colonial territories in South-East Asia which have emerged into independence. I refer to Singapore. Sabah and Sarawak. After the attainment

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of independence, the three territories have freely chosen to join with Malaya to establish the Federation of Malaysia. In this connexion I should like to congratulate our able and respected Secretary-General, who carried out under rather difficult circumstances the task of the wishes of the people of Sabah and Sarawak. It is our hope that the differences of opinion now existing on this matter will be relaxed and resolved in an amicable fashion by those directly concerned.

A further happy development in this field is the fixing of the date of independence for Kenya. We hope to welcome this great country in our midst very soon. Not much later we expect Zanzibar to join the ranks of the independent nations of Africa.

Another change in the present session is the marked lessening of those tensions which had become part of the political climate of the world. For years now decisions on matters of vital

concern to this Assembly were taken under the shadow of fear cast by the cold war. I cannot help thinking back to the last time I addressed this Assembly. The Korean war was at that time the most important issue before us. Representatives will remember that we had come very close to disaster and tensions in this Assembly and the world had almost reached breaking point. Serious tensions continue in Asia but they no longer threaten to split us. Events in the Caribbean last year which almost brought us to the verge of a nuclear holocaust were also fortunately averted by wise statesmanship.

The most important problem facing humanity is of war and peace. The atomic and outer space revolutions of our time have brought forcefully to the attention of the international community this basic choice between the destruction of humanity and human civilization and international co-operation for peace, progress and justice and the settlement of differences by peaceful negotiations. The development of weapons of mass destruction makes it absolutely necessary that the foremost principle of the United Nations Charter, which is to outlaw war, should be fully implemented and preparations of war and threats of war should be completely banned.

The signing of the recent Treaty-which came into effect yesterday-to ban nuclear tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water gives hope for the future. Paradoxically the hydrogen bomb is helping to usher in a world without nuclear war. Such war is now outmoded. There would be no victor, no vanquished, in such a war. The belligerents themselves-and perhaps all life on this planet-would be destroyed. Nuclear arsenals may still be able to hold the peace, through the balance of terror, but they cannot be used. The struggle between rival ideologies will continue, but this will be through peaceful competition or example; described in Mr. Gromyko's words as "peaceful co-existence", and by President Kennedy as a "contest of peace". India welcomes these developments.

The statements of President Kennedy and Mr. Gromyko have created an atmosphere in which substantial progress can be expected in the next few months. It may then be possible to hold a meeting of the Disarmament Committee at sum-

mit level in Geneva in the first half of 1964, as suggested by the Soviet Union.

In his recent statement Mr. Gromyko has brought the Soviet and Western positions closer to each other. He has said that he is ready to agree that limited contingents of intercontinental, interballistic and anti-aircraft missiles should remain at the disposal of the Soviet Union and the United States in their own territories, not only until the end of the second stage but also until the end of the third stage, that is, until the completion of the whole process of general and complete disarmament.

One of the dangers confronting us is from proliferation of nuclear weapons. The wisdom shown by the nuclear Powers in not sharing such weapons has helped to curb the mounting tensions. That this policy may continue is our earnest hope.

It is unfortunate that at a time when the international community has embarked on a determined policy of reducing the risks of war and of building up confidence among nations, the People's Republic of China still maintains war as an instrument of national policy and has launched a bitter campaign against the efforts being made for relaxation of tensions.

The wanton aggression committed on India by the People's Republic of China in September to November of last year, in fact during the period the regular session of the august Assembly was in conference, was a violent assault on the tenets of civilized international behaviour, on the policy of peaceful co-existence, and on the principles of the Charter. This aggression was not any the less reprehensible because the Government of the People's Republic of China is not represented in the United Nations and has not yet become subject to the obligations and discipline of this world Organization. We in India, in common with many other countries, believe that it is essential that this Government should be brought within the discipline of this august body so that it can no longer continue to persist in the ways of an outlaw.

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Despite all their propagandist pronouncements and the most shamefaced expression of double talk, the fact remains that Chinese forces con-

tinue to be in occupation of over 38,000 kilometres of Indian territory, and even today, while I speak in this Assembly of peace, the Chinese have massed a still greater concentration of troops, weapons and supplies all along the borders of our country. Their preparations of war still continue and so also their violations of our territory and air space.

What grieves us most deeply in this context is the recent tendency of the unprincipled behaviour of making friends of erstwhile enemies and of seeking strange alliances for collusion in aggression. The world has witnessed such opportunist alliances in the past but in the world order of today, after the signing of the Charter of the United Nations, such collusive alliances having aggressive purposes are indicative only of the deep-seated hatred of their participants. It is noteworthy that such collusion extends to the point where one of the parties describes the naked aggression committed by the other as "illusory", as was done in this Assembly only a few days ago.

The excuse given by the People's Republic of China for their inability to come to an agreement with India is that we are under the influence of Powers unfriendly to the Chinese People's Republic. Yet, China finds no difficulty in befriending countries which have actual military alliances with those very Powers. We deplore this tendency as we are fully aware of the tragic episodes of our past history when invitations to outside military Powers have spelt ruin to all the inhabitants of the sub-continent.

From the beginning of our independence we have planned and worked to give economic content to our political freedom, to develop the vast potential of our country so that our people may lead a better life in larger social and economic freedom. The survival of democracy, which we regard as our, sheet anchor, depends on the success of the tasks we have undertaken. Ours is a unique endeavour of democratic planning based on the will of the people. Its special significance lies in the fact that it affects the lives of one-seventh of humanity. Today our whole way of life and our hopes for the future have been threatened.

The average Indian annual military expenditure during the decade preceding the Chinese

attack last year, was less than the annual expenditure of the New York City schools and constituted 2.4 per cent of the gross national product of India which is one of the lowest in the world. It is only since last year that 'India, as a result of the attack and threat from the People's Republic of China, has been forced to augment its military potential.

We in India are wedded to paths of peace and to endeavours for peaceful settlement of differences, undeterred by military or other opportunist pressures. We believe that this is the only course open to all nations. We shall defend our sovereignty and territorial integrity, but at the same time continue to explore avenues of peaceful settlement of all differences.

With Pakistan, with whose people we share a common history, a common language and a common struggle, we are determined to pursue the path of peaceful settlement of all our differences. All that we want to ensure is that, brothers that we are, we live in peace with one another and that the upheaval and unsettlement that we witnessed at our birth should never again recur and that the peoples of the two countries should devote their resources and their talents to economic and social progress. There can be no greater calamity for us than conflict with Pakistan.

China and India are the two largest countries of Asia and share between them a population of more than one billion-which is more than one-third of the total world population. If there is conflict between them there can be no peace in Asia. Should such a conflict erupt again the consequences would be global. On both India and China, therefore, devolves a great responsibility.

We ourselves, as well as friends of the two countries, have advanced proposals which would help in a peaceful settlement of our differences with China. As early as December 1962, six Afro-Asian countries met in Colombo and presented certain proposals which, if accepted and implemented, would create the necessary atmosphere for peaceful settlement of our differences. These proposals were not fully satisfactory to us and yet we accepted them in their entirety. The Chinese Government, on the other hand,

refused to accept them. It is a matter of great satisfaction to us that the representatives of Cambodia, Ghana and Mongolia have drawn attention to these Colombo proposals. We continue to hope that this is not the final word of the People's Republic of China and that they will still accept them. In a communication to the Chinese Government on 3 April of this year, we indicated the concrete steps that should be taken for a resolution of our differences, beginning with the acceptance of the Colombo proposals. The Prime Minister of India repeated this position in a letter to the Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic on

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1 May. We reminded them again on 6 September. And yet, even after a lapse of six months, there is no answer. China, in its military arrogance, refuses to consider reasonable proposals of peaceful settlement. It appears from the actions and pronouncements of the Chinese leaders that this militant posture and their thesis of inevitability of war is directed not only against India but also against the whole world.

In the month of May of this year, a historic conference took place in Addis Ababa which was, in a way, a culmination of the struggle of the African people. The Charter of African Unity, adopted by thirty-two African States in Addis Ababa, is a significant document and the Conference itself ranks amongst the major gatherings of the post-war era. This conference was a reminder, A one were needed, that Africa cannot continue three-fourths free and one-fourth slave. So long as the territories of Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea, Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa are not independent there can be no lasting peace in Africa. India is gravely concerned that colonialism in some of its worst manifestations should still hold sway in these areas. The fact that the efforts in this Assembly all these years have not changed the situation is frustrating and gives rise to emotions, emotions which are still not fully appreciated by certain nations. We realize that emotions are not the best guide by which to steer one's course in an international forum, but they happen to be a reality today and can only be ignored at peril to the principles and purposes to which the United Nations Charter is dedicated. It should be the constant endeav-

our of all of us here to see that the United Nations plays a vital and effective role in bringing about this change.

Another threatening situation exists in South Africa. May I remind the representatives that in 1946, as Chairman of the Indian delegation, the first resolution in this Assembly condemning racial discrimination in South Africa was moved by me. On that occasion my opponent was no less a person than the late Field Marshal Smuts, whose name is closely associated with the Charter of the United Nations. The General Assembly pronounced its verdict by a two-thirds majority in a most dramatic manner at midnight. Since then we have passed resolutions year after year deploring the action of South Africa in respect of discrimination. But conditions have progressively worsened and the South African Government's attitude on the question of apartheid has grown more rigid.

While deterioration has been taking place in South Africa, this Assembly has viewed the situation with growing alarm which has been expressed through its resolutions. There has been no response from the Government of South Africa. I venture to suggest that if in 1946 and the years immediately following, some Member nations had not abstained from voting on the resolutions and thus supported, however indirectly, the policies of the Government of South Africa, we might have been able to prevent the extension of those policies. If, for instance, the kind of historic vote which was some years ago, I believe that we would have been a good deal further along the road to a world a good deal further along the road to a world without discrimination. Let us not forget that it was racial policies that led to the holocaust of twenty years ago in which millions of lives were lost in order to maintain and uphold the right of all human beings to live with dignity and in freedom. The continent of Africa is aflame with the fires of freedom. We cannot and will not let our brothers in South Africa languish and perish in conditions which our Organization has pledged to outlaw.

At its seventeenth session, the General Assembly adopted resolution 1761. India had the honour of co-sponsoring that resolution. The basic provisions of the resolution have been

carried out by us from 1946 and India was, I believe, the first country to take diplomatic and economic action against South Africa for its deplorable policies of apartheid which we have consistently and vigorously condemned. Resolution 1761 has had encouraging response from Member States, but the number of defaulters is still too large and it is a matter of regret and concern that even some of its co-sponsors have not implemented its provisions. Words and indignation can be no substitute for practical measures in this regard.

It may well be asked whether the acceptance of the principle of pacific settlement of disputes would necessarily delay the process of decolonization. I do not think that anybody suggests that in eschewing war we are acquiescing in the perpetuation of the status quo in an area where colonialism and racialism must end, and there can be no question of the colonial Powers or racists utilizing peaceful coexistence- to reverse the processes of history. One of the objectives of the Charter of the United Nations-is to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed forces shall not be utilized save in the common interest. This is where the United Nations must play its role and if methods cannot be found for peaceful evolution from colonialism to freedom, then-violence cannot be averted.

The role which the United Nations played in the Congo is a step forward on the road to peace.

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The military operations which were necessitated by the violence accompanying attempts to dismember a Member State have ended successfully. The co-operation which was maintained between the various countries providing military help has been gratifying.

Despite the urgency of our defence needs and requirements caused by the invasion of Indian territory by Chinese armed forces, the Indian contingent in the Congo which had been placed at the disposal of the United Nations was not withdrawn before the completion of its mission. At one time we had nearly 6,000 Indian soldiers in the Congo helping to maintain the peace on behalf of the United Nations.

Peace-keeping operations are closely linked, as the Prime Minister of Canada reminded us, with problems of political control, executive direction, financial means and administrative co-ordination. India has been aware of this and we have willingly performed our duties on behalf of the United Nations whenever we have been called upon to do so. We can assure our African brothers that we shall continue to make our humble contribution to these efforts. Not only our sympathy but also our fraternal interest is bound up with their efforts.

It is heartening to note that, though conflict exists, goodwill and co-operation also exist on many planes, and such individual and collective co-operation is enabling us to move forward towards peace and stability. Areas of co-operation today are larger than those of conflict. It is the news behind the headlines that is making history today.

Two years ago, speaking on this theme, the Prime Minister of India said :

"The essential thing about this world is co-operation, and even today, between countries which are opposed to each other in the political or other fields, there is a vast amount of co-operation. Little is known or said about this co-operation, but a great deal is said about every point of conflict, and so the world is full of the idea that conflicts go on and we live on the verge of disaster. It would be a truer picture if the co-operating elements in the world today were put forward and we were made to think that the world depends on co-operation and not on conflict."

The Prime Minister had then proposed that the Assembly might consider devoting a year to emphasizing this aspect of co-operation. Happily the Assembly endorsed the proposal, and a preparatory committee worked on this during this year. Its positive recommendation that 1965, the twentieth anniversary of this great Organization, be designated "International Co-operation Year" will soon be before the Assembly for its consideration. We have been heartened by the favourable response that this proposal has received.

In organizing aid for assisting the developing countries this Organization serves its most not-

able purpose. In this context no tribute would be adequate for the successful activities of the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and the Special Fund. Under the direction of some of the ablest international civil servants, these two activities over the years have furnished to the developing countries a measure of assistance which has been of great benefit to the economic and industrial development of these countries. Mention may be made here of the activities of the Special Fund. India, though itself beset by national problems of great magnitude, is proud of its record in this field. During the period 1959-1963 India's voluntary contributions to the Special Fund amount to the equivalent of \$8,205,000. This is 36 per cent of the total contribution of all developing countries and is the highest among such countries.

While India is grateful for the assistance received from the Special Fund, which amounts to no more than 244 per cent of India's own contributions, the relative figures in respect of other developing countries are in all cases much higher. Even on a per capita basis, the assistance received by India from the Special Fund is 4.54 cents, only one other developing country having received a smaller amount, while countries with ten times the per capita income of India have received more than 100 times as much per capita aid as India.

While India does not grudge aid to other countries, the pursuit of the principle of the sovereign equality of States—a fine principle where votes are concerned—inevitably creates an imbalance in the matter of aid where the number of human beings involved is an essential factor to be taken into consideration. The same factor plays an important role in determining the scale of contributions of Member States for providing for the expenses of the Organization. In order to reaffirm its faith in this, the most noble purpose of the Organization, the Government of India has, as in previous years, decided to continue to maintain its voluntary contribution to the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and to the Special Fund at the highest possible level.

The welcome improvements in the international situation should enable us to turn our energies to the problems of development. Such a focussing of energies is urgently called for because, so far,

the Decade of Development has moved shakily. It is necessary to intensify our efforts if the

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modest targets of growth in the developing world are not to be misused.

The whole objective of the economic and industrial development plans of my country is to lead it to the point where a self-sustaining economy may be created. Though we are today far from that goal, signs of a breakthrough are now visible on the horizon. For example, in the absence of foreign aid for the Bokaro Steel Plant, which we considered to be an essential ingredient of our industrial development, it has been decided that Indian engineers themselves will now be entrusted with the task of designing and building this plant, scheduled, at its full development, to produce over 4 million tons of finished steel per year. India is also one of the few countries in the world to establish, as part of the national electrification scheme, nuclear power plants, three of which will soon be in operation. These plants received a large measure of foreign help, as we did not then have the technical know-how. However, my Government has just taken a decision that the fourth nuclear power plant will be designed and constructed entirely from Indian resources of men and material. A nascent aircraft industry has taken root in India, which now takes its place among the very few countries that are able to manufacture civil and military aircraft. Some training aircraft manufactured in India have already been sold abroad. Finding itself on the threshold of industrialization, India is willing and able to furnish, within its limitations, technical assistance and know-how in fields in which it has experience to sister countries which may wish to avail themselves of such aid through the United Nations or on a bilateral basis, and India has already done so in some instances.

There has been a slight improvement in the prices paid for primary commodities in world trade, and this upward movement, after years of decline and stagnation, is welcome indeed. The disturbing fact, however, remains that the share of the developing countries in the expanding world trade continues to shrink. The growth rate of the economies of the developing countries leaves much to be desired. While there is a better understanding of the needs and significance

of foreign aid, but as loans and as grants, the fact remains that the resources so deployed are far short of the expanding needs and capacities of the developing countries. The United Nations has set up a number of agencies and institutions that have been doing valuable work.

On the drawing-board of the world Organization there are a number of blueprints, in varying degrees of finality, about other agencies and institutions planned to assist the processes of development. These varied organizations, with the array of world's talents in them, can help to produce effective results if adequate resources are made available to them. The task of mobilizing the needed resources, in terms of aid and trade, will no doubt, engage the attention of the forthcoming United Nations Conference on Trade and Development which has rightly aroused deep interest and great expectations among the Member Nations.

There is today a better understanding, both in the investing countries as well as in the developing countries, of the role and worth of private investments. It would be unfortunate, for the measured growth of the world's wealth, if occasional aberrations on either side, are allowed to mar the emerging understanding in this vital sector of development.

Ours a strange world full of paradox. On the one side we have to our credit spectacular achievements and limitless opportunity and each year brings exciting new possibilities within our grasp. The other side of the picture is an ugly one of want, hunger and disease-very real enemies which threaten to make a mockery of man's achievements. The war against these enemies is a long and continuing one for they are deeply entrenched. Is it too much to hope that as the blizzard of the cold war subsides, as the snow melts and nature unveils the buds and blossoms of constructive co-operation, this family of Nations. will devote even greater thought and energy to lifting the curse of poverty and want from the many millions of our fellow beings, and thus usher in an era of hope and happiness for men and women throughout the world.

INDIA USA MALAYSIA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC KENYA PERU KOREA SWITZERLAND
CHINA TUNISIA PAKISTAN SRI LANKA CAMBODIA GHANA MONGOLIA ETHIOPIA ANGOLA

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INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shrimati Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit's Statement in the Political Committee on China's Refusal to Sign the Test Ban Treaty

Shrimati Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, Leader of the Indian Delegation to the United Nations, made the following statement in the main Political Committee on October 15, 1963, on China's refusal to sign the Test Ban Treaty :

Mr. Chairman,

As this Committee is aware, India has attached the greatest importance to the banning of nuclear tests in all environments. In a statement made

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in our Parliament on the 2nd April, 1954, the Prime Minister of India urged the conclusion of a standstill agreement on such tests which, as the Committee knows, was formally transmitted to the United Nations. Thereafter, year after year, the Indian delegation brought this question before the United Nations and sought an end to testing. Ever since the 14th session of the General Assembly, India has inscribed an item "Urgent Need for Suspension of Nuclear and Thermonuclear Tests" as a separate item on the agenda. This initiative that we so tenaciously took was a reflection of our grave concern at the perilous speed with which the world seemed to be moving towards a nuclear catastrophe. We are also convinced that in the absence of a test ban treaty, no real progress could be envisaged in other fields of disarmament and that the cessation of tests should, therefore, receive the highest priority.

The purpose for which India brought this item to the 18th Session is more than three-fourth

accomplished, The treaty bans nuclear tests in the atmosphere, outer space and under water. We congratulate the United Kingdom, the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. for their statesmanship and spirit of mutual accommodation at this achievement. As our Prime Minister has remarked the signing of this treaty represents the first break in the ice of the cold war.

Though the treaty was negotiated by the major nuclear powers, the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament made a valuable contribution to the preparatory work on the Treaty. The first suggestion for a test ban in the atmosphere, outer space and under water was made in this Committee. Among the other proposals for the test ban were the Indian suggestion to appoint a sub-committee consisting of nuclear powers to discuss the treaty; the memorandum of April 1962 drawn up by the non-aligned powers, the U.A.R. and the Brazilian proposals of June 1962; the concessions by the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. made subsequently, and the African initiative of this year. It is one of the great values of the 18-Nation Committee that preparatory work can be completed there, so that whenever the political climate is favourable, an agreement can be finalised at short notice.

The Treaty is important for several reasons

(i) by prohibiting tests which cause radioactive fallout, it will help to prevent the further contamination of the atmosphere and will thus reduce the radiation hazards to the health and well-being of both the present and future generations.

(ii) it will go a long way towards limiting the proliferation of nuclear weapons. The development of nuclear weapons through underground testing is a costly and complicated procedure beyond the reach of most countries. Under the Treaty, the nuclear powers are also committed not to assist other nations to test in the forbidden environments.

(iii) it will help to curtail the arms race by precluding the development of certain types of nuclear weapons as, for example, weapons of high yield, particularly those in the 100 megaton range which cannot, in the present state of technology, be tested underground.

(iv) it reduces world tension by improving rela-

tions between the Soviets and the Western Powers. It is, in this respect, surely the most important agreement between the two sides since the signing of the Austrian Peace Treaty in 1955. Already since the signing of the treaty, there is a welcome change in the international atmosphere.

(v) it paves the way for further agreements leading, one hopes, to an eventual agreement on general and complete disarmament. We have already seen from the Foreign Ministers meetings at the beginning of this Session that the search for agreements on some of the collateral measures are already under way.

A very large portion of the world breathes more easily because this Treaty-limited though it be-has been signed. Over a hundred governments have acceded to it and we are happy to say that India was amongst the first to welcome and sign it. Some dissident views have, however, been raised in the international community against the Treaty. It is a matter of considerable concern to us that this should be so. We regret that France should have felt unable to sign the Treaty.

The French attitude was made clear by President de Gaulle on the 29th of July. He declared that while the Moscow Agreement might be considered a good thing as a starting point, it did not prevent the three nuclear powers from manufacturing their own weapons.

The People's Republic of China has, however, gone much further. It has launched a bitter campaign against the Treaty. In a statement of 31st July this year, the Chinese Government have called the Treaty-and I quote "a big fraud to fool the peoples of the world." They have declared it to be "harmful to the interests of the peoples of the world and the cause of peace." They have attacked Soviet leaders and called them "betrayers". This kind of perverse thinking-can only be understood when seen against the peculiar philosophy which views the destruction of hundreds of millions of human beings in a nuclear holocaust with equanimity.

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As a counter proposal to the Treaty, the Chinese People's Government have proposed a meeting of the Heads of States to consider the

immediate destruction of all nuclear weapons and their means of delivery. If nuclear weapons were to be destroyed without a simultaneous reduction in conventional forces, it will leave China as the mightiest military power on earth. In our reply to the Chinese proposal suggesting a conference of Heads of States for this purpose we drew their attention to this fact.

I might be permitted to remind the Committee of Mr. Gromyko's recent statement wherein he has brought the Soviet and Western positions closer to each other. He has said that he is ready to agree that limited contingents of inter-continental, inter-ballistic, and anti-aircraft missiles should remain at the disposal of the Soviet Union and the United States in their own territories not only until the end of the second stage but also until the end of the third stage, that is, until the completion of the whole process of general and complete disarmament.

Mr. Chairman, we feel very strongly that this august body should exercise all the moral pressure of which it is capable. of on the dissident countries to sign the treaty. Article III(1) of the Treaty expressly provides that this Treaty will be open to all States for signature. Each member State in this Organization, which is a signatory to the Treaty, has obligation to use its good offices and diplomatic pressure on its friends and allies among the dissident countries, to persuade them to sign the Treaty. You will recall that Article IV of the Treaty provides that "Each party shall in exercising its national sovereignty have the right to withdraw from the Treaty if it decides that extraordinary events, related to the subject matter of this Treaty, have jeopardised the supreme interests of its country." Unless, therefore, the dissident powers are brought into line to sign the Treaty and we are concerned here with France as well as with China, there is a real danger of the Treaty being abrogated.

I had said in the beginning that our purpose was only three-fourth fulfilled. Underground tests still remain to be banned. It is the belief of my delegation that we must not relax our efforts for a comprehensive test ban treaty. Our purpose is not to drive the nuclear arms rare underground but to end it. Indeed if we do not take this step forward we shall be in danger of slipping backwards. As long as underground

tests are being conducted, an aggravation of the international situation could result in the resumption of tests in other spheres also-nullifying all our efforts.

There are other reasons also why prohibition should be extended to underground testing. Although the prohibition of testing in the atmosphere, under water and in outer space will reduce the quantum of hazardous nuclear fallout, it will not completely eliminate it. As my delegation pointed out last year in this committee, there is considerable scientific evidence to support the view that unsuccessful containment of underground nuclear explosions can result in the hazard of radioactive debris escaping into the atmosphere through venting and seepage. There have been recent reports of ventings of underground blasts adding undetected amounts of radioactive iodine to milk, which has been harmful to children.

As the distinguished delegates are aware Article I(B) of the Moscow Treaty prohibits explosions in any environment if such explosion causes radioactive debris to be present outside the territorial limits of the State under whose jurisdiction or control such explosion is conducted. The venting of radioactive debris from underground explosions when carried by air currents into other countries could lead to serious complications and might even result in the abrogation of the treaty. The report appearing in the Wall Street Journal of 23rd September says, and I quote-

"Theoretically, radioactive debris thrown up by a subsurface explosion could drift into Canada, thus violating the Treaty's ban on any tests that release radioactive material outside the nation conducting the test."

My delegation appeals to the nuclear powers to enter into negotiations and come to a speedy agreement on this further essential step. A number of valuable suggestions have been made by the non-aligned States in the Eighteen Nation Disarmament Committee at Geneva to bridge the disagreements between the Soviet Union and the West on the question of underground testing and I would particularly wish to refer to the proposal made by the Government of Brazil. We are hopeful that these suggestions, as well as others that might be put forward will spur the nuclear

powers to reach a speedy agreement on this question.

To sum up, Mr. Chairman, we wholeheartedly endorse the Treaty and earnestly hope that every country will accede to it. We have no doubt that this Assembly, the 18-Nation Committee and the nuclear powers, will redouble their efforts to extend the ban to underground testing. And finally, we hope the way will be opened for progress in other fields of disarmament.

My delegation, along with the other non-aligned members of the Disarmament Committee would be tabling a draft resolution which is expected to be circulated very soon. It is our hope that this will receive the widest cosponsorship and would be unanimously adopted,

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Shri B. N. Chakravarty's Statement in the General Assembly in reply to Pakistan's Allegations

Shri B. N. Chakravarty, India's Permanent Representative to the United Nations, made the following statement in the General Assembly on October 11, 1963, while replying to the allegations made against India by the Foreign Minister of Pakistan with regard to Kashmir
Mr. President,

On 30th September, after the Foreign Minister of Pakistan had spoken for the second time, we had reserved our right of reply. We had, however, refrained from exercising this right in the hope that we would thereby put an end to this futile debate. Now that the Foreign Minister

has chosen to make another attack, we are constrained to make a reply, much as we dislike it.

We had not even mentioned Kashmir in our statement in the general debate. I had thought that the right of reply arises out of some statements made or when you have reserved your right to reply on a previous statement. As far as I know the Foreign Minister did not reserve any further right of reply to the statement made by the leader of my delegation on 30 September. He chose to reply for a lengthy twenty-five minute period and after that, today, he has enlivened this debate at the back-end of the day by another similar speech. I do not know whether he was quite in order to raise this question again by way of a right of reply.

However, I start with his first point when he says that it is indeed an "illusory" attack, and I was more than amazed when he had the courage to question the legality of the McMahon line.

Everyone knows that Pakistan seceded when British India got its independence. Both of us are, I presume—at least we certainly are—bound by the treaty entered into by the British Government as their successor Government. If Pakistan thinks that Pakistan is not a successor Government of that type, it does not inherit any of the treaties entered into by the British Government, then Pakistan should say so. Unfortunately, however, that is not its attitude towards the Durand line which was the border in the British days of British India in the west. I would be interested, and others would be interested, if it were to say that the Durand line is no more a boundary than the McMahon line.

The Foreign Minister said on the last occasion, unless I misunderstood—I reserved my right of reply then—"that is why India wants Pakistan to vacate its illusory aggression, that is why India wants the People's Republic of China to vacate its illusory aggression". The whole world, both East and West, with a few exceptions like Pakistan, recognizes that the People's Republic of China committed a premeditated aggression against India. The Foreign Minister must either be singularly ignorant of facts or his concept of aggression is quite different from that of others. It is only natural that India must continue to press for the vacation of aggression. It

is a strange coincidence that on the very day, 30 September 1963, when the Foreign Minister spoke, this is what appeared in the Washington Post :

"The aggressive Indians opened fire on China last year, and the whole border dispute could be simply solved if the Indians 'were willing to sit down for round table talks'. The voice of Peking ? Not at all; these are the words of Pakistan's speaker of the Parliament, Mohammed Afzal Cheema, tossed off at an airport interview in Beirut-and alas, they represent official policy, according to the Pakistan Embassy here.

"No doubt, using this Alice-in-Wonderland logic, the Chinese troops that occupied vast stretches of land claimed by India, were only pacific tourists seeking rare specimens of botany."

The only reference that I need make to Kashmir is that the Foreign Minister has quoted from the speeches of my Prime Minister and the representatives of India at the Security Council to show that India had agreed to a plebiscite after conditions necessary for such a plebiscite had been created, a normal life had been restored.

But this is precisely what the leader of my delegation stated on that occasion as well: that we had agreed to the plebiscite arrangements under certain specific conditions. It is because Pakistan did not fulfil those conditions that the plebiscite could not take place and is no longer possible, as the situation has changed.

The doctrine of *rebus sic stantibus* applies to permanent treaties. If the Foreign Minister of Pakistan suggests that the Security Council resolutions which India accepted are treaties, I cannot, I regret to say, agree with him. They are commitments which we had entered into under certain specified conditions, and we had made it quite clear at the very time that we would not be bound by them if these conditions were not fulfilled. All this is quite different from entering into a treaty.

The Foreign Minister of Pakistan has said that Pakistan does not want Kashmir : it wants

only self-determination for Kashmir. I need only quote his own President, who said in December 1959: "Kashmir is vital for Pakistan, not only politically but militarily as well. Kashmir is a matter of life and death to us". Whom are we to believe: the President of Pakistan or the Foreign Minister?

The Foreign Minister of Pakistan has now referred to Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah as a great leader of Kashmir. He seems to have forgotten that it was this very leader of Kashmir, leader of the largest political party in Kashmir, who, along with the Ruler of Kashmir, had endorsed the accession of Kashmir to India. He continued to be the leader of the ruling party and Prime Minister of Kashmir for six years thereafter. But during that entire period the Government of Pakistan, including its successive Prime Ministers, always referred to him as a Quisling. It is therefore refreshing to know that Pakistan now recognizes that he was a great leader of Kashmir.

But when Sheikh Abdullah made some false moves, the ruling party threw him out, and when it appeared that he had committed some offences against the laws of the land, he had to be prosecuted.

I do not wish to name erstwhile leaders and renowned patriots in other countries who changed their roles and suffered execution or exile, but may I remind the Foreign Minister of Pakistan that a former President of his own country was exiled in 1958 and that several Prime Ministers and Ministers of Pakistan were put under restraint. Sheikh Abdullah is receiving a fair and open trial and enjoys the right, like any other defendant, to employ whatever counsel he wishes from any part of the world. A well-known British counsel has already defended him. The matter is, however, sub judice and I cannot say more at this stage.

Whether political leaders or other citizens of Pakistan receive a fair trial should be no concern of ours. Since, however, the Foreign Minister has raised this question, we cannot help but express the greatest regret that the greatly revered patriot and leader, Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, who, as a noble fighter in the struggle for the

independence of India, was a source of inspiration to us all, has been rotting in a Pakistani prison without trial, if you please, almost ever since the creation of Pakistan.

I now come to the question of infiltration. It is regrettable that the Foreign Minister, instead of giving an explanation of the Indian and Pakistani census figures which had been quoted on the last occasion and which conclusively disprove the allegation of eviction of Indian Muslims, has gone further now and is complaining of genocide. Between 1951 and 1961 the Muslim community in India increased by 25.6 per cent, against an overall increase of population in India of 21.5 per cent. Is that his concept of genocide? I leave it to representatives in this Assembly to decide for themselves.

The Foreign Minister expressed a desire for a commission of inquiry. Inquiry into what? Has he even made out a prima facie case of eviction of Indian Muslims? He has not chosen even to meet the arguments that we gave. He has also chosen not to give any explanations of why the Hindu population of East Pakistan has remained virtually stationary over the decade. The natural increase in population during that period should have been about two and one-quarter million. If the Foreign Minister does not accept our explanation that these two and one-quarter million Hindus have been squeezed out from East Pakistan, will he be good enough to offer some other rational explanation? Is it possible that Pakistan has discovered a most efficacious system of family planning which the world is looking for? If so, why practise it on Hindus alone?

The Pakistan Foreign Minister has sought to give the impression that India is refusing a discussion of this problem of infiltration. The facts are quite the opposite and are known personally to the Foreign Minister. India was anxious to discuss with Pakistan the problem of infiltration, with a view to seeing whether a solution could be found to India's natural objection to admitting illegal immigrants from Pakistan, as well as Pakistan's valid desire to avoid administrative complications arising from the return of such Pakistani nationals. At the very beginning of the Indo-Pakistan talks on Kashmir and other related matters in Rawalpindi on 29 December 1962, the leader of the Indian delegation referred to this

problem. The Pakistan delegation, of which the Foreign Minister was the leader, doggedly refused to consider any issue other than Kashmir until March 1963. when Pakistan proposed a separate ministerial meeting to deal with infiltration. India readily agreed, but found Pakistan claiming the unusual right to decide the composition of the Indian delegation to these talks. The Government of India then suggested discussion at an official level, to which Pakistan agreed during the Calcutta round of talks; but when the talks were resumed in Karachi, the Pakistan delegation showed no desire to take up such issues until the Kashmir issue was first settled. India has again proposed to Pakistan negotiations on this matter through normal channels. It is for Pakistan to respond to this proposal.

In this connexion, I may be permitted to quote from an article written in the London Economist

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of 5 October 1963 by a correspondent who claims to have been lately in Pakistan :

"The sub-continental strategy of irritating India has received its latest expression on the Assam-East Pakistan frontier, India has long complained of 'infiltrators' from East Pakistan, numbering, some say, up to half a million since 1951. The exodus is probably more an index of East Pakistani misery than a cold, political calculation from Rawalpindi. When the sad emigres are returned over the frontier, Pakistan protests that India is attempting to depopulate Assam of its Muslims."

Is there a better statement than that to support what I have been saying here ?

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INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri Asoka Mehta's Statement in the Special Political Committee on Apartheid

Shri Asoka Mehta, Member of the Indian Delegation to the United Nations, made the following statement in the Special Political Committee of the United Nations on October 21, 1963 regarding the policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa:

Mr. Chairman,

As this is the first time I am taking the floor in this Committee, may I extend to you and your colleagues on the Bureau our warmest congratulation on your election to the high office of the Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Rapporteur of this Committee. We assure you of our wholehearted co-operation.

At the outset my delegation would like to place on record its deep appreciation of the report of the Special Committee on the policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa contained in document A/5497. This Committee had the good fortune to have Ambassador Diallo Telli of Guinea as its Chairman. Under his dynamic leadership, the Committee has produced an extremely valuable and comprehensive report which has helped us a great deal in understanding the realities of situation in South Africa as they are today. My delegation is in broad agreement with the recommendations that the Special Committee has made and we hope that member-States will make every effort to take steps to carry out these recommendations as also the provisions of resolution 1761 of which my delegation had the honour to be a co-sponsor. The general response to this resolution has been encouraging, although the list of defaulters is still large. What is of particular regret to my delegation is that even co-sponsors of the resolution have not yet fully implemented provisions of that resolution,

The challenging question of racial discrimination, racial segregation, racial domination has been before the United Nations for many years. It is in fact one of the four main problems that the World Organization has been grappling with since its inception. In the realm of world peace

and disarmament hopeful beginnings have been made, and we are entitled to expect progressive relaxation of tensions and arms build-ups. In the matter of decolonisation, the world, under the United Nations' leadership, has made marked progress and the changed composition of the United Nations today testifies to the rich and rewarding achievements here. In the sphere of economic rehabilitation of eroded areas of the world, that we know as under-developed, the right policies are being shaped, though the efforts behind them may not have gained the needed strength and momentum yet. It is only in the case of apartheid in South Africa that the situation has steadily deteriorated and the confrontation between the conscience and civilised convictions of men, enshrined in the United Nations, and the unfolding realities in South Africa has become catastrophic.

The General Assembly of the United Nations has been adopting resolutions on the question of racialism in South Africa year after year. Since December 1946, in the General Assembly, as well as in the Security Council, 28 resolutions have been adopted. Every resolution has been stronger than the one before, and everyone of them has been receiving increasing support from the growing membership of the United Nations. We have reached a stage where the Government of South Africa stands alone, wholly isolated, with none in this World Organisation to extend it even a gesture of support. We grow in strength, the empire of the racists fades away ! Unfortunately, though isolated, the Government of South Africa, on its side, grows in its defiance, in its determination to pursue the ends that the world abhors today.

In South Africa, the White opinion has been egged on towards increasing extremism. Voice of reason or moderation always loses there, strident voices of conflict and "control" gain strength, and ever more menacing, supremacy in that

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country. Men like General Smuts lost to Herzog, who in turn has been succeeded by more ruthless racists. Every effort at evolutionary change has been baulked, impulse of moderation has been smothered by intransigence. The glimmerings of liberalism of the Cape region never could move forward, on the contrary, the intolerance of the

other regions has sought to shape the Cape in its own image. Apartheid is like the Red Queen of Alice in the Wonderland : It keeps running faster and faster to be at the same spot, and in that dance of death, the victims are the millions of non-Whites.

My country, India, has a long experience of the mood and the mind of the South African racists. Our timid efforts to obtain normal rights for the people of Indian origin began in 1885, the same year in which that great Organization, the Indian National Congress, began its eventful career; the Congress reached its journey's end by 1947, with the recovery of our national freedom, but in South Africa today, racial justice seems far more elusive and oppression far greater than they were in 1885. The "wind of change" blows in South Africa too, but in the reverse direction consistently.

The central problem in South Africa has been stated with no ambiguity whatsoever; Prime Minister Strajidom said, in April 1955, "The only way the Europeans can maintain their supremacy is by-domination". The same inflexible idea has been restated by his dedicated successor, Dr. Verwoerd, in January 1963, in the following scalding words: "Keeping it (South Africa) White can only mean one thing, namely, White domination, not 'leadership'; not 'guidance' but 'control', 'supremacy'." It is clear that the earlier theory of guidance. has now developed into domination, masterdom, or "Baasskap".

The coloured races would resent the perspective of "guidance" or "leadership", none can ever acquiesce in a policy of "domination", nakedly enunciated and brutally implemented.

How do we counter this challenge to our objectives, our manhood, to security of Africa, to world peace and racial harmony?

India's experience is of some significance, For years we have tried the ways of persuasion; we evolved techniques of non-violent resistance, of negotiations, of willingness to accept a slice of bread in the hope of sharing the loaf in the future. We have tried pressure of internal non-co-operation and external disapprobation. As A communication of my Government to the Secretary-General of the United Nations pointed out'

"We have attempted patiently and persistently to persuade the Government of South Africa to abandon its racial policies. We inscribed relevant items on the agenda of the General Assembly of the United Nations and sponsored and co-sponsored numerous resolutions from the very first session of the Assembly in 1946." India's patience and persistence have been in vain. Where a common idiom of communication is absent, where styles of life are opposite, of what use are pourparlers ? India has been the first country to take economic and diplomatic sanctions against the Government of South Africa but they too have yielded no better results.

How futile the normal methods of persuasion, moral suasion, and organised pressure are, has been fully demonstrated. The evolutionary process of transformation has no hope against determined ossification, against wilful and stubborn intransigence. We have gone beyond the cul-de-sac, if it is possible to go beyond it !

The South African Whites, particularly the dominant Afrikaners amongst them, have a sense of their distinctive destiny for many generations. Against every attempt at taming them, they have resisted and recoiled, They would like proudly to celebrate next year the 130th anniversary of "the great trek", when the British sought to bring some astringent touch of reality to the absurd ambitions of the Afrikaners. Today, the descendants of the men, who organised "the great trek" in 1834, are engaged in a similar "trek" from contemporary life, for a journey into the nightmare of their racist adventure. Let us realise that in South Africa, we are dealing with a group of leaders who are intoxicated with their racist ideas, whose demonic strength lies in their single-minded adherence to their terrible, soul-searing ideals.

It is singularly unfortunate that the British institutions, ways of life, modes and methods of moderation, not only failed to make any impact on Afrikaners, but the British elements there have been themselves contaminated and have succumbed to the un-British and un-Christian ways. It was Lord Milner who had pointed, as early as 1897, to the crux of South African position. In a confidential letter to Mr. Asquith, he had said, "You have therefore this singular position, that you might unite Dutch and English

by protecting the Black man, but you would unite. them against yourself and your policy of protection. There is the whole CRUX of the South African position."

It is one of the great tragedies of history that the British did not assert their power to protect the coloured races. By a strange and ironic twist of fate, the British, in their years of supremacy, in sooth, imparted strength to the Afrikaners obduracy, Sir Henry Cotton, an English-

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man, President of the Indian National Congress was constrained to observe from that great rostrum. of my people, "The British rulers of the Transvaal have applied themselves with vigour and precision to the task of enforcing Boer law. In dealing with the Indian colonists their little lingers have been thicker than Mr. Kruger's loins, and where he had whips, they have chastised with scorpions".

No wonder that, ere long, the spirit of moderation and liberalism, so characteristic of the British elsewhere, came to be scoffed at in South Africa and the halting exponents of such ideas dismissed as "valets of Britain" ! The seeds of racial separation, that is of segregation, were nourished in the last century, even by those who had freed the slaves, and had visions of equality elsewhere. The codes of Christ and the laws of humanity seem to stop at the frontiers of South Africa !

The intransigence has been feeding upon itself. As the facts of life, economic realities if not anything else, have made nonsense of the absurd racist theories, the more fanatically have the protagonists clung to their hallucinations. A state of collective neurosis prevails today among the racists of South Africa.

As African awakening has deepened, as both the claim and the capacity of the Africans for equality have asserted themselves, the racist reaction has been more and more extreme, panicky, too ridiculous if it had not such tragic implications for the lives and honour of millions of men.

It is not necessary to describe in details the pathetic proliferation of racist pride and prejudice in South Africa. The many loathsome expres-

sions of apartheid are too well-known to need any documentation here. There is some kind of an Orwellian flavour about the ways of the South African racists. In that benighted land today, the Government orders have banished the very word African itself. There are Europeans, Indians, Bantus, Coloureds, but no Africans ! Verily, it is the Africans, irrespective, nay, unaware, of colour differences who are struggling to come into their own in that unhappy country, who evoke our admiration by their heroism, and enlist our allegiance for their incandescent objectives. In South Africa, the definition of the word "employees", in the statutes, excludes all non-Whites. As with Orwell, a fact is made an "un-fact"-a non-White' can be employed, and is in fact employed, because the economic prosperity of South Africa is based upon the labours of the non-Whites, but he cannot be counted as an "employee"! Nay, more. It is only in that strange country that a native who does skilled building work, in a White area, is liable to a fine of œ100 and one year's imprisonment, to boot !

South Africa has become a land of stringent laws and proliferating crimes. The total number of convictions under pass laws and influx regulations for the year 1951-61, numbered, 3,886,568 or a little less than one per every three persons in the population ! Even the laws of racial purity, whatever be one's attitude towards them, have many transgressors; when the Special Boards examined every case, it was discovered that there were over 100,000 border-line cases by 1957 alone. Human nature, protean and Promethean as ever, has consistently defied the procrustean bed made for it by the Jeremiahs of racism in South Africa. It is a strange, haunted land, inhabited by frightened rulers and frustrated subjects. The stench of human unhappiness rising from there threatens to smother the whole world !

While it is unnecessary even to trace the contours of apartheid, much less to fill in the monstrous details, it is necessary to say a word about the fraud sought to be perpetuated in the name of Bantu-lands, 87 per cent of the lands of South Africa are with the Whites, while only 13 per cent of eroded territories are reserved for the many millions of black men, to settle not in freedom and fellowship as is being claimed, but in a strait-jacket conceived by a Herrenvolk for the slave races. In these 13 per cent of the

lands, room has to be found for other coloured peoples too, while the coloured peoples, and whites with humanity astir in them think of themselves as just Africans, whose colour has no relation to their common citizenship, the pretorians of Pretoria will not permit even the coloured peoples to live in an undifferentiated continuum. There are walls within the walls in South Africa of today, a veritable maze to baulk and frustrate every thrust of civilised humanity. These walls, unlike the walls of Jericho. let us recognize, will not collapse at our trumpet blasts. That is the real challenge.

How can the coloured peoples accept the course chartered for them, which runs counter to their rudest commonsense and elementary decency? Not acres of land no matter how countless, nor the flow of capital, no matter how bountiful, can make the sick Lazarus whole again; only the restoration of man's humanity to man can work the cure. Of what use are the blue-prints of development in the Bantustans, whether they be spurious or not, when the course they trace leads only to ever-lasting degradation ?

Just 38 per cent of the black people live in the reserved areas, the rest are in the urbanised and other industrial and mining areas. Even from the reserves the black men are to be used to turn the wheels of Whitemen's industries- they are the raw materials of production and profit for the racists of South Africa. Out of

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the rich mines of the country pour forth diamonds and coal, one for the diadem, the other for the furnace. The rulers of South Africa work on assumption that likewise God planted the two races in South Africa, one for the diadem, the other for the furnace.

The Africans and Asians remain plagued with many scarcities; of education and employment, of food and health services. But in one thing they share the affluence of the Whiteman everywhere, that is in self-respect, in personal pride. It is the one badge of manhood that we possess today and the racists of South Africa have torn away that from us ! However long our Calvary, our day of triumph cannot be put off for ever. Let the whole world realise that so long as South Africa remains racist, Africans and Asians every-

where remain bound and crushed.

Let us not under-rate the intensity of determination, the firming of will and purpose among the coloured peoples of the world on this question. And let us also recognise the desperation of the race-intoxicated rulers of South Africa. They have whipped up frenzied support behind them of misguided whitemen. The fact remains that these fanatical men, sustained by apocryphal visions, are determined to fight to the last ditch for their privileges, for their exalted status in that land. On both sides are arrayed men who are determined to fight a outrance. We fully endorse the three closely related statements that the distinguished Foreign Minister of Denmark made the other day: The conditions in South Africa are "wholly unacceptable;" they can "end (only) in disaster or catastrophe," and that we "cannot keep the fire inside South Africa, it may engulf the whole of Africa, spread to the world".

The United Nations cannot ignore, and is rightly concerned over the piling up of military strength in South Africa. The increase has literally been galloping, indicating frenzied preparations for a show-down. The total security budget, that is the expenditure on armed and police forces, has increased, in bare four years, from 1960-61 to 1963-64, to nearly 300 per cent: from approximately 80 million Rand to 209 million Rand. Even more revealing and disturbing is the spectacular, almost astronomic, rise in the Government expenditure on manufacture of munitions : in the same four years period, it has jumped up nearly seventy-fold : from 368,000 Rand to 23,572,000 Rand. There are more arms than there are adult whites in South Africa! The racist rulers of South Africa are deliberately tolling the bell, even if it tolls for them!

There is one, and only one, hope. Fortunately the coloured peoples in Africa are irrevocably wedded to the sweeping vision of a multi-racial society with equal political rights for all. The black man has no hallucinations of "Baasskap" in South Africa. The coloured men from every Continent will rally only round the banner of equal society, and never for inverted privileges. The whiteman everywhere is stirred and scandalised by the sacrilege committed in his name in South Africa. In the crusade against

apartheid the youth of Europe swings to the fore. Let the racists in South Africa realise fully and finally that they have no friends, no supporter, that they are truly and in fact alone, isolated, ostracised, beyond the pale. They have beleaguered themselves by their own vicious doctrines. By this one gesture of solidarity we shall destroy the demon of racism from the world.

But the racists of South Africa will not heed to words of censure. Those who have taken the bit between their teeth heed no words! Eviction from the Commonwealth they treated as a laurel wreath. We can inflict a similar penalty on them, by ejecting them from another family of Nations, but they will merely apply it as an unction to themselves, so possessed are they with their distorted dreams. No gesture however dramatic can arouse them out of their auto-intoxication of race arrogance. Only the firmest sanctions sternly taken can make any impact. Those who are wont to meet arguments with spear-points will listen only to clash of spear-points. AR trade has to stop and the lead for it has to come from the United Kingdom accounting for about 35% of South Africa's imports and from the United States accounting for some 8%. The rest of the trading partners will assuredly follow so powerful a lead. Both these countries have heavy investments in South Africa, \$2,800 million for the United Kingdom, while the stake of the United States is smaller, yet substantial. These investments can provide powerful levers of change. South Africa depends up to 90% upon imported petroleum. Here, too, there is a strangle-hold to be operated. Not only trading ships must not ply to South African ports, but the tankers should be the first to be diverted.

These sanctions, determined and decisive, will perhaps give an opportunity to the saner and moderate elements among the South African whites to assert themselves. Then their "beloved country" will cry not of despair and death, but of conciliation and fellowship.

It is not easy for the Western countries to forge such binding sanctions. It is for this reason that we applaud the sentiments of the Nordic peoples. From these lands of the midnight sun, it seems, the needed pillar of light can come. If such sanctions are quickly agreed to and firmly acted upon, there will be drastic

changes in the regime of South Africa. Then and then alone can the present collision course

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to disaster be averted. Even if there is bloodshed then, it will be by a few fanatics itching for martyrdom. South Africa, purged of the evil of apartheid, will accelerate the process of continental unity, Once the whites tear down the self-beleaguered fortress of theirs, with their skills, their initiative and abilities, they will find expanding avenues of work. They will not be pulverised as they fear today, they will be the creative leaven in a larger lump of life. Only then will a new destiny beckon them in a multi-racial Africa. Once, this last of his burden, the whiteman throws away, he too will find himself fully free together with men of varied colours throughout the world.

If, however, the Great Western Powers hesitate, waves of conflict, holocausts of violence, will overtake Africa and the world. Mahatma Gandhi once told us, "Our patience is proverbial, but let it not be said that it is patience of the coward". That "proverbial patience" is now at the end. Either "the evil business of apartheid" is worse than a crime, a sin, it is a plague that can destroy us all or it is merely mildly unacceptable to us, an irritant at the most. To us, the Africans and the Asians, and to every European of conscience and humanity, apartheid is a soul-searing negation of humanity, the smouldering deadly embers of the terrible fire that raged through Europe less than a generation back. Either these flames are scotched promptly or they will engulf the world, because this time the despised are the multitudes of the human race. We men of different races and colours have journeyed together, in spite of our differences in ideas and attitudes, in the pursuit of peace, of colonial freedom, of economic co-operation. In the quest of race harmony we shall need to show greater, more pressing solidarity. Then, and only then, will this frail barge of ours, this world organisation, tossing over the storms of history, become the new Ark of the Covenant, and carry humanity to new shores of abiding peace, of bludgeoning prosperity, of freedom in fellowship. At this solemn session of this august organisation, let each one of us, who command the distinction of representing independent yet equal nations,

remember, in the solitude of our hearts, the immortal words of poet Tagore, "Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high;....
..... Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake."

INDIA SOUTH AFRICA GUINEA USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC ITALY DENMARK RUSSIA

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INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri Asoka Mehta's Statement in the Trusteeship Committee on Southern Rhodesia

Shri Asoka Mehta, Member of the Indian Delegation to the United Nations, made the following statement in the Fourth (Trusteeship) Committee of the General Assembly on Southern Rhodesia on October 3, 1963 :

A great amount of discussion has already taken place on the legal and constitutional aspects of the question before us, that is, Southern Rhodesia. The Delegation of India, together with other delegations, has taken its share in clarification of the various issues involved during the earlier discussions. Our delegation has given full thought and careful attention to the views expressed, from time to time, by the distinguished representatives of the United Kingdom. In the light of these earlier discussions, and the decisions reached in this Committee and other forums of the U.N., time has now come to direct attention on the basic realities in Southern Rhodesia.

The question of competence of the United Nations to consider the question of Southern Rhodesia has been fully thrashed out; this Committee as well as the superior organs of the U.N. have come to the considered conclusion that the United Nations has both the right and the urgent responsibility to deliberate over the question of Southern Rhodesia. Perhaps the distinguished

representative of the United Kingdom will now recognise the well-established, and crucial, convention of British political life. that is, to accept decisions arrived, after adequate care and exercise in reason, by a majority of one's peers.

We understand and recognise that there exists "a special relationship" between Southern Rhodesia and the United Kingdom. We have also gained some insight into "the unique constitutional relationship between Southern Rhodesia and the United Kingdom".

There obviously must be some special and unique reasons for such "a special and unique relationship" to grow up between the two. no United Kingdom, it is of significance to note, formally annexed Southern Rhodesia for the Crown from a commercial company in 1923 and granted the territory responsible Government within a span of just nine days ! In the case of my own country, India, the British Crown had likewise formally taken over the control from a more famous commercial com-

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pany but it took the United Kingdom full 89 years before responsible Government was vouchsafed to us.

The "special and unique relationship" was established with Southern Rhodesia in 1923, when the European population there was a mere 3 per cent, that is, no more than the European population in Northern Rhodesia at a later time. Why was not "a Special relation" built up with Northern Rhodesia also? Were there some unique reasons that came into play as far as Southern Rhodesia alone was concerned?

One is tempted to enquire if geographical and climatic factors had anything to do with the sudden forging of "the special relationship". Did the geographic position of Southern Rhodesia, proximity to South Africa, have anything to do with the emergence of the special relationship? Did the welcome elevation of the country act as a contributory factor? Is it Just an accidental coincidence that 6,337 farms, covering over 33 million acres of good land, occupied by immigrant Europeans and "the special relationship" have grown up together in Southern Rhodesia? Did the rich mineral wealth of the country, dis-

covered long before it was found in Northern Rhodesia, have even a fortuitous connection with the emergence of "the special and unique relationship"?

We have been repeatedly told not only by the distinguished representatives of the United Kingdom here but by eminent spokesmen of their Government in London that the British point of view on "the very special relationship between Southern Rhodesia and the United Kingdom" was not merely a legalistic or a theoretic one but represented "the realities of the situation". A point made so persistently and so ably has to be considered. But it appears that what the United Kingdom considers to be "realities" sail very close to legalistic and constitutional-cum-conventional considerations. Once one is invited to consider "the realities of the situation", must one stop at the legalistic and constitutional stage and shy away from moving deeper and probing farther? We are sure that the representative of the United Kingdom would welcome a fuller exposition of "the realities" in Southern Rhodesia.

If Southern Rhodesia was already enjoying "very special and unique relationship" with the United Kingdom from as early as 1923. why did it join the Central African Federation where it had to transfer, and I believe the word "transfer" here is justified and would be acceptable to the distinguished representative of the United Kingdom, forty-four important items of power to the Federation, which, on all accounts. enjoyed no such "special and unique relationship" with the metropolitan country? Let us further remember that' this transfer, or voluntary surrender of powers, was made as late as 1953. It is difficult, in this connection, to dismiss as a figment of heated imagination, the explanation offered by the Government of Ghana in their memorandum submitted to the Security Council. I quote from the memorandum :

"The reason why the Southern Rhodesian Settlers had entered the Federation [was] in order to protect and strengthen their system by extending its area of operation. Federation was regarded by many Southern Rhodesians as a measure of self-protection against the establishment of African controlled States on their frontier".

Is this analysis not a part of "the realities of the situation" in Southern Rhodesia that needs to be taken into account in assessing the situation there ?

Has Southern Rhodesia accepted the dismantling of the Federation to further the march of decolonisation, in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, that obviously inspires the efforts of the United Kingdom, or has it done it with a view to consolidate its racist policies and position by annexing fuller powers, first through the "reversion" of 44 items once transferred to the Federation. and, then, through asserting the claim for full independence, to be followed by the development of a "very special and unique relationship", this time, however, not so much with the United Kingdom, as with the Republic of South Africa on the south, and the Portuguese possession Mozambique, on the east ?

Has distinguished representative of the United Kingdom in the Special Committee, after reminding us of the responsibility we bear, had pointed out that Southern Rhodesia could not be considered in isolation. It was a part of "the wider complex of problems concerning the future of the Central African Federation". We greatly appreciate the efforts of Her Majesty's First Secretary of State at the recent Victoria Falls Conference : Dismantling of the ill-matched Central African Federation and assurance of full freedom, with dead-lines for independence, to Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland are acts of courage and statesmanship that evoke our encomiums and applause.

When we are asked to think of Southern Rhodesia as a part of the wider complex of problems in Central Africa is it necessary that our thoughts should halt at the frontiers of the quondam Federation, and not move southwards or eastwards in determining the focus of complexity ? When we do that do not "the realities of the situation" in Southern Rhodesia assume a menacing form ?

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We are happy over, and sincerely appreciate the efforts of the Government of the United Kingdom in helping Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland to enter the world of freedom and

fellowship of nations. But can "the wind of change" be suddenly arrested at the frontiers of Southern Rhodesia because of "the very special and unique relationship" that undoubtedly exists between Southern Rhodesia and the United Kingdom ? We may be pardoned if while being presented with the sweeping waves of change, the very waves of history with which British name is recently so honourably associated, we simultaneously confront the compelling need to halt these waves at the borders of Southern Rhodesia because of legalistic, constitutional-cum-conventional reasons, we get reminded of a famous gesture of an English sovereign, King, Canute.

Only the other day speaking in the General Assembly, the distinguished Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom said, and I quote, "If my Government is to be attacked for taking scrupulous care to build societies in which majorities rule, but in which, and this is the essence of democracy, minorities are safeguarded then Sir Patrick Dean and I will stand in the dock with our heads high" (unquote). The tragedy of British policy in Southern Rhodesia is that this "scrupulous care to build societies in which majorities rule," is nowhere to be found. If the safeguarding of minorities is the "essence of democracy", and we readily concur with it, the rule of the majority is the quintessence of democracy. It is not we who seek to put Lord Hume or Sir Patrick Dean in the dock, but their own policies that arraign them today before the bar of history. Whether Southern Rhodesia is a non-self-governing colony or not may be debatable from the point of view of British conventions and legal practices. But can anyone deny the fact, the terrible, scalding fact that the 3 1/2 million indigenous people of Southern Rhodesia are non-self-governing ? It is their fate that is of decisive importance in our deliberations here.

In the course of the discussion on Southern Rhodesia in the 1066th meeting of the Security Council, the distinguished representative of the United Kingdom stressed a certain point. I would like to quote his very words, "The essential point which I make, with all possible emphasis, is that the freedom of the Southern Rhodesian Government to conduct its own internal affairs is no fiction but an inescapable constitutional and political fact"; while that fact

should not be brushed aside, are there not other equally relevant facts which too are no fictions? Can anyone deny that the Government of Southern Rhodesia follows racist policies and discriminates in a loathsome manner against the indigenous people? The United Kingdom has not camouflaged its concern over and antipathy to the policies of apartheid pursued in South Africa. At a fateful moment, the United Kingdom opted with the anti-racist members of the Commonwealth and accepted the withdrawal of South Africa from that family of nations. Is it then right for the United Kingdom to accept changes which conspire to augment and intensify the very forces that with most other member countries here the United Kingdom has been striving to arrest and end?

The armed forces that Southern Rhodesia will soon be controlling are not merely considerable in size and strength but have large infusion of South African elements in them. Throughout the long discussions the distinguished representatives of the United Kingdom have never tried to rebut any of the points made by the representatives of Ghana and other countries about the very special and unique relationship that seems to have grown up between the Government of Southern Rhodesia and the Government of the Union of South Africa. Is this not a crucial part of the emerging "realities" in Southern Rhodesia?

My Delegation has been fighting the racial segregation policies of South Africa from the very first Session of the United Nations. Should it be of no concern to us that the point of view that the distinguished representatives of the United Kingdom ask us to accept, in fact enable the apartheid forces to throw a glacial forward, to move up deeper into the heartland of Africa? By acquiescing in the racist regime in Southern Rhodesia the United Kingdom, that so far has been marching in concert with us in the sphere of colonial freedom and human rights, appears to be switching the camps.

More than one delegation, in the earlier discussions, has pointedly referred to the strange reversal of a fundamental interest of the United Kingdom in so far as Southern Rhodesia is concerned. In the long and chequered history of granting freedom to colonial possessions, begin-

ning with Ireland and right down to our own days, the British Government has always been extra solicitous about the rights and claims of minority communities. It has not scrupled to go to the extreme length of partitioning countries because of this irrepressible urge. Now is it then, that in the case of Southern Rhodesia: Britain is so very callous about the rights and claims of 94 per cent of the people there? It will be helpful if the distinguished representative of the United Kingdom will, at some proper time, clear up this point lest uncharitable critics draw the conclusion that "the very special and unique relationship" is not so much with

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Southern Rhodesia as with the small' racist European minority there.

The distinguished representative of the United Kingdom will undoubtedly remind us of the "inescapable facts" and the irreversible status of Southern Rhodesia. Claims of friendship, if nothing more, compel us to be mindful of Britain's complexities and difficulties in Southern Rhodesia. The British Government have drawn a line beyond which it will not or cannot go. The firm and final line is that in Southern Rhodesia the British Government will use its influence but will not and cannot actively intervene. Let us, for a while, accept that position and explore its implications,

Where internal intervention is ruled out and influencing is the sole means to be relied upon, the influencing inevitably has to be both purposeful and powerful. It is, therefore, disconcerting to find the Government of the United Kingdom is unwilling to give the categorical yet simple assurance that Southern Rhodesia's claim for independence will be flatly denied until racism is destroyed. The one effective lever that the United Kingdom still has, despite, "the special relationship", it shows no sign of wanting to use! Instead it advises Africans to take advantage of the "opportunities" under the present constitution and bemoans their lack of interest and involvement into the complex and peculiar electoral processes of Southern Rhodesia. Even if they had not boycotted the recent elections, even if the Africans had won 15 seats as is being suggested, they could not have played the "balancing" role between the

two racist parties, because to the extent of the success of the African parties, the United Federal Party would have been attenuated and proportionately the possibilities of its merging with the ruling Rhodesian Front increased.

Even if the Africans devotedly follow the advice of their British well-wishers and wait and work for eight to twelve years, what is likely to happen in the end? The advice to work and wait reminds us of the famous British proclamation of 1918 for India wherein the vision of "gradual realisation of responsible Government in the fulness of time" was unfolded. Well, what would happen to the bulk of the Rhodesians in "the fulness of time"?

Supposing the Africans win the majority, overcoming all odds and notwithstanding the constant loading of the dice against them. Would the European minority then peacefully surrender power, which would inevitably be used to erode, their extravagant and arrogant privileges? Would not the well-entrenched European elements in the Armed Forces and outside make a short shift of the electoral victory of the Africans? Would the Government of the United Kingdom remember its "special relationship" with Southern Rhodesia and give its unwavering support to the beleaguered or ousted regime of the Africans? If, then, it will be done, then why not now?

How very illusory is the hope of such a peaceful and constitutional transformation of Southern Rhodesia! Can we afford to overlook the fact that the mood of the ruling minority in Southern Rhodesia is steadily hardening: Sir Garfield Todd had to give way to Sir Edgar Whitehead, who in his turn has been ousted by Mr. Winston Field---each more intransigent than the earlier one. Is this the mood in which, after Southern Rhodesia is clothed in the panoply of statehood, the ruling minority will permit a peaceful transfer of power to the Africans they despise? If they cared for constitutional proprieties and other niceties as much as the Government of the United Kingdom is wont to would the social, economic and political life of the Africans there be so eroded and arrested as it is today? When the Africans in other parts of the Continent are becoming the masters of their own destiny, when the world conscience is

asserting itself against the reprehensible apartheid in South Africa, can the African elements in Southern Rhodesia willingly resign to be helots and sub-citizens ? If they resist as they do can the situation in Southern Rhodesia be anything but explosive ? When all over Africa proud men hold the flaming torch of freedom aloft does Britain expect the Southern Rhodesian Africans to hunch their shoulders and carry pitchers of water of humiliation ?

If the ruling groups in Southern Rhodesia were willing to go along with the British vision of partnership between the races, "growing from precedent to precedent", why should they be so insistent on independence here and now, and why was dissolution of the Central African Federation, involving considerable economic dislocation and damage, welcomed ? Are not the Southern Rhodesian racists surrendering some limited gains in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland in order to be on their own,, wholly and without challenge, in Southern Rhodesia ? Can we with any conscience advise the Africans in Southern Rhodesia to seek compromise, to work for accommodation, with the ruling elements drunk with racist pride in that hapless land ?

We are not and cannot be, leave aside the oldest, even the newest ally of the United Kingdom. None can, however, gainsay our claim to be among the sincerest friends of Britain. It is from the bowels of that friendship that we plead with the United Kingdom not to destroy the place of pride, that associations of history,

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cultural contacts, shared political ideas and other intangible ties have given to the United Kingdom in the hearts and minds of countless Asians and Africans.

The United Kingdom's relationship with Southern Rhodesia must be, as we are repeatedly told, of "a special and unique character". But far more precious is the relationship that binds the multiracial Commonwealth of nations that spans six continents and the seven seas. Which special relationship should count with the United Kingdom, which in the final count, is truly and indisputably unique ?

Let us recognise that the issue in Southern

Rhodesia is much deeper, goes far beyond, legalistic and constitutional points, even beyond the conventions of British political system, precious as they are. The real issue is where shall the retreating frontier of racism in Africa reside? If the United Kingdom wants it to pass through Rhodesia, Britain favours the extension of area of racial segregation. We can never agree to the White Wind overpowering the Black Wind in any part of Africa.

Sir, the vast majority of the people in Southern Rhodesia live under the White minority Government and are subject to the humiliations and repressions which are contrary to civilized behaviour. These repressive measures have been condemned in the strongest possible terms by my delegation and other delegations both inside and outside the United Nations. Against heavy odds and against a powerful but oppressive regime, the valiant people of Southern Rhodesia have carried on their struggle for freedom and independence, and our hearts go out to these brave fighters in Southern Rhodesia who have suffered so long.

The United Kingdom must refuse independence to Southern Rhodesia until it accepts a truly democratic multiracial polity. Will not the able and brilliant First Secretary of State crown his career of reforms and achievements by convening a Constitutional Conference not just of the representatives of the Governments of the two countries but of all parties and elements from the political life of Southern Rhodesia who meet to hammer out a truly democratic constitution and until that is realised keep Southern Rhodesia in quarantine?

On the basic issues involved in Southern Rhodesia, there can be no compromise. It is not just an African question, it is a problem of civilization, of the conscience and humanity of Man. The deep thrusting forces, elemental and invincible, cannot be stopped by the vetoes of the greatest of Powers. These forces have in them the irresistible, protean impulse, that very impulse that has conceived and nurtured the great organization under whose canopy we meet and labour today, with a view to articulate a free, equal, humane world, a world without wars and want, without racial segregation and embedded injustices of social life. In that House

of Freedom we dream of and work, for Southern Rhodesia shall have its mansion and that in no distant future.

INDIA USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC PERU SOUTH AFRICA UNITED KINGDOM GHANA
MOZAMBIQUE MALAYSIA SEYCHELLES IRELAND

Date : Oct 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri Asoka Mehta's Statement in the Economic Committee

Shri Asoka Mehta, Member, Indian Delegation to the United Nations, made the following statement in the Second (Economic and Financial) Committee of the General Assembly on October 14, 1963 :

Mr. Chairman,

Year after year we have been accustomed to meet under the shadow of some crisis or other. We have been living with occasional clashes of arms and constant clashes of might and power. The last year, this time, the world was aquiver with disaster. My own country had to face an unprovoked and sudden aggression on its far-flung Himalayan frontiers, while the world watched with dismay the rocket-rattlings in the Carribean Sea. While my country still labours under the heavy burden that countering of the aggression has thrown on us, the wider world, happily, breathes a new atmosphere of emerging understanding between Great Powers.

The partial test-ban treaty is being welcomed not just on its own account, significant as it is to the health, well-being and the future of mankind, but also because it heralds the coming of spring, ending the long, excruciatingly long, winter of the cold war. The sky catches the first radiance of peace and the dark night of terror

and fear is behind us.

The coming of peace, like the bestowal of freedom, helps men to turn their thoughts and energies to development. Decolonisation has already unfolded itself into development, detente will, or should likewise, help that process further. If the assertion of freedom led to the quest for

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bread, the emergence of peace must lead to search for a richer and fuller life. The task of development, at last, achieves its primacy among men's purposes. We do not know when the 120 billion dollars spent every year on the weapons and material of war, with their curse of over-rapid obsolescence, will be diverted to irrigate the channels of peace, but we can now think and plan about it without being dismissed as utopians !

The conflict between the West and the East eases. But even as confrontation yields place to dialogues of increasing meaningfulness between them, the basic, stubborn differences between the affluent North and the poverty-ridden South in the world are unveiling themselves. As the world's political climate changes, the points of the compass move towards development. Wisdom and foresight demand that no new polarisation takes place, that there is no confrontation but only co-operation between these points of the compass.

If the world is not to be destroyed by nuclear weapons, it has also to be preserved from the explosions that hunger can cause. The fission of hunger and privations, in conjunction with the fusion of two billion persons suffering from them in the world, can throw up clouds no less menacing than the mushroom clouds that we seem to have bottled at last. We have, today, the means. if we can evoke the wisdom, to master the storms of hunger too.

We all know that two-thirds of the world's population has only 17 per cent of the world's annual income. But among the two-thirds there are many millions, in my country and in my region in Asia, who are poorer still; there the ultimate cess-pool of poverty lies, the last unemancipated proletariat of the world reside. It is not an accident that the claimant calls for class war and the barricades are emerging in those

very areas. It is the understanding and amelioration of the teeming millions of Asia that will provide the key-stone to the arch of peace.

We are all familiar with the relevant statistics and I shall not tire you with more of them. Behind these faceless figures, there is human misery, blood that has started boiling, flesh that will not countenance shrivelling. Half the world's population, living in the region of Asia, has just a quarter of the world's food supplies. More than 70 per cent of the people in India would avidly consumer more and more food if only their income could rise. It is, therefore, not just the pressure of population, but the pressure of raw, unappeased hunger itself that we have to face and satisfy.

We are grateful to the UNICEF for underscoring an important fact. In its document, F/ICFF/472, it points out, "Increase of food output lagged behind population from 1930 to 1950". Between 1891 and 1921, India's population increased by just 5 per cent. That is to say, in thirty years, in undivided India, including areas that now constitute Pakistan, the population growth was just 5% ! Famines and epidemics mowed down the natural growth in population. Since 1921, some health measures have been taken, but as the economy remained neglected a serious backlog of food shortage survives. Since Independence, we, as other countries in our region, have laboured hard, but we cannot overcome quickly the neglect of the long years of colonial rule.

We are not unaware, nor unappreciative, of the valuable assistance that the developed countries have been giving, in recent years, to the poor countries. We, however, cannot overlook the fact that in a recent year, 1961 for instance, while the commercial flow of international finance amounted to \$4,367 million, for the same year, the reverse flow in the payment of interest, profit and dividends from the under-developed countries to the rich countries totalled up to. \$3,393 million. While the rich countries may not heed the Biblical advice to give the cloak when a coat is asked for, is it really necessary for them to scrupulously adhere to the injunction of the left hand not knowing what the right hand is doing?

The poor countries undoubtedly need external

assistance. We are told that in seeking aid we should not seek to reduce the highest standards of living in the world. We have never sought that. The economy of the United States, even when it grows sluggishly, increases annually its per capita income by the total, (repeat) total, per capita income of the Indian. In less than ten weeks, the United States invests more than what India plans to do in its entire Third Five Year Plan, and reaps also an equivalent harvest in the same ten weeks. If we seek a small fraction from the absolutely significant amount of growth in the rich countries, is it an importunity ?

My delegation would never want to pick on the United States, a generous friend of ours. But more than half the income of the rich world is there, and one's analysis cannot totally ignore that reality.

In the United States the poorest ten per cent of the people are undoubtedly in difficulties and rightly evoke considerable interest in sympathy for their plight. It, however, needs to be realised that the share of the United States' national income accruing to that last ten per cent of its population is almost the same as the total national

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income of India, and that there are 21 times more numerous Indians ! In order to provide the poorest twenty per cent of the people in India-and they will number some 100 million! with a per head income of just one dollar per week, even by 1975, our economy as a whole must achieve and maintain an annual growth rate of 7 per cent, which means a 20 per cent rate of investment. Can we, can anyone, attempt this unaided ? The grapes of wrath will not always wilt in the vineyards of Asia, and it is on that assurance that the present masters of Peking operate. It is not just the armed thrust of Communist China that my country repulses, it is this deeper thrust that we are engaged in checking with constructive approaches and efforts.

Every nation increasingly realises that it needs a policy for the growth of national income is it then too much to ask that at the margin of such a policy, in a penumbral way, some definite policy of outflow of income from the rich to the poor countries be decided upon? There has been a considerable amount of discussion on the need

to transfer one per cent of income for that purpose. The delegate of my country had pointed out in 1960, the urgent necessity for the Secretary General to prepare annually estimates of the gross national product, the net national income, the gross outflow of funds from the rich countries during the year, divided into public and private outflows, itemising each kind of flow, the gross inflow of funds, whether in cash or in kind, from the poor countries, the net outflow of funds, a deduction from this net outflow for that portion of the funds which does not provide resources for economic development, a net figure for the net outflow of funds provided for this purpose, and the percentage which this last figure bears to the gross national product and the net national income of the rich country concerned. Only when such a statistical clarity is introduced in the annual report will we know whether the self-imposed burden of "one per cent" is in fact being borne by the rich countries. Even though the "tax" is wholly voluntary it is necessary to plug the loopholes !

We are not unaware of the strain and the difficulty experienced by the rich countries in giving away one per cent or more, and it will have to be more, of their national incomes every year, to the poor countries. All the arguments about "good business" or about the solidarity of the "human family" cannot snuff out disagreeableness from having to give foreign aid. But we would like it to be noted that for the poor country, it is no less irksome to seek aid. The commercial morality that sanctifies loans has yet to become the folkways of our people. The tree of growth, we would love to dig round and dig in with our own sweat and tears. From our own pitiful incomes we scrape and save and invest and grow. It is only because we find that development demands essential imports that trade cannot obtain for us, that we think of economic aid. If the wit of man could devise a means of realising economic development without the import of goods from rich countries, we from the poor countries would thank Allah and abjure all aid, except of knowledge and know-how. Unfortunately, in the early stages of growth and industrialisation, as one mounts the escalator of development, the critical need for imports grows, and it is not easy to meet these needs with exports, because there are few surpluses for export and there are also difficult barriers to overcome in

stepping up exports to the developed countries. In this phase of development, foreign economic aid alone can overcome the lag in savings inevitable in poor countries in a state of gross underdevelopment. The bread that we ask to be scattered on water will surely multiply manifold. With the Pharisees shall we deny the possibility of that certain, assured, miracle of growth?

The poor countries are constantly advised to cajole private investments. These investors, we are told, seek profit, and it is for the poor countries to create a climate of profitability. There is no other climate that we would like to create more. The difficulty, however, is that we have simultaneously to raise large resources internally, to quickly step up the rate of savings from 5 to 20 per cent or more of the national income annually, involving a far greater draft on the marginal increments of income in the early years of growth. But a sharp stepping up in the rate of savings and investments inevitably erodes the margin of profitability. We would like to lower taxes, but until the tax base adequately expands, such a lowering would mean abridging our development. These, as we know well, are the cruel horns of the dilemma of development. When everyone tightens the belt in hungry lands, is it too much to ask of the men of capital to modify, for a while, their familiar ways?

I do not want to be misunderstood. My country has a system of mixed economy. We have given a variety of incentives and facilities to the private sector to make a significant contribution to the growth of the economy. But when the nation has to step up the rate of saving, can it be done by the public sector alone, which accounts for only a small fraction of the nation income? The private sector has to make the major contribution to the savings effort, and experience shows that such contribution is not inimical to its own long-term interests.

In the poor countries socialism has an instinctive appeal. It is not because we want to load

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the dice in favour or against anyone in the game of ideological co-existence. The reasons for its appeal are: one, the poorer a people, the greater is the need for philosophy, and, two, the poorer a country, the sharper are the inequalities, and greater the need to approximate towards some

equality. Socialistic ideas play a functional role in the early processes of development.

We are told that we cannot expect the people of the rich countries, free and prosperous as they are, to change their habits and attitudes. We cannot be unsympathetic to this traditionalist outlook of the modernists. But do they realise how great a strain the developing countries have to bear in the process of transformation? In the course of a generation the habits of centuries have to be completely changed. The psychological and social strain involved has to be imagined. Conventional wisdom warns us that "No man puts the new wine into old wine-skins; else the new wine will burst the skins, and be spilled, and the skins shall perish". But what does the record of the developing countries show? Has not the new, heady wine of science and technology been slowly poured into the old skins of traditional society, and the wine has not spilled, the old-skins are changing, not bursting? The social tour de force is not easy to accomplish. Let us look back for a moment at the early period of development of the highly industrialised countries. Did they not, even though their time span of development was much longer, and even though the emergence and assimilation of the fruits of Science and Technology were much slower than today, pay the price of transformation in slums and terror, in reeking corruption and in periodical coups d'etat? When we seek a far-reaching and rapid social transformation, while honouring the rights of man, are we not entitled to claim a little fraternity in the task of bearing the strains of transformation? When the developing countries ask for favourable opportunities for the export of manufactured goods, of simply processed articles, the highly industrialised countries object, even though all that we seek is to supply just one per cent of their expanding production of goods. We are told that when already technological changes require an adjustment of three per cent every year, how can they add on an additional burden of one per cent to it? Unfortunately, no one has similarly quantified the rate of social transformation in the developing countries. Is it too much to ask for a fraternal sharing of strains through easier terms of trade or through economic aid, but please, not in the ways of Penelope, taking out the knots in the night, that have been woven in the day?

Now that Science and Technology need no longer remain harnessed to the chariot of war, has not the time come to attach them to the coach of development, so that technology may be trained to balance the sociological needs of the developing countries, where the ratio of, man-power to resources is often so different from those of the affluent societies? As peace dawns and wider horizons become visible, we are invited to embark on new voyages of thought and discovery.

May I be permitted to address a few words to the countries with centrally planned economies, and particularly to the foremost among them? We in the developing countries admire at once the liberal political institutions of the West and the austere economic discipline of the East. It is that discipline that we seek to make our own. In that task many of us have received from the Socialist countries the kind of help and co-operation that we greatly value. We rejoice at the rapid growth of the Socialist economies, indeed of all economies. We are not unaware of the emerging and welcome pressures inside these countries, of the implications and consequences of the dismantling of the system associated with the "cult of personality". These very pressures demand that the centrally planned economy countries review their plans of development with a view to providing an even larger scope for imports from developing countries; they demand that the prices at which production from the developing countries can be sold in the internal market be adjusted with a view to stimulating the demand for those goods and commodities. Socialist countries should also include in their forward planning significant projects of those developing countries that are nearing the critical stage of the "take-off".

It would be a tragedy if at this fate-laden hour the centrally planned economies were to fall victim to the heresy of seeking the dynamism of growth through internal markets, of sustaining high growth rates through the affluence of mass consumption alone.

However trite the observation might appear, the fact remains that the full blossoming of the economy, the fullest lifting of even the highest standards of living, as also the unfolding of culture and human spirit in the rich countries,

whether of the West or the East, will not be possible unless the quickening impulse is provided to the poor countries, through adequate terms of trade and facilities for increased trade, financial aid, technical assistance and sharing the strains of transformation. For this gathering of the partisans of peace a new programme is already waiting !

While many millions in the poor countries labour to forge a new future for themselves, to

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deny them essential aid while unused capacity of production remains in some of the highly industrialised countries is a reversal of reason and humanity. In the war against hunger and raw wants, we in the poor countries, are now fully engaged. Here, as on an earlier famous occasion, we ask for tools, and we promise to do the job. The rich nations, whether from the West or the East are invited to join the peaceful competition to become the great arsenals of development. It is not aid, or even trade, that encompasses our vision, it is the quickening of mutual aid and co-operation. Poor as my country is, our contribution to the U.N. Special Fund is the seventh largest. Not India alone, but every developing country is anxious to contribute to the common pool as they are to benefit from it. But this requires the blasting of the inhibiting influences in the rich countries that prompt them to view political boundaries as of equal significance in economic life too. Here at least the truth is that we grow only by sharing.

I am not unaware of the many shortcomings in the developing countries, that is our responsibility to overcome. The developing countries cannot afford to be sensitive towards well meant and sympathetic comments in this regard from all quarters.

It is towards a rationalisation, maximising welfare and happiness in the rich as well as the poor countries, of economic policies, and of economic theories if need be, that, in our view, the forthcoming U.N. Conference on Trade and Development must principally address itself. When confrontation between the West and the East changes into an encounter, leading to journeying together, when the thesis and anti-thesis of the cold war resolve into an emerging synthesis, a

creative leap forward in thought and endeavour is obviously indicated. In this Decade of Development we can, if only we will, witness, once again, "the whole earth (being) of one language and one speech--the language of growth, the speech of welfare.

Meaningful discussions will not proceed if sincere efforts at reviewing the many problems of trade and development by the developing countries are construed by some of the highly developed countries as attempts to "externalise" our problems.

Every industrialised country charted its development through protective aids to its industries. Even the doyen of all the industrialised nations, the United Kingdom, had ultimately to surrender the virtue of free trade. The arguments that applied to infant industries then, are equally relevant to infant economies today. They too need protection and aid. If the highly industrialised countries tie their loans with the export of their manufactures; are the developing countries wholly wide of the mark when they raise the question of the possibility of tying up repayment of their loans with the exports of their agricultural, mineral, and industrial output? The highly developed skills, capital-intensive methods, and constantly rising labour costs in the more developed countries require that they move out of the simple, less sophisticated, progresses of manufacture and enable the developing countries to produce and trade in such products.

The slight rise in the world prices of some of the primary commodities, after years of decline and stagnation, is welcome. Even more heartening are the efforts of the IMF to develop schemes of compensatory financing to meet the situation of fluctuations in prices of primary commodities.

My delegation looks forward with interest to the working out of the details of the concept of "organized markets" in industrialised countries, for products of particular interest to developing countries, broadly outlined by the French Delegation at the Second Session of the Preparatory Committee as well as earlier in this debate. We believe that the problem of providing trading facilities to the developing countries in the world market requires greater governmental attention and action in the developed countries. We are

confident that France will show its characteristic institutional originality in indicating fresh openings and solutions here.

The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development will help the world trade, and the developing countries' share in it, by indicating a common frame-work of reference for trade policies and practices, embracing for that purpose all countries and all economies. But we are not unaware of the many distinctive characteristics of different economies and groupings of countries. and we are clear that a helpful frame-work of reference is not the same thing as a single uniform strait-jacket of policy. That is why we seek to clarify the objectives and aspirations of the developing countries in international trade, so that different groups of industrialised countries can indicate their responses in harmony with their distinctive economic and trading characteristics.

May I take this opportunity to express our appreciation of the work done and the decisions taken at the recent annual meetings of the IMF and the World Bank and its affiliates? The decision of the IMF to conduct a comprehensive study on the adequacy of international liquidity to ensure a high rate of growth of world trade is timely, particularly as the study is intended to cover the problems and requirements of all coun-

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tries,, the developed and the less developed. The decision of the developed countries to augment re resources of the IDA by a further contribution of \$750,000,000, though falling short of the needs and the absorption capacities of the developing countries, indicates responsiveness to the pressing difficulties of the developing countries. The response of Sweden is particularly praiseworthy because of its liberality and foresight. We would like it to prove contagious !

Every developing country can bring up glowing pages from its recent records which would show the remarkable implications of international co-operation. My own country, India, set up three steel plants with the help of friendly countries. We now hope to fabricate or establish new mills with, to a considerable extent, our own resources, material as well as technical. We are just now engaged in setting up, as a part of the national electrification plan, three nuclear power

plants. Our know-how and capacity will enable us to design and construct future plants with our own resources. This self-sustaining growth will enable India to assist other developing countries too.

The various Specialised Agencies and other organisations of the U.N. have been rendering valuable assistance to the developing countries, some of them, in fact, have been doing pioneering work in social and economic engineering. The one common handicap from which all suffer is the inadequacy of resources. The Member-Nations, particularly from the developing world, rightly desire to diversify and expand the Agencies and Organisations and thereby augment multi-lateral and institutional assistance in the complex task of economic and social transformation. It is, however, important to balance such expansion with adequacy of resources made available for their varied tasks. The complex of majestic mills satisfy only when there is all the corn needed to grind in them. The poor in many lands are concerned with what flows out of the mills, and not so much with their rationalisation and expansion. In our search for ample institutional foliage, we cannot afford to lose sight of the over-arching significance of the adequacy or otherwise of finances available.

My delegation welcomes the decision taken by the Economic and Social Council in Resolution 980 (XXXVI), to establish an Advisory Committee on the application of Science and Technology to development. It is necessary to strengthen and fully utilize the facilities available with the UNESCO, FAO, WHO and IAFA before we venture further.

We view with interest and good-will the expanding work of the Centre for Industrial Development. We would like to see the Centre strengthened with more financial resources and wider expert assistance, so that it can play a focal role in spreading industrialisation. We support the recommendation of the Experts Group appointed by the Economic and Social Council, as per its Resolution 873 (XXXIII), to set up, the United Nations Industrial Development Organisation. We will study with interest the report of the Secretary General on the comments received from the Specialized Agencies and the IAFA on the UNIDO proposal. The Centre for Industrial Development must grow into the UNIDO, and only experience

can tell when the time will be: ripe for assigning industrial development the same institutional position in the family of the U.N. that agriculture enjoys today. That such a status should be accorded to industrial growth at an early date, we believe, is incontrovertible, but because of the complexity of the problems involved in industrial growth, some more experience, and fuller resources, in money and expertise, are needed before the move is made.

My country has been a consistent supporter of the Capital Development Fund, because we believe that multilateral aid for economic development is the essence of the U.N. development programme. We, therefore, support the recommendations of the 3rd session of the Capital Development Fund Committee to extend its mandate for another year. We are convinced that the need for such a Fund today is greater than before. The improved international climate provides an auspicious initiative for this programme. We hope the forthcoming U.N. Conference on Trade and Development will give a new momentum to the idea.

Once again, it is our welcome privilege, to applaud the work done by the U.N. Special Fund and by the EPTA. Under the direction of some of the ablest of international civil servants these two activities have furnished a marked measure of assistance in economic and industrial development to the developing countries. The valuable pre-investment work done by the Special Fund, which has succeeded in attracting national and multi-national capital, needs to be fully strengthened. We urge the expansion, naturally, with the help of the developed countries, of the resources of the Special Fund to reach its immediate target of \$100,000,000. It will enhance the usefulness of the Fund when the Governing Council is expanded from 18 to 24 members thereby according more balanced geographical representation to the various developing regions of the world. Resolution 964 (XXXVI), of the Economic and Social Council, therefore, has our support.

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As we are convinced that the U.N. Special Fund is doing pioneering work in the special area of work it has made its own we are averse to suddenly transforming it into the Capital Develop-

ment Fund. In the dynamic context of development the two Funds have, or can have well demarcated and distinct areas of operations; their amalgamation, in our view, will not add to efficiency or accelerate development.

These institutional approaches are important but far more important is a sense of urgency, overpowering urgency. In the work of development, the scarcest resource today is Time. Capital can be loaned to us, or supplied otherwise, but who can arrest the inexorable flow of Time? The awakening of millions in the depressed regions of the world is a phenomenon heavy with history. This awakening, if quickly responded to and thereby harnessed, can carry the world to expanding paths of peace and progress, but if it remains ignored it is capable of overturning the whole fabric of civilization. The choice before us is clear and insistent: either we dynamise our economies or we get dynamited I The United Nations, we are aware, is dedicated to the task of urgent transformation. What we jointly acknowledge, it is necessary for each Member Nation to individually accept. Here, it is obvious that the strength of our determination depends on the strength of the weakest resolve amongst us. Let us solemnly affirm that none of us gathered here will be that weak link. That and that alone can be our pledge to the Decade of Development.

INDIA USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC PERU PAKISTAN CHINA RUSSIA FRANCE SWEDEN

Date : Oct 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

JAPAN

Third Yen Credit to India

Discussions were held in Tokyo at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from October 2, 1963 between the representatives of the Governments of Japan and India regarding Japan's Third Yen Credit of

23.4 billion Yen (\$ 65 million-Rs. 30.95 crores) to India for her Third Five Year Plan, which was announced by the Government of Japan at the Consortium meeting concluded on August 7, 1963.

As a result of these discussions, an understanding had been reached on October 24, 1963, to the effect that the Export-Import Bank of Japan, together with private Japanese Banks, would make available to the Government of India a credit of 23.4 billion Yen for India's Third Five Year Plan to assist in financing of purchases from Japan as was the case with the previous Yen credits.

The credit will be used for further financing of the Gorakhpur Fertilizer Factory and the Durgapur Alloy and Tool Steel Plant as well as for other projects and for purchases from Japan of plant and machinery and equipment required for the economic development of India.

The credit of 23.4 billion Yen is repayable in 15 years including a grace period of 5 years, the rate of interest being 5.75% per annum which compares to 6% in the case of previous credits. The details of the procedures have been discussed and agreed upon and a loan agreement signed between the Government of India and the Export-Import Bank of Japan and the Japanese Banks concerned.

On the conclusion of the discussions, the representatives of the Governments of Japan and India expressed their mutual hope and confidence that the traditional friendship which happily exists between the two countries will be further enhanced and promoted by the ever increasing economic co-operation between Japan and India as evidenced by the extension of this 23.4 billion Yen credit and the utilisation of the first and second Yen Credits amounting to 52.2 billion Yen (\$ 145 million-Rs. 69.04 crores).

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JAPAN INDIA USA

Date : Oct 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Contract for Supply of Oil Exploration Equipment

A contract for the delivery of oil exploration and drilling equipment was signed in New Delhi on October 11, 1963, between the Oil & Natural Gas Commission and V/O Technoexport, the supply organization of the U.S.S.R.

The contract was signed by Mr. B. S. Romanov, Counsellor for Economic Affairs of the U.S.S.R. Embassy in India and Mr. A. Garushov, a Soviet Oil Expert, on behalf of the "Technoexport" and Mr. A. Zaman, Member (Finance), on behalf of the Oil & Natural Gas Commission. Mr. I. A. Benediktov, Soviet Ambassador, Shri P. R. Nayak, Vice-Chairman, oil & Natural Gas Commission and Shri N. N. Kashyap, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Mines & Fuel, were present.

Under the contract. the Technoexport would supply drilling rigs, pipes and production, transport and geophysical equipment etc. valued at about Rs. 80 million. The contract has been signed in pursuance of the Indo-Soviet Agreements of June, 1960, and February, 1961. This equipment, will. be used by the O.N.G.C. for exploration and production of oil in various parts of India.

INDIA USA OMAN

Date : Oct 01, 1963

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1995

UNITED KINGDOM

British Loan for Development Projects

An agreement for a loan of œ 4 million (Rs. 5.33 crores) to the Government of India from the British Government was signed in New Delhi on October 16, 1963 by Sir Paul Gore Booth, British High Commissioner, and Shri P. Govindan Nair, Additional Secretary, Ministry of Finance, Department of Economic Affairs.

This loan is part of the offer made by the British Government at recent meetings of the Aid India Consortium in Paris and Washington of further aid amounting to œ 30 million (Rs. 40 crores) to be committed in 1963/64 as part of their contribution towards the foreign exchange costs of economic development under India's Third Five Year Plan.

The loan is for a period of 25 years, but repayments of principal will not begin until after the seventh year. In view of India's special circumstances, and in accordance with the undertaking given by the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations in Britain in Parliament on July 17th, the interest that would otherwise be due during the first seven years of the loan will also be waived.

This loan is to be used to improve the operating efficiency of manufacturers in India who traditionally look to Britain for their supplies and who are experiencing difficulties because of India's tight foreign exchange situation. The need to make funds available for this purpose was emphasized to the British and Indian authorities by Sir Norman Kipping, Director General of the Federation of British Industries, who visited India earlier this year.

The necessary additional import licences under this loan will be issued by the Chief Controller of Imports, Government of India, who will be responsible for administering the scheme.

BACKGROUND NOTE

The loan will be made under the authority of Section 3 of the U.K. Export Guarantees Act, 1949. The rate of interest after the first seven years will be at the normal rate for Section 3 loans, i.e., the rate on each drawing will be based

on the U.K. Exchequer borrowing rate for a comparable period, plus a small management charge. It is estimated that on the basis of current interest rates the effect of the waiver of interest is equivalent to a reduction in the interest rate over the life of the loan from about 5 1/2% to a figure below 3 1/2%.

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The signature of this agreement brings to ₹ 112.5 m. (Rs. 150 crores) the total of loan agreements signed since the beginning of the Indian Third Plan period in April 1961, out of the total of ₹ 125 m. (Rs. 166.67 crores) now committed. Discussions are proceeding between the two governments for the allocation of the balance of ₹ 12.5 m. (Rs. 16.67 crores).

As at result of discussions between the British Government and the Government of India, it has been agreed to allocate this ₹ 4 m. loan in the following manner :-

- (a) Firms producing machinery and equipment of British design will be given additional licences for components, and in exceptional cases for small amounts of specialised raw materials essential to the production process, which have necessarily to be obtained from Britain. In some cases small amounts may also be used for spares when these cannot be catered for by the manufacturers' representatives referred to in (b) below]. Firms producing sugar, cement, textile and electrical machinery, and manufacturers of automobiles and their components will be among those eligible for allocations under this head.
- (b) Representatives of British manufacturers of machinery and equipment, who have been receiving import licences in the past as established importers, will be given additional allocations to bring in spare parts necessary to service and maintain the equipment of their principals already installed in India. Spare parts can be imported under this scheme for machine tools, coal-mining machinery, weighing and office machinery, electrical machinery and apparatus, transport and earth-moving equipment and other capital goods of a high priority.

(c) Firms producing other metal products may also be eligible for licences against this credit to replace obsolete and written-off machine tools and other equipment of British origin, as well as for minor balancing equipment needed for use along with British machinery which they have already installed.

While no specific sums are being separately earmarked for each of the three categories referred to above, it is expected that about half the total will be taken up by category (a), and that the balance will be more or less equally spread between the other two categories. Public Notices will be issued in India by the Chief Controller of Imports, Government of India, inviting applications for import licences and prescribing the data to be furnished.

INDIA FRANCE USA RUSSIA UNITED KINGDOM

Date : Oct 01, 1963

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1995

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

U.S. Loans for Development Projects

The Governments of India and the United States concluded on October 21, 1963, three agreements providing- for U.S. loans totalling \$ 39.6 million (Rs. 18.8 crores) for the expansion of the Chandrapura thermal power station, the supply of 54 diesel locomotives to the Indian Railways and a ropeway project in the Jharia coal fields.

The agreements were signed by the U.S. Ambassador, Mr. Chester Bowles and Shri P. Govindan Nair, Additional Secretary, Ministry of Finance, Department of Economic Affairs.

The credits have been extended by the U.S. Agency for International Development. As in the case of other loans by U.S.A.I.D., the repayment terms have been arranged to reduce the burden on India's foreign exchange resources. The loans are repayable by the Government of India over a period of 40 years with a grace period of 10 years. They are free of interest and carry a service charge of three quarters of one per cent per annum.

The largest of the loans, \$ 16 million, is for meeting the foreign exchange costs of adding a 140,000 kilowatt generator to the Chandrapura thermal power station in the Damodar Valley. Earlier U.S. loans totalling Rs. 34.8 crores are financing the entire cost of the first stage of the project, which is nearing completion and provides for construction of the power station and the installation of two 140,000 kilowatt units. On completion of the second stage covered by today's

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agreement, Chandrapura will have a total installed capacity of 420,000 kilowatts, which will make it the largest thermal power station in India.

The second loan of \$ 15.85 million will finance 54 broad gauge diesel locomotives for the Indian Railways. The Third Plan calls for 299 broad gauge diesel locomotives to be put into service. All of these are being supplied by credits extended by the U.S. Agency for International Development and its predecessor, the Development Loan Fund. The U.S. Export-Import Bank has authorized a loan of \$ 19 million for India's only diesel locomotive factory currently under construction at Varanasi. Compared with a steam engine, the diesel locomotive has a higher speed and can haul a larger load. Furthermore it can operate for long periods without taking time off for maintenance. The diesels already in service are helping in the faster movement of goods trains carrying coal, iron ore and steel.

The third loan, for \$ 7.7 million, is for a ropeway project in the Jharia coal fields, Bihar, which will transport 3 million tons of sand annually. The sand, obtained from the Damodar River bed, will be used to fill up mined spaces in the coal fields. The roofs of the rich coal mines in the region are supported by vast coal pillars. By stowing sand, most of the good quality coking

coal in the pillars can be removed. The project will increase coal production by 1.5 million tons annually.

USA INDIA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date : Oct 01, 1963

Volume No

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WORLD BANK

Shri L. K. Jha's Statement at the Annual Meeting

Shri L. K. Jha, Alternate Governor for India of the World Bank, made the following statement at the annual meeting of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development in Washington on October 2, 1963 :

My first duty today is to extend the warm welcome of the Government of India to the countries who join us at this meeting for the first time. What better tribute could there be to the value of what the Bank has been doing than the steady increase in its membership from year to year to which you, Mr. Chairman, referred in your opening address. The fact that since our last Annual Meeting as many as twenty developing countries have joined the Bank not merely bears testimony to its past achievements but is also a timely reminder of the nature and magnitude of its future responsibility.

This meeting of ours is being held on the eve of the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development. It is in the fitness of things that we should take stock of our position at this juncture. Mr. Woods, the new President of the Bank, whom we know, admire and welcome, has suggested new ways in which the Bank can help to accelerate the pace of development. Believe that Mr. Woods' address with its rare blend of idealism and realism must rank as one of the most outstanding statements that we have heard at any of our

Annual Meetings. The Indian delegation gives its full support to his proposal that the Bank should widen the scope of its activities.

Lord Keynes is reputed to have said that when the Fund and the Bank were born at Bretton Woods there was a confusion at the time of their christening and what was named the Bank should really have been called the Fund, and what was called the Fund should have, been named the Bank. Whether there was such a confusion or not, it is quite clear that the main business of the Bank is not banking but development. Its bookkeeping may be done in Washington, but its true balance sheet is in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Of course, the Bank must act with prudence and caution as it has always done. We have to congratulate ourselves on its strong financial position and no one would wish to see it weakened. At the same time, we have rightly decided that the net income of the Bank should in future be used not for an automatic augmentation of its special reserve but for other purposes to further the basic objective of the Bank. It seems almost difficult to add to the suggestions that have been made by Mr. Woods in this context. Two other possibilities do occur to me which I should like to put forward for consideration. Could what Mr. Woods has called the "Debt Problem" of developing countries be eased by lowering the cost of Bank lending? This can I believe be

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done without any subsidization. Could again, the "Commodity Problem"--the problem of promoting exports--be helped by giving technical and financial assistance to developing countries in such things as market research, organization of exhibitions and overseas publicity which do entail outlays in foreign currencies? I would also like to support strongly the proposal of the Governor of the Federal Republic of Germany that the Bank's surpluses should augment IDA's resources.

The position of the International Development Association in respect of resources is unfortunately much less satisfactory. We are all happy that Part I members of IDA have agreed to make a fresh sizable contribution of dollars 750 million. This is not a small sum of money on any reckoning. And yet when we consider

the immensity of the problem when we think of the hundreds of millions of human beings who need to be helped to stand on their own feet the sum does seem inadequate amounting to no more than a few cents per head per annum. We must not forget however that apart from their contribution through the IDA many developed countries give large amounts of Aid directly to developing countries. We also greatly appreciate the gesture of Part I members in increasing their contribution without seeking any increase in their voting rights.

The distinction between Part I and Part II countries is essentially a question of difference between levels of economic development and prosperity. As the fruits of development are garnered, more and more Part II members will become Part I members. We fully share the hope expressed by Mr. Woods that countries which are at present seeking aid for their own development will in course of time begin helping others less advanced. In fact, India has for a number of years been making a small contribution toward the development of some of her neighbours under what is known as the Colombo Plan. Our resources, as you know, are not only limited but overstrained. Nevertheless, India would be willing to explore the possibility of her local currency contribution to IDA being used for furthering the development process in other countries. Within the limitations of our capabilities we shall always be anxious to assist whenever and however we can.

Turning to IFC, we note with satisfaction, the valuable work it has been doing. As one of the supporters two years ago of the proposal to give new powers of equity investment to it, I am happy to learn that the widening of its charter has proved beneficial. It is, I believe, important for all institutions which have a mission to fulfil and an objective to realize, not to allow themselves to be tramped by concepts and ideas which seemed adequate when they were formed but which, with the changing nature of the challenge presented to them may require reorientation.

The new ideas which Mr. Woods has put before us have to be viewed in this long term perspective. The higher we ascend, the wider the horizon around us. When the Bank was born, the emphasis naturally was on projects today, we see more clearly that the development of a

country is not accomplished merely by setting up a number of new projects, however, impressive and however well executed they may be. It is also now recognized that the terms of repayment of debts have to take into account not only the resource position of the project but also the balance of payments position of the country concerned. Development assistance must make an impact on the economy as a whole, so that it acquires the momentum to move forward. The ultimate object of aid must be to end the need for aid, and for this all sectors of the economy have to be toned up and vitalized. Projects which are neither spectacular nor glamorous may well make a more significant contribution when knit together in a well conceived plan than isolated masterpieces of modern technology.

We welcome the thought that the Bank should pay greater attention to agriculture and build up local agricultural credit and investment institutions. We lend full support to the idea of financing the import of components, spare parts and equipment for replacement. What can be more tragic and wasteful than the sight of an existing plant working below capacity for lack of foreign exchange while external finance is available for setting up a new factory. The financing of components has the special advantage of helping the growth of industries to produce capital goods in the developing countries. If developing countries are able to produce the capital goods they need for their development, they can reduce their dependence on external assistance.

In conclusion, I would emphasize that the role of the Bank in helping developing countries is not limited to the financing operations which the Bank undertakes directly. The Bank is the one forum where developed and developing countries meet and discuss the problems of development and work together to evolve policies to fulfil their common objective. The Bank, and particularly its President, has for years played an important role in educating public opinion all over the world on the importance and value of aid and its proper utilization. I have little doubt that Mr. Woods will in this matter carry on the noble work started by his distinguished predecessor.

INDIA USA GERMANY SRI LANKA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

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MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS EXTERNAL PUBLICITY DIVISION
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AUSTRIA USA CANADA INDIA NORWAY SLOVAKIA NEPAL PAKISTAN CONGO

Date : Nov 01, 1963

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AUSTRIA

Joint Statement by the Austrian Foreign Minister and Prime Minister Nehru

The following is the text of the Joint Statement

by the Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Prime Minister of India issued in New Delhi on November 12, 1963 :

At the invitation of the Government of India, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Bruno Kreisky, accompanied by Dr. Ludwig Steiner, Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Reconstruction, and the Department for Nationalised Industries, paid a visit to the Republic of India from 4th to 12th November, 1963.

The Prime Minister of the Republic of India and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Austria welcome the opportunity afforded by this visit of renewing personal contacts and of having a friendly exchange of views on matters of mutual interest and on the international situation. The Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister agree there is similarity of approach to many issues as both India and Austria believe in the settlement of international differences by peaceful means, and in peaceful cooperation between States with different social systems. They welcome, in this connection, the conclusion of the Test Ban Treaty as an important step towards the relaxation of international tensions, and towards further agreements on questions connected with the problem of disarmament.

The Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister agree on the desirability of intensifying cooperation between India and Austria, particularly in economic matters, and to the undertaking of appropriate studies towards that end.

During the visit, Dr. Bruno Kreisky and Dr. Ludwig Steiner were received by the President and the Vice-President of India. They also had talks with the Finance Minister, the Minister for Steel and Heavy Industries, the Minister for International Trade, and the Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs.

The Foreign Minister and his party visited the Bhakra Dam as well as the nearby Community Development Block. As a token of friendship and goodwill and of Austrian interest in this rural development activity, the Foreign Minister presented, on behalf of the Austrian Government, an Austrian tractor and a quantity of milk powder

to the Community Development Block.

The Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister express their satisfaction at the opportunity of a friendly and informal exchange of views afforded by this visit. They are confident that these Personal contacts will further strengthen the friendly relations between their two countries.

AUSTRIA USA INDIA

Date : Nov 01, 1963

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CANADA

India-Canada Atomic Energy Agreements Signed

Representatives of the Government of India and Canada on November 15, 1963, concluded and initialled in Ottawa two agreements in the atomic energy field of far-reaching significance to both countries.

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One of these agreements is between the Atomic Energy authorities of the two countries. These authorities will freely exchange scientific and technical information which have already been obtained, or may be obtained during the period of the agreement, in regard to the development of heavy water moderated reactor systems. Either party will, if requested by the other, furnish information and detailed designs data, including plans and working drawings regarding the design and construction of nuclear power stations of the heavy water type. Initially, Atomic Energy of Canada Limited will supply to the Indian Atomic Energy Department detailed design data, including working drawings, relating to the Candu reactor and the Douglas Point Nuclear generating Station now under construction in Canada.

This agreement will initially run for a period

of eight years and may be extended by mutual agreement. During the early years of the agreement valuable information already developed as a result of Canada's special experience in heavy water systems will be transferred to the Government of India for full commercial use in India. This information, which has been valued by the Government of India at Dollars 5 million, is to be transferred without cost to India and without deduction from Colombo Plan or other assistance.

Under another agreement between the two Governments, Canada and India will co-operate in the construction of a nuclear power station of the Candu type with a net electrical output of 200 Megawatts to be located at Rana Pratap Sagar, Rajasthan State in India. The Indian Department of Atomic Energy will act as prime contractors and be responsible for the erection of the station. Canada will provide the design with detailed working drawings and specifications of the station up to the steam raising equipment while India will provide the design for the rest of the station.

Half of the initial charge of uranium fuel will be procured from Canada. Canada will also supply such additional fuel for the station as may be required by India from time to time provided that Canadian fuel is not more expensive than other foreign fuel.

The Government of Canada will provide under the Export Credits Insurance Act credit facilities for the purchase of services material and equipment supplied from Canada which is estimated to cost approximately dollars 35 million; the total cost of the project is about dollars 70 million.

This station will make a valuable contribution to the power needs of a vital region in India.

Canada and India have agreed to exchange information regarding the operation of this station and its counterpart, the Douglas Point Nuclear Generating Station now under construction in Canada. They have also agreed that the two stations shall be used only for peaceful purposes and the agreement includes appropriate provisions to this end. A unique feature of the agreement is that these provisions are completely reciprocal, conferring on India and Canada

identical facilities for assuring themselves that both stations are being so used.

The two agreements reflect the long standing co-operation between Canada and India in the peaceful uses of atomic energy and will further strengthen the close and friendly relations between the two countries.

CANADA INDIA USA SRI LANKA

Date : Nov 01, 1963

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

India's Trade with Czechoslovakia: Five-year Agreement Signed

A long-term trade and payments agreement between Czechoslovakia and India was signed in New Delhi on November 7, 1963 by Mr. F. Hamouz, Minister of Foreign Trade of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and Mr. Manubhai Shah, Minister of International Trade, Government of India. The Agreement, which replaces the existing three-year Trade and Payments Agreement, will be valid for five years from January 1, 1964.

During his visit to Prague in June this year, Shri Manubhai Shah had had discussions with Mr. F. Hamouz on trade and allied matters.

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As a result of these talks a high level delegation of officials led by Mr. Rudolf, Chief of the Department in the Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Trade, came to India last month and conducted negotiations with an Indian team led by Shri S. Vohra, Joint Secretary in the Ministry of International Trade.

The new agreement signed today provides for the exchange of goods between India and

Czechoslovakia to the tune of Rs. 195 million each way in 1964, Rs. 235 million each way in 1965 and Rs. 245 million each way in 1966.

Exports of manufactured industrial products from India are expected to increase substantially. Similarly, Indian exports of iron ore to Czechoslovakia, which is already a large consumer of Indian iron ore, will also show rapid increase. India will also export other traditional items such as jute products, textiles, tea, H.P.S. groundnuts, cashew kernels and coffee.

Imports from Czechoslovakia will consist mainly of machine tools, heavy machinery and equipment for power projects and other heavy industries such as tractors. Czechoslovakia will also supply increasing quantities of tool, alloy and special steel and rolled steel products, chemicals, dye-intermediates and other raw materials and components for Indian industries.

Letters have also been exchanged between the Indian and Czechoslovak delegations providing for discussions between the representatives of the two Governments within the next six months for further economic collaboration for implementation of projects in India's Third and Fourth Five Year Plans. A new line of credit for 50 million dollars has been offered by Czechoslovakia.

After the signing ceremony, Shri Manubhai Shah and Mr. Hamouz spoke about the increasing friendship and cooperation between the two countries. Describing the agreement as a landmark in the history of Indo-Czech trade, Shri Manubhai Shah said that a happy feature was that Indian manufactured goods worth Rs. 2.5 to 3 crores would enter the Czechoslovak market every year. He hoped that other industrialised countries would follow the example of Czechoslovakia and buy manufactured goods from developing countries like India and help them to expand their trade. Another important point, he said, was that every year 10 per cent of the trade between the two countries would consist of non-traditional items. Trade would be on a balanced basis between the two countries. He expressed the hope that in the years to come Indo-Czech trade would grow considerably and the international division of labour which had been recognised in the pact would be accepted by other countries also.

The Czechoslovak Minister, Mr. Hamouz, said that his Government would continue to give all the assistance it could for the economic development of India. He said that during his tour of the Country he was pleased to see the achievements in various fields. Some of the factories which he had visited compared very favourably with those in advanced countries. He praised the training programme for Indian technicians.

NORWAY SLOVAKIA INDIA CZECH REPUBLIC USA RUSSIA

Date : Nov 01, 1963

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INDIA IN THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri B. N. Chakravarty's Letter to President of Security Council on Kashmir

Following is the text of the letter dated 12th November 1963, from Shri B. N. Chakravarty, India's Permanent Representative to the United Nations, addressed to the President of the Security Council :

I have been instructed by the Government of India to refer to the Pakistan Permanent Representative's letter dated 9th October, 1963 (S/5437) which attempts to raise an issue in which Pakistan has no locus standi and which has been dealt with very fully in the past both in the Security Council and in the United Nations General Assembly debates.

The Pakistan Permanent Representative had raised this matter, inter alia, in his letter dated 28th March, 1958 (S/3981) and also in his letter dated 9th September, 1959 (S/4217). Both these letters were answered by the Permanent Representative of India (S/3994 and S/4228) and it was clearly shown that Pakistan had no locus standi in Kashmir and the Govern-

ment of Pakistan was only seeking an excuse to

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interfere in the internal affairs of the Indian Union. On June 11, 1949, the Government of Pakistan had pretested to the UN Commission against the decision taken by the Constituent Assembly of India to reserve four seats for the representatives of the Government of Jammu and Kashmir. The Commission, as is well known, refused to take any action in the matter, on the ground that it was "difficult to oppose this measure of, the Indian Government on purely legal grounds". If, despite this view expressed by the Commission, the Government of Pakistan continues to agitate this matter, the only motive which the Government of India can sense behind this move, today, is to seek an excuse to whip up propaganda and create tension between the two countries, obviously in collusion with the People's Republic of China, another aggressor who has violated the territorial integrity of the Jammu and Kashmir State of the Indian Union.

Legally and constitutionally, there is nothing in the statement made by Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed, who was till recently the democratically elected Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, to which objection would be taken by anyone. Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed was fully entitled to say what he did, both, under the Jammu and Kashmir Constitution and under various provisions of the Constitution of India. Jammu and Kashmir is a constituent State of the Indian Union and therefore, Indian Union territory. Pakistan has no locus standi in this territory, except that of an aggressor. As stated, from time to time, by India's representatives in the Security Council and in Indian Permanent Representatives' letters to the President of the Security Council, this legal and constitutional position is the basis of the Security Council resolution of January 17, 1948, the UN Commission resolutions, as also the assurances given to the Prime Minister of India by the Chairman of the Commission. None of these resolutions has been implemented by the Government of Pakistan, and not only has its aggression continued and been consolidated, but the Government of Pakistan has recently handed over 2,000 square miles of Indian Union territory in Jammu and Kashmir to the People's Republic of China, in open violation of the UNCIP resolutions.

I have no desire to exchange allegations indulged in by the Permanent Representative of Pakistan in his letter but I am constrained to refer to what he has stated about Sheikh Abdullah in paragraph 3 of his letter. It is hardly necessary to point out that Sheikh Abdullah is being tried in open court and enjoys the full freedom to choose his own counsel from India or from abroad. In contrast, as recently revealed, the Opposition in the Pakistan National Assembly is reported to have challenged the Government of Pakistan to try, under normal legal processes, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and other political prisoners held in Pakistan. Even the Pakistan Home Minister, Khan Habibullah Khan, answering charges about horrors committed by the Pakistan Army in Baluchistan, during the Martial Law has admitted that there are several hundred detainees in East and West Pakistan. It might be more fitting if the Government of Pakistan dealt with its own internal problems of public life and did not indulge in wild and baseless charges against its neighbour.

It is requested that this communication be brought to the notice of the Members of the Security Council.

INDIA PAKISTAN USA CHINA

Date : Nov 01, 1963

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INDIA IN THE UNITED NATIONS

Shrimati Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit's Tribute to President Kennedy

Following is the text of the tribute by Shrimati Vijaya Lakshmi, Pandit. Leader of the Indian Delegation to U.N., in the General Assembly on' November 26, 1963. to the memory of Mr. John Fitzgerald Kennedy, 35th President of the United States of America

Mr. President,

We meet here today in deep sorrow to honour the memory of a great and noble man. Three shots fired in Dallas, Texas, on November 22, 1963, took one's mind back to three other shots fired on a January afternoon in India 15 years ago when Mahatma Gandhi became a victim of the assassin's bullet. Though the time and place were different, the deed in both cases represented the ascendancy, for the moment, of the powers of hatred and violence which both Mahatma Gandhi and John Fitzgerald Kennedy fought against all through their lives.

The hands that struck these men had hoped, not only to end their lives, but to strike a blow at the ideals they stood for. But fifteen years after the death of Gandhi, his life and message continue to guide and strengthen people not only in India but everywhere in the world.

President Kennedy had become a symbol of the values he so unswervingly upheld and there is not the slightest doubt that his message will be a source of unending inspiration to future generations in every part of the globe. He was prophetic when he said in his inaugural address that "the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans". This torch is the legacy he has left to his country and to the world.

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The assassination of such a man is a crime against humanity and the blow has not fallen on the United States alone. It is shared by every country.

In less than three years John Fitzgerald Kennedy proved himself in many ways as a man of high principle, strong determination, great goodwill and immense dynamism. He possessed grandeur of vision, loftiness of ideals, youth and vigour, humanity and generosity and, above all, belief in the equality of man regardless of race, religion and colour. These and his dedication to the cause of peace have assured him a place in history. Mankind will cherish his luminous and fragrant memory.

He was a staunch friend and supporter of the United Nations and of the ideals of the Charter

of this Organisation. He endeavoured with considerable success to work for the removal of the tensions which have, since the end of the Second World War, plagued this world. To the developing countries, he was ever willing to give help and aid so that people everywhere could share the blessings of freedom and democracy. He was, in fact, in the midst of completing the unfinished task of another great American President when the assassin's bullet struck him in the prime of youth. John Fitzgerald Kennedy was a sincere and understanding friend of my country.

Mr. President, on behalf of the people and the Government of India and on my own behalf, I extend to Mrs. Kennedy the homage of our grief in her irreparable loss. We offer our respectful condolences to all the other members of the family. We pray that in spite of the insanity by which we seem to be momentarily surrounded, the spirit of love will triumph over hate and that John Fitzgerald Kennedy's death will not have been in vain.

INDIA USA

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INDIA IN THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri B. N. Chakravarty's Letter to President of Security Council on Cease-Fire Line in Kashmir

Following is the text of the letter dated 27th Nov 1963, from Shri B. N. Chakravarty, India's Permanent Representative to the United Nations, addressed to the President of the Security Council :

I am instructed by the Government of India to refer to the letter, dated 1st November 1963, from the Permanent Representative of Pakistan, (S/5450) and to say that this contains little more

than a set of false allegations in regard to the situation prevailing on the Cease-Fire Line in the Indian State of Jammu & Kashmir.

The Permanent Representative of Pakistan, in his letter and reference, states that India has denied the allegations made in para. 2 of his letter. He also admits, in para. 3 of his letter, that the village of CHAKNOT (called CHANGNAR on some maps) clearly lies on the Indian side of the Cease-Fire Line, as indeed is the case with several other border villages along the Cease-Fire Line. By claiming that some of these villages have been and are being administered by some unlawful body of people, whom the Pakistan Government chooses to call the "Azad Kashmir Government", he admits that either Pakistan has, been committing breaches of the Cease-Fire Line, all along and continuously, since 1949, or that it is about to commit such a breach. this time, perhaps in a more serious manner than in the past.

The Government of Pakistan had earlier publicly declared its adherence to the inviolability of the Cease-Fire Line and had also stated that a crossing of the Line by even unarmed civilians would be a breach of the Cease-Fire Agreement. The Government of Pakistan, it would appear, is now openly repudiating these past solemn declarations on the subject. It is true that the Cease-Fire Line does not determine the political or administrative status in the area unlawfully occupied by Pakistan armed forces. The present "iniquitous and arbitrary division of Kashmir" about which the Pakistan representative complains is, as the Council is fully aware, solely the result of Pakistan's aggression which its representative in the earlier stages repeatedly and falsely denied before the Security Council, until this denial could no longer be maintained on the arrival of the United Nations Commission on the scene. This has been the pattern of conduct of Pakistan, ever since it committed aggression against Kashmir in 1947.

The Government of India has built no mule track leading to the village of CHAKNOT or CHANGNAR, nor set up any armed post in the village or on any ridge overlooking the village. No Indian troops have been concentrated in this area. On the contrary, Pakistan troops have been recently deployed in the KEL area, in the vicinity

of this village, and Pakistan aircraft have been seen flying over this area. The Government of India has already denied the Pakistan allegations of the so-called "spasmodic eviction of Muslims". It is absurd to suggest that Muslims are being ejected from Kashmir, when Kashmir is a State where the Muslims form a proud majority. The United Nations Observers are stationed along the

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Cease-Fire Line and the Government of India has already brought Pakistan's violations of the Cease-Fire Agreement to their notice and they have full confidence that the United Nations Observers will duly ascertain the facts.

The Pakistan Government has taken great pains to argue that Pakistan's violations of the Cease-Fire Line and its attempts at disturbing the normal life of villages on the Indian side of the Cease-Fire Line should be treated as falling outside the scope of the Cease-Fire Agreement and the tasks assigned to the United Nations Observers under the Agreement. This is a further attempt by the aggressor to wriggle out of his solemn commitments and prepare the ground for further aggression. All this can deceive no one, particularly when the world at large is aware that India has categorically stated that it will not use force across the Cease-Fire Line, but defend itself, if attacked. Pakistan could have referred its allegations of Indian troop concentrations along the Cease-Fire Line to the United Nations Observers who are there to look into complaints of this nature. Instead Pakistan is deliberately adopting this alternative of writing letters to the Security Council with the sole object of maligning India and misleading the Security Council.

It is requested that this communication be brought to the notice of the members of the Security Council.

INDIA PAKISTAN USA ECUADOR MALI

Date : Nov 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

Shrimati Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit's speech in Security Council on Apartheid

Following is the text of Shrimati Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit's speech on apartheid in the Security Council on November 29, 1963 :

I should like to thank the President and the other members of the Security Council for affording me this opportunity to address the Council on the question of race conflict in South Africa resulting from the policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa.

Seventeen years ago this month I had the honour of addressing the first session of the General Assembly of this great Organisation, and the subject of my intervention was the treatment of the people of Indian origin in the Union of South Africa. The membership of the United Nations was of a different texture at that time, and it had not been easy for us even to get the Assembly to take up the question of racial discrimination in South Africa for discussion. The immediate cause for bringing up the question in the General Assembly in 1946 was the passing of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act---otherwise known as the Ghetto Act by the South African Parliament in 1946.

My adversary in that debate was the then Prime Minister of South Africa, the late Field Marshal Smuts, who raised the plea of domestic jurisdiction under Article 2 (7) of the Charter. After prolonged discussion, the plea of domestic jurisdiction was rejected and a mild resolution adopted, but a chink in South Africa's armour had been made. The name of Field Marshal Smuts is, as we all know, closely associated with the Charter of this Organization. A year earlier, in 1945, at San Francisco he had suggested that the Charter should contain in its Preamble a declaration of human rights and of the common faith that had sustained the allied peoples in their prolonged struggle against the Hitlerite regime, and he went on to say :

"Let us in this new Charter for humanity

give expression of this faith of ours; let us proclaim to the world and to posterity that this was not a mere brute struggle of forces correlating to the last war."

In this statement we have an appeal, an eloquent appeal, on behalf of the Charter which puts at rest any doubt that the question of the racial policies of the Government of South Africa is not covered by the Charter as a matter of domestic jurisdiction and makes clear that this is, rather, a basic issue for those who accepted the Charter and its obligations. The Charter clearly speaks in its Preamble of "the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small". It does not simply say "the equal rights of nations large and small"; it speaks of "men and women". And this is exactly what apartheid deals with : men and women.

At that time, the delegation of India was accused of "prosecuting a vendetta", and wild allegations were made against us. It was said by South African spokesmen that we were actuated by a desire to make political capital, by expansionist desires in relation to the continent of Africa. Time has proved that this was not the truth and that our one desire was to ensure that justice was meted out to the people of South Africa, regardless of their origin, colour, sex or religion.

The struggle for racial equality in South Africa is associated with the name of Mahatma Gandhi and India had come at that time to the United Nations in a spirit of humility. We were and are conscious of our shortcomings, our failures.

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We are in no position to condemn. But, like other sister nations, we believe that there is a moral law which must be recognized and obeyed if mankind is to continue its onward march towards a brave new world. Because of this belief, our Government seeks to implement the promise of justice and equality enshrined in all democratic constitutions into the life of every citizen. The pace may sometimes be slower than we would wish but, nevertheless, we move on and strive for the elimination of discrimination and the breaking down of all artificial barriers which separate men from each other. The Government

of the Republic of South Africa has, on the contrary, made a virtue of its brutal and senseless policies and seeks to justify them.

We believe that apartheid is bad not only for those who are its victims but also for those who preach and practice it. No group of human beings can, for any length of time, act unjustly and inhumanly toward their fellows without disastrous consequences to themselves. The human spirit is destroyed and the mind that can produce such a concept has reverted to the law of the jungle.

In flagrant disregard of the Charter, to which South Africa subscribes, and of world opinion, the Government of the Republic goes from one hideous act to another. Gradually a climate is being created in which the growing hate and frustration will lead, inevitably, to violence and, who knows, even war. For years many of us have repeated the warning that there can be no double standards in the world. Freedom and justice must have the same meaning for all men and women or the values by which decent people live and, indeed, civilization itself stand in jeopardy. What use is it for us to talk of one world, to speak about freedom from want and from fear if, side by side, we contribute, actively or by our silent acquiescence, to the building up of a situation which must erupt and, erupting, lead to horrible consequences.

Many things are important to human beings. Freedom is important; security is important; food is important; but nothing-nothing-can take the place of the feeling of equality between man and man which must exist if the world is to survive in peace. To this end we must lend all our energy and our efforts. While the smallest shadow of discrimination remains between people on grounds of race and colour, other benefits will be meaningless for all else stems from this feeling of oneness, the knowledge that we are equal and are equally entitled to all the rights and privileges which man has made possible for man. There can be no compromise with honour, with justice or with the dignity of the individual. If these are not willingly extended, they will be taken by the only weapon open to desperate people, the weapon of violence. Are we who so frequently pledge our adherence to the principles of the United Nations Charter going to remain silent spectators of a situation which make a mockery

of all this great Organization stands for? Some of us have taken effective and practical measures to show our disapproval, but on the other hand some powerful friends of South Africa have merely made condemnatory speeches and taken only minor action. Indignation and dramatic speeches cannot be a substitute for practical action in the present case.

For seventeen years now, the United Nations has addressed itself to this most appalling problem and yet the challenging question of racial discrimination, racial segregation and racial domination has not been solved. Resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council have gone unheeded by South Africa. Hopeful beginnings have been made in the realm of disarmament and world peace. Decolonization has made marked progress except in certain parts of Africa, and the changed composition of this Organization is a testimony to the rewarding achievements in that field. In the sphere of economic rehabilitation, right policies are being carried out. Only in the case of South Africa has apartheid led to deterioration of the situation. It needs no prophet to point out that catastrophe is just around the corner in South Africa.

As the Prime Minister of Canada stated in the General Assembly a few weeks ago, it has become possible for man to communicate with a missile or a planet millions of miles away, but it is still not possible for us to communicate with each other on this small planet of ours. The United Nations has made every possible endeavour during these seventeen years to carry on a dialogue with the Government of South Africa. We have appealed, requested and implored the Government of South Africa to put an end to its apartheid policies, but to no avail. From one murderous tyranny to another, that Government has gone on denying freedom, suffocating justice and perpetuating racism of the worst kind. One lawless law after another is enacted and brave sons of South Africa like Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Ahmed Kathrada, to name only a few, are condemned to long terms of imprisonment and solitary confinement for daring to ask that the ideals of the Charter of the United Nations be put into practice in South Africa.

In that country, to ask for racial equality,

justice, freedom and human rights is to commit sabotage, and the minimum penalty under the Sabotage Act is five years imprisonment; the maximum penalty is death, even for a juvenile. Some have gone to the gallows during the current session of the Assembly. The still small

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voices of reason are fighting a losing battle in South Africa and zealots of racism gain strength and supremacy there. The central problem had been stated in no Unambiguous terms by Mr. Strajidom in April 1955 when he stated : "The only way the Europeans can maintain their supremacy is by domination". The same inflexible Position has been restated by the present Prime Minister, Dr. Verwoerd who, in January 1963, stated:

"Keeping Africa white can only mean one thing, namely, white domination-not leadership, not guidance, but control and Supremacy."

That is the brutal mandate which the South African racists have awarded themselves. They are determined to convert that land into a valley of death. The comparison with Nazi Germany is inescapable. To destroy the house that Hitler built, a terrible world war had to be fought Must another war be fought before South Africa mends its ways? No glimmer of hope seems to conic from South Africa and that Government has Set its face in opposition to the demands made by this Organization for the abandonment of its policies of apartheid, and has manifested open hostility towards the United Nations and its decisions.

The South African racists have made wild claims about the achievements made in the country by their Government. Let us pause for a moment to examine the-facts. One of the most striking features of the South African racial Policies is the multitude of arrests and convictions under the numerous laws and regulations which restrict the freedom of movement and residence of the people, whether they be African, Indian, coloured or white. The absurd and in-human lengths to which the separation of human beings is carried are vividly described by a Reuter despatch from Johannesburg dated 21 November 1963. and I quote from that despatch:

"The wife of a leading Indian businessman here will not be able to talk to her husband in future-unless special permission is granted. This follows five ban orders served on the couple here yesterday under the Suppression of Communism Act. Mr. Yusuf Cachalia, an Indian businessman was served with two orders and his wife Amina with three. A clause in one of Mrs. Cachalia's forbids her to communicate with any banned person, so it means that she will have to apply for permission to talk to her husband. Mr. Cachalia, who has a wholesale business here, is a former Joint Secretary of the South African Indian Congress. Vice-President of the Transvaal Indian Congress and Joint Secretary of the National Council of the Transvaal Indian Congress and the banned African National Congress. Under the terms of the Act, neither Mr. Cachalia nor his wife are allowed to attend any social or political gatherings. Mr. Cachalia has to report to the police every day, apart from Sundays and public holidays, while his wife has to report weekly. She is also confined to the Johannesburg area for the next five years."

Another document was handed to me a moment ago and I should like, with your permission, to read from it. It is issued by the International Commission of Jurists and reads as follows :

"On Thursday, October 17, 1963, the International Commission of Jurists dispatched the following telegramme to the Minister of Justice and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of South Africa :

"On behalf of the International Commission of Jurists I request permission for an observer to visit South Africa for the purpose of observing the sabotage trial beginning October 29. The name of the proposed observer would be notified as soon as permission was received.

""(Signature) Vivian Bose
President""

Mr. Vivian Bose is retired judge of the

Supreme Court of India. It goes on :

"The following reply was received from Mr. Eric Louw, Minister of Foreign Affairs and it is understood that the Government of South Africa released it to the press :

"Your request has been submitted to the Minister of Justice who replies as follows 'I am surprised that you now request permission for observer to visit South Africa for purpose of observing trial on October 29. In the past you sent so-called observers on a number of occasions without requesting permission. These observers did not show elementary courtesy of paying their respects to South Africa Bar Council and to other authorities. Your request is tantamount to a suggestion that the trial will not be a fair one and appears to be motivated by the recent resolution of the United Nations. Our courts are at all times open to everyone and our system of justice and our independent judiciary comparable with best in the world. Consider your request as an affront to our system of justice, our bench and bar. I am not interested in the name of your observer

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nor will I afford him official recognition or special facilities should you decide to send one.'

"(Signature) Louw, Minister of Foreign Affairs."

That needs no comment.

In 1962 the number of convictions in South Africa was 384,497, or over a thousand a day. if one turns to the wage structure, the picture is no less gloomy. The ratio between the average wage earnings of whites and Africans in the mining industry is a proximately 15 : 1 and in secondary industry it is 5 : 1. In 1960 the whites had a per capita income of œ425 a year and the Africans œ39. According to Dr. Hansen, associate professor of child health at Capetown University, the total mortality rate for the age group from one to four showed that Bantu children are dying at twenty five times and

coloured children at fifteen times the rate of white children. The general mortality rate amongst the African children is one of the highest in the world, varying from over 200 per 1,000 in the cities to 300 to 400 in some of the rural areas. The corresponding figure for white children is twenty-seven. These figures speak for themselves, and yet the South African authorities have the audacity to tell us that the indigenous people in South Africa live in comfort and in a state of bliss and harmony.

What can the United Nations do in such a situation? We are entirely in favour of persuasion, moderation and negotiation. However, all these methods have been tried, and there has been throughout these seventeen years no response of any kind from the Government of South Africa. My delegation would give its most earnest consideration to an alternative to economic sanctions, but no constructive and effective alternative has been proposed by the trading partners of South Africa. All that we have been repeatedly told is that we must use restraint and hope that gradually the Government of South Africa will see the light of day and change its policies, but this hope has been belied. The South African racists have categorically declared that they have no intention of changing their policies of apartheid. Resolutions have been adopted in various organs dealing with this matter, and the Security Council itself adopted a resolution a few months ago. The efforts made by a vast majority of the Afro-Asians in conducting a diplomatic and trade boycott of South Africa, first initiated by India, caused South Africa the loss of only a fraction of the trade, which is being made up by increased trade with other nations carrying on trade with South Africa. The report of the Special committee on Apartheid so ably presided over by Mr. Diallo Telli of Guinea has given revealing details of the trade figures of South Africa and of its defence budget. It is the developed nations of the West that have to make up their minds and put an end to all trade with South Africa. The time for half measures and stop-gap arrangements is over. If the Western Powers say what they mean, then they must make it quite clear to South Africa that there can be and will be no compromise with its evil policies.

We are a country of some 450 million people

and in our present state of economic development we need all the trade that is available anywhere but we refuse to trade with South Africa and we have not done so for the past seventeen years. It is at once a matter of regret and surprise to us that some nations sitting around this table whilst condemning the racial policies of South Africa continue to have massive trade with that country. The United Nations cannot also ignore and is rightly concerned with the growing military strength of South Africa. This growth has been extraordinarily rapid, indicating frenzied preparation for a showdown. The total security budget, namely, the expenditure on armed and police forces, has increased in the past four years by nearly 300 per cent. Even more revealing and alarming is the spectacular rise in the Government expenditure on the manufacture of ammunition. In the same four-year period, it has jumped up nearly seventy-fold. Against whom is this piling of arms being done? From which quarter does South Africa expect an attack? AU this increase in the defence budget is for the sole purpose of crushing the brave patriots who are fighting against the apartheid policies. Prime Minister Verwoerd and his followers are sowing the wind and in due course they must reap the whirlwind. It is our belief that only the firmest sanctions taken and implemented can make an impact. All trade has to stop and the lead for this has to come from the United Kingdom and the United States. The rest of the trading partners will undoubtedly follow so powerful and so long overdue a lead. The United Kingdom has heavy investments in South Africa. The stake of the United States is smaller, but still substantial. South Africa depends up to 90 per cent or more on imports in petroleum. The General Assembly has already adopted a resolution requesting Member States not to supply petroleum and petroleum products to South Africa. If a total trade embargo were announced, if landing facilities were denied to South African aircraft, and if these and other measures were enforced faithfully, the Government of South Africa would come to its senses in no time. As a matter of fact, these sanctions determined and decisive will undoubtedly give

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the moderate elements in South Africa a chance to assert themselves.

Arguments are heard from time to time that economic sanctions would involve hardship to the indigenous population rather than affect the white minority of South Africa. A great son of South Africa, Chief Luthuli, speaks on this, and I quote from his book *Let My People Go* :

"I shall not argue that the economic ostracism of South Africa is desirable from every point of view. But I have little doubt that it represents our only chance of a relatively peaceful transition from the present unacceptable type of rule to a system of Government which gives us all our rightful voice. The alternative to it is to let things run their course while white South Africa earns its bread on the international market by the sweat of African brows. At home the situation will get further out of hand, and when all African leaders have been put away, violence, rioting and counter-rioting will become the order of the day.

It can only deteriorate into disorder and ultimate disaster.

"The economic boycott of South Africa will entail undoubted hardship for Africans. We do not doubt that. But if it is a method which shortens the day of bloodshed, the suffering to us will be a price we are willing to pay. In any case, we suffer already, our children are often undernourished, and on a small scale, so far, we die at the whim of a policeman".

The sufferings and humiliations of the indigenous people could hardly get worse.

It is, perhaps, not easy for Western countries to enforce such binding sanctions. It is, perhaps, for this reason that we applaud the sentiments of the Nordic people. If their example is followed by their partners in the North Atlantic Alliance and if such sanctions are quickly agreed to and firmly acted upon, there are bound to be drastic changes in the policies of the racist regime of South Africa. But, these measures could be effective only if they are adopted by all countries and, as I said earlier, particularly by the big powers and the principal trading nations, without any reservations. Without their wholehearted and unflinching support, there is little

possibility of these specific measures leading to abandonment by the Government of South Africa of their anti-Charter policies and practices. This is the brutal and unpleasant truth that must be faced. The whole of Africa is alit with the fires of freedom and independence, of equality and liberation and the situation in South Africa cannot be allowed to reach the point of no return that has almost been arrived at. This is, perhaps, the last chance. South Africa, by making radical changes in its policy, can still hope to establish good neighbourly relations with the free nations of Africa. If, however, this opportunity is missed, South Africa is likely to invite upon itself a holocaust of unimaginable magnitude. The Government would have misjudged the temper of the times and have read history in vain. For such a crime against humanity they will have to answer to the international community.

Before I end, may I be permitted to quote from the beautiful Psalm which has meaning for all those striving for a better world. Let us not forget that "Except the Lord build the house they labour in vain who build it". Beneath the poetic imagery of these words lies a hard scientific truth : unless the right psychological climate prevails, unless people live in amity and have a sense of higher purpose, nothing of enduring values can be constructed or reconstructed. The sooner the rulers of South Africa realize this the better it will be not only for them and their children, but for all of mankind.

INDIA SOUTH AFRICA USA PERU CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC CANADA FRANCE GERMANY
GUINEA RUSSIA

Date : Nov 01, 1963

Volume No

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NEPAL

President's speech at Kathmandu Airport

At the invitation of His Majesty the King of Nepal, the President of India, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan visited Nepal from November 4 to November 8, 1963. Following is the text of President Radhakrishnan's speech at Kathmandu airport on November 4, 1963 :

Your Majesty and friends, I am grateful to you for your kind invitation to us to visit Nepal. This

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is not the first time I come here. I was present on the occasion of His Majesty's Coronation some years ago. Since then many changes have taken place as His Majesty said just now. It is a yatra for us also a pilgrimage to a place where there are so many things which give us a thrill as Pashupatinath Temple and the birthplace of the Buddha. This country has been exposed now to the impact of the currents of modern world and is trying to adjust itself to those changes which are sweeping over the whole world and you have been doing it with great success. I am grateful to His Majesty and the people of Nepal for the very hearty welcome they have given to me.

NEPAL INDIA USA

Date : Nov 01, 1963

Volume No

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NEPAL

President's Reply at State Banquet

The following is the text of President Dr. Radhakrishnan's reply to His Majesty the King's speech at the State Banquet given in his honour by Their Majesties the King and the Queen on November 4, 1963, at the Singha Darbar :

Your Majesties, Your Excellencies,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

I and members of my party are very grateful to Your Majesties for your invitation which you extended to us and we have already felt the warmth of your affection and the affection of your people for us, There is no doubt that the attitude of India towards Nepal, if I may say so is one of complete co-operation and friendship. We are anxious to see a stable, independent, prosperous and sovereign Nepal. We are anxious that everything should be done for preserving that idea and it is natural for us to feel that with so many links binding us, of culture, race, religion and history, it will be possible for us to build on these foundations such enduring friendship between our two countries.

In a world which is moving very fast it is not possible for us to stand still. It is necessary for us to make advances in response to the great challenges which the world is throwing at us and We should do everything in our power to see that the people are satisfied. It is Ashoka who told us that 'the subjects of my kingdom are my children'. The word 'praja' is used both for one's own children and also for the people of a country. That is how we should look upon them. Concern for their well-being must be the supreme objective of all those who are entrusted with the leadership of any kind. That you, are trying to bring about equality before law, abolish caste discriminations, introduce agrarian legislation and make the people feel that their well-being is your main concern, is a matter for congratulations amongst us.

In trade in commerce, in culture, we have, had so many bonds between us. When I came here I found a number of men who were trained in Calcutta and Banaras Universities while I happened to serve in those Universities. Even in those days there were cultural contacts and educational links and in the years to come I have no doubt that these links will increase. Whatever is possible within our limited capacity to be of assistance to you, will be done. There are so many things which you can give us, so many things which we can give you. We can share our experiences and build a permanent Indo-Nepalese friendship on the basis of this mutual give and take. It is my earnest hope that that will happen and your Majesties will be safe for many years and enjoy full health and well-being and that the friendship between our two countries will endure

for long. May I now request you to raise your glasses for the health of Your Majesties and Indo-Nepalese friendship,

NEPAL USA INDIA

Date : Nov 01, 1963

Volume No

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NEPAL

President's speech at Civic Reception

The following is the President's speech at the civic reception held in his honour on November 4, 1963, in Tundi Khel (Parade Ground) by the Kathmandu City Panchayat:

Friends, I am grateful to the authorities of the Kathmandu Nagar Panchayat for the honour they have done me by presenting me with this address and giving me a model of Pashupatinath Temple. It is true that of the several things that bind our two countries, religion has been one of the most vital and important. The heritage which we have acquired is something common to both our countries. It is here with the background of the Himalayas and the forest hermitages that our great seers and saints evolved a mystic idealism which has still relevance and value not only to ourselves but to other countries of life world. In one of the Upanishads it is said when people were disputing about the nature of ultimate reality they came across Uma Himavati Bahurapananam, the most beautiful daughter of Himavan Uma.

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They came across her and she taught them the truth of life. What is meant by reality? All the Vedas proclaimed the divinity of man, the mahavakyas of great saints. They tell us praganam. Brahma Aham Brahmasmi Ayam Atma Brahma Tatvamasi. These four great

vakyas from the four great Vedas make out that each individual has got in him the possibility of rising to the divine possibility. He, can become a spiritually realised soul. The purpose of existence in this world is not merely to vegetate, to grow or to earn and spend, but to realise the secret soul, the divinity which is located in the secret chamber of each human heart. That is what we are called upon to practise and adopt. The end of life is fulfilment of different aspects of human nature, the most important of them being the spiritual aspect. If we are to develop these spiritual possibilities, the State and other institutions have to fulfil certain functions. No State can be stable, no government can be regarded as true and well-founded unless it has (1) wise leadership, (2) administrative efficiency and integrity, (3) economic opportunities for all people and (4) national coherence.

Wise Leadership

The people who direct us, who lead us must have an idea of the way in which we have to grow. What is the end of our existence ? They must be the people who are endowed with proper knowledge of the purpose of the State and the institutions. We may have very great ideas but if the administrative machinery is corrupt and polluted and if it is not able to implement these great ideas in a proper way, all our ideals will go waste. So it is essential for us to see to it that the administrative machinery which we evolve is something which is capable of carrying out the injunctions which the leaders give us. Leaders lay down the policy and the administration will have to carry it out and that must be provided, for any kind of inefficiency, maladministration and corruption must be put down with a high hand. People cannot grow into better lives, cannot reap the fulfilment of their existence, unless the economic opportunities are provided for all. A nation's greatness is judged not by the amount of wealth it produces but by the extent of its poverty it has removed, by the extent of possibilities it has thrown open to the common individual, where the ordinary individuals have the chance of having clothing, food and shelter, education and possibilities of self expression and self development. If they don't have it, then that state has failed. It must always aim at

providing opportunities, equal opportunities, equal not equal in measure but equal in the sense that every individual has a chance to grow into all the possibilities which we have been given. That kind of equality of opportunity must be there for all. National coherence is essential. All the tribes, all the groups, must sink their differences, must try to subordinate their private interests and group loyalties and must work together as members of one common whole. Every individual must have the pride that the government to which he belongs is something which is concerned for his welfare. You must have these four criteria of wise leadership, administrative integrity, economic opportunities for all and national coherence. If these are realised every State will be stable. It need not be afraid of anybody or anything. It will not have opposition either from within or without. It will become something we can endure. When I meet the citizens of Kathmandu I only want to tell them that it has been from the beginning of our history emphasized that life is sacramental, it is something deep, something very significant and each one of us must look upon it as a treasure which we must carry out. That is the purpose which we have and if the people of Kathmandu work together to make this city a great and glorious one the people of Nepal will also echo the great saying which is said "Jai Nepal".

NEPAL USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date : Nov 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

NEPAL

Joint Communique

Following is the text of the Joint Communique issued on November 8, 1963, at Kathmandu at the conclusion of the President's visit to Nepal :

On the invitation of His Majesty, the King of Nepal, the President of India, Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, paid a 4-day visit to Nepal from November 4 to November 8. His Majesty welcomed this visit of the President of India and expressed his satisfaction at this visit which would further help in cementing the bonds of friendship between India and Nepal.

The President was deeply touched by the kindness and courtesy of Their Majesties and His Majesty's Government and by the warm and affectionate welcome accorded to him by the people of Nepal. He attended several functions organised in his honour in Kathmandu, Bhaktapur, Pokhara and Patan. The President was impressed by the efforts His Majesty's Government is making to promote Nepal's economic and social advancement and by the desire of the Government and the people of Nepal to further

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strengthen the cordial and friendly relations happily existing between Nepal and India. During his visit, the President saw some of the development projects which will undoubtedly add to Nepal's prosperity and advancement. He assured His Majesty that India would continue to extend to Nepal all possible co-operation in the task of Nepal's economic development and social advancement.

The President took the opportunity of his visit to have friendly and informal exchanges of views with His Majesty on matters of mutual interest. The President had also talks with the Chairman of Nepal's Council of Ministers. Dr. Tulsi Giri, and with His Majesty's other Ministers. These discussions indicated a similarity of approach in regard to social, economic and international problems.

The two Heads of State re-affirmed that Nepal and India have a vital interest in each other's well-being, independence and integrity. They agreed that personal contacts at different levels between the two countries, which had been reinforced by Their Majesties' recent visit to India, should be maintained with a view to further strengthening the traditional bonds of friendship between the two countries. The President expressed his gratitude for the warm and affectionate welcome and the generous hospitality

accorded to him during his visit.

NEPAL USA INDIA

Date : Nov 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

PAKISTAN

Prime Minister's Statement in Lok Sabha on Espionage Activities by Pakistani Personnel

The following is the text of the statement made by Prime Minister Nehru in the Lok Sabha on the 19th November, 1963, regarding the recent espionage activities by personnel of the Pakistan High Commission in New Delhi:

On November 8, at about 7 p.m. the Delhi Police apprehended one Abdul Majid, together with one Bijay Kumar Bhattacharya, an Assistant in the office of the Deputy Financial Adviser to the Ministry of Defence. The two were taken to the nearby police station, where Abdul Majid disclosed that he had known Bhattacharya since March 1959, when he used to accompany Mohd.-Latif Malik, a Second Secretary in the Pakistan High Commission, to Ram Lila Ground, where Malik used to meet Bhattacharya. Abdul Majid also stated that Bhattacharya used to visit the office of the Pakistan High Commission and, that Bhattacharya had also been introduced to Ghulam Haider of the Pakistan High Commission. Abdul Majid revealed that since February 1963, he had been meeting Bhattacharya quite frequently. During these meetings Bhattacharya had given him documents and other information for which he was being rewarded in cash.

Abdul Majid was allowed to leave the Police Station, when it was established on the strength of an identity card issued by the Ministry of External Affairs that he was a Pakistan national working as a driver in the Pakistan High Commission. Bhattacharya was placed under arrest.

pending further interrogation and enquiry.

During preliminary interrogation, Bhattacharya confirmed that he had had continuing contacts with Pakistan officials. He also confirmed that he had received fixed monthly rewards, as well as ad hoc payments in cash and kind, in return for his furnishing classified information to Pakistani officials. He named, in particular, driver Abdul Majid. Ghulam Haider and Second Secretary, Mohd. Latif Malik as his principal contacts in the Pakistan High Commission. He also gave information of the type of material which he had passed on to the Pakistan officials.

On November 9, the Pakistan High Commission presented a note to the Ministry of External Affairs, complaining against, what they termed, the ill-treatment of driver Abdul Majid by the Delhi police on the evening of November 8. The Pakistan note alleged that the driver had been beaten up before he was taken to the Police Station and later he was stripped and searched in the Police Station.

On November 12, the Commonwealth Secretary sent for the Pakistan High Commissioner and informed him of the circumstances under which a driver of the High Commission had been

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apprehended by the Delhi police. The High Commissioner was told that since Bhattacharya, in his confession before a Magistrate, had specifically named three members of the high commission, the Government of India was constrained to request the high Commissioner to remove these three persons from Delhi within 48 hours. The commonwealth Secretary repudiated the allegation that driver Abdul Majid had been beaten up or otherwise ill-treated. No pressure was put on the driver to induce him to make any disclosures, and he was allowed to go away as soon as he had established his identity.

On November 15, the Pakistan Foreign Office requested our High Commissioner in Karachi to withdraw, within 48 hours, three officers of almost identical rank, alleging that these officers had indulged in "organised espionage and subversive activities". Our High Commissioner was handed over a note in which these officers were named, it being said that G. R. Iyengar, a Second Secre-

tary in our High Commission, had been devoting his time to "espionage and subversive activities since June 1962". Our High Commissioner accepted the note but observed that the allegations made therein, were without any foundation or substance and said that the action taken by the Pakistan Government was clearly retaliatory.

The Pakistan official, who received the High Commissioner, said that the action taken against the Indian officials in Karachi was independent of what had been done in Delhi.

It will be recalled that in September 1963, the Government of India had been obliged to ask for the withdrawal of We Air Adviser to the Pakistan High Commission in New Delhi and three others, on the basis of certain revelations made by Pilot Officer Sharma of the Indian Air Force. This was followed by retaliatory action by the Government of Pakistan, a whole week after the Pakistan Air Adviser and others were involved in that incident. In the present case, the Pakistan Government have once again taken retaliatory action, after the involvement of personnel of the Pakistan High Commission had been discovered in espionage activities.

It is clear from the timing of the expulsion of our officers from Pakistan, the ranks of the officers selected for expulsion, as also their numbers, that in both cases the Government of Pakistan was solely motivated by a spirit of retaliation and their action on both occasions was not based on the discovery of any unlawful activity on the part of the staff in our High Commission in Karachi.

PAKISTAN INDIA USA MALI CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date : Nov 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

PAKISTAN

Prime Minister's Statement in Lok Sabha on Cease-fire Line in Kashmir

The following is the statement made by Prime Minister Nehru in the Lok Sabha on the 20th November, 1963, regarding recent developments along the cease-fire line in Kashmir :

The Pakistan Press has been indulging for several weeks, in intensive propaganda on the so-called concentration of Indian troops on the cease-fire line. Newspaper headlines have tried to make out that India was planning to use, against Pakistan, the arms and equipment that she has received from friendly countries for her defence against Chinese aggression across her borders. To give an air of reality to these allegations, Pakistan has attempted to build up tension along the cease-fire line.

On October 16, the Pakistan Ministry of External Affairs handed over a note to our High Commission in Karachi alleging, inter alia, that Indian troops were stepping up their activity on the cease-fire line, particularly near village Chaknot, which is situated some miles east of Keran. It was also alleged that the Indian authorities had indulged in what was described as "spasmodic eviction of Muslims". particularly from village Chaknot, which, according to Pakistan, had always been administered by the so-called Azad Kashmir Government, though they admitted that the village was situated on the Indian side of the cease-fire line. The note went on to warn India that if a forcible seizure of Chaknot was attempted, the so-called Azad Kashmir Government Forces would be compelled to take whatever steps they might consider necessary to defend themselves and maintain the status quo. The threat held out in the Pakistan Note was supported by intemperate statements by Pakistan Ministers, even questioning the legality of the Cease-Fire Agreement in relation to the conduct of civilians and civil administration.

On October 22, Pakistan stopped the flow of water on their side of the cease-fire line in the power channel, which feeds the hydel generator situated in the town of Poonch. When to continue the supply of the water to the power house our workmen attempted to build a diversionary power channel, on our side of the cease-fire line and well away from the 500-yard demilitarized

zone, they were fired upon from the Pakistan side, and one of our workmen was injured by rifle fire.

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With considerable difficulty the work on the diversionary channel was completed by November 2 and the bydel generator began to function again. In this case also, Pakistan newspapers carried false reports of an attack by Indian troops and the resistance offered by the so-called Azad Kashmir Forces. This stoppage of water in the power channel to Poonch, we maintain, is a clear breach of the Indus Waters Treaty. This power channel takes off from the Betar Nallah on the Pakistan side of the cease-fire line. The firing incident on the power channel was reported by us to the U.N. Observers and the question of the breach of the Treaty has also been taken up with Pakistan, officially, by our Indus Commissioner.

More recently, another report has been given wide currency by Pakistan newspapers and the Pakistan Radio, alleging that Indian troops have been active in village Polas, which is situated a few miles north-northwest of Poonch and the so-called Azad Forces are said to have been ordered to resist them.

All these Pakistan allegations are, of course, completely baseless. There is no concentration of Indian troops along the cease-fire line. We have, at no point, near village Chaknot, or near village Polas, increased, in any manner, our defence potential. All activities along the cease-fire line are under the constant scrutiny of the United Nations Observers. The U. N. Observers, we are informed, have visited Chaknot, and they have also visited the Betar Nallah near Poonch in response to our complaints against Pakistan's violations of the Cease-Fire Agreement. Their awards are awaited. We have exercised complete administrative jurisdiction in all villages on our side of the cease-fire line and we shall continue to exercise such legitimate jurisdiction, without in any manner transgressing the Cease-Fire Agreement. If Pakistan has any complaints of any military build-up on our side, at any point along the cease-fire line, she is free to ask the U.N. Observers to go into the matter and report the results of their enquiry, after a verification on the spot, as they are authorised to do under the Cease-Fire Agreement. If Pakistan does not seek

the assistance of the U. N. Observers we can only conclude that she is motivated by nothing but a desire to indulge in propaganda to malign India.

We want to live in peace with our neighbour, Pakistan. As we have repeatedly stated in the past, the arms we are receiving from friendly countries are not being used and will not be used against Pakistan. We have also repeatedly stated that although we claim and will continue to claim full and complete sovereignty over the whole of Jammu & Kashmir, as a result of State's accession to the Indian Union, we have always hoped for and worked for a peaceful settlement of all disputes with Pakistan. But Pakistan has, all along, spurned our overtures of friendship and goodwill. This does not mean that we will change our policy of wanting friendly and co-operative relations with our neighbour.

PAKISTAN INDIA USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC MALI

Date : Nov 01, 1963

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1995

RFPUBLIC OF CONGO

Congo Premier Thanks President Radhakrishnan

Following are the texts of the letters exchanged between Prime Minister Cyrille Adoula of the Republic of Congo and President Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, on the mission of the Indian troops to the Congo (Leopoldville).

Prime Minister Adoula's message, dated October 22, 1963 to the President

Mr. President,

The return of the Indian troops to their country, after having accomplished their Mission in our country under the aegis of the United Nations,

provides me with the opportunity of fulfilling an agreeable duty.

In the name of the Congolese people, its President and my Government, I would like to express to you our gratitude for the assistance, both 'efficacious' and disinterested, which the sons of your country brought to us.

Their presence in the Congo has permitted us to confirm the qualities for which they are reputed.

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Their exemplary turnout and discipline throughout the tenure of their Mission endeared them to our people and I do not doubt that these valiant men will themselves be the best interpreters of our sentiments towards your noble people.

The action of last December in Katanga enabled us to appreciate their humility and their courage. It gives me pleasure to pay homage to the Indian soldiers led by General Prem Chand and Brigadier Noronha for the preponderant role which they played in this action both in Elizabethville and elsewhere. Their entry into Jadotville and Kolwezi marked, in effect, the total re-establishment of the territorial integrity of our country.

I cannot fail to underline on the other hand the exceptional value of the assistance of your country given at a time when you had to have recourse to a general mobilisation. The aid given in these circumstances and the blood of your children who fell in the Congo constitute the best cement of the friendship between our two countries and the best measure of solidarity between Africa and Asia.

Please rest assured, Mr. President, the Congolese people will never forget the sacrifices made by the Indian soldiers who came to help them to re-establish peace and justice in their country.

Please accept, Mr. President, the assurances of my very high consideration.

CONGO INDIA USA LATVIA

Date : Nov 01, 1963

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RFPUBLIC OF CONGO

President's Reply to Premier Adoula dated November 2, 1963

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

I thank you for your letter of the 22nd October, 1963, in which you have been kind enough to express your appreciation of the assistance which the Republic of the Congo has received from India in strengthening its security and independence and in ensuring its integrity. It gives me and my government great satisfaction to learn that all the Indians, whether civil or military, who served in the Congo under the U.N. programme, have performed their duties in a manner which has earned the appreciation of the Congolese Government and people.

I can assure you that the sacrifices which India has made, whether in men or in material, for the assistance of the Congo, have been willingly and, indeed, gladly made as a practical demonstration of our sympathy for your country and fraternal feelings for your people. We have no doubt that the Congo will recover speedily from the travails of its early formative years and will march forward along with other newly liberated countries of Africa and Asia to peace, unity and prosperity.

Please accept, Mr. Prime Minister, the assurances of my highest consideration.

CONGO INDIA

Date : Nov 01, 1963

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Joint Air Defence Training Exercises

In pursuance of an offer made by the Governments of the U.K. and the U.S.A., which was accepted by the Government of India, British and American radar and related communications equipment started arriving in India from the middle of August. Experts from the U.K. and U.S.A. also arrived some weeks ago to assist the Indian Air Force personnel in establishing modern radar detection facilities in the eastern and the western sectors. A special programme of training I.A.F. officers and men in the operation of this equipment lasting about six weeks has since been completed.

The U.K. and U.S.A. also agreed to participate with fighter aircraft along with Indian Air

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Force planes in joint air defence training exercises to help in training our personnel on the radar and communications equipment under operational conditions.

A squadron of Royal Air Force Javelins arrived in India towards the end of October and a squadron of United States Air Force F-100 Supersabres and two Australian Canberra bombers arrived in the first week of November. The Indian Air Force participated with six and a half squadrons of Gnat and Hunter fighters, Canberra bombers and Vampire night fighters. Altogether, about 750 Royal Air Force, United States Air Force, Royal Australian Air Force personnel and about 4,000 Indian Air Force personnel participated in the joint training exercises.

The joint air defence training exercises were held under the overall aegis of the Indian Air Force between November 9 and 19 with short breaks for discussions and maintenance. The exercises were the culmination of the process of training started in August this year. An exercise started in the eastern sector on November 9 with the Royal Air Force, Royal Australian Air Force and Indian Air Force aircraft participating. After

a break of three days it was resumed on November 13 and was concluded on the following day. In the western sector, the exercise commenced on November 14 and continued on November 15, with United States Air Force, Royal Australian Air Force and Indian Air Force aircraft participating. After one day's break, it continued on the following three days and concluded on November 19. The radar and communications equipment functioned well throughout the exercises.

During the course of the training exercises, the Defence Minister, Shri Y. B. Chavan visited both sectors, complimented the visiting and Indian Air Force personnel on their good work and on the excellent team spirit and understanding displayed by airmen of all the four participating countries during the training exercises.

At the end of the exercises, four Royal Air Force Javelins with their crew left the country on November 18. Three more Javelins left on November 19, while the remaining aircraft left on November 20. The United States Air Force and Royal Australian Air Force aircraft and personnel left between November 22 and 25.

The holding of these exercises has provided the Indian Air Force controllers and technicians a valuable opportunity to further assimilate the use of sophisticated radar equipment under operational conditions, in which a variety of aircraft participated. With the help of the training already received, Indian Air Force personnel quickly achieved a degree of proficiency which enabled them to man the radar equipment more or less independently during the exercises in both the sectors. Valuable experience has also been gained in the course of these exercises by Indian Air Force personnel in air defence techniques.

The Chief of Air Staff has been satisfied with the training value of the exercises as a whole. The Government of India hope that the experience thus gained would prove useful to Indian Air Force personnel in manning the permanent radar installations and related communications equipment which the U.S. Government has agreed to make available to India during the next 12 to 18 months.

USA UNITED KINGDOM INDIA AUSTRALIA

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UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Soviet Aid in Oil Exploration: Protocol Signed

A Protocol for extension of Soviet technical assistance to the Oil and Natural Gas Commission was signed in New Delhi on November 4, 1963. It was signed by Mr. B. S. Romanov, Counsellor for Economic Affairs of the U.S.S.R. Embassy in India, on behalf of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and by Shri Y. T. Shah, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Finance, Department of Economic Affairs, on behalf of the Government of India.

The Protocol provides for further Indo-Soviet cooperation in the sphere of India's on industry. Under this Protocol, Soviet engineers, who are experts in drilling, oil and gas production will be deputed by the Soviet Government for work in the exploration and development, of oil and natural gas fields in India. The discovery of oil deposits with Soviet assistance has enabled India to set up oil refineries in the public sector for which the U.S.S.R. is already rendering assistance.

The signing of the Protocol is a further step in the development of economic cooperation and in the strengthening further of the ties of friendship between India and the U.S.S.R.

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INDIA OMAN USA

Date : Nov 01, 1963

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Prime Minister's Tribute to President Kennedy

Paying a tribute to President Kennedy, the Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, made the following statement in Lok Sabha on November 25, 1963 :

"We meet here, today, under the shadow of shock and sorrow. To many of us, it is a personal shock and grief. But the crime that has been committed was something more than a personal one. It was a crime against humanity. A man has been struck down in the pride of youth and achievement : a man of ideals, vision and courage, who sought to serve his own people as well as the larger causes of the world.

President Kennedy revived among his people the ideals enshrined in the American Constitution and in a changing world, sought to apply them to the problems of today. He endeavoured, not without success, to work for the removal of the tensions that burden and distract the world and to ensure an abiding peace. He devoted himself to the removal of injustice and inequalities among men. In his own great country, he laboured for civil liberty and worked so that Negroes might enjoy full freedom and opportunity without discrimination based on race or colour. In the wider world outside, a great part of which still suffers from poverty and lack of opportunities for growth, he threw his great energy and weight in favour of the development of under-developed countries, so that people everywhere should have the blessings of freedom and the advantages that modern science and technology give.

Wealth and prosperity came to his own country. To these President Kennedy added a deeper human and moral outlook which embraced in its scope the peoples of the world.

To these great causes he dedicated himself, and the picture of a great President emerged which brought a measure of hope to the peoples of the world. To his high office he gave lustre and grace and people in distant parts of the

world looked upon him with hope and affection. The memory of his great predecessor Abraham Lincoln, the Emancipator, was revived, and in the confusions and conflicts of the present-day world came a vision of the "self-evident truths" that all men are created equal and have certain inalienable rights, and till these are fully achieved the vision of the founders of the American Republic will not be realised in its completeness.

The gracious lady, his wife, to whom our thoughts must turn today in deepest sympathy, came to India and we had the privilege to give her an affectionate welcome. It was our hope that President Kennedy would also pay us a visit and he had himself expressed a wish to do so. That will not take place now, as an assassin's hand has put an end to a life which had already flowered so well and which gave promise of greater achievement in the future.

A great President and a great man is dead, struck down by one of his own countrymen. We sorrow for this as indeed we must, but perhaps he has served the causes he cherished by his death even as he laboured for them in his life. Let us all draw inspiration from his fragrant memory and pay our homage to it.

These words which I have said, I am sure, represent not only my sentiments but the sentiments of all the Members here and all the Parties that are represented in this Parliament."

USA INDIA

Date : Nov 01, 1963

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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Prime Minister's Broadcast on President Kennedy's Death

In a special message broadcast by the All India Radio on November 23, 1963 Prime Minister Nehru said :

"Yesterday the 22nd November, was a day of ill-omen and full of disasters. About the middle of the day we heard of the grave disaster in Poonch which ended in the death of some of our most senior, experienced and valued officers in the Defence Services on account of an air accident. That came as a shock to us.

Late at night we heard the terrible news of the assassination of President Kennedy. That was shocking and stunning.

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Death comes to all of us. But in the case of President Kennedy and the United States one could not imagine such a thing happening. He was full of life and energy, in the prime of his youth. And this sudden end of a great career of a great man was not only painful personally but of large consequence to international affairs.

President Kennedy in his brief two-and-a-half years of Presidentship had already shown his liberal outlook in world affairs, and in spite of some difficulties that he had to face, had consistently worked for peace, for the lessening of tension, for help to developing nations of the world, and in many other ways. More especially, the lead that he had given in regard to the position of the Negroes in America, was a brave lead which was highly appreciated by us in India and, I am sure, elsewhere.

There can be no doubt that he was a great man filling his great office with distinction and all of us had great hopes that his policy would lead to the lowering of tensions in the world and thus it would bring an end to 'cold war and make the possibility of war remote.

His passing away is a terrible tragedy for the world and our people in India share with deep sorrow the grief, the general feeling all over the world, especially in the United States. We offer our deepest sympathy to the brave lady, his wife, at this moment of grave tragedy. To the people of the United States who have lost suddenly and so tragically their great leader, we also offer our respectful sympathy.

President Kennedy's death must necessarily have far-reaching consequences in many ways. But I earnestly trust that the liberal policies he pursued will be continued and will find fruit."

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ASIAN POPULATION CONFERENCE

The first Asian Population Conference was held in New Delhi from December 10 to December 20, 1963, under the sponsorship of the ECAFE. The Prime Minister of India, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru inaugurated the Conference.

Following is the text of his inaugural address Mr. Chairman, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen :

I am here to welcome you all to this first conference of this kind. We have here many representatives from a larger number of Asian countries, eminent demographers and other experts from various countries.

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

Our countries go in for planning for economic and social growth. But it is obvious that planning depends upon who you plan for; how many people you plan for? Unless, we have a fair idea of the population of a country as it is going to be, it is difficult to plan in the air. Population growth becomes highly important, not only for planning but for the general welfare, social well-being of the country.

We in India have been trying to tackle this problem as best as we could. I confess that we have not succeeded remarkably and the growth of population in this big country is rather alarming. It is not merely a question of providing food, food requirements for a growing population although that is a primary consideration; but generally providing the means for a good life, a healthy life for all the people who live in the country. We have thus to face a kind of race between the rate of growth, economic growth of a country and the rate at which population grows. Obviously, unless there is a marked difference between the two, there won't be much growth, economic growth, and

as population grows it rather overwhelms the efforts we make for economic growth. However much we may try, as we do try to increase the pace of economic growth, the fact of population growing even at a lesser pace comes in the way of any marked improvement.

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

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

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

Obviously, this cannot be left to take its own course, because that course would bring tremendous difficulties in its trail. We have to tackle with it, with sonic foresight and with some efforts at planning, even that. In the main, the

countries of Asia are most affected by this and I suppose that all of them have their experiences and their suggestions to make.

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

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

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

Therefore, I welcome particularly this Conference which will deal with these various social problems, mainly population growth, but other connected problems too with it. After all, we are aiming at social advancement of our peoples, and unless we advance as a whole, mere economic growth which might be unbalanced may not lead to the results we aim at.

I trust therefore that this social aspect of the internal problems of all our countries will benefit by this combined approach and we shall get new viewpoints, new approaches, new methods of dealing with it which would be good for all our countries.

Apart from that, this meeting together of the South East Asian Region specially, will promote the working together of those countries in many matters. Obviously they can cooperate in many matters to their mutual advantage, just as the realisation that economic cooperation between them will be good for them : all of them. So also cooperation and some measure on the social field will no doubt benefit them all, and

a certain combined effort will lead to much greater advances, than if each country made its own effort. It so happens, although Asian countries are very different from each other, but there are certain common problems for them, common problems which have come down from history and common problems of the present day. So, this fact and the fact of geography alone that they are near each other should help, should induce us to cooperate together. work together for these causes and ultimately for the larger causes which the world has to face today --causes of peace.

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

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

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

As you know, perhaps for the last dozen years or more, we have been trying to approach our problems in a planned way. We have made considerable progress and yet, even the progress we have made sometimes appears to us to be rather slow. Partly this is due to the fact that our progress is hampered by the population growth in this country. Partly the population growth itself takes place because of some progress we have made. Thus, the progress we make in matters concerning health has definitely reduced the death rate in this country, has added greatly to the expectation of life and thus altogether added to the population growth. So

we have to face this dilemma that the progress we make in one direction adds to our difficulties in other direction.

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

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deserve the closest attention and cooperation between all of us.

I am thankful to all of you who have taken the trouble to come here and to participate in this joint effort to understand this problem thoroughly and to deal with it effectively.

I am glad therefore to inaugurate this Conference and wish it success.

INDIA USA PHILIPPINES JAPAN

Date : Dec 01, 1963

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CANADA

Indo-Canadian Loan Agreements Signed

Three agreements totalling a loan of 16.70 million dollars to the Government of India by the 'Export Credits Insurance Corporation' of Canada were signed in Ottawa on December 4, by Mr. Mitchell Sharp, Canadian Minister of Trade and Commerce, and Shri C. S. Jha, India's High Commissioner, at a ceremony held in the Minister's office. The ceremony was attended by senior officials of the Ministry of Trade and Heads of the participating Canadian firms.

The Loan covers three projects in India : Eight million dollars construction of Rana Pratap Sagar Hydroelectric Project in Rajasthan, one million dollars for the purchase of smelter extension at Alwaye in Kerala and the Foil mill at Bombay in Maharashtra by the Indian Aluminium Company Limited and 7.70 million dollars for the purchase of 37 diesel electric locomotives and spare parts from Canada.

CANADA INDIA

Date : Dec 01, 1963

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CONFERENCE OF NON-ALIGNED NATIONS

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon's Statement in Lok Sabha

Shrimati Lakshmi N. Menon, Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs, made the following statement in Lok Sabha on December 12, 1963, regarding the holding of a conference of non-aligned nations :

In a joint communique issued at the conclusion of the visit of Mrs. Bandaranaike, the Prime Minister of Ceylon, to the United Arab Republic, on 13th October, 1963, it was stated

that :

"In the firm conviction and belief that a better understanding between nations could be created and international tension relaxed and eventually resolved by following a policy of nonalignment, the President of the United Arab Republic and the Prime Minister of Ceylon agreed that another conference of non-aligned countries should be held some time next year."

India has welcomed the intention to hold such a Conference and has expressed her willingness to participate in it. It is hoped that the proposed Conference would help in the promotion of international peace and understanding and give support to the processes of conciliation and the reduction of cold war tensions. The Government of India would be prepared to give such assistance as 'may be necessary for the successful implementation of the proposal.

It is obvious that Conferences of this type require a great deal of preparation and must necessarily be preceded by an exchange of views among interested countries, Such informal exchanges are now going on. The Government of India have also been in communication with the Governments of the United Arab Republic and Ceylon, and an exchange of views is also taking place with other interested countries.

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Date : Dec 01, 1963

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INDIA IN THE UNITED NATIONS

Shrimati Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit's Statement in Security Council on Apartheid

Shrimati Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, Leader of Indian Delegation to the United Nations, made the following statement in the Security Council on December 4, 1963 on the draft resolution on South Africa's apartheid policy submitted to the Council by the representative of Norway :

I have asked for the floor to make a few remarks on behalf of my delegation on the draft resolution submitted to the Council by the representative of Norway. At the outset, we would like to convey our deep appreciation of the labours of Mr. Nielsen. The record of the Nordic countries in the field of decolonization and anti-apartheid has been greatly appreciated. What the delegation of Norway has to say on matters of this nature is listened to by us all with attention and respect. We have studied the draft resolution with care.

With large portions of the resolution my delegation is in agreement, particularly with paragraph 5, which calls upon all States to cease forthwith the sale and shipment of equipment and materials for the manufacture and maintenance of arms and ammunition in South Africa. However, the thirty-two African States and India, and other States, are committed to resolution 1761 (XVII). Paragraph 4 of that resolution asks for a total trade embargo on South Africa, among other things. The Norwegian draft falls short of the demands of the situation because conditions in South Africa have not improved; they have worsened since resolution 1761 (XVII) was adopted last year.

The Security Council itself adopted a resolution in the month of August and that, too, has produced no results, but we must be realistic and conscious of the limitations under which we function here. The problem now is not of passing one more resolution in the Council. The basic fact is that resolutions must be implemented. It is encouraging that the Norwegian draft has the support of the major trading partners of South Africa. We, for our part, would have preferred a much stronger resolution, yet we know that a firmer resolution would not have gained the necessary majority.

I should, however, like to express the disappointment of my delegation to the Council

for not taking a more firm stand in this connexion, particularly in view of South Africa's disregard of resolution 1881 (XVIII), adopted by the General Assembly on 11 October 1963. This resolution had the support of every single member sitting round the table today. The report of the Secretary-General pursuant to this resolution is contained in document S/5457. This report, in paragraph 3, states the attitude of the South African Government to resolution 1881 (XVIII). It reads :

"By a note dated 14 November 1963, the Permanent Representative of South Africa informed the Secretary-General that no reply can be expected to a resolution which the United Nations was clearly not entitled to adopt since it constitutes flagrant interference in South Africa's judiciary. Such resolution is entirely outside the jurisdiction of the United Nation'."
(A/5615-S/5457)

This is yet another example of the intransigence of the Government of South Africa. The unjust trials continue and justice is reduced to a farce.

I have one brief comment to make on operative paragraph 6. Ambassador Quaison-Sackey of Ghana has expressed his misgivings on this paragraph and, broadly speaking, my delegation shares those misgivings. We are placing a great burden on the Secretary-General and his experts. We are not at all sure what the South African response to this will be, or even that satisfactory facilities will be afforded to this group. In the case of South West Africa, it will be remembered, the South African Government once again refused to accept the presence of a United Nations technical representative. Their reply in the communication to the Secretary-General on 2nd December is contained in document A/5634. If this is an indication of the way the mind of the South African Government is working, we cannot be certain of what their response is likely to be to paragraph 6 of the Norwegian proposal. Even if the South African Government were willing to accept such a team of experts, we would still not feel particularly happy about it. Expert studies of this kind are by their very nature time-consuming and likely to distract the attention of

the world from the brutal realities in South Africa. The representative of the Soviet Union has drawn attention to this. Moreover, the Special Committee on Apartheid, presided over by Ambassador Diallo Telli of Guinea, has already made detailed studies of the various aspects of South African problems and this report is before us.

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Mr. President, may I thank you and members of the Council for permitting me to make the second intervention in the present debate. I close with the hope that the resolution before the Council, although not fully meeting the requirements of the very serious situation in South Africa, is a small step forward, and that the Council will unanimously adopt it and that it will be faithfully implemented by all concerned.

INDIA SOUTH AFRICA NORWAY USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC RUSSIA GHANA GUINEA

Date : Dec 01, 1963

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INDIA IN THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri B. N. Chakravarty's Statement in Political Committee on Outer Space

Shri B. N. Chakravarty, India's Permanent Representative to the United Nations, made the following statement in the Political Committee on December 3, 1963 on the exploration of outer space :

Mr. Chairman :

Exploration of outer space continues to fire man's imagination and poses a challenge to his scientific thinking and capacity to regulate his actions in a new environment. Since the Assembly met last, great strides have been made in the penetration of outer space and the

exploration of its mysteries. Among the outstanding achievements may be mentioned the orbits of Major Cooper, team space flight of Captain Valentina Tereschkova and Colonel Bykovsky, the launching of Luna IV and Syncom II and finally the flight of the Soviet manoeuvrable satellite, Polyot I, launched only a month back. Valentina Tereschkova has become the first woman to enter outer space. The significance of the manoeuvrable satellite, in the words of Mr. Krushchev, is that "man is now no longer prisoner of his ship but can make the ship obey his will."

These are exciting developments and an entirely new world is unfolding itself to us. Interplanetary travel seems to be within our reach in not too distant a future. All these prospects are adding a new dimension to our thought and action and are forcing us to focus attention not only on what benefit humanity as a whole can derive from these explorations but also on what sort of a rule of law we wish to have in outer space. The Moscow Test Ban Treaty prohibiting inter alia testing of nuclear weapons in outer space and the adoption of Resolution 1884(XVIII) not to station nuclear weapons in outer space are welcome steps towards establishing a regime of peace in outer space. Only two States have the capacity today to explore and use outer space. We are grateful to them for their willingness to share their knowledge and extend the benefits of their discoveries to others. This has been a wise decision for, if knowledge is pooled, even the less developed countries may be able to give some help by undertaking supporting research. The United Nations has the central responsibility for co-ordinating all such efforts and for harmonising different interests so that, in reality, outer space is used for the benefit of all mankind.

Significant progress has been made during the year both in scientific collaboration and on the formulation of a law of space, responsive to the present stage of our knowledge of outer space. On the scientific front, considerable progress has been recorded in the use of satellites for long distance earth communications and for weather reading. In August this year, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. announced the Dryden-Blagonravov agreement. Under it, NASA of USA and the Academy of Sciences of USSR are to carry out

next year a joint experiment on the implementation of long distance radio communications by the use of the American Echo II. On the meteorological side, a special communication link is to be established between Moscow and Washington and information from the satellites of both countries would be distributed widely to other countries for weather forecasting and for conducting scientific research. We congratulate the space powers on their achieving these important advances which are bound to be of benefit to all nations of the world. We should also congratulate the ITU and the World Meteorological Organisation on the significant part they are playing in their respective fields.

The Indian Meteorological Department has been receiving some of the data collected by Meteorological Satellites of the U.S. Weather Bureau and has found them most useful in the detection of some tropical cyclones in the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea. The data have also been used in the study of structure of tropical cyclones, monsoon depressions and thunderstorms. We, on our part, will always extend our full cooperation in the world weather watch as well as in the international space communications system.

Progress has also been recorded in the exchange of information on national space activities, which are of interest to all. India has been furnishing to the Outer Space Committee a full report of its modest activities in the peaceful uses of outer space. Early last year we set up the Indian National Committee for Space Research (INCOSPAR). The functions of this Committee are to develop research in and exploration of space for peaceful purposes and to promote international cooperation in space research by keeping in close touch with COSPAR, the ECSU and other International Organisations in the field. The

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Sounding Rocket Launching Facility at Thumba is not the only achievement of INCOSPAR. It has set up, through collaboration with NASA, a satellite tracking and telemetry station at Ahmedabad; has organised a Space Physics Seminar to stimulate understanding and interest within Indian Scientific groups, in space experimentation and has conducted experiments

in many other fields.

Paragraph 16 A of the Report of the Outer Space Committee approves the establishment of a group of 5 scientists to visit the Sounding Rocket Launching Site at Thumba in India in the later part of December this year and to advise the Committee on the acceptance of UN sponsorship in accordance with the basic principles approved by the Committee in 1962. The Government of India had early this year, submitted to the Outer Space Committee a memorandum on the establishment of a Sounding Rocket Launching Facility in India in Document A/AC.105/8 and had subsequently circulated a manual describing the Thumba Sounding Rocket Launching Facility in Document A/AC.105/10. The first sounding rocket was successfully launched from Thumba site on November 21. Valuable information can be collected through such experimental launchings because of Thumba's geographical location in the Equatorial region. The selection of the group of five scientists is now nearing completion and UN sponsorship of the project may be expected soon after their visit to the Thumba site.

The Report of the Scientific and Technical Sub-Committee has also dealt with the question of education and training. This programme is of special significance to the developing countries. To begin with, training in the fields of weather reading and communications is likely to be of the greatest benefit to these nations. The Report also mentions that UNESCO can help member-States in various ways. The UNESCO has indeed agreed to help us by offering financial assistance to INCOSPAR for the organisation of a seminar on the sounding rocket techniques and experiments; by providing financial assistance towards meeting the costs of travel and subsistence of Indian scientists and engineers sent abroad for advanced training in the techniques of space research and by contributing towards financing of a programme of fellowships to be awarded to scientists and technicians from other countries for training at Thumba. We are grateful to UNESCO for this assistance.

The Indian Delegation has consistently expressed the view that law should keep pace with achievements of modern science and

technology. The Assembly, last year, had found itself deadlocked over the question of an elaboration of legal principles. In adopting Resolution 1721 (XVI) Member States had agreed that international law, including the Charter of the United Nations should be applicable to outer space and celestial bodies and that outer space and celestial bodies should be free for exploration and use by all States and should not be subject to national appropriation, i.e., State sovereignty. Serious differences however remained as to what further legal principles could possibly be formulated at this stage of our knowledge. There were also differences as to the form which space law should take, for the present. Some believed that this should be in the form of another General Assembly resolution while others maintained that the legal principles should be translated into a binding international agreement. While it was largely recognised that time was ripe to formulate the laws of liability and assistance, there was no consensus on the various proposals made for laying down broad principles governing the activities of States in outer space. As a result of protracted negotiations during the year, most of these differences have been ironed out and we have now before us an agreed draft declaration of legal principles, representing the maximum area of agreement possible at the moment. This agreement is no mean achievement and could not perhaps have been possible except in the atmosphere of detente following the signing of the Moscow Test Ban Treaty. We are truly grateful to the space powers for the statesmanship and the spirit of accommodation displayed by them in agreeing to this major advance.

Although this declaration of legal principles emerged mainly through the efforts of the two space powers, it also takes into account some of the views expressed in the Legal Sub Committee, last summer. The idea that Resolution 110(II), banning propaganda, should be equally applicable in outer space came from the distinguished delegate of Austria. We ourselves had argued that as long as States were made fully liable for damage caused by space vehicles launched by private organisations from their territories, there was no need to restrict launchings solely to Governments. On space experiments which may have harmful effects,

my delegation was among those who had advocated the principle of prior consultations which has now been included in the declaration. The manner in which consultations are to be held has not, however, been elaborated. In this connection, I would refer to the working paper A/AC/ 105/CI/W. P. 14 which was submitted by the Indian delegation at the Scientific and Technical Sub-Committee in Geneva. In this working paper, we had suggested that States proposing to carry out such experiments should

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seek an analysis of the qualitative and quantitative aspects of the potentially harmful effects of space experiments from the Consultative Group of COSPAR and that such advisory opinion should be given due consideration by the States concerned, as well as by the Committee on Peaceful Uses of Outer Space. We are happy that this body has now been generally recognised as an appropriate forum for such consultations.

There has now been also a general agreement that the legal principles are at first to be formulated in a General Assembly resolution containing a declaration of basic legal principles, which in the future, as appropriate, would be incorporated in international agreement form. Presumably the same procedure would be followed in regard to other legal principles that may be agreed upon, in future. In the Legal Sub-Committee of the Outer Space Committee, we ourselves had suggested such a solution. My delegation, therefore, welcomes this compromise.

We recognise that the draft declaration represents the maximum agreement which can be recorded at this stage, that it is only the beginning of our work in the development of law for outer space, and that additional principles would be formulated in the light of further knowledge and experience. While we welcome this major advance, my delegation must regret that there is no reference at all to peaceful uses of outer space in the declaration of legal principles though there is a reference to this, in the preamble. In the draft code submitted by the delegation of the UAR in the Outer Space Committee, the first principle suggested was that the activities of Member States in outer space should be confined solely to peaceful uses. We ourselves have consistently pleaded for accep-

tance of such a principle. My delegation would have therefore very much liked to see some reference to this principle in the draft declaration before us.

We do not deny that the question of peaceful use of outer space is connected with that of disarmament. There are difficulties also of distinguishing the peaceful from the military use of the outer space. Despite these difficulties, we still believe that a declaration of a broad principle that outer space should be kept free from military use, would constitute a significant step in the development of the rule of law in outer space. Any such declaration to the extent that it excludes outer space from the area of conflict might also make an agreement on general and complete disarmament easier.

What is more regrettable is that despite the adoption of resolution 1884(XVIII), calling upon all states to refrain from placing in orbit around the earth any objects carrying nuclear weapons or any other kinds of weapons of mass destruction installing such weapons on celestial bodies or stationing such weapons in outer space in any other manner, no progress has been recorded towards accepting a corresponding legal Principle in the draft declaration of legal principles now before us. We appreciate the difficulties that prevent the space powers from immediately accepting a comprehensive obligation that outer space will under no circumstances be exploited for military purposes. We are not, however, at the moment pressing for a general legal principle prohibiting military uses of outer space, even though that is our goal and we would be happy if it was unambiguously recognised as such. My delegation would have been satisfied, for the present, if the limited agreement embodied in Resolution 1884(XVIII) had been incorporated as an additional legal principle. In substance, the space powers would not be going beyond what they have already agreed to and the formulation would have been no more than a declaration in a General Assembly resolution. If such a legal principle had been accepted, it would have proclaimed to the world that a first step has been taken towards establishing a regime in outer space, the ultimate goal of which would be to reserve this environment for peaceful purposes only. Acceptance of such a principle would not have endangered security interests of the space

powers one bit more than they are endangered today, by the adoption of Resolution 1884(XVIII).

During the debate on the outer space item in the First Committee last year, it was argued both by the USA and the USSR that the question of reserving outer space exclusively for peaceful use was closely linked with the question of disarmament and that the former could not be considered except in the context of the latter. Views have since been expressed that the Outer Space Committee is not competent to formulate any principle which may have military implications since this is exclusively a matter for the consideration of the Disarmament Committee. Secondly, the acceptance of a legal principle on military uses of outer space, inasmuch as it would not contain a provision for verification, would be contrary to the accepted policy followed in the disarmament negotiations.

As regards the first argument, we cannot agree that the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space is not competent to formulate legal principles concerning military uses of outer space. The Outer Space Committee grew out of the concern of the space powers to avoid any misuse of outer space. It was on the 15th March 1958 that the Soviet Union asked for the inclusion in the agenda of the XIIIth session of the Assembly an item "The banning of the use of cosmic space for

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military purposes, elimination of foreign military bases on the territories of other countries and international co-operation in the study of cosmic space." In the explanatory memorandum, it was stated inter alia : "The duty of the statesmen is to direct scientific and technical progress in this field towards exclusively peaceful uses, so as to ensure that intercontinental or other rockets are used for peaceful research, for conquering interplanetary space, and not for the destruction of human beings."

On 2nd September 1958, the United States put an item on the agenda of the XIIIth session, namely "Programme of international cooperation in the field of outer space." In the explanatory memorandum attached, it was stated : "Urgent steps are, therefore, needed to lay a solid basis for international cooperation in development of

the peaceful uses of outer space. Such steps can be taken while parallel," I repeat, Mr. Chairman, parallel, "efforts are being made to conclude meaningful agreements on the disarmament aspects of outer space."

"The General Assembly, as the body most representative of the interests of mankind, should begin to take the necessary steps to further those interests by declaring itself on the separability of the question of the peaceful utilisation of outer space from that of disarmament; by giving its support to the principle of the peaceful utilisation of outer space. . . ."

And that is not all. The first preambular paragraph of the General Assembly Resolution 1348(XIII) stated "Recognising the common interest of mankind in outer space should be used for peaceful purposes only."

The General Assembly resolutions have repeatedly stated that the exploration of space should be for the benefit of mankind. If that desire is to be fulfilled, the need for cooperation in place of duplication is essential. Even those who are now unable to do any space exploration on their own, could participate in joint ventures. All these considerations lead one to hope that even greater cooperation than now obtaining is bound to emerge in the near future. If, as a result, an agreement could be reached that all exploration of outer space should be conducted jointly or in close cooperation with one another. it may be possible to achieve the objective of reserving outer space for peaceful purposes only, even outside the context of general and complete disarmament. What better verification can be asked for if joint or cooperative exploration becomes the norm? There could then be no room for suspicion or fear of illegitimate use of space vehicles and missiles. If the Outer Space Committee could help in achieving these objectives it could, by parallel efforts, ensure peaceful uses of outer space.

Ever since the first meeting of the Committee. many members have consistently urged that outer space should be reserved for peaceful purposes only. The Chairman of the Committee on Outer Space, speaking in this very Committee on October 16, 1963, after the adoption of Resolution 1884(XVIII) said, "During the debate in the

Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space in its sessions of 1962 and 1963, several speakers in particular, the Representative of India, the UAR, Brazil and Mexico referred repeatedly to the importance of the issue now before us. . . . "We are gratified that all these efforts were not in vain and have now led to a concrete resolution. This draft re-solution is entirely in harmony with the work undertaken by the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space and its contents should certainly be taken into account in the elaboration. of the legal principles presently under-study by that Committee-principles which will form the legal basis for the activities of States in Outer Space."

From what has just been stated, it would appear that at least initially, the space powers did not consider it impracticable either to separate the question of the peaceful use of outer space from that of disarmament or to make parallel efforts to achieve these objectives. At any rate, the Outer Space Committee has always discussed this question. The preamble of Resolution 1884(XVIII) recalls resolution 1721 A(XVI) which is a resolution on the peaceful uses of outer space, In the opinion of my delegation, it is too late now to challenge the competence of the Outer Space Committee to discuss such questions.

Now, we come to the second argument that the legal principle regulating military use cannot be formulated because such a principle does not provide for verification which is an essential element of the disarmament process. Our argument is that the obligation embodied under Resolution 1884(XVIII) has already been accepted without any specific provision for verification. A legal principle on the same lines formulated in another resolution cannot add to the risk already accepted. There might have been some force in this argument if we were to ask for inclusion of a legal principle which went beyond the obligations already assumed either in substance or in the manner of its formulation. That however is not the case. Why then can we not include a declaration of this limited nature ?

My delegation has always held the view that at the present stage of our knowledge, a comprehensive space code is not practicable, nor even desirable. In fact, premature codification

might prejudice subsequent efforts to evolve a

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code based on a more complete understanding of the problems involved. The legal principles must evolve gradually as our knowledge and experience of outer space grows. Although we hold the view that the exploitation of outer space should be for peaceful purposes only, we are not suggesting any immediate codification of that principle. At this stage we only press for the declaration of a legal principle that outer space should be reserved for peaceful purposes only. Once the principle is accepted, it can be translated into a binding legal agreement, at stages, as and when further progress is made. Whatever may be the force of arguments for and against the competence of the Outer Space Committee, there can be no valid objection to a declaration of a legal principle in regard to a decision already taken by the Disarmament Committee, to keep the outer space and celestial bodies free of nuclear weapons or other weapons of mass destruction. Surely, if there is to be a legal principle to cover the agreement contained in Resolution 1884(XVIII) then the declaration of such a principle can only be formulated by the Legal Sub-Committee of the Outer Space Committee. When the goal of general and complete disarmament is reached, the Disarmament Committee would presumably draft a binding international treaty-not merely a declaration.

The year 1963 has been a momentous year and may well be remembered for the progress made in the exploration of outer space, for the development of scientific and technical collaboration and for the steps taken towards establishing the rule of law in the new environment. The Outer Space Committee will no doubt continue to work towards expanding further collaboration in the scientific and technical field. On the legal side, the next year is likely to be one of consolidation. It should be the foremost task of the Legal Sub-Committee of the Outer Space Committee, next year, to prepare draft international agreements on the laws of liability and assistance which are now ripe for formulation. The Legal Sub-Committee might also consider what other principles are now ripe for formulation into binding agreements. For instance, it may now be worthwhile paying attention to the principles relating to harmful experiments in outer space

since the two space powers have already agreed on the principles of international consultations before proceeding with such experiments. Thought should also be given to the acceptance of a legal principle on the lines of resolution 1884(XVIII) regarding which I have spoken at length.

Mr. Chairman, mankind has a unique opportunity in outer space. The potentialities for good or evil are still beyond our imagination. Man is truly today master of his own fate. Conflict in outer space can destroy us all. On the other hand, peaceful use of outer space can enrich the lives of all men. Outer space is yet relatively free from national conflict. We must ensure that it remains so and is used for the benefit of all mankind. Let the challenge of outer space act as a unifying force in this troubled world of ours.

INDIA OMAN USA RUSSIA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC AUSTRIA SWITZERLAND BRAZIL MEXICO

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INDIA IN THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri B. N. Chakravarty's Statement in General Assembly on Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries

The following is the text of the statement made by Shri B. N. Chakravarty, India's Permanent Representative to the UN., in the General Assembly on December 4, 1963 on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples :

We have been following with keen interest the discussion that has been going on in the Assembly on the important report contained in document A/5446 and Adds. 1, 2, 3 and 4.

One of the outstanding and most significant

features of the post-World War II era has been the emergence to independence and freedom of a large number of colonial peoples and territories. Almost immediately after the conclusion of this war, a number of countries in Asia, including India, achieved their freedom. The Charter of the United Nations gave a further impetus to the demand for independence in many other colonial territories. The principles of self-determination and self-government enshrined in the Charter added strength to the freedom fighters in a number of colonial countries. The membership of this Organization has been nearly doubled, and today we have thirty-two independent African States which are members of this Assembly. This remarkable change in the composition of the United Nations has in itself helped the process of decolonization. The delegation of India can take some pride in the role that it has played in the fight against colonialism and racial discrimination. Having been under colonial rule ourselves, we could not have acted otherwise. Pursuant to its anti-colonial policy, India has consistently given all possible support in the United Nations for freedom from colonial subjugation or from racial discrimination. As was stated by my Prime Minister in a speech in the General Assembly in 1948 :

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"We, in Asia, who have ourselves suffered all these evils of colonialism and of imperial domination, have committed ourselves inevitably to the freedom of every other colonial country". (154th plenary meeting)

For India, a struggle for independence had been a revolt both against racialism and against colonialism. Maintenance of India's own independence and opposition to the principle of colonialism and racialism are thus phases of a single policy.

Colonialism in some of its worst manifestations still continues to hold sway in several areas of the world, particularly in some parts of Africa. This is a matter of grave concern to us, and this situation, if allowed to continue, may be a threat to peace and security in those areas.

My delegation has had the honour of being associated with the now famous Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial coun-

tries and peoples, which the Assembly adopted in December 1960. Following a statement made in the General Assembly by Mr. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, an item entitled "Declaration on the granting of independence to the colonial peoples" was inscribed on the agenda of the fifteenth session of the General Assembly, and on 14 December 1960 the Assembly adopted its resolution 1514(XV). A Committee of Seventeen was set up and was entrusted with the task of seeing that this resolution was implemented, and implemented without delay. The Committee of Seventeen was expanded to a Committee of Twenty-Four by General Assembly resolution 1810(XVII), and it was invited to continue to seek the most suitable ways and means for the speedy and total application of the Declaration to all territories. India had the honour and privilege to preside over the Committee of Seventeen, and we have this year provided a Rapporteur to the Committee of Twenty-Four.

My delegation, having been a party to the report, naturally agrees with the methods and procedures of work adopted by the Committee, as well as the recommendations and conclusions contained in various chapters of the report. We are unable to accept the argument advanced by some administering Powers that sending a visiting mission to a colonial territory amounts to interference in its internal affairs, or that by agreeing to such a visit the administering Power would be sharing its responsibility for the internal administration of the territory. We should have thought that the function of a visiting mission would be to ascertain the views of the population concerning a territory's future and that, as such, a visiting mission should be welcome to the administering Powers to the extent that it can use its good offices in bringing together the different political elements in a colonial territory and thereby assist the administering Power in the difficult task of ironing out the differences which may stand in the way of that territory's achieving independence. There should be no question of the visiting mission's interfering in any way in the internal administration of the territory. As the report of the Special Committee points out :

"The United Nations has responsibilities with regard to Non-Self-Governing Territories

deriving from the provisions of the Charter concerning these territories and from the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. .
(A/5446, chapter I, paragraph 54)

By refusing access to visiting missions, the administering Powers are perhaps acting contrary to the spirit of the Charter and are placing obstacles in the way of the implementation of the Declaration. It is in this context that we regret the United Kingdom decision not to permit visiting groups to enter British Guiana and Aden. We sincerely hope that in the coming year the administering Powers which have not been able to cooperate with the Special Committee in this respect will revise their attitude, and thereby help in putting an end to colonialism without further delay.

The Assembly is fully aware of the commendable record of the United Kingdom Government in bringing its numerous colonial territories to independence and freedom. My delegation has never failed publicly to declare our broad appreciation of the colonial policy of the United Kingdom. It is a matter of deep satisfaction to us that the combined wisdom of the administering authority and the statesmanship of the leaders of Kenya and Zanzibar have found a solution to the problem in that part of the world which at times seemed baffling. To the valiant freedom fighters of Kenya and Zanzibar we send our warmest greetings, and we look forward to their joining us in this Assembly within the next few days. When Mr. Kenyatta assumed the office of Head of the Government of Kenya earlier in the year, my Prime Minister sent him the following message :

"I am happy to convey to you on my own behalf and on behalf of my colleagues in Government of India our warm felicitations and sincere good wishes on your assumption of office as first Prime Minister of self-governing Kenya. This is indeed a historic occasion and is a momentous step in Kenya's peaceful march to full sovereignty and independence. We have watched with great interest and sympathy progress of Kenya along path of its destiny and are confident that under your wise

and enlightened leadership people of Kenya of all races and creed will prosper and progress and that Kenya will be a force for peace and understanding in Africa and in the world."

Events in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland have also taken a hopeful and positive turn, and under, the leadership of Mr. Banda and Mr. Kaunda, Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia are also expected to attain their independence in the very near future, During its visit of Africa last year, the Committee of Seventeen had devoted considerable time to studying the problems of Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Kenya and Zanzibar and had tried to evolve methods, speedy and suitable, by which the declarations contained in resolution 1514(XV) could be applied to them. It is therefore a matter of gratification for us who are members of the Committee of Twenty-Four that Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland are also now well on the way to independence.

The situation in the three High Commission territories-Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland-continues, however, to be unsatisfactory and disquieting. The resolutions of the Committee and of the Assembly have not produced the desired result so far. We are aware of the problems which beset the United Kingdom Government in its remaining colonial territories in various parts of the world, although at times one wonders whether some of these difficulties are not created by that Government itself, as seems to be the case in Southern Rhodesia, where the United Kingdom Government has taken a stand which is legally untenable and politically unwise.

The Prime Minister of the United Kingdom-then Foreign Secretary-speaking in the general debate on 1 October 1963, had stated :

"We have accepted that the majority should rule. We insist, as far as we are able to do before independence, that minorities must be protected. I do not think that any of you would quarrel with that. But if because of our scrupulous care to safeguard the interests of minorities-because that after all is the essence of democracy-we are going to be put into the dock for that, then I or-- my Permanent Representative here will stand in the dock with our

heads high." (1222nd 'meeting, page 36)

The tragedy of the British policy in Southern Rhodesia seems to be that the principle of establishing the rule of majority after safeguarding the interest of the minorities is being ignored in this case. It is our hope that Kenya could perhaps be used as a model by the United Kingdom authorities for tackling similar problems in Southern Rhodesia. While the United Kingdom was prepared and willing to take a firm stand in Kenya so that centrifugal forces could be held in check and a common sense of nationhood fostered, the same bold lead and statesmanship have not been forthcoming in the case of Southern Rhodesia. The rule of the majority should be established here also after scrupulously safeguarding the interests of the minorities. We find another contradiction in British Guiana, where a majority government elected on universal adult suffrage has been denied the right to independence, and so far the Administering Authority has refused to set any date for its independence, even though all the political parties in that territory have been pressing for it.

While progress is being recorded in the British colonial territories, even though in some cases the progress is somewhat slow, the picture is gloomier than ever when we turn to the territory of South West Africa or to the Portuguese colonies. The Security Council has already taken up the matter of 'Portuguese colonial territories', and the question has also been discussed in great detail in the Fourth Committee. The African States at the Conference held in Addis Ababa this year had made it quite clear that the Portuguese must grant independence to Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea and other Portuguese territories without further delay, or face the consequences. If the doors of peaceful change are locked, and peaceful negotiations are completely barred, a change through conflict and violence seems inevitable. In its own enlightened self-interest, Portugal must agree to evolve peaceful methods of transfer of power to the people of its colonial territories without delay.

The report by the Secretary-General, in pursuance of the resolution adopted by the Security Council at its meeting on 21 July 1963 is contained in document S/5448 of 31 October 1963. My delegation finds little or no comfort in this

report. The representatives of the African delegations, who discussed the matter with representatives of the Portuguese Government, have themselves stated that they deeply regret "that Portugal has nothing new to show with regard to the basic principles governing its colonial policy." The statement of the African group can be seen in document A/C.4/620 of 13 November 1963.

The situation in South West Africa continues to cause us anxiety; and the Special Committee has drawn the attention of the Security Council to the situation in that territory. The Fourth Committee, in its discussions in the past few weeks, has also adopted a resolution. Pursuant to that resolution, the Secretary-General had got in touch with the Government of South Africa, The reply of that Government has now been received and is contained in document A/5634 of 2 December 1963 The reply is as unhelpful

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as ever. The South African Government has expressed its unwillingness to seek advice of outside experts-at least, for the present.

The representatives of Chile and Ceylon, speaking in this Assembly on 29 November 1963, drew the attention of this Assembly to an important matter which is worthy of serious consideration by us all. It relates to the future of small States or territories which nature has placed in isolation, and which are not endowed with natural resources sufficient to support them economically. These territories are non-self-governing, and it is our duty to examine how resolutions 1514(XV), 1654(XVI) and 1810(XVII) can be effectively and urgently applied to these territories. We feel that the Assembly should invite the Special Committee to study the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514(XV) and subsequent resolutions with regard to those colonial territories which are thinly populated and isolated, and also to examine in what way the assistance of the United Nations can be provided to them so that their independence might be politically and economically viable. The Special Committee should ascertain the views of the people of these territories and report the result of its findings to the nineteenth session of the General Assembly. We feel that if such a study is not undertaken urgently, these small colonial territories might

find themselves in constant and serious danger of economic collapse after they have attained independence.

In conclusion, I wish to place on record our deep appreciation of the work of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four, and of its Chairman, Mr. Coulibaly. The Committee, during its existence, has done valuable and commendable work and gained very useful experience which will be of immense value and assistance to it during its work in the coming year.

INDIA USA KENYA SWAZILAND CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC ETHIOPIA ANGOLA GUINEA
MOZAMBIQUE PORTUGAL SOUTH AFRICA CHILE

Date : Dec 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

INDIA IN THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri B. N. Chakravarty's Statement in General Assembly on Admission of New Members to U.N.

Shri B. N. Chakravarty, Permanent Representative of India to U.N., made a statement in the General Assembly on December 16, 1963, on the admission of new Members to the United Nations.

Following is the text of his statement :

This is indeed a historical occasion. We have met here today to welcome, as new Members of this Assembly, the free and independent States of Zanzibar and Kenya. The struggle against colonialism in Asia and Africa will always find a prominent place in the annals of mankind. It is a matter of gratification for all of us that two more independent African States have come into being. The people of Africa have crossed two more hurdles towards the ultimate goal of setting the whole of Africa free.

As the representative of India, as also Chair-

man of the Commonwealth group this month, it is an honour and a privilege for me to extend, on behalf of India, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Ceylon, Malaysia, Sierra Leone, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, a most cordial welcome to the two sister members of the Commonwealth which have today taken their rightful place in the comity of nations. Until 1947 the Commonwealth had been an exclusive association of peoples of European origin. With the emergence that year of two independent States of India and Pakistan, the Commonwealth changed its character and included, for the first time, among its Members peoples of different races, religion and colour. The process of liberation has continued ever since and, with the addition of other Asian, African and Caribbean States, the Commonwealth today is very different from what it was, sixteen years ago.

The emergence to freedom of Zanzibar and Kenya is another significant landmark in our struggle against colonial rule. This is the first time that a British colonial territory with a multi-racial population has achieved its independence. This is the first example in British colonial history of the setting up of a democratic government where the principle of a rule by the majority has been established, with full assurances of fair treatment for all racial minorities. Kenya may well serve as model for other colonial territories with similar problems. The combined wisdom of the British Government and the statesmanship of the leaders of Kenya have succeeded in checking the centrifugal forces and fostering a sense of common nationality. The independence of Kenya therefore assumes a special significance from this point of view.

The people of Zanzibar, the island famous all the world over as the "island of spices", as island of tropical charm and beauty, have, after nearly eighty years of foreign rule, regained their independence. We rejoice at their freedom. We are fortunate in having in our midst today the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister of Zanzibar. We extend to them our warmest welcome. Both of them are well known to a number of delegations here particularly to those of the Committee of Twenty-four who had the privilege of visiting Dar-es-Salaam last year and having consultations with them.

From time immemorial ties of friendship have linked the peoples of Zanzibar and India. Flourishing trade has been carried on by the two countries from the beginning of time. We are confident that these ties of friendship and co-operation will be still further strengthened in the days to come. A special delegation was sent from India to take part in the independence celebrations and our President sent a message of congratulations and good wishes on that occasion to His Majesty the Sultan.

I now need only say that my delegation, as also the delegations of the other Commonwealth countries on whose behalf I am speaking, looks forward to working in close co-operation with the delegation of Zanzibar in the United Nations towards our common objective of advancing the interest of humanity and peace.

We are tied to Kenya not only on account of our historic association, but also through our contemporary contacts with her people and her leaders. It is therefore with genuine joy and satisfaction that we greet the 8.5 million free Kenyans and salute their brave leader, Jomo Kenyatta.

The world is only too well aware of Mr. Kenyatta's long struggle against heavy odds. In her struggle for freedom, Kenya passed through many ordeals and her dynamic and heroic leader languished in prison or was kept under detention for almost ten years. We in India watched this struggle with close interest and tried to render such assistance to the freedom fighters as we could. It is a matter of jubilation for us to see once again history repeating itself—that the prisoner of yesterday is the Prime Minister of today. It is an interesting coincidence that when Mr. Kenyatta was under detention, one of the books that he asked for was *The Bhagwat Gita* translated into English by Mr. Tilak, an eminent leader of Indian nationalism. Mr. Tilak translated the book in the Mandalay prison in Burma, where he had been deported by the British Government in 1908.

As I have said earlier, the independence of Kenya has a special significance not only for Africa but also for the whole world. Its people

and leaders are engaged in the exciting and challenging adventure of building a genuine multi-racial society-or should I, in the words of Mr. Tom Mboya, call it a non-racial society ? Prime Minister Kenyatta's determination to ensure equal treatment to citizens of European and Asian descent is yet another example of his wide vision and wider sympathies. He wants to forget the past and only look to the future.

His will not be an easy task and he will need the co-operation and active support of all men of goodwill. I can do no better than quote an extract from my Prime Minister's message to the Prime Minister of Kenya on the day of independence : "We wish you success in your endeavours in the creation of a strong multiracial Kenya with the economic advancement and development of people of all races as your goal."

Before concluding, I would like to extend to His Excellency Mr. Odinga, Minister for Home Affairs for Kenya, and the members of his delegation, our most sincere and warm welcome. Kenya, under her enlightened and wise leadership, is certain to make important contributions to our deliberations in the United Nations.

INDIA KENYA USA AUSTRALIA CANADA JAMAICA MALAYSIA SIERRA LEONE TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO PAKISTAN CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC BURMA

Date : Dec 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

JORDAN

President's Speech at State Banquet

His Majesty King Hussein of Jordan paid a State visit to India from December 3 to December 16, 1963 at the invitation of the President of India, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan. On December 3, the President held a banquet in honour of His Majesty at Rashtrapati Bhawan.

Proposing a toast to the King, President Radhakrishnan said :

Your Majesty, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen : I should like to express to Your Majesty how delighted we are that you are with us and I extend to you on behalf of the, Government and the people of this country our good wishes for your stay here.

Jordan we have heard of from the classical times and the Biblical times. It was sometime a Hebrew city. Later, under Seleucus, in second century BC it came under Greek influence. When the Romans succeeded the Greeks, it became a Roman city. Later on, it came

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under Muslim influence and the kingdom of which you are the Head today was established in 1946. So you represent history of centuries. You also represent modernism. You were at Harrow and Sandhurst, centres of intellectual learning and military training. You are a good pilot and a good photographer. That shows how very modern you are. With that modernised outlook you are trying to improve the conditions in your country, modernise your country so to say without losing your fidelity to the fundamentals of Islam. That is what you are attempting to do.

I heard this evening that you had 20% Christians among your people and they have representation in your Cabinet. It shows your extremely to learnt spirit which is absent in many other parts of the world.

It is necessary for a good ruler whether he is monarchical or constitutional or dictatorial, whatever he may be, that he should identify himself with the interests of the people. The cupidity of the few makes for the poverty of the masses and when masses suffer from poverty there is general unrest and resentment. It should be all our endeavour to raise the human conditions, the living standards of our ordinary people.

Your Majesty, you are attempting to do this by increasing your industrial output by opening out educational opportunities to your people. You established a university only last year in Jordan

and I was told that nearly 14000 students of Jordan are out in America, in Europe, even in India, trying to get the best they can from other universities and countries. It shows your breadth of mind, your eagerness to learn wherever you can learn. When these boys and girls come back, by their very presence, your society will be raised, will be transformed. They will come and tell us that we should fight the common enemies of man, poverty, disease, hunger, tyranny and war itself. These are the things we are engaged in, a supremely important task in this crucial period of human history.

War is our greatest enemy. We must all become partners in the quest for peace, stand by one another, not in enmity, not in arming ourselves but in trying to protect the vital interests of humanity. They are the enduring ones. If we are able to stand up for them, we will be able to build a human society worthy of humanity. Humanity today is in an adolescent stage. It has not become adult as yet. It is still groping for adulthood. It is still trying to go forward. There are several impediments in our own mind, impediments in the environment. If we are to be honest with ourselves, we must confess our evils. We must try to battle against them and try to improve, not merely the outer conditions of the environment but our own inward conditions.

Mental illness, or ill health, is a common feature even in affluent societies. Gangster methods are not unknown even in most civilised countries of the world. All these things show that the times require to be altered a great deal and men in your influence and position, with control over the population, with goodwill and with the cooperation of other people, you will be able to develop your country to the heights you desire.

Amman, your capital, was known in classical times by the name of Philadelphia, which means brotherly love. If you have brotherly love, if you approach every problem in that spirit without hate, violence or bitterness in your hearts, you make friends with all the people who happen to be strange from us.

Your Majesty, I had two small quiet talks with you and I feel you are burning with enthusiasm for the welfare of your people. That is

the one good sign of any kind of ruler, not to think of himself but to think of the people whose fortunes are entrusted to him by accident or inheritance or whatever it may be. You have that love for your people and with that love for your people you will go forward.

Your industries are expanding, your educational opportunities are growing. Our relations with you in trade and culture are also increasing steadily and your visit now will strengthen the bonds which already bind our two countries.

As I said this noon, when we had this trouble with China, you were among the first to declare unequivocally your sympathies with the Indian people and you gave us courage and cheer at a time when we felt rather depressed. I thank you for that.

I have no doubt under your guidance and leadership. if you fight these things and if you establish democratic institutions as you say you have already done-you have a parliament with two chambers, 60 in the Lower House, 30 in the Upper House; 60 in the Lower House are elected on adult franchise. If this parliament goes on, people will have special pride that they are participating in the building of the country. Each one must have a sense of that pride of belonging to a country which stands for great ideals. if you give them a purpose in life, you would have done a rewarding task yourself. You are a man of great courage, great adventure. You have youth on your side, not like me, an old man here, very tired. You will be able to do these things much better.

I wish you the best of luck, Your Majesty. May I ask you to drink to the health of His Majesty the King of Jordan?

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JORDAN USA INDIA OMAN CHINA

Date : Dec 01, 1963

Volume No

King of Jordan's Reply

Replying to the toast, the King of Jordan said :

President, Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen. Sir, no matter how hard I may try, I must admit failure to express what I feel and what I have, felt ever since this morning when I arrived in this dear land. I am more than grateful for the kind reception, the warm reception, and at this opportunity that was given me by you to visit this land.

I feel, Sir, that the kind words of praise that you have uttered only reflect what you feel for the Jordanian family, who live in A small country and to whom I am dedicated as a servant. I try my utmost to be worthy of their support and their love, and to be worthy of the trust and the confidence that they have put in me through the many years-the years in which I had to learn a great deal, the years that have passed. UP to this day it is the people of Jordan who have inspired me to work. And what ever I have done, I have always felt inadequate. I have felt that more should be done, I have felt that it is worth doing one's utmost, that I have to try harder every day and every hour, to give them what is their right and in so doing to serve not only the people of Jordan but to serve the bigger family to which we all belong.

We are a small country, but we have hopes of a better future. We are little in number but we have the ideals and Principles which all free men all over the world hold dear. We hope that out of Jordan and in Jordan we can set a good example for others, how a people can work and surmount obstacles despite the fact that these obstacles may be formidable.

We are proud to be free. We realise that we are only at the beginning of what is going to be a long, hard struggle, but we are determined.

As for myself, my greatest ambition is to set for others in our area and in our part of the world an example and to give the people of Jordan a Government, a system of Government, which is for them and which can work with them in the many, many years to come, to help them to find the way and start it so that they can always march onward and achieve their objectives and the objectives of the Arab people in a free Arab world, united Arab world and a better Arab world.

There are many similarities between us. the two countries, the problems we face and the hopes we have. In Jordan we are also trying to build a future based on the best that we can retain from our past and the best that we can gain from the experiences of others. We feel that that is the way, as is and has been the case here. We are also proud of the friendly ties that exist between us and the good relations that exist between us. We know that these relations will grow stronger with the passage of time.

I have come here to learn a great deal and I am already learning through my talks with you, Mr. President, and with our friends this afternoon. You inspired me and brought new strength into me when you mentioned that you believe that no matter how difficult one might find life, one should stick to one's principles and what one believes in, regardless of the opportunities that may be offered here and there, to achieve the objectives that are minor ones. We are dedicated, we are working as a family in Jordan, we are hopeful.

And as for our stand during the crisis which this great country and nation faced, we were not alone. Millions of people all over the world who share our beliefs and share our Pride in being free and have the same ideals and cherish them, were worried and were anxious at that time when they all felt that the force, brute force, and the aggression cannot in any way alter or affect what this country stands for and what this country inspired others through its stand. We were worried and we stood by you, but we were only part of a larger family--a family that is in all the free world, the family to which we all belong, those who believe in our principles and cherish our ideals and are free.

Sir, it is a privilege to meet you and to find in you a great friend. I also. Sir, find it a privilege meeting such a great scholar, who is at the same. time as modest as you are and as dedicated as you are to the service of your great nation. It is also a source of pleasure and pride for me to meet the Prime Minister, who. is a man well-known in the world. as a leader of humanity. It is a pleasure and source of Pride for me to convey to you the wishes of the people of Jordan and the Jordanian family and their pride in being your friends and in standing with you for the same objectives and in sharing with you the same hopes for a better future for mankind.

I thank you, Sir, for all your kindness and hospitality and I would like you, ladies and gentlemen, to join me in drinking a toast to the President.

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JORDAN USA

Date : Dec 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

JORDAN

His Majesty's Dinner to President Radhakrishnan

King Hussein of Jordan made the following speech proposing a toast to the President at a dinner given by His Majesty in his honour on December 5, 1963 :

Mr. President, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen : It is a few days now since we came on this visit to this great country. Yet, these days seem to have passed by with great speed. They were happy days and they were days which we would remember for the rest of our lives. I am talking also on behalf of all the Jordanian group that came with me on this visit to India.

We have seen a great deal and we came prepared to see as much as possible. Yet, our stay here in the capital is coming to an end and tomorrow we start on a tour to see more of India. We have been very very impressed with all we have seen, not only the great progress that has been made in all fields, in science and development. The progress is remarkable but what has interested us most is the people's dedication, their ability to work, their desire to improve and their faith in the leadership of this country. The determination and the faith in the hard work has impressed us because we know, as indeed the people of this country know, that their future is the future they seek, their future is a good future and that with this wise leadership and with this dedication, they will achieve all their goals and all their objectives.

I will carry back to my Jordanian family news of what I have seen and my impressions. I know, they will be very interested. I will tell them, we had a great deal in common although we are a small country and at some distance; yet, we are, also trying to build and trying to work for a better future. We are a democracy and we hope that the future will prove that what we are doing and the way we live is the right one. We are sure of that because we feel that it is the only way. With obstacles and difficulties, we share with the great Indian people the same beliefs and ideals.

We love freedom, we love our country. We love peace. I come from Jordan and Jordan is a holy land, where many people visit us every year to enjoy what we have to offer. I have found here also one family, the Indian family, united as we are.

It is indeed a happy occasion for me to speak this evening, of what I have seen and I look forward to a great deal more on this visit. I feel that in this world great progress has been made. Yet, nothing is equal to personal contact. My visit here has emphasised more what I had heard and what I had judged and what I had learnt. I also hope that many of our friends will come over to little Jordan to see what we are, how we are living and what we are trying to do. We stand together at this

time, and I am sure we would always stand together, for our cause is the same, our struggle is one, our hopes are the same.

I wish to express once again my deep gratitude and sincere thanks to you, Mr. President, to the Prime Minister and to ail of you, to the Indian people for their generous welcome and great hospitality-the people who are building India, the men and women, the people who deserve good future and who will have a good future. I have brought you the friendship of the people of Jordan and their admiration and I bone that I have succeeded in representing my Jordanian family.

At the end of the speech which I hove has not been too boring, I would like to ask you, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, to join me and drink a toast to the President of India. May he live long and in good health and may God help him to continue in his work for the good not only of India but of humanity.

JORDAN USA INDIA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date : Dec 01, 1963

Volume No

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JORDAN

President Radhakrishnan's Reply

Replying to the toast, the President said :

Your Majesty, Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen : We appreciate the very kind words, which you have just expressed, about what you saw and found in this country in these three days. You see what we have done, we see what we have not yet done. There is so much which requires, to be done in our country but our goal is clear. our direction is set, and with determination and hard labour I have no doubt we will

go forward nearer and nearer every day towards that goal.

One thing that struck me most in your speeches is the emphasis you lay on Jordanian family. In other words, you look upon your whole State as a family of fellowship of which you happen to be the Head. You explained to us the principles of democracy, social equality, social justice which are the fundamental tenets of Islam and Christianity. And these are the

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things we talk about and it takes us a great deal of trouble and labour to implement them in our daily life and behaviour. We are struggling to achieve these things and I have no doubt you are attempting to do the same : That brings us together.

Though Your Majesty is young, young in years, you have lived close to danger, risked your life so often, with the result that there is so much of wisdom in your mind. I have had talks with Your Majesty and you impressed me as a man of great courage and conviction determined not merely to improve the conditions of life in Jordan but of the whole Arab world and in the whole of humanity. That has been the guiding principle of your life.

Your Majesty believes in the United Nations. You know that small nations can't defend themselves, when attacked, by themselves. Once upon a time Voltaire said: No country is independent unless it is able to defend itself when attacked. Those days are over. There are no countries in the world which can defend themselves when attacked standing by themselves. The world is inter-dependent and therefore it is our essential duty to establish a general world authority symbolic of the community of nations where the security of every nation becomes the concern of all people. And that is the faith which you have formulated, which you believe in.

In the few days when you will travel round our country, I hope you will see more or less the same spirit, as we have here, the same determination and vitality of our people who are bent upon improving the general conditions of living in our villages and in our towns. You

did see today a community development project, a village scheme, you went to our laboratories, the agricultural and the physical, and you saw there the work which we are attempting to do. All these are great projects and they cannot be done independently. In every one of these great achievements of sciences, you have the spirit of cooperation. When in 1942 in the Chicago Laboratory atomic fission took place, you had 12 nations represented there. In the earlier 17th century; you had Copernicees Kepler, Newton and others. They were the representatives of different nations who contributed to the growth of science, science literature, scholarship, all these things which are the products of civilisation are the results of a cooperative enterprise.

What the world needs today is understanding, cooperation and friendship. These are the things that ensure a stable world and you believe in them. Therefore, we are glad to welcome you here and make you feel that we are in sympathy with the ideals which you cherish, and you may rest assured that your visit has brought real delight and joy to the people whom you have met. May I ask you to drink to the health of His Majesty King Hussein of Jordan.

JORDAN USA

Date : Dec 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

JORDAN

Joint Communique

At the conclusion of the 12-day State visit to India of His Majesty the King of Jordan. the following Joint Communique was issued in New Delhi on December 16, 1963 :

At the invitation of the President of India, His Majesty King Hussein of Jordan paid a

State visit to India from 3rd December to 16th December, 1963.

His Majesty received a warm and friendly welcome during his stay in India and attended several functions organized in his honour.

During the course of his tour of India. His Majesty took the opportunity of visiting Delhi, Agra, Ahmedabad, Bangalore, Madras, Hyderabad and Bombay and meeting a wide cross-section of the people of India. His Majesty was able to see examples of the historical and cultural monuments of India and to visit some industrial and technical establishments as well as rural communities.

His Majesty had a friendly exchange of views with the President and the Prime Minister; the discussions covered a wide range of subjects of common interest to Jordan and India and the current international situation.

In the course of discussions, His Majesty acquainted the Prime Minister with the progress made by Jordan in the field of social and economic reforms. The Prime Minister described to His Majesty the progress made in India under the Five-Year Plans. His Majesty and the Prime Minister expressed the hope that trade between India and Jordan would continue to expand and that there would be increasing co-operation in the cultural, economic and technical fields. The Prime Minister assured His Majesty of the continued readiness of the Indian Government to cooperate with Jordan in furtherance of His Majesty's plans for the social and economic development of the country.

His Majesty and the Prime Minister agreed that there is similarity of approach between

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Jordan and India in regard to many issues of international concern as both countries are vitally interested in the maintenance of peace in the world. In this context, His Majesty supported the Indian stand on the question of Chinese aggression. The Prime Minister expressed understanding and appreciation of the Palestine problem. His Majesty and the Prime Minister welcomed the agreement on the partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty as a first step towards the

relaxation of international tensions and towards further agreement on questions relating to general disarmament.

His Majesty, the president and the Prime Minister agreed that the frank exchange of views had helped to promote better understanding between Jordan and India, and had strengthened the cordial relations already existing between them. The President and the prime Minister welcomed the valuable personal contact created by the visit of His Majesty.

The President of India and the Prime Minister accepted with pleasure the invitation of His Majesty to visit Jordan.

JORDAN USA INDIA

Date : Dec 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

JORDAN

Farewell Message

His Majesty King Hussein of Jordan, who was on a 12-day State visit to India left for Teheran on December 16, 1963.

In a farewell message recorded for All India Radio a little before his departure His Majesty the King said :

At the end of a very happy stay in your dear country-at the conclusion of a tour of many regions and States, I wish to speak to you and I hope that I will succeed in putting into words my feelings of deep gratitude for the hospitality, the kind reception, the warmth of your reception and the friendship with which I was met everywhere during the past happy days. I will carry back with me many memories and impressions. I came a short while ago from Jordan-a small country

in its size, and population, a big-country in the hopes of its people and in determination, a country that exists at the heart of the Arab world, it country that is proud to have the best of friendly relations with India. I came, and my mission was to bring to you the message of sincere friendship, of admiration, of respect that the people of Jordan, members of the Jordanian family have for you in India.

I had an opportunity during this short stay to meet the President of India, a man worthy of the highest admiration, a man who does not belong to India only but to the world and I had the opportunity to meet your great Prime Minister known all over the world as a man who is a dedicated leader, as a man of principle and I have met and I have made many friends on my visit here. During these meetings, we have had talks on all subjects of mutual interest, both our peoples and I have gained a great deal of knowledge and understanding of the Indian point of view in regard to many of the problems you face and we face today. I have attempted to bring also to the notice of the leaders of India the problems we face in our part of the world and our approach in trying to solve them. I found that I talked to friends and I found that my friends understood me and I am sure that these talks and meetings will have a great effect and benefit on both of us.

From Delhi, I went around to Agra, to Dehra Dun, to Ahmedabad, to Keshod where we saw the Gir Forest, to Bangalore, to Madras, to Hyderabad and Bombay. Everything I have seen, everyone I have seen, has impressed me a great deal. I have been impressed by all I have seen-the people of India, the members of the Indian family, the young and the old alike, the men and women, the people working in factories, and people working in research institutions, members of the Armed Forces, villagers, people in cities and towns, people everywhere. I have been impressed by their dedication, by their pride in showing me everything, by their determination to build a happier future for India, by their determination to build a greater glory than that of the past with which your land is full. We in Jordan share with you in this struggle and take pride also in what we are trying to do in attempting to build of Jordan an example to others-a democracy, a free country

with opportunities for all, a modern country but at the same time what we are trying to build is something that we base on the best of what we can keep and retain from our past and the best that we can gain from the experience of others. This is what you are doing here and this is exactly what we are trying to do in our part of the world. We have great hopes in the future. Jordan is the heart of the Arab world and the Arab world had a great Past. We do not live on our past glory but we are determined to regain our position in the future in a free United Arab world. I am sure that the great links and ties that existed in the past between this great nation here and Arab nation continue

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to exist as they exist now and that the friendship and the relations built on mutual respect, the ties will grow stronger in the future-a happy future.

I hope that this visit may have helped to lay down solid foundations for closer relations, closer understanding and cooperation between our two countries in the years to come. The visit has unfortunately been all too short. I had seen a great deal, I learnt a great deal but also I have A wish to come again. If God grants me life, to this dear land-to visit it many more times and to learn more and to spend more time with my good friends here. I hope also that many of our friends will come to see us in our part of the world and see what we are trying to do in Jordan. My thanks to you, once more citizens, to your Government, to your Press, your institutions and your societies for all the friendship which you have shown to me and to my dear country, Jordan.

JORDAN USA INDIA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date : Dec 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

JORDAN

President's Reply to the King's Farewell Message

The President, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, sent on December 17, 1963 the following message to His Majesty the King of Jordan in reply to the farewell message sent by the King at the conclusion of his State visit to India :

We are all delighted to know that you had a useful time in our country. We are grateful to you for your kind invitation to visit Jordan. We shall certainly let you know when a suitable opportunity arises. With best wishes to you and the people of Jordan.

JORDAN INDIA USA

Date : Dec 01, 1963

Volume No

1995

JORDAN

King of Jordan's Message to Prime Minister Nehru

Following is the text of the telegram sent by the King of Jordan to Prime Minister Nehru at the conclusion of His Majesty's State visit to India on December 16, 1963:

As I leave the friendly Republic of India in conclusion of my visit to your great and hospitable country, I deem it my extreme pleasure to express to you my deep gratitude for the warm friendship which the Government and the people of India, under your wise and dedicated leadership, have accorded to me throughout my visit. I deeply appreciate and cherish the understanding, the friendliness and the depth of vision which have animated our discussions in New Delhi on the many problems and issues affecting the mutual

interest of our two countries and of peace and justice in the world at large. It is my sincere hope that the personal contact which has been established between us during this visit will augment and solidify the ties of friendship which already exist between us. I have been deeply impressed by the achievements which India, has already accomplished in her march towards declared progress and the attainment of the better life which our two peoples aspire. I am confident that the wisdom, the dedication and the breadth of vision with which you have led India will continue to be an inspiring example to people everywhere. We shall be looking forward to your visit to Jordan at the earliest possible opportunity to enable me and the Government and people of Jordan to reciprocate the bonds of affection and esteem which we hold towards you personally and to the people of India.

JORDAN USA INDIA

Date : Dec 01, 1963

Volume No

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JORDAN

Reply by Prime Minister Nehru

I thank your Majesty for the warm sentiments conveyed in your telegram of December 16. Your visit to India has left a deep impression and we greatly appreciated your Majesty's devotion to the cause of peace and to the welfare of the Jordanian people. We have noted with understanding and appreciation your Majesty's anxiety to ensure economic and industrial progress of Jordan and to promote the well-being of your people. We reciprocate your sentiments that your Majesty's visit will create closer bonds of friendship and understanding between our two countries. On behalf of the Government and people of India and on my own behalf I offer, my best wishes for your Majesty's health

and happiness and for the welfare and prosperity of the Jordanian people.

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Date : Dec 01, 1963

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MOROCCO

Further Development of Trade between India and Morocco

Under the Trade Agreement existing between India and Morocco, an understanding was reached at Rabat on December 27, 1963 for further development of trade between the two countries. This was in continuation of the trade talks held by the Indian Trade Delegation which visited Rabat in July this year. On behalf of the Government of India, the Ambassador of India in Morocco, Shri B. K. Acharya, signed the schedule of commodities to be exchanged. The Under Secretary of State for Commerce and Industry signed for the Moroccan Government.

The Trade arrangement envisages import of rock phosphate, lead, cork, paper and card board, etc. by India from Morocco. Indian exports to Morocco include textiles, tea, engineering goods, vegetable oils etc. The value of trade each way is expected to reach the level of Rs. 15 million by August 1964.

MOROCCO INDIA USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date : Dec 01, 1963

Volume No

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POLAND

Five-year Trade Agreement Signed

A new long-term Trade and Payments Agreement between Poland and India was signed in New Delhi on December 18, 1963 by Mr. Franciszek Modrzewski, Vice-Minister of Foreign Trade, Government of the Polish People's Republic, and Shri D. S. Joshi, Secretary, Ministry of International Trade, Government of India. The Agreement will be valid for five years from the 1st of January 1964.

The Agreement envisages a trade turnover of about Rs. 160 million each way during 1964. The list of goods of Indian exports has been enlarged and diversified. India will be exporting engineering goods including textile machinery and accessories, machine tools, and various other engineering products including diesel engines. India will also export cotton textiles, handicrafts and handloom products, leather footwear and other new items of manufacture like duplicators, ready-made garments, collapsible tubes and razor blades in addition to iron ore, manganese ore and mica. Other traditional items of exports to Poland are de-oiled cake, tea, jute products, spices, shellac, groundnuts HPS and cashewnuts.

Poland is an important supplier of mining machinery, machine tools, tractors, zinc and rolled steel products including alloy and special steels. Apart from these items, capital goods and generating equipment will also be supplied by Poland.

POLAND INDIA USA RUSSIA

Date : Dec 01, 1963

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Indo-Soviet Oil Agreement Signed

Contracts for the preparation of detailed project reports for the expansion of the Barauni and Koyali Refineries from two million tonnes to three million tonnes per year, were executed on December 28, 1963, between the Indian Refineries Limited and the Oil and Natural Gas Commission on the one side and Messrs. Tiajpromexport of Moscow on the other.

Mr. P. Besolov, Acting Counsellor for Economic Affairs, U.S.S.R. Embassy, signed for Messrs. Tiajpromexport and Mr. P. R. Nayak for the Indian organisations.

The Soviet authorities will furnish the project reports before the end of the current financial year and the Indian parties are expected to communicate the acceptance or modification of the project reports within a month.

The expanded capacities of the two refineries are expected to be achieved by the end of 1965 or the beginning of 1966.

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Date : Dec 01, 1963

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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Prime Minister's Statement in Rajya Sabha on U.S. Seventh Fleet

The following is the text of the statement

made by Prime Minister Nehru in Rajya Sabha on December 21, 1963 on the operation of the U.S. Seventh Fleet in the Indian Ocean :

There has been considerable speculation in the newspapers and also in Parliament about the Seventh Fleet extending its operational sphere to the Indian Ocean. I have already made a statement on this subject in the Lok Sabha. We have not been consulted by the U.S. Government in this matter. When General Maxwell Taylor called on me on the 17th December, he mentioned that his Government was considering the advisability of sending a few ships from their Seventh Fleet to cruise in the Indian Ocean with the object of becoming acquainted with the seas in this region. He was clear that no decision had been taken on this matter by his Government. It appears that General Taylor also mentioned to the Press before his departure from India, that an aircraft carrier and some destroyers might carry out this cruise. These are all the facts we have.

Mention has been made in Parliament of the continuing presence of U.S. naval forces in the Indian Ocean, of a task force with unclear potential, permanently posted there, which would menace the freedom of our country, add our policy on non-alignment. The facts as known to us I have stated. If more information becomes available, we shall certainly consider the matter further in the light of such information. As is well known, the Ocean outside the territorial waters of India is open to the naval vessels of the United States as to the naval vessels of any other country. It would be quite wrong to suggest that a cruise by a few U.S. naval ships in the Indian Ocean either threatens our freedom, or imperils our policy of nonalignment. To prevent misgivings, however, I would like to take this occasion to state, emphatically, that while we are glad to take assistance from friendly foreign countries in our defence build-up, there is no question of any foreign ships, or foreign troops, or foreign aircraft, participating in the actual defence of the country. This defence will be effected only by the Indian armed forces and the people of this country.

USA INDIA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date : Dec 01, 1963

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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

U.S. Loan for Tarapur Atomic Power Plant : Agreement Signed

India's first atomic power plant at Tarapur, 62 miles north of Bombay, took a major step forward towards realization, when the Governments of India and the United States concluded an agreement on December 7, 1963, to provide a foreign exchange loan of \$ 80 million (Rs. 38.1 crores) for the project. The plant, when completed, will be one of the largest atomic power stations in the world. It will also be one of the largest sources of power of any kind in Asia.

Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and the Finance Minister, Shri T. T. Krishnamachari, were present as Ambassador Chester Bowles signed the agreement for the United States and Dr. H. J. Bhabha, Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Atomic Energy, and Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, and Shri L. K. Jha, Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Economic Affairs, Ministry of Finance, signed for the Government of India.

Others present included Mr. C. Tyler Wood, Minister-Director of the U.S. Agency for International Development Mission, his deputy Mr. John F. Fobes, and Mr. John Ulinski, Assistant Director for Programme and Finance. The signing took place in the Conference Room of the Ministry of External Affairs.

The 380-megawatt installation at Tarapur will contribute toward attainment of India's high priority goal of increasing power production to meet mounting industrial demands. Current efforts are aimed at raising installed capacity from 5.7 million kilowatts at the start of the Third Five-Year Plan to 12.7 million by its conclusion in 1966. Over half of the foreign exchange required is

being met through long-term credits from the United States.

In the Maharashtra-Gujarat area, current estimates indicate a deficit in 1968 of more than 800,000 kilowatts between peak demand and projected firm power capacity. The addition of the Tarapur output to the two-state system will help to reduce this deficit.

A detailed technical and economic analysis conducted by the U.S. Agency for International Development, the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission and Burns and Roe of New York City, consulting engineers retained by U.S.A.I.D. indicated that a nuclear plant would be competitive with a conventional power station serving the same

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area confirming earlier calculations of the Department of Atomic Energy. While the nuclear power station will require a larger initial capital investment than a conventional thermal installation, it will permit lower total costs for fuel, operation and maintenance. The analysis also indicated that the costs of operation and rates to be charged for power sales would be reasonable.

The General Electric Company, acting through its International General Electric Company division, has been selected by the Government of India as prime supplier and contractor for the facility as well as for the fabrication of the initial nuclear fuel charge. The fabrication costs, about 10.5 million dollars (Rs. 5 crores), are also covered by the present loan.

The U.S. Atomic Energy Commission will sell India enriched uranium for the Plant under a contract being negotiated to cover both the initial and continuing requirements for fuel.

United States loan financing is authorized by U.S.A.I.D. to pay the dollar costs, to the Indian Department of Atomic Energy, of design and construction of the Tarapur station, including placing it into operation. The U.S.A.I.D. loan also will cover fabrication of the initial fuel charge into the form required for the station. India will finance the local currency costs of the project, estimated at Rs. 16.1 crores (\$ 34 million). The fuel will be purchased from the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission through a long-term credit.

The site of Tarapur on the Arabian Sea coast was selected by the Indian atomic energy authorities after detailed investigations of various locations to determine the availability of adequate cooling water, foundation, health and safety conditions, power transmission possibilities, and other requirements.

The plant will be operated by the Tarapur Atomic Power Project under the Department of Atomic Energy. There are already three nuclear reactors including one of the largest research reactors of its kind in the world, in operation at the Atomic Energy Establishment at Trombay, which has over 1,400 scientists and engineers specialized in the different fields of nuclear science and engineering. Of these, over 100 have received training in various fields of nuclear engineering in the United States since 1955 under the U.S.A.I.D. Development Grant programme and the Atoms-for-Peace programme.

The Government of India will be the borrower of the U.S.A.I.D. loan. The loan calls for repayment in dollars over 40 years, with no payments on the principal over the first 10 years, and a credit fee of 3/4 of 1 per cent per year,

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Date : Dec 01, 1963