

*Jawaharlal Nehru  
and  
Rajya  
Sabha*



# Jawaharlal Nehru and Rajya Sabha

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**JAWAHARLAL NEHRU AND RAJYA SABHA**  
by Sudarshan Agarwal

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नाभिषेको न संस्कारः सिंहस्य क्रियते मृगैः  
विक्रमार्णितं राजस्य स्वयमेव मृगेन्द्रता ।

*(Hitopadesh)*

(For a lion neither coronation is done  
nor any sacraments are performed,  
He acquires the kingdom of forest by his own valour)

## Foreword

Jawaharlal Nehru was the builder of modern India. Even in his life time he had become almost a legend. He was the idol of the Indian masses. The great visionary that Nehru was, he believed that the new India had essentially to be democratic. "India", he once observed, "is a very old country with a great past. But she is a new country also with 'new urges' and 'desires'."

Nehru was instrumental in making India a modern industrial society, democratic in spirit, socialistic in content, scientific in temper, and secular in outlook. The economic and scientific strides that India has made today originated with the efforts and vision of Jawaharlal Nehru. For economic development of the country, Nehru ushered in the concept of state planning which has now taken firm roots and is instrumental in the development of the country. He relied on planning to accelerate the pace of progress. On August 28, 1961, speaking on the Third Five Year Plan in the Rajya Sabha, Nehru explaining the concept of planning, said: "Planning essentially is looking at things in perspective, looking ahead, forming a picture of the future and attempting to reach that future, to realise that future in the present."

Nehru wanted that people should cultivate a scientific temper and the fruits of science should reach the masses. With that end in view he established a chain of scientific and research institutions.

Nehru was a true democrat. He had great respect for parliamentary traditions. He encouraged the opposition in Parliament to offer constructive criticism of governmental policies so as to effect improvement in the functioning of the government. On the question of relationship between the government and the opposition, Nehru, participating in the discussion on the Report of the States Reorganisation Commission, held in the Rajya Sabha on December 24, 1955, observed:

Democracy, of course, means that the majority will prevail. It is

obvious. But democracy means also something else than this. It does not mean, according to my thinking, that majority will automatically function regardless of what the minorities think, because the majority, by virtue of its being in majority, has the power. Therefore, it has the greatest responsibility thrown upon it to function more or less as a trustee of the minority and always to consider the feelings—the interests—of the minority, not of course disliking it.

Tolerance, Nehru believed, was the bedrock of democracy.

In the birth centenary year of Jawaharlal Nehru, we remember him with love, gratitude and pride. We cherish his memory and dedicate ourselves to the task of building India of his dreams.

This book gives a glimpse of the thoughts of Jawaharlal Nehru as unfolded in the debates of the Rajya Sabha. In a way, it also highlights Nehru's contribution to the building and strengthening of parliamentary institutions. I commend the efforts of the Rajya Sabha Secretariat in bringing out this volume on the occasion of Jawaharlal Nehru's birth centenary.

New Delhi  
November, 1989

Shanker Dayal Sharma  
*Chairman, Rajya Sabha*

## Preface

Jawaharlal Nehru, whose birth centenary the nation is celebrating this year, was a great statesman of our time. A democrat by temperament and training, Nehru endeavoured to nurture parliamentary institutions in this country. He wanted that people must have their full say in the governance of the country. He wished to involve them in the formulation and implementation of policies and programmes aimed at alleviating poverty and ensuring social and economic justice to all irrespective of caste, creed, colour, sex or status. He held Parliament in high esteem because in his view it was through Parliament alone that people's will could be truly reflected. Not only that; he tried to build a system whose four main pillars were socialism, secularism, democracy and Panchayati Raj—a system capable of ensuring justice and equality to all and carrying the message of democracy to grass-root levels.

Jawaharlal Nehru participated actively in the deliberations of the Constituent Assembly which was responsible for framing the Constitution. The Constitution envisaged a bicameral legislature at the centre with two Houses known as the House of the People (Lok Sabha) and the Council of States (Rajya Sabha). In keeping with the spirit of the Constitution, Nehru gave due respect to both Houses of Parliament. On all important matters, Nehru kept Members of both the Houses of Parliament informed. At times when it appeared that bicameralism, as envisaged by the Constitution, was likely to run into rough weather—this happened in the initial years of the formation of the House of the People—Nehru intervened and spoke passionately about the intentions of the founding fathers. His interventions settled the matter amicably and to the satisfaction of all.

Nehru accorded equal status to both Houses of Parliament. He made it a point to speak on all important matters in both Houses. His speeches on international affairs, Motion of Thanks on President's Address, Five-Year Plans, and other issues of public importance were elaborate, and clearly reflected his perspective

and vision. His commitment to parliamentary institutions and processes was so deep that despite his preoccupation he would sit both in the Lok Sabha and in the Rajya Sabha whenever he could get time from his busy schedule. In case he was unable to be present in the House during any important debate, he would meticulously go through the parliamentary debates to keep himself abreast of the discussions that had taken place. Nehru evinced keen interest in "Private Members' Business" in the House. One could often find him in the House when any private member's bill or resolution was being taken up in the House. He would sometimes intervene in the debate to satisfy the Member raising a particular matter either through a bill or a resolution.

Question Hour was something which Nehru found most interesting. Whenever the Prime Minister saw that there was scathing attack on a Minister by the Members, he would go to his rescue. Nehru also did not hesitate to correct his erring colleagues even on the floor of the House. If he perceived that there was a lapse or impropriety on his part or on the part of his colleague, he would express regrets for it. Such were his norms of parliamentary behaviour as were highly admired and acclaimed even by his fierce political opponents.

The inspiration to undertake this work came from Dr. Shanker Dayal Sharma, Vice-President of India and the distinguished Chairman of the Rajya Sabha, who has all along been a great admirer of Jawaharlal Nehru—his policies, principles and priorities. We are indeed beholden to him for his guidance and encouragement in this endeavour.

We wish to place on record our appreciation for the generous cooperation and efficient service rendered by the Research Service personnel of the Rajya Sabha Secretariat.

This book is a humble and respectful homage of the Rajya Sabha Secretariat to Jawaharlal Nehru who was the leading statesman of our time and had worked ceaselessly to build parliamentary institutions in India.

New Delhi  
November, 1989

Sudarshan Agarwal  
*Secretary-General*  
*Rajya Sabha*

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# 1

## Concept of Bicameralism

On August 15, 1947, India got freedom from the British rule. Jawaharlal wanted to make this political freedom a reality for the common man. This is reflected in the solemn declaration Nehru made on that historic occasion on the midnight of August 14-15, 1947:

Long years ago we made a tryst with destiny, and now the time comes when we shall redeem our pledge, not wholly or in full measure, but very substantially. At the stroke of the midnight hour, when the world sleeps, India will awake to life and freedom. A moment comes, which comes but rarely in history, when we step out from the old to the new, when an age ends, and when the soul of a nation, long suppressed finds utterance. It is fitting that at this solemn moment we take the pledge of dedication to the service of India and her people and to the still larger cause of humanity.<sup>1</sup>

Now the question before him was how to redeem the pledge. Being a democrat, Nehru knew that parliamentary democracy was the only way which could help us in reaching our goal and provide an effective political arrangement by which people's will could be truly represented in the governance of the country.

Jawaharlal Nehru was a great democrat himself. His concept of democracy began to take concrete shape when we were fighting against the British for independence. His views on democracy found clear expression in several resolutions adopted by the Indian National Congress on various occasions. In 1936, as President of the Indian National Congress, Nehru declared that "the Congress stands today for full democracy in India and fights for a democratic State ..."<sup>2</sup> Democracy cannot have any meaning for the people if it does not result in social justice. He, therefore, linked democracy with socialism. He did not use the word *socialism* in a vague humanitarian way; rather, he used it in a

scientific sense and believed that it was something more than an economic doctrine; it was rather a philosophy of life to him. These views of Jawaharlal Nehru find a place in our Constitution which aims at creating an egalitarian society and providing social justice to all irrespective of caste, colour, creed, sex or status.

Nehru played a decisive role in the Constituent Assembly. His views were reflected in the speeches he made in the Constituent Assembly on various draft articles. Moving the Resolution regarding "Aims and Objects" on December 13, 1946, Nehru outlined the purpose of the Constituent Assembly and said:

... Whatever system of Government we may establish here must fit in with the temper of our people and be acceptable to them. We stand for democracy.<sup>3</sup>

Nehru believed that parliamentary democracy was in keeping with our own old traditions of *sabbhas* and *samitis* and was well suited to meeting the demands of the modern times. Parliamentary system has, in fact, functioned with a very large measure of success in India because of our past experience and also because our people have great liking for freedom—which is possible only in democracy. In one of his famous speeches in the Lok Sabha, Pandit Nehru said:

We choose this system of parliamentary democracy deliberately; we choose it not only because, to some extent, we had always thought on those lines previously, but because we thought it was in keeping with our own old traditions also; naturally, the old traditions, not as they were, but adjusted to the new conditions and new surroundings ... let us give credit where credit is due ... because we approved of its functioning in other countries, more especially the United Kingdom.<sup>4</sup>

Nehru's firm belief in parliamentary democracy and democratic methods was more than once reiterated by him in the Rajya Sabha also where he once observed:

I think that the parliamentary system of government itself is a very good system. Of course, I believe in it. It is not so much that but the administrative aspects that delay, and there is no reason why we should not evolve administrative aspects which have proper parliamentary control, checks, etc., and yet do not delay.<sup>5</sup>

It is sometimes erroneously observed that Nehru was not in favour of two legislative chambers, the Upper and Lower Houses. In support of this contention, the following observation made by

him in 1936 as President of the Indian National Congress is often quoted:

One fact is sometimes forgotten with regard to the provision for second Chambers in many of the provinces. These Chambers will be reactionary and will be exploited by the Governor to check any forward tendencies in the lower House. They will make the position of a Minister who seeks advance even more difficult and unenviable.<sup>6</sup>

This observation has been most regretfully misconstrued. The correct import of this statement can be properly understood only if one realises that it was made in the context of the Government of India Act, 1935, under which provision was made for a bicameral legislature for the Indian Provinces. This cannot in any case be said to represent his general view on bicameralism, and certainly not in the context of a federal form of government for an independent India, for he was well aware that in a federal constitution, the Upper House at the Centre is a *sine qua non* inasmuch as it also represents the interests of the federative states.

This is clearly brought out by the role which he played in the drafting of the Indian Constitution. As is well known, one of the committees appointed by the Constituent Assembly was the Union Constitution Committee which was entrusted with the work of framing a draft constitutional structure of the central government under the new Constitution. This Committee was headed by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. The Committee had made an indepth study of the proposed structure and recommended *inter alia* that the new legislature for the centre, called Parliament of India, should be a bicameral one with two chambers named the Council of States and the House of the People. The question whether India should adopt unicameralism or bicameralism had already been thrashed out in detail in the meetings of the Union Constitution Committee, and there was not much discussion in the open House of the Constituent Assembly as to the desirability or otherwise of adopting bicameralism. It was then taken for granted that the second chamber was as essential for the Union Constitution as the President or the Supreme Court; and the Constituent Assembly itself was practically unanimous about the utility of a second chamber as an integral part of the general scheme of the union government which set up a federal form of government for our country. The general attitude of the



Constitution makers may be summed up in the words of N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar who observed:

the need for a second chamber has been practically felt all over the world wherever there are federations of any importance.<sup>7</sup>

Ayyangar advanced three reasons in support of bicameralism, *viz.* it will (a) hold dignified debates; (b) delay legislation which might be the outcome of passions of the moment; and (c) provide opportunity to the seasoned people who might not be in the thickest of political fray but who might be willing to participate in the debates with the amount of learning and importance which we do not ordinarily associate with the House of the People. Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru did not participate in the discussion presumably because the Union Constitution Committee, of which he was the Chairman, had already discussed the question in detail and unanimously recommended a bicameral Parliament; hence he saw no point in going through the exercise all over again in the open House.

Nehru's views on the need and relevance of a second chamber at the Centre were expressed more clearly in the 1953 Budget Session of Parliament. On April 29, 1953, the Rajya Sabha took up for consideration the Income-tax (Amendment) Bill, 1952. This was certified to be a Money Bill by the Speaker of the Lok Sabha. (Only Lok Sabha has the sole prerogative on Money Bills.) The Members of the Rajya Sabha expressed their doubts as to whether the Bill was a Money Bill at all. In the course of the debate some Members contended that in the garb of a Money Bill, the Lok Sabha was trying to usurp some of the powers of the Rajya Sabha conferred upon it by the Constitution. The substance of the objection was that the powers of the Rajya Sabha should not be impaired by manipulating the constitutional provisions with regard to Money Bills. The then Law Minister, C.C. Biswas, who was also the leader of the Rajya Sabha, generally agreed with the views expressed by the Members in the House and stated that the House would feel reassured if it were told categorically that the Speaker had fully applied his mind and then issued a certificate of the Bill being a Money Bill after an adequate and fair consideration of the matter. He observed:

According to the information available to us the Bill has been treated, may be by the Secretariat of of the other House, as a

Money Bill and placed before the Speaker as such. "May be" I say, and the Speaker appended a certificate because the Constitution requires that when a Money Bill is transmitted to the Council of States it shall be accompanied by a certificate of the Speaker. Acting under that article, the Speaker, as soon as it is placed before him as a Money Bill, has got to give the certificate; there is no option left to him. Or, did he do so after considering the matter because a question had been raised about it? This is the vital question that arises, Sir.<sup>8</sup>

The Lok Sabha took exception to the remarks of the Law Minister on the ground that they were thoroughly unjustifiable and inconsistent with the dignity of the Speaker. The Minister of Law was requested to present himself before the Lok Sabha on the next day when it was proposed to take up the matter again. The Rajya Sabha, greatly exercised over this development, directed the Law Minister not to appear before the Lok Sabha in any capacity whatsoever, and the feelings in the two Houses ran high. The situation was, however, settled in an amicable and dignified manner by Prime Minister Nehru who clearly saw that if the controversy between the two Houses was allowed to continue, it might lead to a serious constitutional crisis which our nascent Republic could ill-afford.

Emphasising that neither House of the Indian Parliament was superior to the other and that each House had to perform the specific functions allotted to it by the Constitution, Nehru observed:

To call either of these Houses an Upper House or a Lower House is not correct. Each House has full authority to regulate its own procedure within the limits of the Constitution. Neither House, by itself, constitutes Parliament. It is the two Houses together that are the Parliament of India... There can be no constitutional differences between the two Houses because the final authority is the Constitution itself. The Constitution treats the two Houses equally except in financial matters which are to be the sole purview of the House of the People. In regard to what these are, the Speaker is the final authority.<sup>9</sup>

In the course of his speech he also laid great stress on the fact that the harmonious working of the two Houses was a *sine qua non* for the success of parliamentary democracy in India and that any lack of understanding or cooperation between them would lead to difficulties and would come in the way of the smooth

functioning of the Constitution. He hoped that the series of unfortunate incidents leading to the tussle between the two Houses was just a passing phase and that the two Houses would function in a spirit of cooperation:

For those who are interested in the success of the great experiment in nation-building that we have embarked upon, it is a paramount duty to bring about this close cooperation and respect for each other... I earnestly trust that these unfortunate incidents will be treated as closed now and that any feeling of resentment that might have arisen will pass away and the two Houses will function in friendship and cooperation maintaining the high dignity of Parliament.<sup>10</sup>

The appeal by Nehru served to assuage the strong feelings for the time being, but soon another incident occurred which created some bad blood between the two Houses. In order to carry out effectively the general discussion on the Budget and the debate on the Appropriation Bill, the Rajya Sabha felt that it was necessary either to have its own Estimates and Public Accounts Committees or that its Members should be included in the existing two Committees of the Lok Sabha. In January, 1953, the Rules Committee of the Rajya Sabha formulated its proposals and sent them to the Lok Sabha. The Rules Committee of the Lok Sabha considered the proposals but found them unacceptable as being "against the principles underlying the Constitution." The matter reached a climax when Prime Minister Nehru moved the following motion in the Lok Sabha on May 12, 1953:

That this House recommends to the Council of States that they do agree to nominate 7 Members from the Council to associate with the Public Accounts Committee of this House for the year 1953-54 and to communicate to this House the names of the members so nominated by the Council.<sup>11</sup>

There was strong opposition to this proposal from all sides of the House. Members felt that this was an intrusion into the exclusive rights and privileges of the Lok Sabha under the Constitution. Members referred in particular to the fact that the powers of the Council of States were limited with regard to Money Bills and financial matters. There was a full-fledged debate in the House for two days and Nehru sat through the debate listening to the various arguments of the Members. On May 13, 1953, he gave a very comprehensive reply touching on the different aspects of

the question and it was given once again to Nehru to carry the day. Repudiating the charge that the powers of Lok Sabha were sought to be eroded by the motion moved by him, he said:

Great stress is laid on the powers of the House as if somebody was challenging them or making an attack on them. There is no doubt about what the powers of this House are in regard to Money and Financial matters. It is on that basis that we proceed. There the matter ends... The second point is whether this innovation... that my motion suggests—interferes with those powers in any way. ...If it interferes with those powers in any way... then it is a wrong motion. I accept that position if it is likely to interfere with those powers then we should be wary and see that it should not do so. I accept that position.<sup>12</sup>

To an implied criticism by a Member that the Rajya Sabha had some nominated Members also while Lok Sabha did not and hence the latter was a superior House, Nehru came in defence of the nominated Members. He said:

There are a few nominees. For instance, the President has nominated some Members of the Council of States, who, if I may say so, are among the most distinguished, taking everybody in Parliament altogether—it is true, distinguished in arts, science etc.—and our Constitution in its wisdom gave that. They do not represent political parties or anything but they represent really the high watermark of literature or art or culture...<sup>13</sup>

As in the earlier case, Nehru reiterated the doctrine of equality of the two Houses of the Indian Parliament. Asserting that neither House had any particular superiority over the other, he said:

Nobody here will say that by any special virtue, as individuals or otherwise, Members of that House are inferior, or superior, or not as good or as bad as Members of this House. Some may be good in our opinion and some may be bad; that is immaterial. But what I mean is this: they do not represent a particular class or group, they come from the same classes and groups of political opinion as Members of this House. There is no difference of that type and it is desirable obviously that Parliament consisting of these two Houses should function in a smooth way, in a cooperative way and that each should have as much opportunity to cooperate with the other as possible.<sup>14</sup>

Frequent quarrels between the two Houses of Parliament, he warned, would lead to the weakening of the nascent democracy. He, therefore, appealed to the two Houses to put an end to them and to work in a spirit of cooperation:

It is true, it is my desire, and I think it should be the desire of the House, to cultivate to the fullest extent possible cooperation and friendly relations with the other House, because in the nature of things and in the nature of the Constitution that we have, if we have not got cooperative relations, each can hamper and delay public work. There is no doubt about it. Each has the capacity for good certainly, but also for delay and for just irritating and annoying by delaying tactics, the other House. The conception of the Constitution is that the Parliament is an integral whole .... The whole structure of Federal Government here requires the cooperation of not only both the Houses, but of the Central Government, of States, between the State Councils and the State Legislative Assemblies. The background is one of cooperation everywhere.... Otherwise the constitutional machinery of India creaks.<sup>15</sup>

As a result of the bold stand taken by the Prime Minister, it was possible for the Rajya Sabha to be associated with the Public Accounts Committee of the Lok Sabha—a practice which is still continuing. Incidentally, on the basis of the same precedent, since 1964 the Rajya Sabha has been regularly electing seven Members for the twenty-two member Committee on Public Undertakings of the Lok Sabha.

Yet another point of friction between the two Houses was with regard to Joint Committees. In December, 1953, the Law Minister, C.C. Biswas moved a motion in the Lok Sabha requesting it to concur with the recommendation of the Rajya Sabha for the nomination of 30 Members from both the Houses to a Joint Select Committee of the two Houses on the Special Marriage Bill, 1952. The proposed Committee was also to have 15 Members from the Rajya Sabha. Although the motion seemed innocuous, there was a lot of opposition to this Motion in the Lok Sabha. The objection essentially was that it might not be proper for the Members of the Lok Sabha to work in a Committee sponsored by the Rajya Sabha which would function under the overall control of the latter. It was feared that this arrangement might alter the Rajya Sabha's position from a purely revising chamber into one having co-equal status with the popularly elected chamber, i.e., the Lok Sabha. The Members agreed to join the Joint Committee only if it functioned under the control of the Speaker of the Lok Sabha. A full-fledged debate took place on this motion and the Members of the Lok Sabha were extremely exercised over it. It was

left to Jawaharlal Nehru to intervene in the matter and resolve the issue. Explaining succinctly the procedure for a Joint Select Committee, he said:

In order to have a Joint Select Committee, only that House in which a Bill is introduced can take the initiative. Obviously, the other House cannot, because it has nothing before it to take the initiative. That House, whichever it may be, takes the initiative and says: we should like to have a Joint Select Committee. That House then approaches the other House and says, we will be very glad if you are good enough to join the Select Committee, or put it as you like. The other House may agree or may not agree. But, the originating House is seized of the Bill; the other House is not seized of the Bill at all till it finally comes, passed by the other House.<sup>16</sup>

Refuting the argument that under the Constitution and the Rules of Procedure, a Joint Select Committee can be set up only by the Lok Sabha, he made the following observations:

A Bill can originate in this House or in the other House. And if a Joint Select Committee is to be had, then in the House in which it originates, in that House steps must be taken for the Joint Select Committee. It is then open to the other House to agree or not to agree. That is obvious. But the House in which the Bill originates remains seized of that Bill; the other House is not seized of it except in so far as it agrees or does not agree to send Members to that joint select committee.<sup>17</sup>

Here, once again Nehru asserted the doctrine of equality of the two Houses of Parliament and appealed for a spirit of cooperation for their smooth functioning:

We want to maintain the prestige of this House and the other House too. They are parts of the structure of Parliament. I do submit that we should find ways and means of the closest cooperation between the two Houses and try to interpret rules and frame rules which might lead possibly to friction. Each House, within the terms laid down in our Constitution, is independent. If there is a sense of hostility between the two Houses, both suffer as Parliament is an organic whole.<sup>18</sup>

As a result of Nehru's intervention, the motion which concurred with the recommendation of the Rajya Sabha to join the Joint Select Committee was adopted by the Lok Sabha. Since then, the right of the Rajya Sabha to refer bills (other than financial bills) to Joint Select Committees has been recognised and

established. This has affirmed the equal status of Rajya Sabha with the Lok Sabha in all legislative business other than financial.

Yet another example displays as to how Nehru held the Rajya Sabha in high esteem. A Member of Lok Sabha, Shri N.C. Chatterjee, while speaking in the 31st Session of the All India Hindu Mahasabha at Hyderabad, was reported to have said: "Upper House which was supposed to be a body of elders seemed behaving like a pack of urchins." The Members of the Rajya Sabha were greatly agitated and reacted very strongly to this statement. Shri P.S. Rajgopal Naidu raised an issue of privilege and complained that it was a reflection upon the Rajya Sabha and hence a violation of its rights and privileges. Members from various sides considered it as an affront to the House and took strong exception to the statement. The Chairman, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, instructed the Secretary to find out the facts and the latter wrote a letter to N.C. Chatterjee, enquiring if the statement attributed to him was correct. On receiving the letter Chatterjee raised an issue of privilege in the Lok Sabha characterising the letter "as a writ of the other House" and "usurpation of the jurisdiction of the Lok Sabha". He even quoted Erskin May and said that only the Lok Sabha could initiate proceedings against him and such an order of the Chairman of the Rajya Sabha was outside his jurisdiction. Jawaharlal Nehru was, as usual, eager to avoid yet another confrontation between the two Houses of Parliament. Apprehending some unpleasant developments he submitted two points for consideration of the Speaker. First, the incident had occurred outside the precincts of the House and that it concerned the Member in his individual capacity only. Secondly, whether an enquiry into the veracity of the statement was justifiable and, if so, what action could be taken by either House in respect of statements made with reference to the other House. The crux of his argument was that there was nothing objectionable about the letter sent by the Chairman of the Rajya Sabha to N.C. Chatterji.

Even after some Members requested the Speaker to refer the entire matter to the Committee of Privileges of the Lok Sabha, Nehru, referring to an earlier precedent, submitted to the Speaker that it would be discourteous not to reply to the courteous query sent by the Chairman of the Rajya Sabha. He stated:

Perhaps you remember, Sir, that this is not the first time such a question has arisen. About a year and a half ago, or a little more, there was a case of a Member of the other House; it was a case exactly similar to this, only in the reverse, when a Member of the other House made a speech and he was summoned at the Bar of this House and the Privileges Committee demanded an explanation from him and all that; so that we have had an example of this. At the present moment nobody has been summoned by anybody, only a courteous letter has been sent. Are we to hang up the answer to that, because that is also discourteous? When the Chairman of the other House has asked information about the correctness of the speech, is that letter to be hung up so that the Privileges Committee may consider about the procedure? That, I submit is a great discourtesy to the Chairman of the other House.<sup>19</sup>

The Speaker did not agree with Jawaharlal Nehru and ruled that the letter was more in the nature of a 'writ' rather than a request. He asked N.C. Chatterji to make a statement in the form of a reply which he promised to send to the Chairman of the Council of States. The Member complied with the Speaker's direction and informed the House that he had been misrepresented. Thereafter, the matter was dropped. But Nehru was intent on evolving a procedure, so that in future any dispute of this nature between the two Houses could be settled amicably. Largely on his initiative, it was decided at a joint sitting of the Privileges Committees of the two Houses of Parliament that in such a case when a question of privilege or contempt of the House was raised in either House in which a Member, officer or servant of the other House was involved, the procedure should be that the Presiding Officer of the House in which the question of privilege was raised should refer the case to the Presiding Officer of the other House, only if he was satisfied, on hearing the Member who raised the question or on perusing any document where the complaint was based on a document, that a breach of privilege had been *prima facie* committed. Once the case is so referred, it would be the duty of the Presiding Officer of the other House to deal with the matter in the same way as if it were a case of breach of privilege of that House or of a Member thereof. Thereafter, that Presiding Officer should send to the Presiding Officer of the House where the question of privilege was originally raised, a report about the inquiry, if any, and the action taken on the reference.

This procedure which laid down specific guidelines to deal with complaint of breach of privilege of one House by the Members/officers of the other House went a long way in minimising the area of any possible conflict between the two Houses.

On March 18, 1954, a Resolution was moved by a Private Member in the Lok Sabha:

This House is of the opinion that existence of the second chamber in the centre is quite unnecessary and steps must be taken to make necessary amendments in the Constitution.

The Rajya Sabha was characterised as "an outmoded and an antiquated institution", a kind of pet political superstition of the modern age. To the Member, the creation, existence and continuation of such a body of indirectly elected members was an insult and outrage to the prestige, power and dignity of the Lok Sabha which consisted exclusively of Members directly elected by, and holding the trust of, the electorate. This Resolution received widespread support from almost all sections of the House, many of whom regarded the Rajya Sabha as a "citadel of vested interests." The Union Home Minister, Dr. K.N. Katju, who spoke on behalf of the Government, opposed the Resolution and sought to provide real justification for the continuance of the Rajya Sabha, which was an integral part of the federal polity established by the Indian Constitution. Since Dr. Katju was speaking as a spokesman of the Government, he echoed the viewpoint of Jawaharlal Nehru, who sometime back had observed:

The whole conception of the second chamber here (i.e. in India) was not ineffective second chamber, not an unrepresentative second chamber, but a representative one, representing the country in a different way, representing it by election, not by nomination or by birth.<sup>20</sup>

Nehru had great respect for the Rajya Sabha and he was a firm believer in the institutional efficacy of the House as an equal partner with the Lok Sabha in the affairs of the government. Even as late as 1960, while bidding farewell to some retiring Members of the Rajya Sabha, he reiterated:

This House (Rajya Sabha) and the other House of Parliament perform a paramount and a leading function in the country, under the Constitution deciding major policies and giving a lead to the country.<sup>21</sup>

Many a time be observed that although we had, by and large, adopted parliamentary system of government prevailing in Britain, the Parliament of India was not on all fours with the British Parliament and the Rajya Sabha in any case was not a replica of the British House of Lords which was not only hereditary in composition but was much less effective in power and position. As he once aptly observed:

Under our Constitution, Parliament consists of our two Houses, each functioning in the allotted sphere laid down in that Constitution. We derive authority from that Constitution. Sometimes we refer back to the practices and conventions prevailing in the Houses of Parliament of the United Kingdom and even refer erroneously to an Upper House and a Lower House. I do not think that is correct. Nor is it helpful always to refer back to the procedure of the British Parliament which has grown up in the course of several hundred years and as a result of conflicts originally with the authority of the King and later between the Commons and the Lords. We have no such history behind us though in making our Constitution we have profited by the experience of others. Our guide must, therefore, be our own Constitution which has clearly specified the functions of the Council of States and the House of the People. To call either of these Houses an Upper House or a Lower House is not correct. Each House has full authority to regulate its own procedure within the limits of the Constitution. Neither House, by itself, constitutes Parliament. It is the two Houses together that are the Parliament of India.<sup>22</sup>

These incidents speak volumes about Nehru's attitude with regard to the Rajya Sabha. He never considered the Rajya Sabha as 'Upper' or 'Second' Chamber, much less as a secondary Chamber, of the Indian Parliament. As the extracts from Nehru's speeches clearly show, he regarded the Rajya Sabha as an *equal partner* with Lok Sabha in the affairs of the State. But for his efforts, the Rajya Sabha would have been reduced to a mere second or revising Chamber and relegated to a secondary position in our parliamentary system.

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## 2 Sovereignty of the People

Nehru was one of the main architects of Indian democracy. During the freedom struggle days Nehru expressed himself clearly in favour of democracy. Once India attained freedom, democracy would be the natural choice and having established democracy, socialism would follow by itself, he felt. Speaking at the 50th Session of the Indian National Congress in 1936 at Faizpur, Nehru declared:

The Congress stands today for full democracy in India and fights for a democratic state, not for socialism. It is anti-imperialist and strives for great changes in our political and economic structure. I hope that the logic of events will lead it to socialism for that seems to me the only remedy for India's ills. But the urgent and vital problem for us today is political independence and the establishment of a democratic state.<sup>1</sup>

Nehru stood for democracy because in democracy he found a great potential to mobilise the masses and involve them in the task of nation-building and prepare them for an all round development. In a democratic system, government remains responsible to the Parliament and the Parliament in turn is made responsible to the people. It is a well recognised principle of parliamentary democracy that the executive is made responsible to the Parliament, where decisions are taken through free discussion and frank exchange of ideas. Democracy is, thus, a government by discussion, debate and consensus. Commenting on this aspect of democracy, Nehru rightly said:

It is a method of argument, discussion and decision and of accepting that decision even though one may not agree with it.<sup>2</sup>

Once again, speaking during a seminar, Nehru dilated upon the theme of parliamentary democracy. Elaborating his views on the subject, he observed:

How far can parliamentary democracy be adapted to meet the

new burdens and functions of government satisfactorily, effectively, and in time? Time is the overriding consideration and that is why the question has arisen whether it is possible to have devolution of authority in parliamentary democracy which ensures that these problems can be dealt with rapidly and effectively. The easiest way to deal with a problem is for an autocrat or dictator to settle it at once, rightly or wrongly. Obviously, that is an approach which is bad for the growth of the people. It does not develop that creative energy, that spirit and that sense of freedom which we consider essential. But remember also that creative energy and a sense of freedom do not develop merely by giving a person the right to vote.<sup>3</sup>

Explaining the democratic approach further, Nehru stressed the consensual aspect of parliamentary democracy:

Now, essentially the ... reasonable and democratic approach is to put forward your viewpoint with all the strength that you possess, with all the ability that you possess, but to be prepared to agree finally to whatever decision Parliament or whatever body takes, that is to say, to submit to adverse decisions, to submit to decisions which are against your own wishes. Why? Because any other course of action means upsetting the basic fabric of the nation. Now, that is the most vital matter of all.<sup>4</sup>

Nehru was aware of the criticism that parliamentary democracy is a slow-moving system but still he opted for it because he knew that whatever was achieved democratically had a lasting value. Once while bidding farewell to the retiring Members of the Rajya Sabha, he declared:

Much may be said about the parliamentary system of Government and many criticisms can also be offered about it and some people rather doubt if it is really suited to the modern speed of development, if it is not slightly slow-moving. Others think that in the long run it is not only desirable in itself but it achieves better results. For my part I hold to the latter opinion completely. But apart from going into the merits of the parliamentary system of Government, there is one aspect of it which is not included in any Constitution but which I think is very important ... We meet here, we express our opinions freely and strongly but I hope with restraint and behind all that we try to do so without personal rancour or ill-will and, therefore, a sense of *camaraderie* begins to grow up even among those who may differ very much, among those who may be on the Government side or the Opposition side or some side in between. That, I think, is very important; this sense of *camaraderie* and cooperation that grows up gradually in parliamentary work ought to grow up.<sup>5</sup>

As a true democrat, Nehru promoted free and frank discussions on matters of public interest in both Houses of Parliament. He seldom denied information to Parliament sheltering under the plea that public interest demanded that such information might not be shared with Parliament. He was, in fact, always willing to share much information with Parliament even on sensitive matters such as national defence and scientific research. He was anxious to involve Parliament in the decision-making process and invariably participated in the debates on all important policy matters, i.e. foreign policy, industrial policy, and scientific and technological development. This, he felt, would help the government in improving or amending the policies with regard to these matters. He once made this abundantly clear in his speech in the House:

... we in the Government necessarily have to follow policies which are laid down or approved of by Parliament. The ultimate judge is Parliament; if I may say so, the ultimate judge is the people of India represented in Parliament, and we have to take our directions from Parliament and what Parliament decides, that the Government will follow, will pursue.<sup>6</sup>

Nehru appreciated informed criticism from all quarters and had a great faith in the capacity of the Indian people. He realised long back that the experiment of democracy in India would be successful because the Indian people by nature were freedom loving. But he often felt that we could not afford to be complacent about things and must accept healthy criticism because this created in us not only a spirit of tolerance but also the capacity to improve. He, therefore, once appropriately said in the Rajya Sabha:

All I can say is that I have that faith in the capacity of our people, and it is in that faith that we should go ahead with it. And may I say that I do not dislike criticism? Far from deprecating criticism, we invited it. But there is such a thing as an attempt to create an atmosphere to deprecate that faith, to make the people doubt their own capacity, other people's capacity to make an effort, rather to sneer at other people who are working, and that is not a good thing.<sup>7</sup>

Nehru always listened with rapt attention to the viewpoints of the opposition on all important matters and complimented those members of the opposition who spoke with reason in the

House, however critical those speeches might be of the governmental policies. Nehru knew that strong opposition was one of the pillars of democracy and sound democracy demanded freedom of thought and expression. This naturally requires respect for minority opinion. As he observed once:

... when I use the words "majority" and "minority" I am using them whether it is a religious majority or minority; whether it is a linguistic majority or minority or whether it is any other type of majority or minority. Democratic functioning means that the minority, whatever it is has its full play and its views are fully considered and not overruled.<sup>8</sup>

Opposition may not be strong in number but it does not follow that it is lacking in political wisdom. The opposition may not compel an agreement but it does compel consideration and thought. Nehru had, therefore, rightly remarked:

The parliamentary system of work requires not only stout opposition, not only forcible expression of opinions and views but an essential basis of cooperation between the Opposition and the Government.<sup>9</sup>

On 24th and 25th August, 1959, the House was discussing a resolution regarding the proclamation issued by the President in relation to the state of Kerala under Article 356 of the Constitution and some Members raised doubts about the constitutional justification for the issuance of the proclamation. Intervening in the discussion on 25th August, Prime Minister Nehru stated that the basic question in the matter was one of functioning on democratic lines and he explained what his conception of democracy meant:

... not merely the victory of the majority party—that is part of it no doubt—but the majority always taking into consideration what the minority feels and the minority always thinking that there is the majority. That is to say, an element of mutual consideration. Naturally in the final analysis when there is a conflict, the huge majority view is likely to prevail but it is a very foolish majority that tries to impose its views on the minority.<sup>10</sup>

Elaborating on his viewpoint, Nehru felt that for a vibrant functioning of democracy, it was incumbent on the majority to find common ground with the minority and endeavour to minimise or reduce differences to the extent possible. But, at the same time, in a democratic structure, the role of the minority was also no less important. In this context, he observed:

... the mere fact of trying to reduce those differences does create an atmosphere of co-operation and of recognising that each group or each individual even has a place in the democratic system and that it is not merely a question of a steam-roller majority going through regardless of other opinions.

... Now, if a majority has its place, as it undoubtedly has, the minority also has a place and where the two are isolated and live in different worlds then it is rather difficult for the democratic structure to function adequately as one would like it.<sup>11</sup>

On the question of relationship between the government and the opposition in democracy, Nehru expressed the view:

Democracy, of course, means that the majority will prevail. It is obvious. But democracy means also something else than this. It does not mean, according to my thinking, that majority will automatically function regardless of what the minorities think, because the majority, by virtue of its being in majority, has the power. Therefore, it has the greatest responsibility thrown upon it to function more or less as a trustee of the minority and always to consider the feelings—the interests—of the minority, not of course disliking it.<sup>12</sup>

Nehru was aware of the fact that even though the ruling party and the opposition might oppose each other stoutly, the opposition should, however, be based on a measure of cooperation. Similarly, the majority party must not do anything, even unconsciously, which might be considered unfair or partial. He felt that the situation leading to the imposition of President's Rule in the state of Kerala and the subsequent developments had brought to fore the essential features of our democratic system and the need to prevent it from being undermined. Emphasising the need to preserve and strengthen the democratic moorings of our polity he remarked:

... this democratic system has to be based on a spirit of mutual accommodation between majority-minority, Government-Opposition and trying to find, as far as possible, agreed ways of working and where we do not agree, well, we part company but we part company after discussion and full consideration of every aspect of the question.<sup>13</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru was very meticulous in showing courtesy to Parliament. The very manner of his entry into the House, the graceful bow to the Chair each time he took the seat and left the House, and his readiness to answer even irritating questions



without hesitation were some of the examples that go to prove that he paid the highest regard to the institution of Parliament. Being the Prime Minister, Nehru was a very busy person but still he would find time to be present in Parliament almost every day. In case he missed any important debate in the House, he would sit late in the night in his study to go through the parliamentary debates to keep himself fully aware of what transpired in the two Houses of Parliament. Often, he would begin his speech with an apology if he had missed any important debate. For example:

Mr. Chairman, I must begin with an apology to you and to the House for not having been present for the greater part of the time during this debate on the President's Address for three days. I wish to assure the House that no discourtesy was intended... as the House knows, we have now a distinguished visitor in Delhi and because of my pre-occupations—I had to meet him, attend to him, and go to various functions—it made it impossible for me to come here frequently. I have tried to remedy that lapse partly by reading the notes prepared by my colleagues of the speeches and addresses and partly by reading the actual speeches, the record of the actual speeches, in the small hours of the night. Naturally that cannot take the place of attendance and listening. All I can say is that I am deeply sorry that I should have been put in this position by circumstances.<sup>14</sup>

Nehru strictly observed parliamentary etiquette and if by chance he committed any mistake he would not hesitate to admit that. Once it so happened that Nehru wanted to convey something to Shrimati Lakshmi N. Menon who was a junior Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs which was under his charge. Nehru went to her seat and started talking to her and it appeared as if both of them were in an informal social function. Dr. Radhakrishnan was in the Chair. When he noticed that Nehru was engaged in conversation with Shrimati Menon, the Chairman in his sonorous voice asked Nehru, "Mr. Prime Minister, what are you doing?" Nehru apologised immediately and went back to his seat.<sup>15</sup> This speaks eloquently of his respect to the Chair. Another incident that shows Nehru's high consideration to the Chair pertained to the discussion on the Proclamation regarding the dismissal of the Communist government in the state of Kerala in 1959. There were strong feelings expressed in the House. The Press was also critical of the government's action. The action of the central government was being questioned in various quarters. Though Home Minister

Govind Ballabh Pant was capable of handling the issue in the Rajya Sabha, the Chairman, Dr. Radhakrishnan thought that the matter was sufficiently important for the Prime Minister's intervention. He, therefore, made an announcement to that effect in the House. Jawaharlal Nehru did not consider his intervention necessary but in deference to the wishes of the Chairman, he readily agreed to speak in the House on the subject. He observed:

I wondered if I could take any profitable part in this discussion because almost every aspect of it has been thrashed out. Nevertheless, since you have been pleased to announce that I will speak here today, I have to perform that duty.<sup>16</sup>

His regard and respect for the Chair arose from the fact that he understood and appreciated fully the importance of the position of the Presiding Officers in our Constitution. Nehru wanted the Presiding Officer of each House of Parliament to take up the burden of putting our nascent democracy on a par with the developed Parliaments in the western democracies. He knew that most of the Members in our Parliament were inexperienced in parliamentary methods and thus leaving them exclusively to the procedural devices in the House would either lead to confusion or to a situation wherein ruling party members would trample upon the rights and privileges of the opposition. Speaking on the occasion of the unveiling of the portrait of Vithalbhaji Patel, Nehru observed:

Now, Sir, specially on behalf of the Government, may I say that we would like the distinguished occupant of this Chair... to guard the freedom and liberties of the House from every possible danger, even from the danger of executive intrusion. There is always that danger even from a national Government that it may choose to ride roughshod over others; that there is always a danger from a majority that it may choose to ride roughshod over the opinions of a minority, and it is there that the Speaker comes in to protect each single Member or each single group from any such unjust activity by a dominant group or a dominant Government... The Speaker represents the House. He represents the dignity of the House, the freedom of the House and because the House represents the nation, in a particular way, the Speaker becomes the symbol of the nation's freedom and liberty. Therefore, it is right that that should be an honoured position, a free position and should be occupied always by men of outstanding ability and impartiality.<sup>17</sup>

Nehru showed utmost deference to the Presiding Officers as well as to Parliament. He readily admitted mistakes and had no hesitation in saying "sorry" in the House. In December, 1952, Nehru was to move a resolution regarding the First Five Year Plan in the Rajya Sabha. He was late by half-an-hour. He had already informed the Chair about his anticipated delay in view of his preoccupation in the Lok Sabha. The House was adjourned for half-an-hour as there was no other business. When the House reassembled and the Prime Minister was called to move the motion, Nehru expressing his regrets said:

May I at least express my regret that I caused you and the House some inconvenience by not being present here at 11 O'Clock as I ought to have been but it is difficult to be in two places at the same time.<sup>18</sup>

Nehru believed that democratically elected Legislature, which was a representative body, reflected the sovereign will of the sovereign people. For him, it was very essential that the deliberations of a Legislature must be consistent with its high purpose and dignity. The elected representatives should, therefore, conduct themselves in the Legislature with poise and dignity, and decorum should be maintained at all times, and the debate conducted according to the rules. The Members ought to set an example of discipline and always act in a manner that conforms to the high standards of parliamentary behaviour. On one occasion Nehru reminded them:

... the Parliament does set some kind of an example to the rest of the country. (As we behave here to each other, towards our work, towards the general public, so to some extent others will behave elsewhere, whether in the State Legislatures or in the many other organs of self-government that exist in the country or that are growing up, right way down to that foundation of our democracy—the Panchayats in the villages...

... Therefore, on all of us rests this great responsibility, not only to behave as we should behave, but to remember always that a million eyes are upon us and we may not do something that brings the slightest discredit on Parliament or set a wrong line before the people.<sup>19</sup>

Our Legislatures, he felt, should be a symbol of tolerance. Commenting on this aspect, Nehru appropriately observed:

They (Legislatures) set or try to set a tone or way of doing things, a way of conflicting opinions being debated calmly, peacefully,

and in a friendly way, a way of trying at least to join two conceptions. One is a certain crusading zeal for a cause and with that, a capacity for tolerance, for not only paying heed to what others say but a certain receptiveness to allow oneself to be affected by it and thus through a conflict of opinion and debate for us to find a part of the truth that we aim at.<sup>20</sup>

The Parliament, according to Nehru, represented the will of the people, so he always bowed before its decisions. On September 6, 1963, the House was discussing a statement made by Gulzari Lal Nanda, Minister of Home Affairs, regarding the Supreme Court judgement in relation to the State of Punjab wherein the conduct of the then Chief Minister of Punjab, Sardar Partap Singh Kairon was severely commented upon by the Court. There was a lot of uproar in the House and the opposition members from all sides were demanding immediate dismissal of the Chief Minister. Nehru was personally not convinced about the observations contained in the Supreme Court judgement. He extolled the administrative capabilities of Sardar Kairon and praised his efficiency and his administrative acumen. Nevertheless, he expressed full confidence in the judiciary and assured the House that government would implement the decision of the Court. He said:

It is obvious and clear that any judgement, any decision of the Supreme Court has to be carried out. There is no doubt about it and it must be carried out, it will be carried out.<sup>21</sup>

Though Nehru had all praise for Kairon's capabilities as Chief Minister of Punjab, he did not underplay the moral aspect of the whole episode. Shri A.B. Vajpayee confronted Jawaharlal Nehru in the House, thus:

May I submit that previously when the Prime Minister accepted the resignation of Shri K.D. Malaviya he talked of high parliamentary and democratic principles. They are to be kept in mind in this case also.<sup>22</sup>

On hearing this, Nehru reacted:

I entirely agree with the Hon'ble Member that high moral principles should be kept in mind and I hope that they will be kept in mind.<sup>23</sup>

The Prime Minister initially did not agree with the suggestion of the opposition for the appointment of a commission of inquiry

under the Commissions of Inquiry Act, 1952, on the ground that a constitutional government was functioning in Punjab with the Punjab Assembly in session. He also had doubt as to whether constitutionally and legally the central government had any right to interfere in the matter and whether setting up such an inquiry commission would not amount to setting an extremely bad precedent. The issue, however, continued to come up in the House repeatedly and the demand for setting up a commission of inquiry against Sardar Kairon became more and more vociferous. So Nehru ultimately yielded to this demand and, on November 1, 1963, he announced the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry presided over by a former Chief Justice of India, S.R. Das, to inquire into allegations against Sardar Partap Singh Kairon.

Many of the countries which got their independence along with India fell one after the other to the dictatorship of one kind or the other. But such a thing did not happen in India. This, in no small measure, could directly be attributed to Nehru's enlightened leadership and his innate faith in democracy, democratic methods and processes. He was ever vigilant to ensure that the military authority was kept within the parameters of civilian supervision.

In 1959, there were some sharp differences between the Defence Minister V.K. Krishna Menon and the Chief of Army Staff, General Thimayya regarding some promotions made in the Army, as a result of which the latter tendered his resignation. A prominent Daily of Delhi carried a news item in its headlines. There was commotion in the House and the Members pointed out that these promotions had adversely affected the morale of the officers which would in turn affect efficiency and discipline in our armed forces. Nehru assured the Members of the Rajya Sabha that the news item published in the local Daily had blown out of proportion the differences between the Defence Minister and the Chief of Army Staff and described these as "temperamental". While paying a handsome tribute to the fine mettle of the officers and to the high sense of discipline amongst them, Nehru made it clear that in case of any differences between the civil and the military authorities it is the former which must ultimately prevail under the scheme of our Constitution which has established a system of parliamentary democracy:

There is one other aspect that must always be borne in mind. Under our Constitution and our practice the civil authority is and

must remain supreme, but that civil authority should pay due heed to the extra advice it receives.<sup>24</sup>

This observation clearly spelt out Nehru's mind regarding the position of defence services in a democracy.

Nehru set the best example in upholding parliamentary traditions. Who could forget Nehru's last appearance in the Rajya Sabha? His face showed clear and unfailing signs of his deteriorating health. It was Prime Minister's day for answering parliamentary questions. Before inviting Nehru to answer the first question which stood in his name, Dr. Zakir Hussain suggested that the Prime Minister might answer the question while sitting. Nehru politely declined the Chair's offer and rose in his seat and answered the question. Such was his regard for parliamentary traditions!

Nehru viewed Parliament as the microcosm of the nation and felt that the revolutionary changes that were taking shape in the society were truly reflected in Parliament. He had the highest regard and consideration for Parliament because it was an institution which directly represented the will of the people. He once made a very apposite remark in the Rajya Sabha which unambiguously reflected his views on Parliament and the respect that he had for the institution of Parliament. He said:

So I come back to this House and this Parliament where we seek to set an example as to how changes, big changes, even revolutionary changes can be brought about by peace, debate and a large measure of consent, and where in spite of opinions expressed which differ from one another, in spite of sometimes hot words exchanged, we behave as civilized and tolerant people worthy of India.<sup>25</sup>

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### 3 Towards an Egalitarian Society

Jawaharlal Nehru was a great votary of state planning. He studied the planning experiment launched by the Soviet Union and was deeply impressed by it. Nehru knew that to get the benefit of the large scientific and technological advances that were taking place in the world, India had to embark upon planning. This view was equally shared by the Indian National Congress. In 1931, the Indian National Congress passed a Resolution on Fundamental Rights and Duties and Economic Programme at Karachi. This Resolution helped Nehru in formulating his ideas on *national planning*. In 1938, Subhash Chandra Bose offered an opportunity to Nehru to give concrete shape to his ideas on planning when he appointed him as the Chairman of the National Planning Committee. The Committee appointed about 29 sub-committees with detailed and elaborate terms of references. The National Planning Committee eventually produced substantial data pertaining to the state of the Indian economy. The greatest contribution of this Committee was that it conceptualised the norms of planning and put forward certain ideas about the future course of development which, undoubtedly, was to give shape to the ideals of social and economic justice. The All India Congress Committee which held its Session in Bombay appointed a Standing Economic Committee under the Chairmanship of Jawaharlal Nehru. In 1949, this Committee discussed the question of appointing a National Planning Commission and adopted a resolution to that effect. The Congress Working Committee also endorsed the view of the Committee and recommended in January 1950 for the establishment of a statutory Planning Commission. In deference to these resolutions, in April 1950 the Planning Commission was appointed and Jawaharlal Nehru himself served as its Chairman. Having Nehru as the head of the Planning Commission did serve a definite purpose: It gave

impetus to the growth of planning. Nehru closely watched the formulation of Five Year Plans and the Planning Commission also benefited by his experience and views on policy matters relating to the formulation and implementation of plans. Before undertaking such a gigantic task, it was imperative to throw light on the right approach to the planning process. Nehru said: "Now, the real question for us to be clear in our own minds is this: Do we believe in planning or do we not? If we do not believe in planning, as for instance, some people do not, then, of course, it is a different matter and there is no common ground left between us to discuss but if we believe in planning, we might of course have different views about planning, the content of planning, we may discuss, we may argue because planning today, apart from certain basic approaches or principles, is becoming more and more not an ideological procedure but a scientific approach to desired ends."<sup>1</sup>

Further, while elaborating on the concept of perspective planning, Nehru observed:

Broadly speaking we should have, in addition to this Five Year Plan, more precise and definite annual plans, so that we can consider the position from year to year. Secondly, while the five-year period is, in a sense, too long a period for us to be rigid about, it is much too short a period for us to plan, because many things go over the five years and we must know where exactly the Five Year Plan itself is leading to.

So, it becomes a most intricate and fascinating work. Therefore, you require what is called long-term planning, perspective planning over more than five years, to go ahead, look ahead ten years, fifteen years, may be twenty years.<sup>2</sup>

The Constitution of India aims at securing social, economic and political justice for all its citizens. Some of the Directive Principles of State Policy enshrined in Chapter 4 of the Constitution also aim at guaranteeing economic and social justice to the citizens. Nehru knew that to guarantee these social and economic rights, and to make them a reality for the common man, planning alone was the answer. Once participating in a debate on the Five Year Plan, he commented:

It should be remembered that the Planning Commission was appointed after the Constitution had been framed. The Constitution had given certain Directive Principles and it was expected that the Planning Commission would come out with a plan for the implementation of those principles.<sup>3</sup>

Nehru was aware of the fact that planning was essential for development and for achieving self-reliance. For him planning would not only be the planning of resources but also physical planning which he considered equally important. As he said:

Now, I do not understand how there can be any planning of any kind without physical planning. Obviously, whatever you may plan, you have to plan for the goods. If it is for food, you have to plan that so much food is necessary in the country for every individual to have, if you like, so many calories or whatever it is. If you plan for clothing, you plan that so much cloth is necessary in whatever way you produce it, by the charkha or by the mill. So physical planning comes in at every stage and I will make this assertion that there can be no planning without physical planning. At the same time, obviously you cannot plan in the air, physically in the air. You have to plan keeping your resources in view. You have to consider the financial aspect of it. It is equally important. Otherwise, your planning will be just a wishful planning. Therefore, both aspects have to be kept in mind—the physical aspect of planning and the financial or resources aspect of planning.<sup>4</sup>

The First Five Year Plan was launched in 1951 and in this Plan an integrated approach to planning was adopted. Once highlighting this integrated approach in the House, Nehru said:

Now, I don't pretend to say that the Report of the Planning Commission—this Five Year Plan—is a perfect document of the integrated development that is laid before this House and the country. But I do say that this is an attempt—if you like, a feeble attempt—... to face that problem in an integrated way, and to face it not only in an integrated way, but keeping the realities before us, that is, not in an academic way—I mean no disrespect to the academicians—what I mean is we are not dealing with things in a vacuum. We have to take things as they are and taking them as they are, we try to integrate them.<sup>5</sup>

India is a vast country. As our polity is federal in nature, it imposes certain limitations on the planning process. We have to safeguard the autonomy of the states also. Jawaharlal Nehru was fully aware of this limitation when he said with regard to the First Five Year Plan:

Ours is a federal structure with a large measure of autonomy with the States, each State pulling in its own direction, each State naturally thinking, more of itself than of others. Take the food problem again. There is always the difficulty between the surplus

States and the deficit States. The surplus States have the surplus viewpoint, the deficit States have the deficit viewpoint. And it is not easy to combine the two. We have tried it, and I must say that the States help us very much, not that they obstruct. But generally the approach is bound to be different, so that this drawing up of a plan had to meet with a large number of hurdles throughout and if as a result it is not as precise and as accurate as it ought to be, it is not surprising.<sup>6</sup>

Planning involves basically balancing of things. Here, the question before the planners should be whether money should be spent more on the development of the frontier area or in some other areas which would bring in bigger results, say a steel plant or a fertiliser plant. "One has to balance all these things", said Jawaharlal Nehru.<sup>7</sup> Explaining as to what should be the essence of planning, he once said:

What is the essence of planning? Of course, we want to have higher standards of living. This is our objective. It becomes a question of balancing the heavy industries with light industries, of capital goods with the consumer goods. All these balancing factors are vital to people's needs and people's growth.<sup>8</sup>

Self-reliance is possible only when we are technologically advanced but the technological advancement also involves progressive thinking. Explaining at length this aspect of planning, Nehru once remarked in the Rajya Sabha:

What is modern society in the so-called advanced countries like today? It is a technological society, a scientific and technological society. It employs new techniques, whether it is in farming or in factory or in transport or in anything that you do. The test of a country's advance is how far it is utilising modern techniques. Modern technique is not a matter of just getting a tool and doing something. In the final analysis the modern technique in a large way follows modern thinking. You can't get hold of a modern tool and have an ancient mind.<sup>9</sup>

For the development of economy, there should be a healthy competition between the private sector and the public sector. Nehru was fully aware of the social menace that capitalism was bound to bring. He was also aware of the fact that total State ownership was also not going to help in the development of the economy. He was, therefore, of the view that there should be a healthy competition between the public sector and private sector. Nehru, therefore, once said in the House:

I believe that it is desirable from every point of view—even from the point of view of our public sector being kept up to the mark—that there should be a private sector functioning in the other domain. I want that competition between the private and the public sectors. Gradually, of course, as I have said, the public sector should, both absolutely and relatively, become bigger and bigger, and of course occupying all strategic points.<sup>10</sup>

Nehru wanted public sector to become "bigger and bigger" because, ultimately, he was against any exploitation in the mode of production. He was of the view that the principal means of production should be owned by the State or by the people because "where the principal means of production are owned or are in private hands, they may lead to private exploitation and to the private monopoly and the like".<sup>11</sup> He, therefore, wanted public sector to play more active role in regard to the basic and strategic industries which governed the entire situation and wanted private sector to operate in other fields.

While giving his views on planning, Nehru often spoke on socialism in the House. As he once said:

We used the word "socialism" deliberately; nevertheless we have not used it in any narrow or doctrinaire sense of the word. We want a society in this country which is largely egalitarian, where there is equality, where there is social cohesion, where there are no firm classes separated from each other and where there is opportunity for every single individual. Naturally, how far an individual takes advantage of that opportunity depends a great deal on that individual, on his physical or mental or spiritual, or whatever it is, make-up because everybody is not alike.<sup>12</sup>

He was for socialism because, without socialism, poverty and inequality that existed in this country could not be wiped out. It was because of his love for socialism that he wanted public sector to play more active role in the economy. Once, explaining the meaning of socialism, Jawaharlal Nehru said in the House:

No doubt, socialism certainly means an approach to an egalitarian society, equality of opportunity and the like, but socialism, I would venture to say, does not mean an equality in poverty, an equality in a very low level of existence. I do not call that socialism. Socialism, the very word practically came into existence with the coming of the industrial revolution. It came into existence when the capacity of man to produce more came in. Before that certainly there have been societies, well, even what might be called, societies of some kind of primitive communism;

but nobody calls that communism because at that stage the level of the social framework was so low—the level of production—that nobody had anything; it was at a low level; nor when you talk about communism do you think of, let us say, the picture of some kind of communist society that the great Plato envisaged. You discuss these terms as they grow, not in their historical and dynamic concept. Socialism thus grew up with the idea of the industrial revolution.<sup>13</sup>

Socialism to Nehru did not mean the traditional western concept involving class-struggle within a society. He envisaged a social order wherein all citizens, irrespective of caste, colour or creed, could avail of equal social and economic opportunities and live in an egalitarian society. While discussing a report on the Second Five Year Plan, he commented upon the two popular approaches to socialism in the Rajya Sabha:

One is the use of the word "socialism" repeatedly to justify many of the proposals and the suggestions that are made, as if "socialism" means cutting off everybody's head who is above a certain height, or may be, who is little more intelligent and who uses his intelligence or his capacity to work, or whatever it is. That is one aspect. The other is the aspect of really the simple liver who does not approve of standards of luxury. Now, there is a great deal of truth in both those approaches. That is true in the sense that nobody, I hope, likes people to flaunt luxury in a rather anti-social manner. Nobody wants obviously these great disparities which exist in India perhaps even more than in most countries of the world. So, it is common ground that we want to reduce these disparities; it is common ground also, I believe, that we want as far as possible to do away with the vulgarity of wealth as well as the power that wealth gives in regard to social purposes, social undertakings and the like.<sup>14</sup>

But socialism for Jawaharlal Nehru did not mean a continuous process of nationalisation. Socialism, no doubt, "believes in the State owning the principal means of production in order to use them for the advantage of the public so that they might not be exploited for private advantage but the fact of nationalisation in this industry or that industry does not mean socialism. It has to be seen in the larger context and larger perspective,"<sup>15</sup> Nehru felt.

Nehru thought that in order to bring about a just social order, it was essential that there should be a manifold increase in the volume and level of production of goods and services—that there

should be something worthwhile to socialise. As he observed in his inimitable style:

Socialism, I take it, is not something which can be defined as a dead level of poverty. I do not think socialism can be equated with poverty. You may have a dead level of poor persons in a country but that is not an ideal to be aimed at. Socialism only becomes socialism when there is something worthwhile to socialise, when there is wealth to socialise, when the productive apparatus of a country is functioning well so that it produces wealth, which should not be concentrated in the hands of a few but which should percolate to the people and thus raise their standards.<sup>16</sup>

And then again:

The most important thing is the production of wealth and everything else is secondary and tertiary to that. If you do not produce wealth properly, then you have little to distribute. The whole object of socialisation is that the nation's resources should be utilised for wealth production more and more and then to provide for proper wealth distribution.<sup>17</sup>

It was often charged by his critics that Nehru had nowhere defined cogently as to what he meant by socialism. He, perhaps, deliberately kept the meaning of the word socialism 'vague'. Answering the critics, he said once in the House:

Now I accept the fact that we have used that phrase vaguely, and deliberately so, because we want to escape that horrible contingency of becoming slaves to our slogans and prisoners to all kinds of phrases, and we often find this happening to others. It is a dangerous thing in a dynamic world to become just tied up as a prisoner to some phrases and slogans that we have been using. The world changes and we remain with the slogans left behind.<sup>18</sup>

Nehru had tremendous faith in the capacity of the Indian people and it was this abiding faith that led him to embark upon planning for ensuring development and securing social justice and equality for the people. Being a democrat, Nehru was a tolerant person. He liked criticism of his policies. Far from deprecating it, he invited criticism. During Nehru's time our economy was not so strong as it is today. We had to make vigorous efforts towards resource mobilisation and had also to depend on foreign aid for the success of our plans. All this led India to borrow money from other countries and international financial institutions. Nehru knew that without aid our plans could not

become a success. We could not fully implement them. Yet, he did not do anything to compromise India's independence. He once said:

We want badly aid for our civil, economic programmes. All our Five Year Plans, etc. depend on that but we are not going to take that aid or ask for that aid if it means giving up our independence in any respect.<sup>19</sup>

Nehru knew that planning is a continuous process. He, therefore, wanted that plans should be implemented on a continuous basis. He did not want to be bogged down by phrases like capitalism or socialism. What he desired was self-reliance which could be achieved by developing technology. He, therefore, reminded his countrymen:

Forget capitalism and socialism. Think of it in terms of technology because it is technology that governs the picture, not these terms and phrases of ours. It is the development, of that technology, the power resources and technology that has come to the human being, that has changed society.<sup>20</sup>

Nehru honestly believed that socialism could cure many of India's ills and it was through socialism—State production and distribution—that we could augment our total national wealth and provide effective opportunities to the vast majority of our people to attain a higher level of existence. Once, taking part in a Private Member's resolution in the Rajya Sabha regarding the fixation of ceiling of individual income, he observed:

Well, it is perfectly true that you do not give equal opportunity and the great majority of the people in India are very far from having an equal opportunity. Even our children have not got it, millions and millions of them. They have not got enough food, enough clothing, even a proper shelter. How can we give them equality of opportunity? Take a simple thing like education. Now, most of us, all of us, are in favour of basic education. It has been calculated that to give a really good class basic education, with good teachers, properly paid, with proper equipment, etc. without any luxury, —I do not remember the exact figure—it costs more than the annual revenues of India at the present moment. What are we to do about it? We are struggling with poverty all the time, and we have to increase wealth in this country. It is not done by mere economies. We should economise, of course, where there is waste, but it is not by economies that you increase the real wealth of a country.<sup>21</sup>

Nehru had firm commitment to the ideal of socialism since he was convinced that it was only by adopting the socialistic pattern that India could usher in an era of egalitarianism. In this context, he remarked:

... and I am absolutely convinced that only going in that direction can we succeed in not only ultimately getting rid of unemployment and in raising our standards higher, but having a kind of life in the country which is worthwhile, where everybody has a chance.<sup>22</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru was a realist. He knew that planning was not a panacea to all the ills of the society. He was alive to the truth that no planning could be perfect, however best might be our intentions. Planning deals with the human factor and naturally, therefore, there is an element of doubt and uncertainty about it. But still we could not afford to ignore planning. Nehru, therefore, remarked in the House:

No planning is perfect or can be perfect. It is full of mistakes because it deals with uncertain and human factors, factors beyond our control, international factors. Nevertheless not to plan is really admitting failure and allowing things just to drift. You cannot progress by drifting and by merely good wishes or by slogans.<sup>23</sup>

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7. *Ibid.*, December 9, 1959, col. 1986.
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11. *Ibid.*, September 6, 1960, cols. 3636-37.
12. *Ibid.*, May 25, 1956, cols. 3303-04.
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14. *Ibid.*, May 18, 1956, cols. 2561-62.
15. *Ibid.*, September 7, 1956, col. 3683.
16. *Ibid.*, May 18, 1956, col. 2562.
17. *Ibid.*
18. *Ibid.*, September 7, 1956, cols. 3680-81.



19. *Ibid.*, June 23, 1962, col. 1775.
20. *Ibid.*, September 7, 1956, col. 3682.
21. *Ibid.*, May 18, 1956, col. 2653.
22. *Ibid.*, May 3, 1962, col. 1740.
23. *Ibid.*, February 12, 1959, col. 559.

## 4

### Democracy at Grass-root Levels

Jawaharlal Nehru's concern for planning and democracy found clear expression in the setting up of Panchayati Raj institutions in the country. The institution of village *panchayat* is very old in India. The village community has all along been the basic unit of stability and strength in India. The self-governing village community, however, suffered a great setback during the British period. Mahatma Gandhi wanted that India should become a real democracy by making our villages self-governing republics. During the freedom struggle, the Indian National Congress felt very strongly about the need to strengthen the village community and to bring some kind of an organic cooperative system in our villages. While speaking about villages, Nehru said that the real change could come only from within the village, from the very people living in the village, and could not be imposed from outside. He was, therefore, interested in involving the village people more and more in finding solutions to their common problems. After Independence when the Constituent Assembly was entrusted with the task of framing the Constitution, *panchayats* were regarded as an important institution for making villages self-governing and self-reliant units. This subject was discussed in the Constituent Assembly as a result of which Article 40 was enshrined in the Constitution which deals with the Directive Principles of State Policy. Article 40 reads:

The State shall take steps to organise village *panchayats* and endow them with such power and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of self-government.

To make *panchayats* self-reliant, emphasis was laid in all our plans on strengthening the Panchayati Raj institutions. The First Five Year Plan gave considerable thought to the subject and in 1952 the Community Development Programme was launched. Jawaharlal Nehru stood for the establishment of a classless society

based on cooperative efforts which could offer equal opportunities to all. But this classless society was to be established through a democratic process. He wanted democracy to stem from the grass-roots and, therefore, desired to involve people in the political process. Nehru was the father of Indian planning, but he was not in favour of any centralised system of planning. He stood for the decentralisation of economic power and, therefore, placed reliance on Panchayati Raj because through it alone power could be decentralised and people could be involved in the planning process. He stood for democratic decentralisation. Once, explaining the meaning of democratic decentralisation, he said:

Of course, that has no particular meaning but the content of it was throwing the burden on the *panchayats*, giving them resources, giving them authority, telling them to go to God or to the devil, as they chose. It is always essential in such matters to have liberty to go to the devil, because if you do not give that liberty, the fellow does not go to God either. He does not do anything. Somebody else is in charge. Therefore, it is essential to give them power and authority, even taking the risk that they will misuse it. Only that way they can learn.

I have no doubt in my mind that this experiment, this new change, this Panchayati Raj business, taken together with some other things, is a revolutionary change in India. With the full meaning of the word I used, it has changed, it is changing and it will change the whole texture of our society, of our thinking, of our acting.

To give shape to the idea of democratic decentralisation, in 1957 a study team headed by Shri Balwant Rai Mehta was appointed which submitted its report in 1959. The recommendations of the Committee paved the way for introducing three-tier Panchayati Raj institutions. The new Panchayati Raj programme was inaugurated by Jawaharlal Nehru on October 2, 1959 in Rajasthan. In this three-tier system, the three layers were the *Gram panchayat*, the *panchayat samiti* and the *zila parishad*, which were given specific responsibilities of implementation of certain programmes under the state Plan. Nehru lauded this new experiment and described it as the most revolutionary and historic step in the context of new India. He encouraged the states to implement the new experiment. As a result, a number of state legislatures enacted laws to give effect to the recommendations

made by the Balwant Rai Mehta Committee. The remarkable thing that one finds about Panchayati Raj and planning is that democracy being a western concept is based on decentralisation of power. Planning which is essentially a communist concept aims at centralisation of power. Through Panchayati Raj institutions Jawaharlal Nehru tried to harmonise the concept of democracy and planning and thus tried to resolve the contradictions which were apparent in planning and democracy. He felt that Panchayati Raj was a novel, mighty experiment having a revolutionary significance. It was necessary to devolve power to the people in order to ensure success and proper implementation of welfare schemes and plans meant for ameliorating the plight of the common man. In this regard, he commented once in the House:

That is one of the main reasons why Panchayati Raj has been instituted which decentralises power to a certain extent and gives the people, the millions of people in the villages, the *panchas* and the *panchayats*, considerable authority, and what is more important, gives them a sense of participation in this great adventure, a sense of doing things which they want to do.<sup>2</sup>

Nehru was aware of the poverty and illiteracy of the Indian people. During the days of the freedom struggle, he had the chance to watch the functioning of village *panchayats* in various parts of the country from close quarters. He knew the limitations of these *panchayats*. He knew that because people are illiterate, because people are not aware of their political rights, these *panchayats* may not be able initially to do justice to the aggrieved but he still felt that they were essential units in the whole scheme of democratic decentralisation. As he said:

In the panchayati raj the peasants come, and they become *panchas* and *sarpanchas* and *adbyakshas*. They fail, they quarrel, but it is essentially a revolutionary thing, because it puts the burden on them; it puts the responsibility on them; it makes them self-reliant.<sup>3</sup>

Nehru was often talking of democracy and he wanted to really make this democracy a people's affair. Naturally, therefore, democracy could not remain confined to Parliament. He wanted every village to have a feel of democracy. This was possible only through Panchayati Raj. In a sense, therefore, Nehru was the father of Panchayati Raj institutions which are being proposed to be

brought back to life with renewed vigour and energy so that they can function as viable units of self-governments carrying the message of democracy to the grass-root level.

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## 5 Parliamentarian Nonpareil

Nehru was a very able Parliamentarian. He worked ceaselessly to strengthen the roots of parliamentary system as he firmly believed that through this system alone could the fruits of freedom be made available to the people at large. In Parliament his style of functioning was often unconventional. He never functioned as leader of the majority party in the House; on the contrary, he tried, as far as possible, to carry the opposition with him in all important matters under consideration of the House. He welcomed criticism not only from the opposition but gave even his own party members the right to seek clarification and at times the right to offer constructive criticism of government policies. He built up parliamentary traditions of restraint and moderation, and dignity and decorum. With the opposition, he found himself at ease as his answers and explanations were direct and frank.

Nehru spoke, almost always, entirely extempore, with a natural fluency, occasionally injecting a dramatic touch. He never tried to hedge or dodge and was always ready to admit errors with grace. He was responsive to the opposition and, many times, during the even flow of his speeches and interruptions, he was tolerant of and at ease with the opposition.

During sessions of Parliament, Nehru used to keep himself in constant touch with the proceedings of both the Houses of Parliament. He attended the Rajya Sabha not only on the days earmarked for the Prime Minister's Business but paid several unscheduled visits on other days as well. He came very frequently not only to the Lok Sabha, of which he was the Leader, but also to the Rajya Sabha. On many occasions, he voluntarily participated in debates on matters which did not come strictly within his departmental responsibility. The chequered history of the passage of the Hindu Code Bill in Parliament is too well known to merit a detailed narration. The measure, from the start, had met with

strong resistance from the orthodox sections of the Hindu community, including some prominent leaders and politicians as also from some members of the ruling Congress Party in Parliament. A number of lady members of Parliament had led delegations to the Prime Minister requesting him to assure an early passage of these Bills. A man of modern and liberal ideas that Nehru was, he sympathised with this genuine demand and assured that he would use his good offices in the matter.

On December 20, 1952, the Rajya Sabha was sitting late to dispose of the motion for circulation of the Hindu Marriage and Divorce Bill 1952, for eliciting public opinion. Shri T. Pande, a Congress member from U.P., while participating in the debate opposed the Bill. Noticing Nehru's presence in the House, he referred to some observations of Nehru on the Hindu Code Bill during the election campaign and said that these were Nehru's personal views and also said that lakhs of men and women were definitely of the opinion that this Bill should not be passed.

Nehru took the floor immediately after Pande. Expressing clearly in chaste Hindi he said that he had decided to speak on this Bill because his friend Pande from Ballia (a district in U.P.) had spoken on Hindu culture, Hindu religion and other related matters. While Ballia, Nehru said, was known for sturdy and good men, he did not know till then that it was an important centre of Indian culture also. If the picture of Indian culture presented by Pande, Nehru said, was really true, he was shocked, surprised and depressed at his novel exposition of Hinduism. Nehru then proceeded to submit a comprehensive analysis of the Indian culture as he understood it. Those who have been students of history and particularly of Indian history, he pointed out, knew what heights Indian culture had reached once and how it had uplifted the country and also influenced other countries of the world. With India becoming independent, Nehru emphasised, there was need for our society to change and progress keeping in view the changing conditions. He compared the growth of the society to the development of a growing child; how a child's clothes needed to be changed to fit it as it went on growing. Similarly, as times changed, society also had to change in keeping with growing needs. If any society did not change it went backward as had been the plight of our society. He summed up:

The society changes and grows. What is society? To take the example of a child, it puts on a particular suit of clothes but when it grows, the suit does not fit it and obstructs its growth... Even if you do not change the coat in time, the child will grow—if not in any other way, by tearing the coat. In the same way, the society will surely grow and change. If the child is not dressed in loose clothes, it grows by tearing the clothes. This tearing of clothes by society is called a social revolution.\*<sup>1</sup>

Making a fervent appeal for refashioning the Hindu customs and conventions on modern lines which alone, in his opinion, would instil life into Hindu society and culture, Nehru concluded:

We have again to blow life into the Hindu society and create in it a potential for progress so that it may grow and gain strength and, inspired by its basic culture, may progress itself and make the country progress. That is why this Bill has been brought forward.\*<sup>2</sup>

The motion for the circulation of the Bill for public opinion was, thereafter, adopted.

One more instance of Nehru's intervention in a matter was in connection with a debate on a resolution for approval of the Presidential proclamation issued under Art. 356 in relation to the Government of Kerala in 1959. The removal of the first ever non-Congress Ministry in the country since independence headed by the leftist leader Shri E.M.S. Namboodiripad and the dissolution of the state Assembly even when the Ministry continued to enjoy majority support in the legislature had become a matter of fierce public controversy throughout the country. Strong feelings had been expressed both inside and outside the Parliament with regard to the validity of the action taken by the Union Government. Shri Govind Ballabh Pant, the then Home Minister, was quite capable of handling the debate in the Rajya Sabha. Nevertheless, taking into account the constitutional importance of the matter, Prime Minister Nehru thought it necessary to intervene in the debate.

He made a long intervention in the course of which he dealt in detail with the constitutional and political aspects of the matter. Although he supported the stand that the central government had

\*Original in Hindi.

no other alternative but to take the course of action they had taken, he said:

Now, I venture to say that whatever opinions people might have about various aspects of this past history, leading up to this Proclamation, nobody—I say so with respect—nobody really in his heart of hearts can feel or can say that this was not justified or this should not have taken place at the time it took place. I have no doubt about it. A situation had arisen when it was recognised by, if not everybody, but almost everybody, that this had to be done.<sup>3</sup>

During the course of his speech Nehru made several observations in relation to many other cognate matters. Refuting the argument that the case in question was conflict between communism and capitalism, Nehru stated:

Today the world is dominated not by communism, nor by capitalism, but it is dominated by modern technology, by the tremendous machines. They dominate the Soviet Union, they dominate America and this brings them nearer to each other quite apart from any philosophies or theories of either capitalism or communism. I do not think there is anything now of communism or capitalism and we seem to live in our minds in a world that has vanished. But our friends of the Communist Party more especially, inspired often by high ideals, get caught up in this narrow framework of thinking and somehow try to think in terms of action, comparing them to something that happened in a distant country and under altogether different conditions and in a different decade.<sup>4</sup>

Nehru, in the course of his speech, more than once emphasised the point that in a democracy the rule of the majority is not necessarily always the last word because, according to him, in democracy the ruling majority party must carry the minorities with them in all important and far-reaching decisions:

The basic question that arises and which requires consideration for the future is how far there is a possibility of working on what I consider democratic lines in this country, not superficially democratic but really democratic, and am prepared to admit that our own activities—I mean the Congress Governments in the States or, if you like, in the Centre even have erred—have not been fully upto the mark because my conception of democracy means not merely the victory of the majority party—that is part of it no doubt—but the majority always taking into consideration what the minority feels and the minority always thinking that there is the majority. That is to say, an element of mutual consideration.

Naturally in the final analysis when there is a conflict, the huge majority view is likely to prevail but it is a very foolish majority that tries to impose its views on the minority.<sup>5</sup>

And then again:

... the mere fact of trying to reduce those differences does create an atmosphere of co-operation and of recognising that each group or each individual even has a place in the democratic system and that it is not merely a question of a steam-roller majority going through regardless of other opinions.

Now, if a majority has its place, as it undoubtedly has, the minority also has a place and where the two are isolated and live in different worlds then it is rather difficult for the democratic structure to function adequately as one would like it.<sup>6</sup>

Although Nehru firmly held the view that legally and constitutionally the action taken by the Union Government in dismissing Government in Kerala was sound, he made a very significant observation:

Going into past history, we find that a very basic issue arose in Kerala, that is, the functioning of a Communist State Government in this democratic structure and that issue has not been solved yet. It failed of solution and I do not, and I am not prepared to deny that to some extent the fault may have lain with others. For instance, I think the Opposition in Kerala was very non-cooperative right from the very beginning. Whether any other attitude would have been helpful to them or not, I do not know. But I do believe that in an Assembly the majority-minority, Opposition-Government even though they oppose each other stoutly, the opposition is based on a measure of co-operation. That is the basic structure of the Government.<sup>7</sup>

At the end Nehru appealed to all democratic forces in the country to create an atmosphere of cooperation because:

This democratic system has to be based on a spirit of mutual accommodation between majority-minority, Government-Opposition, and trying to find, as far as is possible, agreed ways of working, and where we do not agree, well, we part company, but we part company after discussion and full consideration of every aspect of the question.<sup>8</sup>

Nehru's intervention even in routine matters like the motion for extension for time for presentation of Joint Committee Report used to create more than usual interest. On September 22, 1954, the Minister for Law, C.C. Biswas moved the following motion:

That the time appointed for the presentation of the Report of the Joint Committee of the Houses on the Bill to amend and codify the law relating to marriage and divorce among Hindus be further extended up to the last day of the second week of the next session.<sup>9</sup>

The Prime Minister, who was in the House, immediately took objection to the extension of time proposed to be granted to the Committee. He observed that the first extension given earlier to the Joint Committee for a period of three months should have been sufficient for them to complete the work and report to the House. If the Committee refused to sit on Sundays, Saturdays or if they chose to sit only when the Houses were not meeting, he said, it was not the fault of the House. He, therefore, expressed himself clearly against any further extension in spite of pleadings by the Leader of the House, C.C. Biswas, who was also a Minister of the government. Expressing his anguish at the slow progress of the work by the Committee, Nehru said:

I feel very strongly about it because I feel that if they proceed at the pace at which they are proceeding, they may take roughly twenty years before they come to a decision.<sup>10</sup>

On the advice of the Chairman, the Law Minister withdrew the motion. This intervention by the Prime Minister shows that he always kept himself abreast of all parliamentary matters like the Hindu Code Bill which aimed at making basic changes in the Hindu Personal Law. Nevertheless, when two days later, the Law Minister moved a fresh motion slightly altering the period of extension and explaining, in the course of his speech, the difficulties and constraints in the progress of work of the Committee, Nehru made a fine gesture in not only agreeing to the extension but also expressing his apology to the Committee.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, two days ago I ventured to intervene in this matter when it came up rather suddenly so far as I was concerned. I intervened, as the hon. Member just previously remarked, because of my deep anxiety that this matter should be dealt with as speedily as possible... I am neither competent to criticise the work of the Joint Committee because I am not in it and I do not know what difficulties they have to face, nor was it my intention to criticise their work, much less my hon. colleague the Law Minister, because he himself had spoken to me about the distress he felt about the delay inherent in the work. The main purpose of

my intervention the other day was to draw pointed attention to the importance of this matter and to the speed necessary to deal with it—it was not to criticise anybody because I cannot criticise without knowing all the facts—so I wished to do that and I did that perhaps more forcibly than I need have done and I am certainly very sorry if any Member—I need not speak about my colleague, the Law Minister, because we are colleagues and we function together, but if any Member of the Joint Committee feels that what I said has in any sense hurt him, I am exceedingly sorry and I apologise to him and to the Committee... So, having considered all these and having come to know the background and the difficulties—and I lay stress on the necessity of speed—I submit that this House should accept the motion moved.<sup>11</sup>

The motion was thereafter adopted.

Another similar intervention was with regard to the Bill for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. On March 5, 1954, when the Rajya Sabha was considering a Private Member's Legislative Business and Smt. Rukmani Devi Arundale had moved a motion for referring the Bill to make provision of the prevention of cruelty to animals to a Select Committee of the House, Jawaharlal Nehru, who was present in the House, stood up and made one of the most moving speeches. While agreeing with the general principles of the Bill, he said:

Mr. Chairman, I do not know what most of the Members of this House have felt after hearing the moving speech of the hon. Member who has put forward this Motion. I presume that most of them must have listened to her with a very great deal of sympathy and agreed with many of the principles she has laid down. Indeed, how can any one of us disagree with the basic approach which she has put forward. Nevertheless, in reading through this Bill one sees so many things attempted to be done. I am trying to think... I am not for the moment going into the merits of this Bill... that if this Bill is passed as it is, or more or less as it is, it would be a totally ineffective measure. We have a Prevention of Cruelty to Animals Act, I think, passed in 1919. It is our misfortune that even today that Act is hardly applied in this country. Much can be done no doubt in improving it and going much further.<sup>12</sup>

That the Prime Minister should be available in the Rajya Sabha during the Private Members' Business when the Treasury Benches remain almost empty, is ample proof of Nehru's keen interest in the proceedings of the Rajya Sabha. And that he should have intervened in the debate on a Private Member's Bill pertaining to a

subject not under his direct charge speaks of the importance he attached to business of the House. He appealed to the mover of the motion to withdraw the Bill and assured her that the government would very soon refer the matter to a high-powered Committee for considering the question in all its aspects. On this assurance, Shrimati Arundale withdrew her motion and soon a comprehensive Bill on the subject was brought forward by the government and there was a law on the subject on the statute book.

Even during important debates in the Rajya Sabha, Nehru preferred to make the replies himself. When the reports of the States Reorganisation Commission (S.R.C.) were under discussion in both Houses of Parliament, Nehru replied to the debate in the Rajya Sabha so that the House had the benefit of having a first-hand reaction of the government to the various proposals contained in the reports of the S.R.C. which made substantial changes in the boundaries of several states. Likewise, his participation in the Rajya Sabha on discussion on some important subjects, like the Punjabi Suba, Enquiry in the investment of L.I.C. funds, Proclamation of Emergency in the wake of the Chinese aggression, Five-Year Plans, would indicate that in all important matters, he tried to treat the two Houses of Parliament equally. Even with regard to Private Members' resolutions, the same conclusion emerges. On May 24, 1957, Shri M. Govinda Reddy moved the following motion:

This House is of the opinion that having regard to the declared opinion of famous scientists of the world that nuclear test explosions constitute a real danger to the human race, Government should convene a Conference of World Powers to consider how best to halt such explosions.<sup>13</sup>

Nehru took an early opportunity to intervene in that discussion, clarifying his attitude and reaction of the government to the proposal, though it was not, strictly speaking, necessary for him to take part in the debate in which the Defence Minister had already taken part on behalf of the government.

Highlighting the dangers of nuclear war, Nehru observed:

Now everyone agrees about these atomic and hydrogen bombs, their danger etc. Everyone agrees, I think, that they should be eliminated, stopped. Now, I do not for a moment say that by passing a resolution, or, indeed, even, if I may say so, by the

United Nations unanimously agreeing to it all danger is past. I do not say that. After all danger is inherent in the situation and the danger grows because today three powers are supposed to have these hydrogen bombs. The general trend of progress in this matter is for these bombs to become cheaper and cheaper, more easily made. It may be that in a few years' time it will be relatively easy to make it. Any industrialised country may be able to make it. In other words, there is this danger of more and more countries being able to make these hydrogen bombs and the bombs being cheaper too, and at the same time, much more dangerous; the effectiveness grows. Now, if this becomes widespread, it will be much more difficult to control than perhaps it is today. In fact quite a new situation will arise then which might threaten humanity, because it might even be that a group of misguided persons might try to terrorise the world. It is a possibility. Therefore, it is desirable to come to grips with this subject before it spreads too much.<sup>14</sup>

All these instances prove Nehru's firm belief in the equality of both Houses of Parliament.

*Question Hour* in the Rajya Sabha was yet another example of Nehru's active participation in the proceedings of the House. Commenting once on the utility of the Question Hour, he observed in the Rajya Sabha:

Personally I think that one of the most valuable practices of our parliamentary system is the Question Hour—I think it is highly important—as well as the right of all Members to raise debate on a particular question. I think those things will have to continue. We shall have to face this question of how to use our time to the best advantage.<sup>15</sup>

He used to attach equal importance to the Question Hour in both Houses of Parliament. One day a week was earmarked in each House of Parliament as "Prime Minister's day", and Nehru would invariably sit through the entire Question Hour in the Rajya Sabha on the specified day. He would not only answer Questions and supplementaries pertaining to his Ministry addressed to him, but would also intervene in the answers given by his junior colleagues in reply to Questions addressed to them. The proceedings of the Rajya Sabha on Prime Minister's Question days were replete with such instances. Let us take the proceedings of the Rajya Sabha on 10th of August 1959 as a typical example. Starred Question No. 3 on that day related to an Indian Canberra shot down by Pakistan

Air force; Question No. 6 concerned International Commission for Supervision and Control of Laos; Question No. 10 was on entry of Chinese nationals into India from Tibet and Question No. 21 was regarding Dalai Lama's press conference. These were answered by Shrimati Lakshmi N. Menon, Deputy Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs, but the supplementaries to all these Questions were answered by Prime Minister Nehru.

Similarly on February 10, 1960, Starred Questions—No. 33 regarding transfer of diplomatic officials, No. 34 relating to Haj Pilgrimage from India, No. 36 regarding Chinese spies in Kalimpong, No. 37 regarding Indian Jawans in Chinese custody, No. 45 about Indians detained in Italy on forged passports—were all replied by Smt. Lakshmi N. Menon, but in all these cases, the Prime Minister supplemented the answers given by her. Again, Starred Question No. 107 regarding opening an alternate route to Goa, and No. 114 regarding the Tibetan refugees in India on 15th February, 1960, indicate how Nehru was constantly monitoring the answers given by his junior Minister.

Nehru would, in addition, frequently rise in the House and supplement the answers given by his other ministerial colleagues although the subject matter of these questions did not fall within the departmental responsibility of his Ministry at all. In most of these cases, the answers used to be conclusive. Thus, whether these were Questions relating to the Commerce and Industry Ministry or those relating to Planning Ministry or Questions pertaining to the Ministry of Works, Housing and Rehabilitation or to the Information and Broadcasting Ministry, Nehru would confidently stand up and take over from his colleagues. He was always eager to give complete information and many a time supplemented the answers given by other Cabinet Ministers if he thought that the information was inadequate or the answers flippant. He seemed to possess detailed information on almost all subjects on his finger tips. The confidence and composure with which he answered these Questions, his complete grip over the minutest details in spite of the fact that he was not directly dealing with the subject matter of these Questions, and the masterly way in which he replied gave ample proof, if proof was needed at all, that he was a seasoned parliamentarian. The debates in the Rajya Sabha are replete with instances of Nehru's masterly performance during Question Hour and, yet, while intervening in the Question Hour,

he never discouraged or ran down his colleagues. If any of them faltered or made a lapse, he took over the entire responsibility, like a successful general owning the mistakes and omissions of his men. On one occasion he said:

I am responsible for the members of my Cabinet. It was I who ventured to appoint them, and I hold them in high regard; otherwise, I would not have them. I have them in high regard for their capacity and for their ability. And I should therefore like the criticism to be directed against me.<sup>16</sup>

The *Discussion on the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address* is one of the important items of business in either House of Parliament. As is well known, under Article 87(1) of the Indian Constitution, at the commencement of the first Session after each general election to the Lok Sabha and the first Session each year, the President addresses both Houses of Parliament assembled together and informs Parliament of the causes of its summons. The President's Address is nothing but a broad survey of the various activities, achievements, policies and programmes of the government. This address is drafted by senior Ministers and approved at the formal meeting of the Cabinet. After the President delivers the Address, the same is laid on the Table of either House of Parliament. Two senior ruling party members are selected in each House—one to formally move and other to second—a Motion conveying the thanks of the House to the President for having delivered the Address. Then follows a discussion in the House on the Motion and the Members are permitted to refer to all matters under the administrative control of the Government of India. The discussion goes on for four or five days and at the end of the discussion, reply is given by the government and thereafter, the Motion, together with the amendments if any, are put to the vote of the House. Initially for some years, the reply to the debate on behalf of the government was made by the respective Leader of the House in each House of Parliament. The Lok Sabha, of which the Leader of the House was the Prime Minister himself, got, in the process, a better deal because it received a reply directly from the Prime Minister himself who was the head of the government. Presumably, realising this disparity of treatment, Nehru started the practice of replying to the debate on the Motion of Thanks to President's Address himself in both the Houses—a practice which is still in vogue. During the days of discussion on the Motion,



Nehru would sit in the House as far as possible and his reply would clearly show how well informed he was to deal with the various matters raised by the Members. In 1960, Nehru began his reply with an apology to the Chair and to the House for not being present for the greater part of the discussion because of the presence of a distinguished visitor in Delhi. Then he dealt with three main problems, the first of which was corruption. Admitting the existence of corruption, Nehru said:

I do not pretend to say that there is no corruption. Of course, there is corruption in various places, in various Services... But my point is that we are all deeply concerned about it and trying to the best of our ability to meet it.<sup>17</sup>

Holding out a firm assurance that any person, irrespective of his position, status or calling would be dealt with firmly if he was found guilty of corruption, Nehru said:

However highly placed a man may be—in fact more so because he is highly placed—he should be judged by strict standards, if he fails to keep up those standards he should be punished; I have no doubt about that.<sup>18</sup>

The next important matter was about the policy of non-alignment. Defining the policy of non-alignment, he observed:

Our policy is something more than non-alignment. Non-alignment is negative thing. Ours is a positive policy of friendship and trying to gain the good-will of other countries while firmly adhering to our principles. Non-alignment is one basic expression of it but only a part of it.<sup>19</sup>

Denying firmly that our foreign policy was basically one of appeasement, Nehru said:

Peaceful settlement does not mean appeasement, the giving in to anything that we consider wrong. I do not understand why it should be thought that there are only two policies, one of ignoble submission and the other of vulgar aggression, in the world. I do not understand this, as if there is no civilised approach to a problem left, but only weak surrender or the uncivilised approach of brawling and shouting. Surely we have to, and I hope we shall, function in a more civilised way, adhering to our principles, adhering to our might, to our strength and yet functioning in a civilised way, realising that what we are doing today may have effect on generations to come, in this changing revolutionary world, that has been our policy.<sup>20</sup>

On another occasion while replying to the debate on the President's Address, Nehru highlighted the dimension of India's developmental problems and sought cooperation of the people for the purpose:

If you look at the whole problem of India, it is obviously a tremendous problem, a colossal problem, the number of people, the objective before us of raising all these 40 million people to a certain level, higher level of living, to get rid of their poverty, etc. It is a tremendous problem which depends certainly on the policies of the Government, certainly also on the reaction of those policies on the people, that is, how far the people themselves labour to put an end to those evils. No amount of Government action can put an end to them, unless the people co-operate.<sup>21</sup>

In this context, he also emphasised the need and importance of the Panchayati Raj:

The fulfilment, the implementation of that policy partly depends on Government's action but largely on popular action. That is why in all the reports of the Planning Commission stress has been laid on popular co-operation or whatever the words used there are. That is one of the main reasons why Panchayati Raj has been instituted which decentralised power to a certain extent and gives the people, the millions of people in the villages, the *panchas* and the *panchayats*, considerable authority, and what is more important gives them a sense of participating in this great adventure, a sense of doing things which they want to do.<sup>22</sup>

The last reply that Nehru gave in the Rajya Sabha to the debate on the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address is noted for covering a wide range of subjects as also for depth and profundity of thought. The reply included subjects like the need for balanced criticism of government's policies and programmes by the opposition, industrialisation of the country, socialism, Panchayati Raj, and the whole gamut of India's foreign policy. While welcoming criticism of the government, Nehru felt that all criticism could become valid and helpful if it was balanced and constructive. Many of the speeches delivered by the Members, Nehru observed, would show as if all the activities in India, both governmental and administrative were evils, root and branch. This, Nehru submitted, was only a fragment of truth. Emphasising that India could get rid of poverty only by increasing her wealth and her production, he observed:

... It is only by increasing production—and production can only be increased by modern techniques and modern methods and no others will do. If that is so, then we have to think of modernising our techniques, and modernising them in a way so as to give results. If you start with modernising your techniques—that is industrialisation—you have necessarily to lay the base of it. It is not good enough to start a few textile mills and call it industrialisation. Industrialisation must start at the base, that is, the mother industries, machine-building, steel, chemical, etc. And therefore, we decided to concentrate on heavy industries and power which is absolutely essential... You cannot get rid of unemployment in this country without industrialisation.<sup>23</sup>

Nehru had no doubt that socialism was the only cure to India's evils, e.g. poverty and unemployment. As he said:

We decided on socialism and I am absolutely convinced that only going in that direction can we succeed in not only ultimately getting rid of unemployment and in raising our standards higher, but having a kind of life in the country which is worthwhile, where everybody has a chance. Everybody cannot be equal, but they should have equal chances.<sup>25</sup>

Nehru was, however, aware that material advancement was not the only advancement that India required. The process of modernisation and industrialisation had to be tempered with inculcation of spiritual values. India would attain fulfilment only if the material and spiritual advancement were synthesised in a harmonious blending. He, therefore, emphasised the need for a "process of finding some kind of synthesis between the past of India which is valuable to us—not all of it but much of it—and the present." As he said:

We can neither exist without that past because we would be rootless nor without the present because then we would not fit in this world at all.<sup>26</sup>

This reply got very wide publicity in the press and as a leading Daily commented:

In the Rajya Sabha he (the Prime Minister) had much more to say on a large number of subjects—so much more in fact that the Lok Sabha may well feel neglected.<sup>26</sup>

The foregoing discussion would make it amply clear that Nehru's involvement in the proceedings of Parliament and commitment to parliamentary institutions was complete. His speeches in

Parliament, though at times lengthy, were very informative, instructive and often inspiring. He always upheld the dignity of his colleagues on the floor of the House and his intervention during Question Hour, as mentioned above, was without injury to reputation of his Ministers whom he often helped out of difficulty. Whether he was discussing planning, politics, science, technology, culture or diplomacy, Nehru always gave an excellent exposition of the subject under discussion. One could hardly believe how a single person could have the ability to speak with such authority, knowledge and conviction on so many subjects during a single speech.

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## 6

## Non-alignment and Peaceful Co-existence

Jawaharlal Nehru was an apostle of peace. His deep commitment to Indian culture and spiritual values made him an ardent internationalist. He was a firm believer in the philosophy of world peace, international understanding, cooperation among nations, tolerance and peaceful co-existence. During the cold war era it was Jawaharlal Nehru who made an impassioned plea for peace; it was Nehru who openly spoke against imperialism and colonialism and for the liberation of Afro-Asian countries. Even before Independence, as President of the Indian National Congress he spoke in clear terms for the liberation of the Afro-Asian countries which were suffering the worst kind of exploitation under colonial regimes. India's struggle for freedom was viewed by Nehru as part of the world movement against exploitation by the colonial and imperialist forces. He found the world divided into two camps—imperialist and the fascist forces on one side and the socialist and nationalist forces on the other. India, he thought, should naturally belong to the second group.

Nehru was a serious student of history. This is evident from his work *Glimpses of World History*. He studied history and arrived at his own conclusions as to what caused wars and why peace was necessary in the world. He was watching the panorama of change that was taking place the world over and was definitely worried about such forces as were trying to extend a grip on the economies of the Third World countries and leading to a new kind of imperialism, basically through economic domination. India's struggle for freedom was essentially anti-imperialistic and anti-colonial, the objective of which was not merely to attain political and economic liberation of our motherland but also to defeat the forces which led to political and economic subjugation of other

countries. Therefore, even after India attained Independence, Nehru continued to fight against the forces of colonialism, imperialism and racialism and supported the freedom struggle in the Afro-Asian countries. He was considered a champion of world peace; nay, he was the symbol of the solidarity of the Third World. Whenever he went abroad he was hailed as the symbol of unity, brotherhood and peace. Nehru's view of the world situation was taking a definite shape during the national movement. And before India actually attained freedom, it became clear that India would pursue a foreign policy of peaceful co-existence and promote a spirit of understanding and harmony, leading to amicable settlement of all international disputes.

On matters pertaining to foreign policy, Nehru made it a point to consult Parliament as frequently as was possible for him to do so. He would invariably come to the floor of either House and initiate debates on various subjects relating to India's foreign policy and world affairs. Through his speeches in the House one could clearly discern that Nehru spoke very effectively in favour of the Third World countries and created a world opinion against colonialism. He was often confronted by Members with the argument that being a poor and underdeveloped country, India had her own problems requiring immediate attention of government and Parliament. There was, therefore, no need for India to assume the role of a champion for the Third World countries and that we should concentrate on our problems of development rather than look abroad for new pastures for adventurism. Nehru, however, rebutted their line of argument:

We have got the tremendous problem of unemployment, of raising standards and all that. Now, nobody doubts that we have these great domestic problems. Nobody doubts that these domestic problems for us are ultimately of far greater importance than any international problem, because the international problem, or any part that we may play in it, ultimately depends upon our internal situation, upon our internal strength, upon our internal cohesion and all that. There is no conflict between following a domestic policy and an international policy. They react on each other. And in fact, as I said, the basic thing is the domestic policy that a country follows, and, to some extent, the foreign policy is a reflex of that. Foreign policy—if of course we may use that phrase—is not one solid or simple thing. It is, to some extent, motivated no doubt by the ideals and objectives that a country has.<sup>1</sup>

Throughout his tenure as Prime Minister from 1947 up to 1964, Jawaharlal Nehru held regular charge of the Ministry of External Affairs. During his time, a debate on international situation was almost a regular feature in both Houses of Parliament. There used to be at least one debate on the subject every year and there were occasions when the international situation and the policy of the government of India in relation to it was discussed in several consecutive sessions. This was because Nehru wanted the involvement of Members of Parliament on the broad parameters of foreign policy. He wanted Parliament to lay down the policy guidelines which should govern our relationship with other countries. He considered the foreign policy of the country to be above party matters and thought that it should be evolved on the basis of consensus after a full and fair discussion and even critical appraisal of available alternatives. Explaining this position, he once observed:

We want their advice in many matters and we want their support in the major lines of policy that we have adopted. In fact, this House and the entire Parliament has been good enough to support very fully the foreign policy of the Government of India even though there might have been differences in regard to many domestic matters. I do not say that everyone in India completely agrees with everything that we do in the foreign field, but I imagine that the main basis and the main approach of our foreign policy has a larger sympathy and adherence in the country than anything else. Even the criticisms that are made are either perhaps through some misunderstanding or in an attempt to give it greater emphasis and not challenging the main issue and the main approach.<sup>2</sup>

Nehru initiated the debate on foreign affairs usually with a motion "that the international situation and the policy of the Government of India in relation thereto be taken into consideration". In his opening speech he would cover the entire gamut of India's foreign policy and her relationship with other countries. He would sit through the debates and take down the important points made by the prominent members of the ruling party and opposition members. During such debates he would take both Houses of Parliament into confidence on major policy matters and at the end of the discussion he would reply to the debate himself in both Houses. Some might say that nothing would have been lost if a discussion on the foreign affairs was

not held every time in the Rajya Sabha as well or if a discussion on the foreign affairs was initiated or reply given in the Rajya Sabha by a junior Minister. But by nature, Nehru did not take such a view of men, matters or procedures, and he would provide an equal opportunity to the two Houses to fully discuss the foreign policy of the government. The speeches on these occasions were frank and free from acrimony or rancour. The presence of Nehru with Dr. Radhakrishnan in the Chair raised the debate on foreign affairs in the Rajya Sabha to a very high level, and the whole discussion used to be of such a high order that it was looked upon as an event of considerable significance by the Members, the press, the public as also by the diplomatic corps in Delhi. The debates received wide publicity in all the important dailies. Once the *Statesman* commented:

There was a touch of greatness in the tone and content of the Rajya Sabha debate last week on foreign affairs.

Nehru was deeply influenced by the Indian philosophical traditions and the basic cultural pattern of India. Indian philosophy primarily stands for tolerance and is totally opposed to war. When Nehru talked of India's ancient traditions of peace and tolerance, he often posed a question as to why India could claim any special virtue for bringing peace in the world:

Why is it that India's name is respected over large areas of the world in many countries today? Why is that whenever India's name is mentioned, or some representative of India comes, that person or that name is associated with the cause of peace?<sup>3</sup>

His answer invariably was that our policy might err here and there but the world acknowledged by and large that India had been working for peace since time immemorial. Nehru always used to rebut the argument that India's foreign policy was solely his handiwork which he clamped on the party or the government:

This foreign policy of ours may be considered from a variety of points of view. It is not, if I may say so, my policy which I have imposed on others. It is the policy not even of a group, it is the inevitable development which had to take place in view of our past history.<sup>4</sup>

Since the foreign policy that was being pursued by India during Nehru's time was a continuance of the policy based on Indian philosophy and tradition, naturally the content of it was greatly

influenced by lofty and laudable ancient ideals of peace, amity and co-existence. These ideals have been enshrined in Article 51 of the Constitution which aims at promoting international peace and security. The article runs as follows:

"The State shall endeavour to—

- (a) Promote international peace and security;
- (b) maintain just and honourable relations between nations;
- (c) foster respect for international law and treaty obligations in the dealings of organised people with one another; and
- (d) encourage settlement of international disputes by arbitration."

In consonance with the provisions of this article of the Constitution, India evolved the policy of non-interference in the internal matters of other countries and non-alignment in superpower policies. Our broad approach towards other countries was based, as indeed it is based till this day, on friendship and understanding. Once making this clear, Jawaharlal Nehru said in the House:

Our broad approach is and should be always a friendly approach to all countries. That does not mean that we give up any principle, anything that we consider right. Certainly not. We do not want to enter into a cold war even if we are opposed to something.<sup>5</sup>

*Panchsheel*, which was the cornerstone of India's foreign policy, aimed at creating peace in the world. It also aimed at securing status of equality to all nations. To Nehru, these ideals would mean mere hollow phraseologies unless they were achieved through righteous means. Means to him were equally important as the ends. As he once said:

These words like all other words—Bandung, *Panchsheel*; it does not matter what word you use—begin to lose their shine and to be hurled about without meaning, and, in fact, just like even the word "peace" becomes almost like a thunderbolt or a minor war the way it is used. Sometimes the manner of using it—it is the manner that counts. I have come more and more to believe that means are even more important than the ends. They show to us that the way one does things is even more important than what one does.<sup>6</sup>

Another manifestation of the Indian philosophy and thought was the policy of non-alignment. The world was divided in two

hostile powerful blocs. Nehru realised that joining either of the blocs would be disastrous for India because India was struggling for economic independence and working for the attainment of self-sufficiency. He wanted that India should maintain equidistance from the United States and the Soviet Union. Once participating in a debate on international situation, Nehru rightly remarked:

Take the United States of America. We are having more friendly relations with them—they have been friendly throughout but they are more friendly to us—than they have been ever before. Take the Soviet Union. Our relationship with the Soviet Union is also more friendly than ever before.

We have not tried to buy their friendship by any weakness of ours or by any subservience to anybody. But it is real friendship, tremendous friendship, because we appreciate those people whether in America or in Russia, and we know that the people in both the countries desire peace and do not want war.<sup>7</sup>

The policy of non-alignment, according to Nehru, was not a mere negative concept but a positive policy, a dynamic policy which was calculated to deliver goods in the long run. It was a policy of friendship and aimed at gaining goodwill of other countries while firmly adhering to our own principles. Non-alignment to Nehru did not mean a powerful balancing feat—some kind of a rope trick or any such thing—but a positive concept, a straightforward way of trying to consider problems as we thought they should be dealt with and trying to reach a particular goal. Elaborating on this aspect of non-alignment, Nehru once remarked during the course of discussion on the situation in Tibet:

... we do not propose to have a military alliance with any country, come what may, and I want to be quite clear about it, because the moment we give up that idea of non-alignment we lose every anchor that we hold on to and we simply drift. We may hang on to somebody or some country. But we lose our own self respect, of the country's. If one loses one's own self respect, it is something very precious loss. Therefore, this business of thinking always in terms of getting something from this country or the other country is not desirable. It is perhaps not very relevant.<sup>8</sup>

The policy of non-alignment provided freedom of choice to India in the matter of taking independent decision with regard to the conduct of foreign relations. Commenting on this freedom of choice, Nehru once observed in the House:

It is said that we may be unaligned, but even though we are unaligned, we incline this way or that way. Of course, we incline whenever we feel like inclining because ours is an independent policy. It is not a negative policy, it is a positive policy derived from our views of the world situation and of our own situation because always national politics, domestic politics and international affairs to some extent are tied-up.<sup>9</sup>

To Nehru, the realistic foreign policy had to be a dynamic one and not a rigid dogma. A foreign policy, therefore, should lend itself to purposeful revision if the changing circumstances so warranted and for this it was essential that the nation should have full freedom of choice. Making this clear Nehru once said in the House:

A foreign policy has often to change, not the basis of it but the expression of it, the details of it, if the position changes in the world. Non-alignment means independence of one's foreign policy. That is all it means, not tying yourself up in a military way with other countries which ties you up in your foreign policy and in every case, even in war and peace you are tied up. Therefore, you should keep your independence to that extent.

I think, in the conditions as they are in the world today, it is far better for the small countries as well as for the big ones not to be aligned to any power bloc.<sup>10</sup>

No nation can weather atomistic existence. We have to follow (policies) according to the developments that are taking place in the world. Friendship and cooperation have always been the important components of India's foreign policy. Immediately after Independence, Nehru decided that India would join the Commonwealth. There were many people who criticised him for taking this decision. But Nehru stood for the membership of the Commonwealth because it was a body where India could exchange ideas with other countries on matters of common interest and thereby benefit from such exercise. Once comparing India's membership of the Commonwealth with India's association with the United Nations, he said:

I think that our association with this Commonwealth, just as our association with the United Nations, has been good. Because we are in the United Nations it does not mean that we agree with the policies of every member of the United Nations. Because we are in the Commonwealth, it does not mean that we agree with the policies of the different members of the Commonwealth. We

pursue our policies without the slightest interference from them.<sup>11</sup>

Nehru felt that India's association with the Commonwealth had benefited the country. While it had brought no burden, it secured certain advantages. He once remarked:

I should like to point out the many good things that have flowed from our membership of the Commonwealth, and many helpful things, and even in regard to the larger question of world peace, I think our being with the Commonwealth has been very helpful, and we have exercised such influence as we have in a more widespread way, in a somewhat more effective way than we might have otherwise done.<sup>12</sup>

Ours is an interdependent world. Events happening in one part of the world influence the developments in other parts as well. Nehru took keen interest in the developments that were taking place all over the world. In 1957, while speaking in the Rajya Sabha on a motion regarding international situation, he expressed his concern over the serious developments which were taking place in the world:

... there is no doubt that the situation in the world today, while it is not without some hope, is nevertheless a very serious one, and a very grave one, and many thinkers in the world are very much perturbed at this trend of events. I should like this House to pay some attention to these broad aspects and not confine itself to some narrow issue which may temporarily be of interest to us. It is our good fortune or misfortune to live at a time of great change, of tremendous developments, which may bring good or evil to humanity. Living at this exciting period of human history, I would suggest to this House that we should take a view, in some perspective, of what has happened, what the position is today and what is likely to happen, and not confine itself to narrow issues. Then perhaps we might understand this tremendous theme.<sup>13</sup>

Nehru was foremost among those statesmen of the world who were concerned with the establishment of world peace. He had already seen world wars and was fully aware of the large scale devastation that war could cause all round. As he once observed:

Because war will not only destroy your adversary, but it will destroy yourself and the rest of the world. Now, that was the position even before certain recent advances were made in weapons like these ballistic weapons, and although this sputnik

and other are new weapons, they open out a prospect of other weapons of the most dangerous kind coming up. Obviously, no one country is going to have a monopoly.<sup>14</sup>

Nehru had fully realised the destructive capabilities of war. As he once put it beautifully in the house:

It is easy to break anything, it is much more difficult to join or build. You break in a moment. An artist or creator works hard at a piece of art; whether it be a beautiful vase, a potter's work, or a building or an architecture, enormous labour and creative instinct go to build it, but with a blow you can break that beautiful vase or with a bomb you can destroy that piece of architecture. It is easy to break. There is enough breakage in this world not to add to it, and our broad policy has been not to break with any country but to ever get closer to it.<sup>15</sup>

Nehru was fully aware that war prevented progress and prosperity by disturbing growth and development and that developed countries would not be so adversely affected by the devastations caused by war as the developing or underdeveloped countries. Therefore, he rightly cautioned:

If there was a war on a big scale, one of the results, major for us but minor from the point of view of the world, was that all our efforts at economic and social progress would be hit hard and the rest of the world would suffer also.... We realised the importance of development in India, social and economic, and we realised that peace was essential for that development. There was an essential conflict between war and development, whether it was war in India or world war and we tried to concentrate on this peaceful progress, our Five Year Plans and the rest of it. But even from the point of view of preparing for war we realised that real strength came only from economic development, industrial development, and therefore that too led us to the conclusion that we must concentrate on this, on the economic side and the social side and we were convinced that we should aim at social justice, at a socialist structure of society and democratic methods.<sup>16</sup>

To Nehru peace was not a mere negative concept meaning only absence of war. It connoted something positive which would create a climate conducive to growth and development which alone could lead to all round progress and prosperity. That is why he wanted that all nations should work vigorously to create conditions for the preservation of peace so that people throughout the world might lead a better life in terms of moral and material advancement.

The scientific and technological advancement taking place in the world led Nehru to believe that a future war would lead to devastation of alarming proportions than was usually associated with conventional warfare. He, therefore, desired that all nations should ever remain vigilant against the outbreak of war and work for peace with single-minded devotion. As he once observed:

The weapons of warfare, however, are terrific and, therefore, mistakes which led to war previously will lead to a different type of war which might bring about what I just read to you...almost extinction of modern civilization. That is a very big difference and that, therefore, ought to make us all the more vigilant to prevent a war and make every effort to prevent a war.<sup>17</sup>

He could clearly see that mankind was living on the edge of horrors of war and virtual extinction. Whether it was Europe, America or Russia, he realised that everywhere there existed a psyche of war caused by unregulated and uncontrolled arms race among the so-called Big Powers. He was, therefore, never tired of repeating the horrors of war and cautioning mankind time and again against the new threat to civilisation.

Indian Parliament was as much concerned with the fear of nuclear explosion as Jawaharlal Nehru himself was. On May 24, 1957, a Member moved a resolution in the House regarding convening of a Conference of the World Powers to consider measures to halt nuclear explosions. Speaking on the Resolution, Prime Minister Nehru stated that since India had been conditioned in thinking a little more in terms of peaceful action than many other countries, the only way to maintain national as well as international peace was to mobilise world opinion in such a way that India could have an impact on the nuclear powers to halt nuclear experiments for war purposes. He reiterated India's commitment to the cause of elimination of nuclear weapons and outlined the dangers facing humanity due to proliferation of nuclear weapons:

There is this danger of more and more countries being able to make these hydrogen bombs and the bombs being cheaper too, and at the same time, much more dangerous; the effectiveness grows. Now, if this becomes widespread, it will be much more difficult to control than perhaps it is today. In fact quite a new situation will arise then which might threaten humanity, because it might even be that a group of misguided persons might try to terrorise the world.<sup>18</sup>

Nehru wanted that nuclear tests should be totally banned irrespective of whether the threat was coming from the U.S.A. or the Soviet Union because he knew that a tension-free world could be assured only when these two super powers acted together positively in that direction. He, therefore, once said in the Rajya Sabha:

At the present moment I was wondering if some symbol could be found for the modern world. Every age might be designated by a symbol, just as a country might also be. The present age probably would be designated best by the symbol of mushroom cloud which comes out of an atom bomb. It has become the recognised symbol of the atom bomb and of nuclear warfare and to live under the shadow of this cloud—the possibility of such a cloud arising—is to live a life which is not civilised. This leads me to the question of these nuclear tests because ultimately it is not merely the avoidance of nuclear tests that will put an end to this danger because there are vast numbers of nuclear bombs accumulated in various countries, notably in the U.S.A. and in the Soviet Union, but ultimately there has to be an assurance of a world without war.<sup>19</sup>

Nehru realised that peace could come to the world only when there was complete and total disarmament. He, therefore, stood for comprehensive and total disarmament. He was, of course, aware that total disarmament could be brought about only in phases and not in one stroke. His remarks on the subject are pertinent.

You can't do it over-night. But one must think in terms of total disarmament because the halfway house to disarmament at the present juncture and in the present state of armaments would have really no particular meaning. It would have no meaning if countries possessing, let us say, nuclear bombs said that 'instead of 1,000 bombs we shall have 500 each in future. That is 50 per cent disarmament, a big advance but really all the tensions and fears will continue with the 500 bombs. They have to go, and that applies even to what is called the conventional arms.'<sup>20</sup>

The question of disarmament, Nehru felt, concerned not only the developed countries, but applied equally to the developing countries as well. However, since the latter were economically less affluent and militarily not so advanced, Nehru in the first place wanted that this exercise should start with the two super powers, namely, the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union, who

should discuss between themselves and try to come to some basic agreement. Subsequently, other countries should be brought into the picture to work out the details. On the question of disarmament, Nehru believed that there should be no wavering. If we tried to escape from disarmament we would be entrapped in war. There was no middle way, he believed. In order to save the world and the future generations from the scourge of war, it was essential that disarmament should take place on a priority basis. During the course of his reply to the debate on the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address on March 15, 1962, Jawaharlal Nehru stated that the critical area of concern in the international affairs was the need for disarmament. The spectre of nuclear war was haunting mankind and what was at stake was the very survival of humanity. The world must recognise, he said, the need for disarmament and check the remorseless march towards self-destruction. In Nehru's view, the whole question of disarmament was of global importance and concerned every nation, nay the very human existence.

... if there is no disarmament, the world will naturally drift more and more towards conflict, towards war, and undoubtedly if there is war, it will be a nuclear war, and possibly a war like that brought on without even a declaration of war.<sup>21</sup>

Nehru had expressed great faith in multilateral efforts towards peace. He had shown respect for the ideals and principles of the United Nations. India was one of the early signatories to the U.N. Charter. In fact she had signed the Charter before Independence. Nehru had so much faith in the United Nations that he often felt that without it the world will be "much the poorer and will have to face greater dangers". In the whole scheme of disarmament, Nehru believed that the United Nations had a positive role to play but in implementing the disarmament proposals Nehru thought that the United Nations had to be strengthened. He once observed in the House:

We are so anxious for the disarmament proposals to go through that we would not like delay to take place there by another argument which might almost split up the United Nations, an argument about the future of the United Nations itself.

... But anyhow we feel that the United Nations, if it has to function, has to function effectively. It is not merely a body to pass pious resolutions.



... the executive apparatus of the United Nations must be an effective apparatus, not one which pulls in different directions. That seems to us essential, and that will become even more essential if the question of disarmament comes to implementation. That raises very difficult points, the implementation of a disarmament agreement. Obviously the present United Nations as it is, the Secretariat etc., cannot easily deal with such a vast subject as the implementation of a disarmament agreement.<sup>22</sup>

On September 23, 1953, Nehru spoke on India's foreign policy. The House was in general agreement with the policy pursued by the government but one member, Shri C.G.K. Reddy, had some reservations about the policy. That was the year when Shrimati Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit was elected the Chairman of the United Nations General Assembly—a concrete proof of the acknowledgement of India's position in the world forum, particularly because very important questions were going to be discussed in the United Nations in that year and a country like India was providing a President for the General Assembly. Answering the criticism and emphasising the role of the United Nations in maintaining world peace, Jawaharlal Nehru said in the House:

While it is perfectly true that two or three major countries exercise a great deal of influence over world affairs, I venture to say that that is not because the United Nations has done anything or its constitution is lacking, but that is because today those two or three countries have that power and authority which they can enforce even at the risk of the destruction of the world. It is no good not recognising facts as they are. Let us change those facts if we like. But any organisation or any power must take into consideration facts and the facts today are that a large number of countries in this world—they may have a vote in the United Nations, they may raise their hand this way or that way—but have very little influence or have very little independence in policy. That is a factual matter. Many countries are marked as independent countries in the world but so far as their policies are concerned, they are not strong enough, whatever reasons there may be. Therefore, one of the basic facts of today is the dominant position of some very few nations.<sup>23</sup>

Nehru did admit that despite the best intentions of the United Nations, it had often appeared to be in a very weak position but this weakness was attributed by Nehru to the frailty of the human element. United Nations was working under the various stresses

and strains which affected its functioning. Such problems, Nehru felt, were often a reflection of the difficulties caused by the major conflicts and the cold war situation etc., which were then existing in the world.

Nehru stood for friendly ties with the neighbouring countries. Immediately after Independence, India had some trouble with Pakistan, especially because of Pakistan's aggression on Kashmir. A number of other controversial issues were also affecting our relations with Pakistan. In the fifties and the early sixties, India had serious differences with China on the question of Tibet and on the border problem. Nehru stood for amicable settlement of all these disputes. He was aware of the fact that India had very close cultural ties with the Tibetan people and had very old ties with China as well. He made several efforts to bring normalcy in the relations between India and China. The Chinese Premier, Chau-En-lai, visited India for the first time in June, 1954. In a joint statement, Prime Minister Nehru and the Chinese Prime Minister reaffirmed their faith in *Panchsheel* (five principles) of co-existence which became the cornerstone of our foreign policy. They also expressed their confidence in the friendship between India and China, which they thought, would help the cause of world peace. Therefore, when on October 20, 1962, China launched a massive attack on India, it was certainly a betrayal of faith. Nehru recounted these developments painfully in the Rajya Sabha:

... it is really painful and shocking to me—the way the Chinese Government has, shall I say, adhered repeatedly to untruths, I am putting it in as mild a way as I can. What are they doing today? In the other House, I said it is aggression and invasion which reminds me of the activities of the Western powers in the nineteenth or the eighteenth century. Perhaps I was wrong. It is more comparable to the activities of Hitler in the modern age...<sup>24</sup>

After the Chinese attack, many Members in the House criticised the foreign policy that was being followed by Nehru, particularly towards India's neighbours. Nehru accepted the criticism but was never willing to behave the way Chinese had behaved. He asserted in the House:

Some of the hon. Members have criticised our publicity arrangements and, if I may say so there is a great deal of truth in that criticism. We are trying to improve them. I think, they have

improved somewhat, and I hope, they will improve, because it is not an easy matter to build up these things in a few days, war publicity and all that, and also because we do not quite function, we are not used to functioning quite in the way the Chinese Government are used to functioning, that is, stating complete untruth, one after the other, a set of lies. We are somewhat more careful about what we say.<sup>25</sup>

What bothered Nehru the most was the untruth of China; the betrayal of friendship and faith. He could never have believed that China would ever be attacking India. This he often made clear in the House:

So while we are for peace, we must not allow ourselves to be taken in by these so-called peace offensives which are not peace, which are merely meant to some extent to humiliate us, to some extent to strengthen their position where they are for a future advance may be, because I am sorry to say it, it has become impossible to put trust in the word of the Chinese Government.<sup>26</sup>

With Pakistan also India wanted to remain very friendly. Nehru often expressed this desire in the House. To quote him:

So far as the Government of India is concerned, ever since independence and partition, it has been our definite aim and policy to have friendly relations with Pakistan, not of course giving up our vital interests, because giving up vital interests does not promote friendly relations; it only encourages the other party to open its mouth wider, claim more and shout more. It has been our policy to have friendly relations with Pakistan—we have of course accepted Pakistan and accepted partition—and to proceed on the basis of two independent nations having friendly relations, cooperative relations, with each other. We are neighbours; we have a history in common; we have a hundred and one things in common; we have thousands of persons whose families are split up, and it will be a tragedy for us to aim at anything but friendly relations.<sup>27</sup>

But the massive militarisation of Pakistan was something which made Nehru suspicious of her intentions. Nehru knew that by seeking military aid and joining military alliances Pakistan was adding to the burdens of India. It was creating a feeling of insecurity and imbalance in the sub-continent, thereby affecting the developmental programmes that were being launched in India for the progress of the people. Nehru's policy towards Pakistan was sometimes described by members as one of appeasement. He answered his critics thus:

If appeasement means trying to win over Pakistan, trying to be friendly with Pakistan, trying to create an atmosphere of friendliness between us and help the solution of problems, then certainly we appease Pakistan and we will continue to appease Pakistan. If appeasement means giving up any principle of ours or surrendering to any threat, then we are entirely opposed to that and we shall always be opposed to that.<sup>28</sup>

In August 1963, Prime Minister Nehru gave a statement in the House regarding Indo-Pak talks. He said then:

...it has always been, and continues to be, India's policy to seek friendly and cooperative relations with Pakistan. The lack of such friendly and cooperative 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.<sup>29</sup>

The foreign policy pursued by Jawaharlal Nehru was basically one of cultivating peaceful and friendly relations with other countries, including our immediate neighbours, based on the principles of co-existence enunciated in the agreement between Nehru and the Chinese Premier Chou-En-lai. While Nehru wanted to adopt peaceful methods in solving international disputes and in scaling down the arms race as a means to ultimate disarmament, it is not true to say that he wanted our military forces to be scaled down to a limit which was inconsistent with our territorial integrity. As he explained once in the Rajya Sabha:

We are not pacifists in the Government of India. We may talk about peace and non-violence. We maintain an Army, a Navy and Air Force etc., because no responsible Government, as far as I can see can do otherwise.<sup>30</sup>

Whenever occasions arose for asserting claim for our territorial sovereignty and integrity, Nehru never lagged behind. Thus, in October 1947, when unauthorised intruders from Pakistan attacked Kashmir or when the terrorism created by the Nizams' Army in Hyderabad was affecting the life and property of tens of thousands of our people, Nehru did not hesitate to send our armed forces for protecting the rightful interests of our country. Similarly, in emancipating Goa from the Portuguese misrule, Nehru did not hesitate in sending our forces for her liberation.

While moving the Bill for the amendments of the

Constitution to include Goa within the territorial limits of India, he observed:

This Bill, Sir, is a very brief one and a very simple one but it has not only a great deal of importance but it really ends a certain phase of history, a long phase, an unfortunate phase; it ends the Portuguese occupation of a part of Indian territory which began 451 years ago. The wheels of the gods grind slowly but they do often grind, continue grinding and grind exceedingly small. All this long history of Portuguese occupation, their coming to Goa, what they did for hundreds of years, how they were protected by the British Government how ultimately India became independent expecting naturally that this small colonial domain in the territory of India would also disappear and how we had no response from the Portuguese about it—they opposed the idea in fact; they did not discuss it—all this comes to our mind.

There has been a good deal of criticism of the action we took in Goa three months ago and I have seldom come across criticism which has been so misplaced, misconceived and misdirected. For my part I think that the Goan episode from the moment of our independence right up to the day when we took possession of Goa does great credit to India, I have no regrets about it.<sup>31</sup>

Thus it is observed that Nehru was a great believer in world peace and peaceful settlement of all international disputes. No one had shown greater faith and allegiance to the Charter of the United Nations than Nehru. He realised that in a thermonuclear age, war would mean the extinction of all civilised values. That is why he was convinced that the true role of a statesman in this distracted world lay in the way of lessening tensions and conflicts and bringing about a climate of understanding and mutual accommodation, with a view to settlement of international differences without resort to the horrors of war.

The foreign policy of free India based on non-alignment and peaceful co-existence as enunciated, propagated and implemented by Nehru in 18 years of his Prime Ministership still remains the basic policy of our country with minor changes here and there. Even during the short period of the Janata regime, there was no major variation in the basic principles of our foreign policy and this is a fitting testimony of the statemanship of Nehru.

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## 7

## End of an Era

Such was the personality of Nehru as revealed in his various speeches, utterances, observations and his participation in the proceedings of the Rajya Sabha: he was a norm, a trend, an embodiment of national integration. He merged his life with the lives of millions of his countrymen and by so doing and by so fusing his transient life, he was able to live in the lives of everyone. Even years after his death, as we go back in history, his shadow appears bigger and bigger and he stands out as the perfect democrat that India has ever produced. While the light of democracy was getting extinguished one after the other in the Afro-Asian countries, it continued to burn brighter and brighter in this sub-continent—thanks to Nehru's enlightened leadership and noble ideas.

Jawaharlal Nehru in his life and work reflected the great synthesis between the three dominant strands of what may be called the heritage of the enlightened man in India. These may be identified as the vedantic vision imbued with a sense of tolerance and equal respect for the many paths to truth; the composite culture of India, incorporating the elegance and ethos of the rural India, the passion of the tribal and the cosmopolitanism of the urban cultural streams; and the vibrant principles of liberty, nationalism, secular polity and democratic socialism that had governed the modernisation process of western civilisation, and became a vital part of the ideals of the Indian national movement. Jawaharlal Nehru had, therefore, fused within his personality almost as a quest for a more complete 'Indian', much that was significant and abiding in the ancient, medieval and modern stages of the growth of the continuing Indian civilisation. He insisted on inheriting the whole of India, and so indeed, he did.

His sense of history, his mystic communion with the Indian psyche, his ever-present concern for the relevant, the rational and

the progressive, and the incessant longing for the transformation of this traditional society into a modern polity committed him to a life-long mission for the completion of the gigantic socio-economic revolution in India. The tripartite synthesis was reflected so fully in Nehru's political motivations, exertions and policy-decision, both during the struggle for national independence and later during the formative phase of democratic nation-building, that it is this that singles him out even in the galaxy of the great national leaders as a man who more than others represented more fully and authentically the new enlightened generation of India.

Nehru was free from obscurantism, parochialism and dogmatism of any shape and form. He fought casteism and communalism with the vigour with which he opposed feudal, reactionary and sectarian approaches to political and social situations. He had an integrated and wholesome perspective of socio-economic changes, almost acquiring an ideological overtone.

His commitment to the modernisation of India found expression in his attachment to the six guiding principles of national reconstruction: (i) inculcation of rationalism and scientific temper in all aspects of life; (ii) secular outlook in politics; (iii) cosmopolitanism in culture; (iv) concern for the use of modern technology and scientific skills for the development of economy; (v) adaptation of socialistic principles to Indian conditions for pursuing the objectives of social justice, cohesive economic growth and progressive policies; and (vi) stabilisation of the foundations of a participatory, federal democracy that could unite and integrate politically the huge sprawling republic comprising many languages, cultures, ethnic groups, religious communities and socio-economic strata. Inspired by these ideals, he gave a positive shift and a definite direction to the complex process of building a new India, and undoubtedly that was his distinctive contribution as a system-builder. He assiduously built up an overall administrative and socio-economic system consisting of a participatory democracy working in federal polity; a self-reliant, self-generating planned economy attuned to buoyancy and growth; a secular egalitarian society committed to distributive justice; and an independent and non-aligned foreign policy fostering international peace and harmony.

Nehru was a born democrat. He could never be led away from the democratic path. Few democratic leaders in world history have enjoyed such universal and widespread love and affection of the people. In his Will and Testament recorded in 1954, Nehru acknowledged this sentiment of spontaneous love and affection of the people of India in these words:

I have received so much love and affection from the Indian people that nothing that I can do can repay even a small fraction of it, and indeed there can be no repayment of so precious a thing as affection. Many have been admired, some have been revered, but the affection of all classes of the Indian people has come to me in such abundant measure that I have been overwhelmed by it. I can only express the hope that in the remaining years I may live I shall not be unworthy of my people and their affection.\*

Nehru's love for the motherland, his patriotism and his nationalism were unquestionable. To him India was not merely a physical or economic entity, or a geographical expression but a concept and an idealism which represented the high watermark of an ancient culture and civilisation. He used to quote very often the following remarks of Gurudev Rabindra Nath Tagore, explaining his unfathomable patriotism:

I love India, not because I cultivate the idolatry of geography, not because I have had the chance to be born in her soil but because she has saved through tumultuous ages the living words that have issued from the illuminated consciousness of her great ones.\*\*

His great sense of patriotism and his intense love for the people inspired him to initiate the big task of national development and socio-economic regeneration although he was quite clear that this was a gigantic task which required prolonged and sustained efforts and hard labour for complete fulfilment. Neither the magnitude of the task nor the constraints or difficulties which beset the winding path to its realisation dampened his spirit or slackened his efforts towards that direction. He would very often quote the following lines from Robert Frost's "Stopping by Woods on a Snowy Evening":

The woods are lovely, dark and deep,  
But I have promises to keep,

\* The entire Will and Testament of Nehru is reproduced in Annexure III.

\*\* Quoted in *Discovery of India*, p. 563.

and miles to go before I sleep  
and miles to go before I sleep.

And till he was laid to eternal rest, he tried ceaselessly to uplift his people—simple destitute and agrestic—from a life of exploitation, moral and material abandonment to one of fulfilment and prosperity.

On May 27, 1964, Nehru passed away, leaving India and the Indian people in a state of political orphanhood. It was not only that India had lost one of her most illustrious sons, but the world itself lost a stout champion in the cause of struggle against colonialism. The 17 years that he was Prime Minister was essentially a period of progress and development and one of ceaseless efforts for the realisation of the dreams which he had fought for in the country's freedom struggle. Rich tributes were paid to his memory in the two Houses of Parliament. The Leader of the House in the Rajya Sabha, Shri M.C. Chagla, moved the following motion:

The Rajya Sabha, meeting in the shadow of the national calamity of the passing away of our beloved leader and Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, expresses its profound anguish and grief and declares its firm resolve to strive for the ideals of world peace and progress, and national unity, solidarity and prosperity, to which he dedicated himself throughout his life.<sup>1</sup>

While moving the motion Chagla observed that Nehru bestrode the world like a colossus and his countrymen could remember his greatness and give their tears wrung from a stricken heart. In a voice surcharged with emotion, he said:

It is not given to everyone to give a name to an age. The 17 years that he was Prime Minister of India will always be known as the Nehru Age. But it is not only in his country's history that his name will be remembered. In International affairs, in the evolution of world history, in the long road that we have travelled to enhance human dignity and give freedom to the individual, the period of his Prime Ministership will always be commemorated as the Nehru epoch.

... His socialism was the result not so much of any economic ideology, but as a belief in human dignity, in his hatred of poverty and disease and in his profound faith in the equality of man. His rational outlook made him fight the superstitions and inhibitions which retarded our progress and made him attach the greatest importance to science not only for the purpose of expanding

knowledge but more in order to give to his people a scientific and modern outlook on life.<sup>2</sup>

After the leaders of various parties and some prominent Members paid their tributes, the Chairman, Dr. Zakir Husain, while associating himself with the sentiments expressed in the House, observed .

An aristocrat by birth and temperament, Pandit Nehru had committed himself totally and unequivocally to democratic ideals, democratic institutions and democratic procedures. The aristocrat in him sought to make his whole life and activity an expression of all that is gracious and noble. The democrat in him made him the courageous fighter for people's rights. Over thirty-four years ago he committed us to the achievement of complete independence, and independence, even in those early days was, to him, not a formal negative state of absence of foreign domination, but had a positive content of social justice and economic development. It was never enough for him that the Constitution should ensure the creation of welfare State. He incessantly laboured to educate the people to realise this assurance. One of the great educators of our time, he made the common people aware of their rights and their duties, and provided them with the means of making State policy serve the general interest. He believed in a democracy that would bring tangible and continuously increasing benefits to the masses of the people, and years before India became independent, he committed the country to planned economic growth. His discernment, his foresight, his grasp of essentials, his astonishing intellectual capacity, raised him to a height from which he could have possibly looked down with impatience at small, inhibited, narrow minds. But he schooled himself assiduously in the observance of democratic procedures, in the exercise of patience and restraint. He aspired to make all his fellow-citizens share his vision of a new society and to dedicate themselves to its realisation, because they themselves should believe, with the same fervour as he, in the happiness and the glory that would come with its realisation....

We shall ever miss his personality and be the poorer—very much the poorer—for the loss. But the values to which that personality was committed will live and will demand commitment from us.<sup>3</sup>

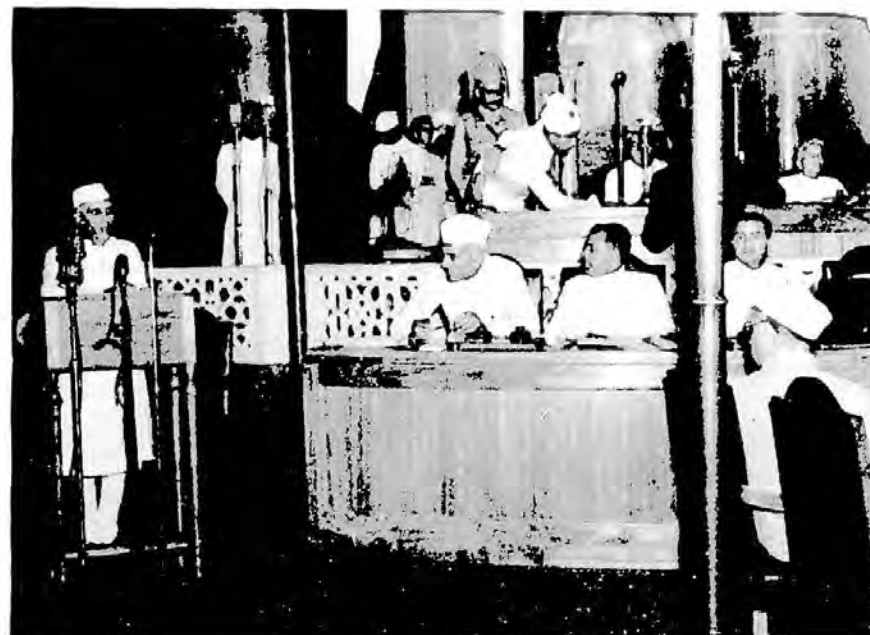
\* The entire proceedings of the Rajya Sabha regarding the obituary references on the passing away of Jawaharlal Nehru are reproduced in Annexure IV.

#### REFERENCES

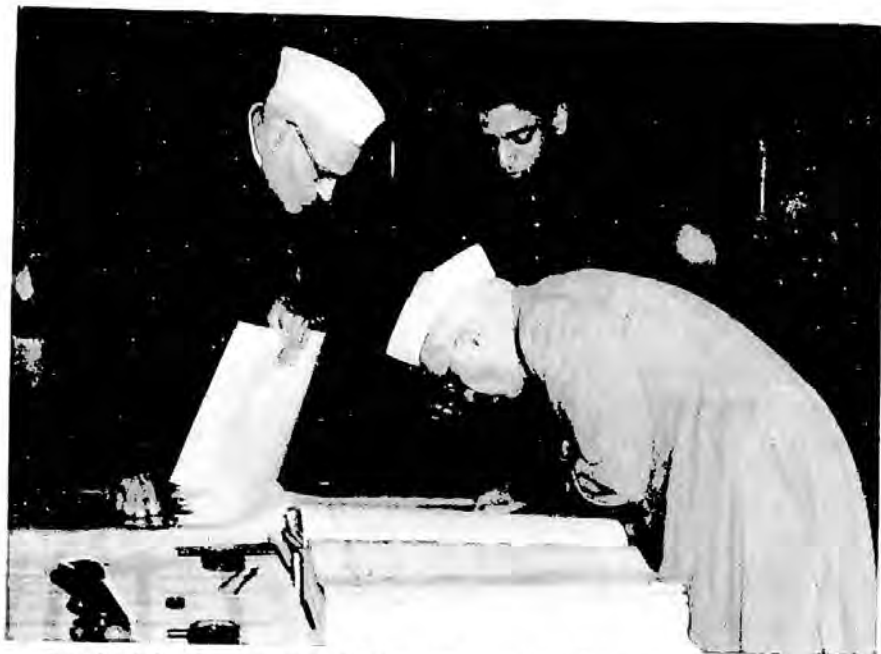
1. R.S. Deb. May 29, 1964, col. 83.
2. *Ibid.*, col. 81.
3. *Ibid.*, cols. 105-7.



Jawaharlal Nehru taking oath with other members of the Constituent Assembly.



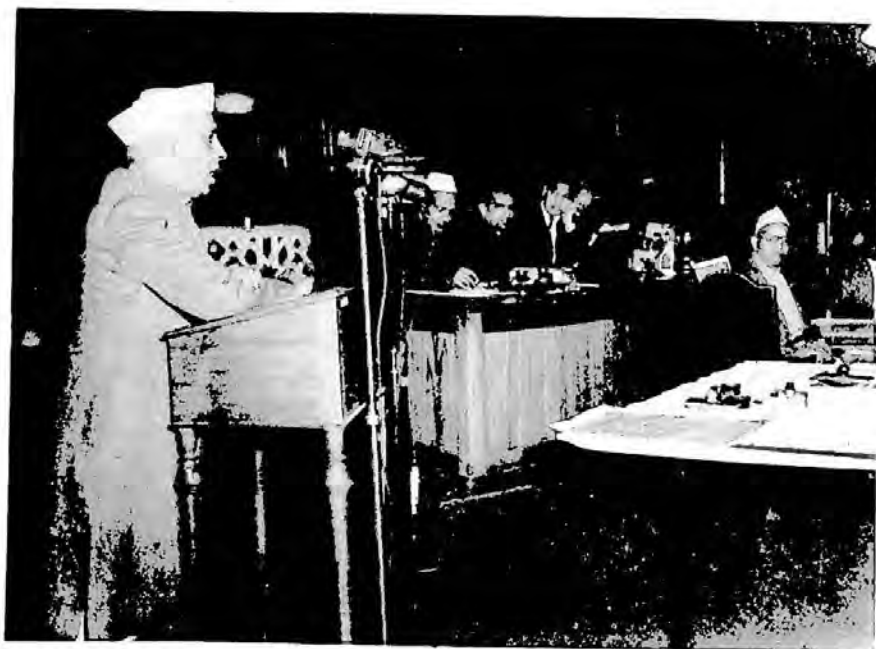
Jawaharlal Nehru addressing the midnight session of the Constituent Assembly on August 14-15, 1947.



Jawaharlal Nehru signing the Constitution of India on January 24, 1950.



With the members of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the US Congress.



Jawaharlal Nehru addressing the members of the Constituent Assembly at its final session after signing of the Constitution by them.



Jawaharlal Nehru meeting the members of the Japanese Goodwill Mission in New Delhi.





Jawaharlal Nehru speaking on the occasion of the unveiling of the portrait of Dr. Rajendra Prasad in the Central Hall of Parliament.



President Dr. S. Radhakrishnan unveiling the portrait of Jawaharlal Nehru in the Central Hall of Parliament.

## 8

### Nehru Miscellany

#### Balanced Growth

I attach the greatest importance to the development of industry but I do not think that real industrial development could take place in India till we have a sound agricultural economy.

*R.S. Deb., Feb. 16, 1953, col. 381.*

We must agree that agriculture is of the greatest importance to us and everything that we can do in agriculture must be done. But I do not think it is right to think of industry and agriculture as if they were in separate watertight compartments. They are intimately allied. There can be no progress in agriculture without progress in industry, without progress in tools, without the habit of thinking in terms of better techniques and better tools for the agriculturists.

*R.S. Deb., Sept. 6, 1960, col. 3640.*

#### Cold War

In our history we may have our riots, our battles and our fights, but all our thinking has been opposed to this business of cold war, because cold war is based on hatred, on envy, on violence.

*R.S. Deb., Aug. 18, 1960, col. 1349.*

#### Collective Security

There is a great deal of talk of collective security. The idea is that for collective security you want a collective force. I submit that this is a wrong approach for collective security. In the present context when forces are more or less matched, collective force means continued insecurity; it does not lead to security. It is

completely wrong because both sides go on collecting forces and both sides become more and more insecure.

*R.S. Deb., May 18, 1954, col. 6674.*

### **Colonialism**

In fact, two major facts stand out. One is that any attempt to bring back colonialism is doomed to failure. The strong country tries it on a weaker country. Colonialism exists in many places in the world still. It is true. But bringing it back from where it has gone, I think it is quite clear, cannot be done in the future. The second thing is—I think it is equally clear—that communism, or if you like, socialism, cannot ultimately be imposed by force.

*R.S. Deb., Dec. 4, 1956, cols. 1542-43.*

### **Communal Approach**

... The communal approach is more harmful to this country than almost anything else. This is a narrow, separatist, backward-looking and quarrelsome approach, intolerant approach.

*R.S. Deb., Aug. 25, 1959, col. 1778.*

### **Culture**

A living, springing, kicking, dynamic thing was caged—the Indian culture was caged. If a thing is caged and confined within walls and its growth is stopped, it shrivels up and after some time perishes. Indian culture was glorious and dynamic and remained alive even though it was encaged. If we look into Indian history we would come to know that there was a period when the people of India went to the four corners of the world with the mission of propagating their culture, their religion and their arts and earned fame for themselves.

We have again to blow life into the Hindu society and create in it a potential for progress so that it may grow and gain strength and, inspired by its basic culture, may progress itself and make the country progress.

Some people say that Indian culture is at the root of our mental outlook and that it has been responsible for the advancement of the people of this country for hundreds and

thousands of years. You should preserve the fundamentals and strengthen the root. But if you preserve the root alone and do not allow it to sprout and grow into a tree with branches, leaves and fruits, you cannot profit by it. You have to develop it.

*(English translation of the speech delivered in Hindi on Dec. 20, 1952 in the Rajya Sabha).*

### **Delhi**

I attach a great deal of importance to Delhi. Delhi evokes images in me of 5,000 years and more, of a succession of kings, governments, empires falling and rising, great things happening, mixed cultures evolving and all that.

*R.S. Deb., Sept. 7, 1962, col. 5650.*

### **Disarmament**

... essentially the problem of disarmament, although it concerns each one of our countries whether we have big armies or not, is a problem in the first place of the two Super-Powers, that is, the United States of America and the Soviet Union and we have always advocated that they should discuss it themselves and try to come to some basic agreements and then the other countries should be brought into the picture to work out the details.

*R.S. Deb., March 27, 1961, col. 22.*

### **Employment**

The real test of progress ultimately lies in the growth of employment or the lessening of unemployment and the final ending of unemployment. I completely accept that ideal because there can be no Welfare State if there is unemployment.

*R.S. Deb., Feb. 16, 1953, col. 383.*

### **Environment**

Now, our difficulty has been firstly cutting of many trees which, of course, should not be done. Personally, I rather like trees as entities, if I may say so, a part of the economic content. It hurts me to see a tree being cut down... I think a person who cuts down a tree should be sent to prison for a few days. The tree even in his

private garden is something more than his private property; it is a national property, and there should be a rule that for every tree cut down, at least two should be planted. That is important.

*R.S. Deb., Sept. 6, 1960, cols. 3654-55.*

### Foreign Policy

... ultimately the foreign policy of every country is limited by the strength which that country possesses. Now, strength may be military or financial or may be also, if I may use the word, moral. Obviously India has no military or financial strength to go about interfering with other people, not that we want to. We have no desire to—and we cannot—impose our will on others. We have a strong desire to prevent catastrophes happening in the world, to prevent wars happening in the world and where possible, to help in the general progress of humanity.

*R.S. Deb., Feb. 16, 1953, cols. 368-69.*

... a foreign policy is not just a declaration just laying down fine principles, though it is possible and feasible; it is not telling the world to behave. It is conditioned and controlled by the strength of the country. If it goes too far beyond the strength of the country, then it cannot be followed up; it is empty; it becomes tall talk which has no meaning and you lose all credit.

*R.S. Deb., Feb. 16, 1953, col. 368.*

The question of our broad policy often comes up in various forms, our foreign policy. Sometimes we are referred to as an unaligned country, uncommitted, neutral, and the like. I have objected to our policy being called a neutral policy. It may be called an uncommitted policy. It should be called an unaligned policy. An unaligned policy means that we are not aligned to military or like groups. That is a straightforward fact.

*R.S. Deb., Aug. 18, 1960, col. 1348.*

If we are to play any effective part in world affairs we can only do so if our domestic situation is strong and united. Otherwise, we do not count.

*R.S. Deb., Feb. 12, 1959, col. 556.*

... So far as we in India are concerned, our whole policy has been based, right from the beginning since we started functioning

in the international sphere, on the conception of co-existence. That word or that idea or conception is not new to us naturally. It had to be so because on the one hand we do not wish to interfere with others in any way, and, on the other hand, we will not like to be interfered with by others. So the natural consequence of this approach is co-existence; it can be no other. It is only when you want to interfere or when you are afraid of being interfered with that natural co-existence is upset.

*R.S. Deb., Aug. 26, 1954, col. 445.*

All over the world today there are foreign forces spread out—foreign bases, forces—everywhere. I do not know how many countries are there. There are scores of countries with foreign bases today. Well, it is my belief that the right approach to this problem—that is the basic approach—is for the removal of all foreign forces and all foreign bases from every country.

*R.S. Deb., Dec. 7, 1956, col. 1792.*

I think it is important not only that Parliament but our country also should take this interest in international affairs, not at the expense, of course, of our domestic problems, which are and must always remain our primary consideration, but even the domestic problems are affected so much by international events that it helps to have this larger perspective.

*R.S. Deb., March 27, 1957, col. 724.*

India tries to take a long view. India is not a kind of, well, unreal or artificial country without roots. We have roots in the past; the fact of our independence has not made us new. Those roots have continued and those roots will go on into the future, yielding place to flower and fruit. We look ahead, and in looking ahead, it is our basic policy that we should be friendly with all the countries of the world and certainly with our neighbouring countries.

*R.S. Deb., March 20, 1957, col. 240.*

What helps our objective, the main objective of world peace? What helps our main objective of co-operation between the nations of the world? There is a negative aspect of it, that of avoiding or preventing war. That is satisfactory in the sense that it is urgent and imperative to avoid war. But there is a positive aspect

too, of trying to root out the causes of war and gradually bring the nations together, to co-operate together even though they disagree a great deal. It is absurd to imagine that every country in the wide world will adopt a single policy and agree with every other. That is totally unrealistic.

*R.S. Deb., Dec. 7, 1956, col. 1783.*

### **Futility of Wars**

The fruit of victory is not a little territory. We have seen great wars in Europe and elsewhere, mighty countries fighting each other and countries have won, won decidedly and yet somehow the fruits of victory have escaped them. That is the lesson of the last two wars. It has slipped out of their fingers and new problems have been created which they cannot solve today and they think of the third war.

*R.S. Deb., Nov. 9, 1962, col. 425.*

### **India-China Relations**

China and India are the two biggest countries of Asia. China and India are not only big but have, both of them, a very long past, and a very long past which has often touched each other in the course of history. Apart from this past history, in the present, it is obvious that we have to play an important role in Asia, if not in a wider sphere, and we have thought it of the highest importance that India and China should understand each other and should, so far as it is possible, co-operate with each other.

*R.S. Deb., Aug. 26, 1954, col. 443.*

I should like this House to remember that in dealing with this very serious and very important matter, namely, our border with China, we are not dealing merely with a present difficulty. We are dealing with the future. It may affect generations to come. Therefore, we have to move with wisdom and with strength, and not merely in a huff, to take a step which might rebound upon us.

*R.S. Deb., Aug. 22, 1961, col. 1150.*

### **Industry**

You can only make rapid progress when you have built up a strong foundation of a heavy industry. It means the machine-

making industry, the iron and steel industry, the chemical industry, coal, transport, etc. The sooner you build it up, the sooner you get free of this dependence on others.

*R.S. Deb., Sept. 6, 1960, col. 3650.*

You can set up an atomic reactor in a certain period of time. It requires five times that period of time to produce the atomic engineer who can run that plant. So, the question of training people in this work is of far greater importance. Otherwise you simply cannot do it. You have to import people from other countries and that is not the way to industrialise this country.

*R.S. Deb., Sept. 7, 1956, col. 3688.*

### **Language**

I do not think any person is educated if he only knows one language, it does not matter how clever he may be in that language. Today a person should know two, three, or may be more languages before he can be considered to have enough education and culture and wide knowledge.

*R.S. Deb., Dec. 24, 1955, col. 4401.*

If we go on using English, however good the English language may be and however much we may advance in the English language, we lose touch with our masses. They cannot follow us; they cannot co-operate with us. We cannot make them understand what is happening. It becomes essential for us to use the language of the masses in order to break down the barriers that have grown up in the past between them and the elect few who know perhaps English and some other language.

*R.S. Deb., Dec. 24, 1955, col. 4400.*

### **Military Aid**

It is an extraordinary world where each country has to take steps to prevent the other country outstepping it in arms aid. How one wishes that this competition was in economic aid and not in arms aid... We cannot put ourselves under another country for the arms they supply, for the free arms they supply, without somehow affecting our own freedom.

*R.S. Deb., Sept. 9, 1957, col. 4199.*

**Moral Standards**

Obviously, however highly placed a man may be—in fact more so because he is highly placed, he should be judged by strict standards; if he fails to keep up those standards, he should be punished; I have no doubt about that.

*R.S. Deb., Feb. 12, 1960, cols. 610-11.*

**National Integration**

I would place as the most important problem for India to face and to solve the problem of the emotional integration of India. We integrated all the old Indian States—that was political integration. That was necessary, but the other thing, the emotional integration, is not a legal or a constitutional matter. You may help by constitutional devices or you may obstruct it. It is of the most vital significance that we should have this emotional integration of India.

*R.S. Deb., Dec. 24, 1955, cols. 4392-93.*

**Non-Alignment**

The policy of non-alignment has, I believe, not only justified itself completely but has been appreciated by many people who used to criticise it previously and it has won recognition even where people did not like it. I do believe that it is along those lines that we can render some service not only to ourselves but to the world and we propose to continue it fully. It is only when we are in some matters rather friendly to another country, the country opposed to it imagines that we are weakening in our policy of non-alignment, while it is our declared policy, intention and objective to try to be friendly all the time to all the countries.

*R.S. Deb., Feb. 12, 1959, col. 555.*

**Panchsheel**

*Panchsheel* is a code of conduct, a code of behaviour between countries. It is a right code. If a country does not follow it, well it misbehaves and should suffer for its misbehaviour.

*R.S. Deb., April 29, 1960, col. 2699.*

**Parliamentary System**

Well, we prefer the parliamentary system of Government.

We have adopted it. We have got a Constitution which we have adopted and we propose to adhere to it. There the matter ends. But, nevertheless the question comes up as to how the old parliamentary system of Government is to be adapted and to be adjusted to this rapidly moving machine of a new India industrialising itself at a rapid pace.

*R.S. Deb., Sept. 12, 1956, col. 4357.*

The successful working of our Constitution, as of any democratic structure, demands the closest co-operation between the two Houses. They are in fact parts of the same structure and any lack of that spirit of co-operation and accommodation would lead to difficulties and come in the way of the proper functioning of our Constitution. It is, therefore, particularly to be regretted that any sense of conflict should arise between the two Houses.

*R.S. Deb., May 6, 1953, col. 5039.*

I invite friends opposite not only to oppose but certainly to criticise Government's activities—and I think it is essential that they should be criticised—but also I beg them to accept criticism too or replies to that criticism and be prepared for that.

*R.S. Deb., Dec. 4, 1956, cols. 1529-30.*

**Peace**

While on the one hand I think it is our duty and the duty of others to move in the direction of peace and try to avoid these horrors of a possible war that might come, on the other side, it is essential that we should remain wide awake and, if you like, prepare for any consequences that might come.

*R.S. Deb., Aug. 27, 1954, col. 598.*

Peaceful settlement does not mean appeasement, the giving in to anything that we consider wrong. I do not understand why it should be thought that there are only two policies, one of ignoble submission and the other of vulgar aggression, in the world. I do not understand this, as if there is no civilised approach to a problem left, but only weak surrender or the uncivilised approach of brawling and shouting. Surely we have to and I hope we shall function in a more civilised way, adhering to our principles, adding to our might, to our strength, and yet functioning in a civilised way, realising that what we are doing today may have

effect on generations to come, in this changing revolutionary world. That has been our policy.

*R.S. Deb., Feb. 12, 1960, col. 620.*

Here is this tremendous achievement of modern technological civilisation and a world which at the same time lives on the edge of terror all the time. I say terror definitely because if you look at the other aspect of it, it is an age of terror in Europe, in America, in Russia, everywhere, terror of the possible war that might come, terror that some day some incident, deliberate or accidental, may let loose the nuclear bombs and then what happens? It is a curious thing, this amazing aspect, this age of affluence, this age of tremendous advance changing things almost daily, and terror creeping in all the time.

*R.S. Deb., Aug. 18, 1960, cols. 1350-51.*

We keep armies—the Army, Navy and the Air Force—and keeping them we indicate that we cannot do without them for the defence of our country and like purposes. Nevertheless, that does not mean that we attempt to solve every question by armed might. We have to pursue other ways even though they appear to be long, because the way of violence is ultimately the longest of all, and perhaps it does not solve the problems that we are facing.

*R.S. Deb., Feb. 19, 1954, col. 474.*

### **People's Cooperation for Development**

All these great programmes that we see in perspective and that are around us cannot be realised without ... cooperative effort. No Government, however wise and well meaning it might be, can succeed without that co-operation, and I do not presume to say that the Government I have the honour to preside over is so wise and so brilliant as to solve all the problems of India. In the measure that we succeed it is only because of the co-operation received from the people of India, and I do appeal to this House and to others outside this House that, while we have every right to hold our opinions, to criticise Government's policy, in the broader tasks before us—they are not party tasks, they are national tasks—in this tremendous adventure we seek the co-operation of all.

*R.S. Deb., Feb. 12, 1959, col. 562.*

### **Planning**

Five Year Plans will come one after the other, raising us to higher levels. But it does mean crossing that dreadful barrier which separates an underdeveloped country from a developing country, developing through its own resources.

*R.S. Deb., Feb. 12, 1959, col. 557.*

Planning essentially is looking at things in perspective, looking ahead, forming a picture of the future and attempting to reach that future, to realise that future in the present.

*R.S. Deb., Aug. 28, 1961, col. 1911.*

### **Prime Ministerial Responsibility**

As Prime Minister, I accept responsibility for every single act of the Government, including every bad act, every act of nepotism, every act of corruption. I am responsible; I accept that position. I am not prepared to evade responsibility for any act of this Government. It is true that I cannot deal with every matter, but so far as the question of responsibility goes, as Prime Minister, I am completely responsible for every good act and every bad act that this Government may have done.

*R.S. Deb., Sept. 23, 1953, col. 3397.*

I am responsible for the members of my Cabinet. It was I who ventured to appoint them, and I have them in high regard; otherwise, I would not have them. I have them in high regard for their capacity and for their ability, and I should therefore like the criticism to be directed against me.

*R.S. Deb., Feb. 12, 1960, col. 605.*

### **Public Opinion**

When we talk about public opinion—to what public opinion we refer to. Is it the opinion of the masses or the city folk? Is it the opinion of a number of intellectuals? Is it the opinion of a small group or a big group? All these things arise. Is it the opinion of a few newspapers? All that arises. I venture to think that I have, among my many failings, one quality, and that is judging public opinion having my hand or my mind on the pulse of public opinion, affecting and changing public opinion. Of course, it is

wrong to be swept away by public opinion. If you consider it wrong, you have to resist it.

*R.S. Deb., Dec. 9, 1959, col. 1969.*

### **Public Sector**

The principal means of production should be owned by the State or by the people because where the principal means of production are owned or are in private hands, they may lead to private exploitation, to private monopoly and the like.

*R.S. Deb., Sept. 6, 1960, col. 3637.*

I believe that it is desirable from every point of view—even from the point of view of our public sector being kept up to the mark—that there should be a private sector functioning in the other domain. I want that competition between the private and the public sectors. Gradually, of course, as I have said, the public sector should, both absolutely and relatively, become bigger and bigger, and of course occupying all strategic points.

*R.S. Deb., Sept. 7, 1956, col. 3685.*

### **Self-Dependence**

The basic approach is that we in India must fashion our own destiny, according to our wishes, no doubt influenced by other people, other countries, but we choose our own. We stick to our roots and we take what is good from other ideals.

*R.S. Deb., May 21, 1952, col. 287.*

### **Socialism**

Equality, apart from individual regional equality, means that power can go easily from one place to another; it means that the Sahara desert can be converted into a garden because power can be brought easily, the technique of production and the one hundred and one things. I am venturing to mention these matters to put this conception of socialism, etc. in a proper perspective. Undoubtedly socialism believes in the State owning the principal means of production in order to use them for the advantage of the public so that they might not be exploited for private advantage. True; but the fact of nationalising this industry or that

industry does not mean socialism; it has to be seen in the larger context and larger perspective.

*R.S. Deb., Sept. 7, 1956, col. 3683.*

We want socialism in this country. If we could by an Act of Parliament, produce socialism, well we can pass that Act. But everyone knows that it is not a process of statute making but changing the whole structure—social, economic and living structure of the country. Then it is a living growth—not something imposed from above and called socialism... We have to put an end to the caste system before we can talk of a socialist system in this country. We have to put an end to so many divisions in our society, quite apart from the economic part of it—deep cleavages and divisions and only then can you call yourself a truly democratic country.

*R.S. Deb., May 25, 1956, col. 3320.*

### **United Nations**

You go to the United Nations; that great body is meant to preserve peace and collective security; I still think that without it, the world will be much the poorer, and will have to face greater dangers.

*R.S. Deb., May 21, 1952, col. 286.*

## Annexures



## Annexure I

Text of the Speech of Jawaharlal Nehru delivered in the Constituent Assembly on 14th August, 1947, while moving the Motion regarding Pledge by Members.

### **Motion *Re:* Pledge by Members**

\*[Mr. President, many years ago we had made a tryst with destiny itself. We had taken a pledge, a vow. Now the time has come to redeem it. But perhaps the pledge has not yet been redeemed fully though stages have been reached in that direction. We have almost attained independence. At such a moment it is only appropriate that we take a new pledge, a new vow to serve India and her people. After a few moments, the Assembly will assume the status of a fully free and independent body and it will represent an independent and free country. Therefore great responsibilities are to devolve upon it. If we do not realise the importance of our responsibilities, then we shall not be able to discharge our duties fully. Hence it becomes essential for us to take this pledge after fully understanding all its implications. The resolution that I am presenting before you relates to that pledge. We have finished one phase, and for that rejoicings are going on today. Our hearts are full of joy and some pride and satisfaction. But we know that there is no rejoicing in the whole of the country. There is enough of grief in our hearts. Not far from Delhi, big cities are ablaze and its heat is reaching us here. Our happiness cannot be complete. At this hour we have to face all these things with a brave heart. We are not to raise a hue and cry and get perturbed. When the reins of Government have come to our hands, we have to do things in the right way. Generally, countries wrest their freedom after great bloodshed, tears and toil. Much blood has been spilt in our land, and in a way which is very painful. Notwithstanding that, we have achieved freedom by peaceful methods. We have set

\* English translation of Hindustani speech.

a new example before the world. We are free now but along with freedom, come responsibilities and burdens. We have to face them, and overcome them all. Our dream is now about to be translated into reality. The task of wresting freedom and ousting the foreign government was before us till now and that task is now accomplished. But uprooting the foreign domination is not all, unless and until each and every Indian breathes the air of freedom and his miseries are banished and his hard lot is improved, our task remain unfinished. Therefore a large portion of our task remains to be done, and we shall try to accomplish it. Big problems confront us and at their sight sometimes our heart quivers, but, then again, the thought that in the past we have faced many a big problem and we shall do so again, gives us courage. Shall we be cowed down by these? It is not the individual pride and strength that is comforting, rather it is the pride of the country and the nation, and a confidence in people who have suffered terribly for the cause that makes me feel bold to think we shall successfully shoulder the huge burden of hardships, and find a solution of these problems. After all, India is now free. That is well and good. At a time when we are on the threshold of freedom, we should remember that India does not belong to any one party or group of people or caste. It does not belong to the followers of any particular religion. It is the country of all, of every religion and creed. We have repeatedly defined the type of freedom we desire. In the first resolution, which I moved earlier, it has been said that our freedom is to be shared equally by every Indian. All Indians shall have equal rights, and each one of them is to partake equally in that freedom. We shall proceed like that, and whosoever tries to be aggressive will be checked by us. If anyone is oppressed we shall stand by his side. If we follow this path then we shall be able to solve big problems, but if we become narrowminded we shall not be able to solve them.

I shall read out in English this resolution which I am now putting before you.]\*

Long years ago we made a tryst with destiny, and now the time comes when we shall redeem our pledge, not wholly or in full measure, but very substantially. At the stroke of the midnight hour, when the world sleeps, India will awake to life and freedom.

\* English translation of Hindustani speech.

A moment comes, which comes but rarely in history, when we step out from the old to the new, when an age ends, and when the soul of a nation, long suppressed, finds utterance. It is fitting that at this solemn moment we take the pledge of dedication to the service of India and her people and to the still larger cause of humanity.

At the dawn of history India started on her unending quest, and trackless centuries are filled with her striving and the grandeur of her successes and her failures. Through good and ill fortune alike she has never lost sight of that quest or forgotten the ideals which gave her strength. We end today a period of ill fortune and India discovers herself again. The achievement we celebrate today is but a step, an opening of opportunity, to the greater triumphs and achievements that await us. Are we brave enough and wise enough to grasp this opportunity and accept the challenge of the future?

Freedom and power bring responsibility. That responsibility rests upon this Assembly, a sovereign body representing the sovereign people of India. Before the birth of freedom we have endured all the pains of labour and our hearts are heavy with the memory of this sorrow. Some of those pains continue even now. Nevertheless the past is over and it is the future that beckons to us now.

That future is not one of ease or resting but of incessant striving so that we might fulfil the pledges, we have so often taken and the one we shall take today. The service of India means the service of the millions who suffer. It means the ending of poverty and ignorance and disease and inequality of opportunity. The ambition of the greatest man of our generation has been to wipe every tear from every eye. That may be beyond us but as long as there are tears and suffering, so long our work will not be over.

And so we have to labour and to work and work hard to give reality to our dreams. Those dreams are for India, but they are also for the world, for all the nations and peoples are too closely knit together today for any one of them to imagine that it can live apart. Peace has been said to be indivisible, so is freedom, so is prosperity now, and so also is disaster in this One World that can no longer be split into isolated fragments.

To the people of India, whose representatives we are, we

make appeal to join us with faith and confidence in this great adventure. This is no time for petty and destructive criticism, no time for ill-will or blaming others. We have to build the noble mansion of free India where all her children may dwell.

I beg to move, Sir,

"That it be resolved that:

(1) After the last stroke of midnight, all members of the Constituent Assembly present on this occasion, do take the following pledge:

'At this solemn moment when the people of India, through suffering and sacrifice, have secured freedom, I, ..., a member of the Constituent Assembly of India, do dedicate myself in all humility to the service of India and her people to the end that this ancient land attain her rightful place in the world and make her full and willing contribution to the promotion of world peace and the welfare of mankind;'

(2) Members who are not present on this occasion do take the pledge (with such verbal changes as the President may prescribe) at the time they next attend a session of the Assembly." (*Loud applause.*)

## Annexure II

Text of the Speech of Jawaharlal Nehru delivered in the Constituent Assembly on 13th December, 1946, while moving the Resolution regarding "Aims and Objects".

### Resolution *Re: Aims and Objects*

\*[Mr. Chairman, this Constituent Assembly has not been in session for some days. It has done much formal business, but more is yet to be done. We have been cutting our way and clearing the ground on which we intend to erect the edifice of a constitution. It, however, seems proper that before we proceed further we should clearly understand where we are going and what we intend building. It is apparent that on such occasions details are unnecessary. In building, you will, no doubt, use each brick after mature consideration. Usually, when one desires to construct a building, one must have a plan for the structure that one wishes to erect and then collect the material required. For a long time we have been having various plans for a free India in our minds, but now, when we are beginning the actual work, I hope, you will be at one with me when I say, that we should present a clear picture of this plan to ourselves, to the people of India and to the world at large. The Resolution that I am placing before you defines our aims, describes an outline of the plan and points the way which we are going to tread.

You all know that this Constituent Assembly is not what many of us wished it to be. It has come into being under particular conditions and the British Government has a hand in its birth. They have attached to it certain conditions. We accepted the State Paper, which may be called the foundation of this Assembly, after serious deliberations and we shall endeavour to work within its limits. But you must not ignore the source from which this

\* English translation of Hindustani speech begins.

Assembly derives its strength. Governments do not come into being by State Papers. Governments are, in fact, the expression of the will of the people. We have met here today because of the strength of the people behind us and we shall go as far as the people—not of any party or group but the people as a whole—shall wish us to go. We should, therefore, always keep in mind the passions that lie in the hearts of the masses of the Indian people and try to fulfil them.

I am sorry there are so many absentees. Many members who have a right to come and attend the meeting are not here to-day. This, in one sense, increases our responsibility. We shall have to be careful that we do nothing which may cause uneasiness in others or goes against any principle. We do hope that those who have abstained, will soon join us in our deliberations, since this Constitution can only go as far as the strength behind it can push it. It has ever been and shall always be our ardent desire to see the people of India united together so that we may frame a constitution which will be acceptable to the masses of the Indian people. It is, at the same time, manifest that when a great country starts to advance, no party or group can stop it. This House, although it has met in the absence of some of its members, will continue functioning and try to carry out its work at all costs.

The Resolution that I am placing before you is in the nature of a pledge. It has been drafted after mature deliberation and efforts have been made to avoid controversy. A great country is sure to have a lot of controversial issues; but we have tried to avoid controversy as much as possible. The Resolution deals with fundamentals which are commonly held and have been accepted by the people. I do not think this Resolution contains anything which was outside the limitations laid down by the British Cabinet or anything which may be disagreeable to any Indian, no matter to what party or group he belongs. Unfortunately, our country is full of differences, but no one, except perhaps a few, would dispute the fundamentals which this Resolution lays down. The Resolution states that it is our firm and solemn resolve to have a sovereign Indian republic. We have not mentioned the word 'republic' till this time; but you will well understand that a free India can be nothing but a republic.

On this occasion, when the representatives of the Indian States are not present, I desire to make it clear how this Resolution

will affect the Indian States. It has also been suggested, and the suggestion may take the form of an amendment laying down that since certain sections of the House are not present, the consideration of the Resolution may be postponed. In my opinion, such an amendment is not in keeping with the spirit of the times, because if we do not approve the first objective that we are placing before ourselves, before our country and before the world at large, our deliberations will become meaningless and lifeless, and the people will have no interest in our work. Our intention regarding the States must be clearly understood. We do desire that all sections of India should willingly participate in the future Indian Union but in what way and with what sort of government rests with them. The Resolution does not go into these details. It contains only the fundamentals. It imposes nothing on the States against their will. The point to be considered is how they will join us and what sort of administration they will have. I do not wish to express my personal opinion on the matter. Nevertheless I must say that no State can have an administration which goes against our fundamental principles or gives less freedom than obtaining in other parts of India. The Resolution does not concern itself with what form of government they will have or whether the present Rajas and Nawabs will continue or not. These things concern the people of the States. It is quite possible that the people may like to have their Rajas. The decision will rest with them. Our republic shall include the whole of India. If a part within it desires to have its own type of administration, it will be at liberty to have it.

I do not wish that anything should be added to or subtracted from the Resolution. It is my hope that this House will do nothing that may appear in Papers, so that, at no time, should people, who are concerned with these problems but who are not present here, be able to say that this House indulged in irregular talk.

I desire to make it clear that this Resolution does not go into details. It only seeks to show how we shall lead India to gain the objectives laid down in it. You will take into consideration its words and I hope you will accept them; but the main thing is the spirit behind it. Laws are made of words but this Resolution is something higher than the law. If you examine its words like lawyers you will produce only a lifeless thing. We are at present standing midway between two eras; the old order is fast changing,

yielding place to the new. At such a juncture we have to give a live message to India and to the world at large. Later on we can frame our Constitution in whatever words we please. At present, we have to send out a message to show what we have resolved to attempt to do. As to what form or shape this Resolution, this declaration will ultimately take, we shall see later. But one thing is, however, certain: it is not a law; but is something that breathes life in human minds.

I hope the House will pass the Resolution which is of a special nature. It is an undertaking with ourselves and with the millions of our brothers and sisters who live in this great country. If it is passed, it will be a sort of pledge that we shall have to carry out. With this expectation and in this form, I place it before you. You have copies of it in Hindustani with you. I will therefore not take more of your time to read it one way, or, I will, however, read it in English and speak further on it in that language.]\*

I beg to move:

- (1) This Constituent Assembly declares its firm and solemn resolve to proclaim India as an Independent Sovereign Republic and to draw up for her future governance a Constitution;
- (2) WHEREIN the territories that now comprise British India, the territories that now form the Indian States, and such other parts of India as are outside British India and the States as well as such other territories as are willing to be constituted into the Independent Sovereign India, shall be a Union of them all; and
- (3) WHEREIN the said territories, whether with their present boundaries or with such others as may be determined by the Constituent Assembly and thereafter according to the Law of the Constitution, shall possess and retain the status of autonomous Units, together with residuary powers, and exercise all powers and functions of government and administration, save and except such powers and functions as are vested in or assigned to the Union, or as are inherent or implied in the Union or resulting therefrom; and
- (4) WHEREIN all power and authority of the Sovereign Independent India, its constituent parts and organs of government, are derived from the people; and
- (5) WHEREIN shall be guaranteed and secured to all the people of India justice, social, economic and political; equality of

\* English translation of Hindustani speech ends.

- status, of opportunity, and before the law; freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship, vocation, association and action, subject to law and public morality; and
- (6) WHEREIN adequate safeguards shall be provided for minorities, backward and tribal areas, and depressed and other backward classes; and
  - (7) WHEREIN shall be maintained the integrity of the territory of the Republic and its sovereign rights on land, sea, and air according to justice and the law of civilised nations, and
  - (8) this ancient land attains its rightful and honoured place in the world and make its full and willing contribution to the promotion of world peace and the welfare of mankind."

Sir, this is the fifth day of this first session of the Constituent Assembly. Thus far we have laboured on certain provisional and procedural matters which are essential. We have a clear field to work upon; we have to prepare the ground and we have been doing that these few days. We have still much to do. We have to pass our Rules of Procedure and to appoint Committees and the like, before we can proceed to the real step, to the real work of this Constituent Assembly, that is, the high adventure of giving shape, in the printed and written word, to a Nation's dream and aspiration. But even now, at this stage, it is surely desirable that we should give some indication to ourselves, to those who look to this Assembly, to those millions in this country who are looking up to us and to the world at large, as to what we may do, what we seek to achieve, whither we are going. It is with this purpose that I have placed this Resolution before this House. It is a Resolution and yet, it is something much more than a resolution. It is a Declaration. It is a firm resolve. It is a pledge and an undertaking and it is for all of us I hope a dedication. And I wish this House, if I may say so respectfully, should consider this Resolution not in a spirit of narrow legal wording, but rather to look at the spirit behind that Resolution. Words are magic things often enough, but even the magic of words sometimes cannot convey the magic of the human spirit and of a Nation's passion. And so, I cannot say that this Resolution at all conveys the passion that lies in the hearts and the minds of the Indian people today. It seeks very feebly to tell the world of what we have thought or dreamt of so long, and what we now hope to achieve in the near future. It is in that spirit that I venture to place this Resolution before the House and it is in that spirit that I trust the House will receive it and ultimately pass it.

And may I, Sir, also, with all respect, suggest to you and to the House that when the time comes for the passing of this Resolution let it be not done in the formal way by the raising of hands, but much more solemnly, by all of us standing up and thus taking this pledge anew.

The House knows that there are many absentees here and many members who have a right to come here, have not come. We regret that fact because we should have liked to associate with ourselves as many people, as many representatives from the different parts of India and different groups as possible. We have undertaken a tremendous task and we seek the co-operation of all people in that task; because the future of India that we have envisaged is not confined to any group or section or province or other, but it comprises all the four hundred million people of India, and it is with deep regret that we find some benches empty and some colleagues, who might have been here, absent. I do feel, I do hope that they will come and that this House, in its future stages, will have the benefit of the co-operation of all. Meanwhile, there is a duty cast upon us and that is to bear the absentees in mind, to remember always that we are here not to function for one party or one group, but always to think of India as a whole and always to think of the welfare of the four hundred millions that comprise India. We are all now, in our respective spheres, partymen, belonging to this or that group and presumably we shall continue to act in our respective parties. Nevertheless, the time comes when we have to rise above party and think of the Nation, think sometimes of even the world at large of which our Nation is a great part. And when I think of the work of this Constituent Assembly, it seems to me, the time has come when we should, so far as we are capable of it, rise above our ordinary selves and party disputes and think of the great problem before us in the widest and most tolerant and most effective manner so that, whatever we may produce, should be worthy of India as a whole and should be such that the world should recognise that we have functioned, as we should have functioned, in this high adventure.

There is another person who is absent here and who must be in the minds of many of us today—the great leader of our people, the father of our Nation (*applause*)—who has been the architect of this Assembly and all that has gone before it and possibly of much that will follow. He is not here because, in pursuit of his ideals, he

is ceaselessly working in a far corner of India. But I have no doubt that his spirit hovers over this place and blesses our undertaking.

As I stand here, Sir, I feel the weight of all manner of things crowding around me. We are at the end of an era and possibly very soon we shall embark upon a new age; and my mind goes back to the great past of India, to the 5,000 years of India's history, from the very dawn of that history which might be considered almost the dawn of human history, till today. All that past crowds around me and exhilarates me and, at the same time, somewhat oppresses me. Am I worthy of that past? When I think also of the future, the greater future I hope, standing on this sword's edge of the present between this mighty past and the mightier future, I tremble a little and feel overwhelmed by this mighty task. We have come here at a strange moment in India's history. I do not know but I do feel that there is some magic in this moment of transition from the old to the new, something of that magic which one sees when the night turns into day and even though the day may be a cloudy one, it is day after all, for when the clouds move away, we can see the sun later on. Because of all this I find a little difficulty in addressing this House and putting all my ideas before it and I feel also that in this long succession of thousands of years, I see the mighty figures that have come and gone and I see also the long succession of our comrades who have laboured for the freedom of India. And now we stand on the verge of this passing age, trying, labouring, to usher in the new. I am sure the House will feel the solemnity of this moment and will endeavour to treat this Resolution which it is my proud privilege to place before it in that solemn manner. I believe there are a large number of amendments coming before the House. I have not seen most of them. It is open to the House, to any member of this House, to move any amendment and it is for the House to accept it or reject it, but I would, with all respect, suggest that this is not moment for us to be technical and legal about small matters when we have big things to face, big things to say and big things to do, and therefore I would hope that the House would consider this Resolution in this big manner and not lose itself in wordy quarrels and squabbles.

I think also of the various Constituent Assemblies that have gone before and of what took place at the making of the great American nation when the fathers of that nation met and fashioned out a constitution which has stood the test of so many years, more than a century and a half, and of the great nation

which has resulted, which has been built up on the basis of that Constitution. My mind goes back to that mighty revolution which took place also, over 150 years ago and to that Constituent Assembly that met in that gracious and lovely city of Paris which has fought so many battles for freedom, to the difficulties that that Constituent Assembly had and to how the King and other authorities came in its way, and still it continued. The House will remember that when these difficulties came and even the room for a meeting was denied to the then Constituent Assembly they betook themselves to an open tennis court and met there and took the oath, which is called the Oath of the Tennis Court, that they continued meeting in spite of Kings, in spite of the others, and did not disperse till they had finished the task they had undertaken. Well, I trust that it is in that solemn spirit that we too are meeting here and that we, too, whether we meet in this chamber or other chambers, or in the fields or in the market-place, will go on meeting and continue our work till we have finished it.

Then my mind goes back to a more recent revolution which gave rise to a new type of State, the revolution that took place in Russia and out of which has arisen the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics, another mighty country which is playing a tremendous part in the world, not only a mighty country but for us in India, a neighbouring country.

So our mind goes back to these great examples and we seek to learn from their success and to avoid their failures. Perhaps we may not be able to avoid failures because some measure of failure is inherent in human effort. Nevertheless, we shall advance, I am certain, in spite of obstructions and difficulties, and achieve and realise the dream that we have dreamt so long. In this Resolution which the House knows, has been drafted with exceeding care, we have tried to avoid saying too much or too little. It is difficult to frame a resolution of this kind. If you say too little, it becomes just a pious resolution and nothing more. If you say too much, it encroaches on the functions of those who are going to draw up a constitution, that is, on the functions of this House. This Resolution is not a part of the constitution we are going to draw up, and it must not be looked at as such. This House has perfect freedom to draw up that Constitution and when others come into this House, they will have perfect freedom too to fashion that constitution. This Resolution therefore steers

between these two extremes and lays down only certain fundamentals which I do believe, no group or party and hardly any individual in India can dispute. We say that it is our firm and solemn resolve to have an independent sovereign republic. India is bound to be sovereign, it is bound to be independent and it is bound to be a republic. I will not go into the arguments about monarchy and the rest, but obviously we cannot produce monarchy in India out of nothing. It is not there. If it is to be an independent and sovereign State, we are not going to have an external monarchy and we cannot have a research for some local monarchies. It must inevitably be a republic. Now, some friends have raised the question: "Why have you not put in the word 'democratic' here. Well, I told them that it is conceivable, of course, that a republic may not be democratic but the whole of our past is witness to this fact that we stand for democratic institutions. Obviously we are aiming at democracy and nothing less than a democracy. What form of democracy, what shape it might take is another matter? The democracies of the present day, many of them in Europe and elsewhere, have played a great part in the world's progress. Yet it may be doubtful if those democracies may not have to change their shape somewhat before long if they have to remain completely democratic. We are not going just to copy, I hope, a certain democratic procedure or an institution of a so-called democratic country. We may improve upon it. In any event whatever system of Government we may establish here must fit in with the temper of our people and be acceptable to them. We stand for democracy. It will be for this House to determine what shape to give to that democracy, the fullest democracy, I hope. The House will notice that in this Resolution, although we have not used the word 'democratic' because we thought it is obvious that the word 'republic' contains that word and we did not want to use unnecessary words and redundant words, but we have done something much more than using the word. We have given the content of democracy in this Resolution and not only the content of democracy but the content, if I may say so, of economic democracy in this Resolution. Others might take objection to this Resolution on the ground that we have not said that it should be a Socialist State. Well, I stand for Socialism and, I hope, India will stand for Socialism and that India will go

towards the constitution of a Socialist State and I do believe that the whole world will have to go that way. What form of Socialism again is another matter for your consideration. But the main thing is that in such a Resolution, if, in accordance with my own desire, I had put in, that we want a Socialist State, we would have put in something which may be agreeable to many and may not be agreeable to some and we wanted this Resolution not to be controversial in regard to such matters. Therefore we have laid down, not theoretical words and formulae, but rather the content of the thing we desire. This is important and I take it there can be no dispute about it. Some people have pointed out to me that our mentioning a republic may somewhat displease the Rulers of Indian States. It is possible that this may displease them. But I want to make it clear personally and the House knows that I do not believe in the monarchical system anywhere, and that in the world today monarchy is a fast disappearing institution. Nevertheless it is not a question of my personal belief in this matter. Our view in regard to these Indian States has been, for many years, first of all that the people of those States must share completely in the freedom to come. It is quite inconceivable to me that there should be different standards and degrees of freedom as between the people in the States and the people outside the States. In what manner the States will be parts of that Union, that is a matter for this House to consider with the representatives of the States. And I hope in all matters relating to the States, this House will deal with the real representatives of the States. We are perfectly willing, I take it, to deal in such matters as appertain to them, with the Rulers or their representatives also, but finally when we make a constitution for India, it must be through the representatives of the people of the States as with the rest of India, who are present here. (*Applause*) In any event, we may lay down or agree that the measure of freedom must be the same in the States as elsewhere. It is a possibility and personally I should like a measure of uniformity too in regard to the apparatus and machinery of Government. Nevertheless, this is a point to be considered in co-operation and in consultation with the States. I do not wish, and I imagine this Constituent Assembly will not like, to impose anything on the States against their will. If the people of a particular State desire to have a certain form of administration, even though it might be monarchical, it is open to

them to have it. The House will remember that even in the British Commonwealth of Nations today, Eire is a Republic and yet in many ways it is a member of the British Commonwealth. So, it is a conceivable thing. What will happen, I do not know, because that is partly for this House and partly for others to decide. There is no incongruity or impossibility about a certain definite form of administration in the States, provided there is complete freedom and responsible Government there and the people really are in charge. If monarchical figure-heads are approved by the people of the State, of a particular State, whether I like it or not, I certainly will not like to interfere. So I wish to make it clear that so far as this Resolution or Declaration is concerned, it does not interfere in any way with any future work that this Constituent Assembly may do, with any future negotiations that it may undertake. Only in one sense, if you like, it limits our work, if you call that a limitation, i.e., we adhere to certain fundamental propositions which are laid down in the Declaration. Those fundamental propositions, I submit, are not controversial in any real sense of the word. Nobody challenges them in India and nobody ought to challenge them and if anybody does challenge, well, we accept that challenge and we hold our position. (*Applause*)

Well, Sir, we are going to make a constitution for India and it is obvious that what we are going to do in India, is going to have a powerful effect on the rest of the world, not only because a new free independent nation comes out into the arena of the world, but because of the very fact that India is such a country that by virtue, not only of her large size and population, but of her enormous resources and her ability to exploit those resources, she can immediately play an important and a vital part in world affairs. Even today, on the verge of freedom as we are today, India has begun to play an important part in world affairs. Therefore, it is right that the framers of our Constitution should always bear this larger international aspect in mind.

We approach the world in a friendly way. We want to make friends with all countries. We want to make friends in spite of the long history of conflict in the past, with England also. The House knows that recently I paid a visit to England. I was reluctant to go for reasons which the House knows well. But I went because of a personal request from the Prime Minister of Great Britain. I went and I met with courtesy everywhere. And yet at this psychological moment in India's history when we wanted, when we hungered



for messages of cheer, friendship and co-operation from all over the world and more especially from England, because of the past contact and conflict between us, unfortunately, I came back without any message of cheer, but with a large measure of disappointment. I hope that the new difficulties that have arisen, as every one knows, because of the recent statements made by the British Cabinet and by others in authority there, will not come in our way and that we shall yet succeed in going ahead with the co-operation of all of us here and those who have not come. It has been a blow to me, and it has hurt me that just at the moment when we are going to stride ahead, obstructions were placed in our way, new limitations were mentioned which had not been mentioned previously and new methods of procedure were suggested. I do not wish to challenge the *bona fides* of any person, but I wish to say that whatever the legal aspect of the thing might be, there are moments when law is a very feeble reed to rely upon, when we have to deal with a nation which is full of the passion for freedom. Most of us here during the past many years, for a generation or more, have often taken part in the struggle for India's freedom. We have gone through the valley of the shadow. We are used to it and if necessity arises, we shall go through it again (*Hear, bear*). Nevertheless through all this long period we have thought of the time when we shall have an opportunity, not merely to struggle, not merely to destroy, but to construct and create. And now, when it appeared that the time was coming for constructive effort in a free India to which we looked forward with joy, fresh difficulties are placed in our way at such a moment. It shows that, whatever force might be behind all this, people who are able and clever and very intelligent, somehow lack the imaginative daring which should accompany great offices. For, if you have to deal with any people, you have to understand them imaginatively; you should understand them emotionally; and of course, you have also to understand them intellectually. One of the unfortunate legacies of the past has been that there has been no imagination in the understanding of the Indian problem. People have often indulged in, or have presumed to give us advice, not realising that India, as she is constituted today, wants no one's advice and no one's imposition upon her. The only way to influence India is through friendship and co-operation and goodwill. Any attempt at imposition, the slightest

trace of patronage, is resented and will be resented (*Applause*). We have tried, I think honestly, in the last few months in spite of the difficulties that have faced us, to create an atmosphere of co-operation. We shall continue that endeavour. But I do very much fear that that atmosphere will be impaired if there is not sufficient and adequate response from others. Nevertheless, because we are bent on great tasks, I hope and trust, that we shall continue that endeavour and I do hope that if we continue, that we shall succeed. Where we have to deal with our own countrymen, we must continue that endeavour even though in our opinion some countrymen of ours take a wrong path. For, after all, we have to work together in this country and we have inevitably to co-operate, if not today, tomorrow or the day after. Therefore, we have to avoid in the present anything which might create a new difficulty in the creation of that future which we are working for. Therefore, so far as our own countrymen are concerned, we must try our utmost to gain their co-operation in the largest measure. But, co-operation cannot mean the giving up of the fundamental ideals on which we have stood and on which we should stand. It is not co-operation to surrender everything that has given meaning to our lives. Apart from that, as I said, we seek the co-operation of England even at this stage which is full of suspicion of each other. We feel that if that co-operation is denied, that will be injurious to India, certainly to some extent, probably more so to England, and to some extent, to the world at large. We have just come out of the World War and people talk vaguely and rather wildly of new wars to come. At such a moment this New India is taking birth—renewed, vital, fearless. Perhaps it is a suitable moment for this new birth to take place out of this turmoil in the world. But we have to be clear-eyed at this moment,—we, who have this heavy task of constitution-building. We have to think of this tremendous prospect of the present and the greater prospect of the future and not get lost in seeking small gains for this group or that. In this Constituent Assembly we are functioning on a world stage and the eyes of the world are upon us and the eyes of our entire past are upon us. Our past is witness to what we are doing here and though the future is still unborn, the future too somehow looks at us, I think, and so, I would beg of this House to consider this Resolution in this mighty prospect of our past, of the turmoil of the present and of the great and unborn future that is going to take place soon. Sir, I beg to move. (*Prolonged Cheers*)

## Annexure III

### Extracts from the Will and Testament of Jawaharlal Nehru

I have received so much love and affection from the Indian people that nothing that I can do can repay even a small fraction of it, and indeed there can be no repayment of so precious a thing as affection. Many have been admired, some have been revered, but the affection of all classes of the Indian people has come to me in such abundant measure that I have been overwhelmed by it. I can only express the hope that in the remaining years I may live I shall not be unworthy of my people and their affection.

To my innumerable comrades and colleagues, I owe an even deeper debt of gratitude. We have been joint partners in great undertakings and have shared the triumphs and sorrows which inevitably accompany them.

I wish to declare with all earnestness that I do not want any religious ceremonies performed for me after my death. I do not believe in any such ceremonies, and to submit to them, even as a matter of form, would be hypocrisy and an attempt to delude ourselves and others.

When I die I should like my body to be cremated. If I die in a foreign country, my body should be cremated there and my ashes sent to Allahabad. A small handful of these ashes should be thrown into the Ganga, and the major portion of them disposed of in the manner indicated below. No part of these ashes should be retained or preserved.

My desire to have a handful of my ashes thrown into the Ganga at Allahabad has no religious significance, so far as I am concerned. I have no religious sentiment in the matter. I have been attached to the Ganga and the Jumna rivers in Allahabad ever since my childhood, and as I have grown older this attachment has also grown. I have watched their varying moods as the seasons changed, and have often thought of the history and myth and tradition and song and story that have become attached to them

through the long ages and become part of their flowing waters. The Ganga, especially, is the river of India, beloved of her people, round which are intertwined her racial memories, her hopes and fears, her songs of triumph, her victories and her defeats. She has been a symbol of India's age-long culture and civilisation, ever-changing, ever-flowing, and yet ever the same Ganga. She reminds me of the snowcovered peaks and deep valleys of the Himalayas, which I have loved so much, and of the rich and vast plains below, where my life and work have been cast. Smiling and dancing in the morning sunlight, and dark and gloomy and full of mystery as the evening shadows fall; a narrow, slow and graceful stream in winter, and a vast roaring thing during the monsoon; broad-bosomed almost as the sea, and with something of the sea's power to destroy, the Ganga has been to me a symbol and a memory of the past of India, running into the present and flowing on to the great ocean of the future. And though I have discarded much of past tradition and custom, and am anxious that India should rid herself of all shackles that bind and constrain her and divide her people, and suppress vast numbers of them, and prevent the free development of the body and the spirit; though I seek all this, yet I do not wish to cut myself off from that past completely. I am proud of that great inheritance that has been, and is, ours, and I am conscious that I too, like all of us, am a link in that unbroken chain which goes back to the dawn of history in the immemorial past of India. That chain I would not break, for I treasure it and seek inspiration from it. And as witness of this desire of mine and as my last homage to India's cultural inheritance, I am making this request that a handful of my ashes be thrown into the Ganga at Allahabad to be carried to the great ocean that washes India's shore.

The major portion of my ashes should, however, be disposed of otherwise, I want these to be carried high up into the air in an aeroplane and scattered from that height over the fields where the peasants of India toil, so that they might mingle with the dust and soil of India and become an indistinguishable part of India.

21st June 1954

*Jawaharlal Nehru*  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## Annexure IV

Obituary References made in the Rajya Sabha on 29th May, 1964, on the passing away of Jawaharlal Nehru

The Leader of the House (Shri M.C. Chagla): Mr. Chairman, who are we to pay a tribute to Jawaharlal Nehru? He bestrode the world like a colossus and we petty men can only remember his greatness and give him our tears wrung from a stricken heart.

It is not given to everyone to give a name to an age. The 17 years that he was Prime Minister of India will always be known as the Nehru Age. But it is not only in his country's history that his name will be remembered. In international affairs, in the evolution of world history, in the long road that we have travelled to enhance human dignity and give freedom to the individual, the period of his Prime Ministership will always be commemorated as the Nehru epoch.

With the passing away of Nehru not only has India lost one of her most illustrious sons, the world has lost a stout champion in the cause of freedom and in the struggle against colonialism and the greatest exponent of the art of living together both as between man and man and nation and nation. He has left a void which can never be filled. India and the world will never be the same without Nehru.

He was so much a part of the nation, he was so deeply interested in every national activity, his own impress upon the nation's thoughts and actions was so indelible that it is impossible to conceive of an India without Nehru. To the commonest man in the country and to the highest statesman outside, Nehru was India and India was Nehru. Gandhiji was the Father of the Nation. He gave us independence and a sense of nationhood. On that foundation Nehru built to raise a modern industrial scientific-minded nation. The history of 17 years' progress is the history of Nehru translating into action the dreams that he dreamt when he worked and fought for his country's freedom.

As a man he was essentially a man of culture—culture in the best sense of the term which means tolerance, understanding and belief in human dignity and a rational outlook on life. His deep sense of tolerance and understanding in the domestic sphere made him the greatest protagonist of secularism. Every person in India mourns his death—and no one does so more than members of the minority communities. They knew that they could always look to him for justice and fairplay. In the international field, these qualities led him to evolve the policy of non-alignment which will always be associated with his name.

His socialism was the result not so much of any economic ideology, but as a belief in human dignity, in his hatred of poverty and disease and in his profound faith in the equality of man. His rational outlook made him fight the superstitions and inhibitions which retard our progress and made him attach the greatest importance to science not only for the purpose of expanding knowledge but more in order to give to his people a scientific and modern outlook on life.

Life must go on even without Nehru and we must at least try and be worthy of his principles and ideals. We are living in difficult, almost critical times. The ship of State has lost its captain but the ship must sail, however turbulent the seas. Whoever is the new captain, he can steer the ship by the light that Nehru's name and memory will always shed, and his spirit will always be there to guide the country he loved so greatly and to protect the people who gave him a devotion and dedication which few leaders have received in any period of history in any part of the world.

May I ask the House to convey to the bereaved members of his family our deep and heartfelt sympathies on the great loss they have suffered?

Mr. Chairman, with your permission, I beg to move:

"The Rajya Sabha, meeting in the shadow of the national calamity of the passing away of our beloved leader and Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, expresses its profound anguish and grief and declares its firm resolve to strive for the ideals of world peace and progress, and national unity, solidarity and prosperity, to which he dedicated himself throughout his life."

*The question was proposed.*

**Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel:** Mr. Chairman, Sir, we have gathered together to mourn the death of one of the greatest sons of India, the shock of which is so great and so fresh that it is difficult to express oneself. It has left us dazed; it has caught us unprepared.

The life of Jawaharlal Nehru has been a life of long and dedicated service not only to his country but to the human race. The urge for freedom that grew in India was symbolised, particularly as far as the youth of this country was concerned, in the personality of Jawaharlal Nehru. The country will remember for many generations his sacrifice, the many years that he spent in jail, a better part of his younger age, in the service of the motherland. He was one of the freedom fighters along with his great father, his distinguished sister and his devoted wife, who was a picture, a model, of Indian womanhood and stood shoulder to shoulder with him in the struggle. His great sacrifice won him love of our great leader whom we call the Father of our Nation. After attainment of independence he devoted himself to building a new India, a society free from exploitation of the weak and the poor and building up industry to provide employment and a fair standard of living to the teeming millions of this country. At the same time he was working to rid the world of colonial domination and exploitation and the evils that follow. He was working to eliminate war and the horrors that war leaves behind. In this he truly carried out the work of his great leader. He worked strenuously for diminishing tensions, tensions between nations, which were the cause of war. He worked for building up better understanding and his contribution to the United Nations in this matter will also remain a great memorial to him.

His death has moved not only the people in this country but the whole world and all those who work for the establishment of peace. The world has lost a great lover of peace, a lover of humanity, a great worker for peace, but the country has lost a leader who had been guiding it since independence. The loss will be irreparable, the void difficult to fill. For those who were associated with him in the struggle for freedom, it will be difficult to conceive of an India without Jawaharlal Nehru. The Government of India, I am sure, and the Cabinet will also find it difficult to function and to adjust themselves to a world without Jawaharlal Nehru.

In this profound sense of shock that we all suffer from, may I

suggest, Mr. Chairman, that the present session of Parliament be adjourned? Let the Government make up its mind as to what the future set-up is going to be and then only this House and Parliament would be in a mood to consider legislation. I hope, Sir, the Government will take note of my suggestion.

**Shri Bhupesh Gupta:** Mr. Chairman, Sir, yesterday with the whole nation weeping, we consigned to the flames the mortal remains of the immortal man—our beloved Jawaharlal Nehru. But the name of Jawaharlal Nehru neither flames nor time can consume. That name shall live so long as human race lives on this planet.

Panditji was an apostle of Indian freedom, an architect of modern India, a passionate champion of the cause of world peace. Free India of today would be unthinkable without his great leadership, broad vision and dedicated service. The life and work of that noble son of India encompassed a whole epoch which has seen not only the political emancipation of our nation but also the assertion of our national personality. The genius and greatness of Pandit Jawaharlal [Nehru's] leadership lay in his unbounded love for his country, in his matchless courage to fight for its cause; above all, in his unshakable faith in the destiny of our people. He was a sensitive upholder of the noble heritage of our hoary past but he disdained all that was stultifying and retrograde. Jawaharlal Nehru knew how to move with the changing time and he always looked forward. He understood more than any leader in power and authority the essential impulses of human progress. He gave our nation an orientation so that it could manfully meet the challenge of poverty, backwardness, social injustice, casteism and communalism at home and of the forces of war in the world at large.

It is true we have still a long way to go before we can end social injustice and poverty and achieve our goal. But this is a task which we can fulfil only by carrying forward the fighting traditions of Nehru and not by halting where he has left us today, much less by turning our backs on his positive contributions. Only by moving forward in unflinching steps can we ever aspire to complete his unfinished tasks. It is always easy, Mr. Chairman, to pay eloquent tributes in words to the memory of a great man. But it is not so easy to do so in deeds, whether personal or national.

And yet the greatest tribute that one can pay to the undying memory of Jawaharlal Nehru is the tribute of such deeds. The coming years will show whether we, especially those on whom his mantle is falling, are capable of paying that only real tribute. For that we need resolve, unity, humility, courage and, above all, deep loyalty to the masses.

We are all touched by the fact that beyond the frontiers of our sorrowful land, progressive mankind in all continents and in all countries are mourning the loss of our great leader. That is because Jawaharlal's leadership transcended national boundaries and embraced all humanity striving for freedom and peace. This leader and statesman was certainly one that sprang from our people, but he became a precious possession of all progressive mankind. By his service to the universal cause—the cause of safeguarding world peace and national emancipation in particular—Jawaharlal raised his stature to Olympian heights and what is of great significance for the future, he raised the stature of this country of ours. Panditji shaped our great nation into a powerful bastion of world peace and that indeed has given our country a place of distinction and honour in the comity of nations. It has fallen to us, Mr. Chairman—now with the architect no more amongst us—to build upon the principles he held so dear to his heart and the foundations he so nobly laid. India's firm adherence and unflinching service to the cause of world peace and of national freedom will henceforth be our token of respect and love for the departed leader.

I have ventured to say these words, fully conscious of the vastness and depth of the character of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Jawaharlal Nehru is a part of our history and I have no presumption to assess that history. I would, however, like to have a word or two as we have known him in this House for over a decade. This has been a rare privilege of some of us. As in other fields of our national life, the vacuum he has created in Parliament will also be difficult to fill. For a man of his learning, intellectual accomplishment and experience, it is not difficult to be an able parliamentarian. But what made his part in this House and in the other House unrivalled and unique was his frankness, honesty, capacity to both give and take, his sense of humour and above all his regard for parliamentary democracy and his attitude towards us of the Opposition. We from this side of the House looked upon

him as something immensely more than the leader of the ruling party. Indian Parliament has lost its most shining jewel and we can now strive to make up the loss only by our greater collective efforts to defend and enrich democratic principles. It gives me no little pain even to think that here we shall now sit without that loving, fascinating voice—voice of reason, understanding and tolerance.

With these words, Sir, I, on behalf of our Group in this House, associate myself with the sentiments expressed by the Leader of the House and pay our respectful homage to the deathless memory of Jawaharlal Nehru. We solemnly pledge before this House and the nation that we shall spare neither effort nor sacrifice to overcome the present sense of loss in the united endeavours for the good of our nation and for all mankind. A nation can go forward not in sorrow and in a sense of frustration. It can go forward only with faith in its future, with resolve and struggle to fashion it in a manner worthy of our great people.

Once again I would request you, Mr. Chairman, to convey our deep sense of sorrow and sympathy to the family of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and all others.

Thank You.

श्री गंगाशरण सिंह (बिहार): आदरणीय अध्यक्ष महोदय, आज जिस महान व्यक्ति की मृत्यु की काली छाया हम सब पर छायी हुई है, जिसका देहांत २७ तारीख को दिन के लगभग २ बजे इसी दिल्ली शहर में हुआ, वह सिर्फ एक व्यक्ति नहीं था—वह अनेक मान्यताओं का, अनेक मूल्यों का, अनेक वस्तुओं का प्रतीक था। वह एक व्यक्ति से बहुत बड़ा था। वह देश का प्रतीक था, वह मानवता के मूल्यों का प्रतीक था, वह हमारी आज़ादी की लड़ाई का प्रतीक था। वह हमारे देश की आने वाली पीढ़ी का और हमारे भविष्य का भी प्रतीक था। इसके अतिरिक्त और अनेक क्षेत्रों में—कला के क्षेत्र में, साहित्य के क्षेत्र में, और बहुत सारे क्षेत्रों में भी—उन्होंने राजनीति की तरह ही प्रतिनिधि का, सिम्बल का, प्रतीक का, काम किया। आज वह प्रतीक, वह सिम्बल, हमारे बीच से उठ गया है। देश के लोग, इस पार्लियामेंट के लोग और शायद देश के बाहर के लोग भी, जवाहरलाल के बगैर वर्तमान समय में इस देश की कल्पना नहीं कर पाते थे। जब कोई समस्या सामने आती थी तो उस समस्या का जब कोई और समाधान नहीं लगता था तो ऐसा लगता था कि वह व्यक्ति सभी समस्याओं के समाधान का साधन है। आज वह साधन हमारे हाथ से छूट गया है, लुट गया है।

जवाहरलाल जी एक कड़ी थे, एक ऐसी कड़ी कि जो मालूम होता है कि अचानक टूट गई और आज आगे का दरवाज़ा बंद हो गया। कड़ियां बीच में बहुत सी टूटीं, उन कड़ियों की भिन्न भिन्न लड़ी थीं और वे सब टूटीं। लेकिन आज जो कड़ी टूटी है उसने एक युग का अंत कर दिया है। यह एक व्यक्ति की मृत्यु नहीं

है, यह एक युग का अंत हुआ है। आगे जो युग आयेगा वह कैसा होगा, क्या होगा, इसकी हम आज कल्पना भी नहीं कर पाते हैं। यह आघात इतना तीव्र, इतना गहरा, इतना भयानक है—यू तो वे बीमार पहले से भी थे लेकिन परसों जो आघात हुआ वह इतना आकस्मिक हुआ कि अभी इस आघात का क्या परिणाम होगा हम पर, आप पर, देश पर और दुनिया पर, यह नहीं कहा जा सकता है। न तो किसी की बुद्धि काम कर रही है, न हृदय काम कर रहा है और इस समय जिस बात की सबसे अधिक आवश्यकता है वह यह है कि इस आघात को सहन करने की शक्ति हम अपने में पैदा करें। साथ ही साथ, जो काम अधूरा छूट गया है—जहां तक रथ को खींच कर जवाहरलाल जी ले आए थे—उस रथ को आगे हम ले चलें। हमारे सामने, पार्लियामेंट के सामने, देश के सामने जो समस्याएं हैं—आंतरिक भी हैं, बाहर की भी हैं, हर तरह की समस्याएं हमारे सामने मुंह बाएँ खड़ी हैं—इस समय सबसे बड़ी आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि हम अधिक से अधिक एकता की भावना से, अधिक से अधिक उच्चता की भावना से, अपनी लुद्धताओं को, अपने पेट्टीनेस को, अपनी छोटी छोटी बातों को दबाकर उस बड़े उद्देश्य के प्रति—जिस उद्देश्य में हम सब एकमत हैं उस बड़े उद्देश्य के प्रति—ध्यान लगाकर, उस बड़े उद्देश्य की तरफ नज़र रख कर और यह समझकर कि हम एक बड़े संकट से गुज़र रहे हैं हमको और आपको सबको और सारे देश को आज एक साथ चलने की आवश्यकता है। जवाहरलाल जी में बड़ी विशेषता यह थी कि जो उनके साथी थे, जिनके विचार उनसे मिलते थे, जो उनकी हर बात में सहमत होते थे उनकी बात को छोड़ दीजिए, उनकी श्रद्धा और उनका आकर्षण तो हर किसी को प्राप्त होता था, लेकिन हम लोगों की तरह के व्यक्ति जो बहुत से मामलों में उनसे सहमत नहीं रहे, उनके प्रति भी उनके दिल में वही श्रद्धा रही, वही आदर रहा। हमने यह समझा, यह एक आदमी है जो जनतंत्र का प्रतीक है, जिससे विरोध की बातें, मतभेद की बातें भी सफाई के साथ की जा सकती हैं, बहस की जा सकती है। यह आशा रखी जा सकती है कि उसको समझाया जा सकता है। आज लगता है वह आधार मिट गया। भारतवर्ष को प्राइम मिनिस्टर मिलेगा, हमारे देश को प्राइम मिनिस्टर मिलेगा, कांग्रेस पार्टी को नेता भी मिलेगा। लेकिन दुनिया को, देश को, मानवता को, जो चीज़ मिलनी थी वह मिलेगी कि नहीं मुझे शक है। देश का जो जवाहर खो गया है वैसा मिलेगा या नहीं मुझे शक है। मानवता की जो निधि खो गई है वह मिलेगी कि नहीं, मुझे इसमें शक है। आज हम लोगों के बीच में अगर जवाहरलाल जी नहीं हैं तो हमें यह कोशिश करनी चाहिये कि जवाहरलाल जी के जाने से जो रिक्तता हुई, शून्यता हुई है, जो वैक्यूम हुआ है, उसको हम सामूहिक रूप से, कलेक्टिव एफर्ट से, सामूहिक शक्ति से, सामूहिक साधन से, सामूहिक जरिये से पूरा करने की कोशिश करें और जो परेशानी आज हमको है वह परेशानी हमको शलत रास्ते पर नहीं ले जाए, जिस दुःख से हम पीड़ित हैं वह दुःख हमको विचलित नहीं कर सके और आज की इतनी बड़ी काली छाया के अंतर्गत हम अपने दिल को अधिक से अधिक उज्ज्वल रख सकें, हम दिमाग अधिक से अधिक साफ कर सकें और उस व्यक्ति का उज्ज्वल चरित्र, उसका व्यक्तित्व, इस अंधकार में हमारा पथ प्रदर्शन कर सकें, हमारी यही कामना है।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं अपनी ओर से, अपने दल, प्रजा सोशलिस्ट पार्टी की ओर से उनके प्रति श्रद्धांजलि अर्पित करता हूँ और जो बातें हमारे हाउस के लीडर ने कही हैं उनके साथ मैं भी अपना सहयोग

जाहिर करता हूँ। यह समय ऐसा नहीं है कि अधिक कहा जाये, न कहने कहा अवसर है, न शक्ति है। इसलिये मैं पुनः उस दिवंगत व्यक्ति के प्रति अपनी श्रद्धा अर्पित करता हूँ और मैं विश्वास दिलाता हूँ कि जो कुछ मैंने कहा है यह मेरी और मेरे साथियों के दिल की आवाज़ है और इस पर हम चलने की कोशिश करेंगे और मुझे उम्मीद है, सारा देश इस पर चलने की चेष्टा करेगा।

श्री ए. बी. बाजपेयी (उत्तर प्रदेश): सभापति जी, एक सपना था जो अधूरा रह गया; एक गीत था जो गूंगा हो गया; एक लौ थी जो अनंत में विलीन हो गई। सपना था एक ऐसे संसार का जो भय और भूख से रहित होगा; गीत था एक ऐसे महाकाव्य का जिसमें गीता की गूज और गुलाब की गंध थी; लौ थी एक ऐसे दीपक की जो रात भर जलता रहा, हर अंधेरे से लड़ता रहा और हमें रास्ता दिखाकर एक प्रभात में निर्वाण को प्राप्त हो गया।

मृत्यु ध्रुव है, शरीर नश्वर है। कल कंचन की जिस काया को हम चन्दन की चिता पर चढ़ा कर आए, उसका नाश निश्चित था। लेकिन क्या यह जरूरी था कि मौत इतनी चोरी-छिपे आती। जब संगी साथी सोए पड़े थे, जब पहरेदार बेखबर थे, हमारे जीवन की अमूल्य निधि लुट गई। भारत माता आज शोकामग्ना है—उसका सबसे लाड़ला राजकुमार खो गया। मानवता आज खिन्न बदना है—उसका पुजारी सो गया। शांति आज अशांत है—उसका रक्षक चला गया। दलितों का सहारा छूट गया। जन जन की आंख का तारा टूट गया। यवनिका पात हो गया, विश्व के रंगमंच का प्रमुख अभिनेता अपना अंतिम अभिनय दिखाकर अन्तर्धान हो गया।

महर्षि वाल्मीकि ने रामायण में भगवान राम के संबंध में कहा है कि वे असंभवों के समन्वय थे। पंडित जी के जीवन में महाकवि के उसी कथन की एक झलक दिखायी देती है। वह शांति के पुजारी, किन्तु क्रांति के अग्रदूत थे; वे अहिंसा के उपासक थे, किन्तु स्वाधीनता और सम्मान की रक्षा के लिये हर हथियार से लड़ने के हिमायती थे। वे व्यक्तिगत स्वाधीनता के समर्थक थे, किन्तु आर्थिक समानता लाने के लिये बद्ध परिकर थे। उन्होंने किसी से समझौता करने में भय नहीं खाया, किन्तु किसी से भयभीत होकर समझौता नहीं किया। चीन और पाकिस्तान के प्रति उनकी नीति इसी अद्भुत सम्मिश्रण की प्रतीक थी जिसमें उदारता भी थी, दृढ़ता भी थी। यह दुर्भाग्य है कि इस उदारता को दुर्बलता समझा गया, कुछ लोगों ने उनकी दृढ़ता को हठवादिता समझा।

मुझे याद है, चीनी आक्रमण के दिनों में जब हमारे पश्चिमी मित्र इस बात का प्रयत्न कर रहे थे कि हम काश्मीर के प्रश्न पर पाकिस्तान से कोई समझौता कर लें तब एक दिन मैंने उन्हें बड़ा क्रुद्ध पाया। जब उनसे कहा गया कि काश्मीर के प्रश्न पर समझौता नहीं होगा तो हमें दो मोर्चों पर लड़ना पड़ेगा तो वे ब्रिगड गए और कहने लगे: अगर आवश्यकता पड़ेगी तो हम दोनों मोर्चों पर लड़ेंगे। किसी दबाव में आकर वे बातचीत करने के भी खिलाफ थे।

सभापति जी, जिस स्वतंत्रता के वे सेनानी और संरक्षक थे, आज वह स्वतंत्रता संकटापन्न है। सम्पूर्ण शक्ति के साथ हमें उसकी रक्षा करनी होगी। जिस राष्ट्रीय एकता और अखंडता के वे उन्नायक थे आज वह भी विपदग्रस्त है। हर मूल्य चुकाकर हमें उसे कायम रखना होगा। जिस भारतीय लोकतंत्र की उन्होंने

स्थापना की. उसे सफल बनाया, आज उसके भविष्य के प्रति भी आशाकाएं प्रकट की जा रही हैं। हमें अपनी एकता से, अनुशासन से, अपने आत्मविश्वास से इस लोकतंत्र को भी सफल करके दिखाना है। नेता चला गया, अनुयायी रह गए। सूर्य अस्त हो गया, तारों की छाया में हमें अपना मार्ग ढूंढना है। यह एक महान परीक्षा का काल है। यदि हम सब अपने को समर्पित कर सकें एक ऐसे महान उद्देश्य के लिये जिसके अन्तर्गत भारत सशक्त हो, समर्थ और समृद्ध हो और स्वाभिमान के साथ विश्व शांति की चिर स्थापना में अपना योग दे सके तो हम उनके प्रति सच्ची श्रद्धांजलि अर्पित करने में सफल होंगे।

संसद् में उनका अभाव कभी नहीं भरेगा। शायद तीन मूर्ति को उन जैसा व्यक्ति कभी भी अपने अस्तित्व से नहीं सार्थक करेगा। वह ब्यक्तित्व, वह जिंदादिली, विरोधी को भी साथ लेकर चलने की वह भावना, वह सज्जनता, वह महानता शायद निकट भविष्य में देखने को भी नहीं मिलेगी। मतभेद होते हुये भी, उनके महान आदर्शों के प्रति, उनकी प्रामाणिकता के प्रति, उनकी देशभक्ति के प्रति, उनके अटूट साहस और दुर्दम्य धैर्य के प्रति हमारे हृदयों में, आदर के अतिरिक्त और कुछ नहीं है।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं अपनी ओर से, अपने दिल की ओर से उस महान आत्मा के प्रति विनम्र श्रद्धांजलि अर्पित करता हूँ और सदन के नेता ने जो कुछ कहा है उसके साथ अपने को सम्बद्ध करता हूँ।

**Shri A.D. Mani:** Mr. Chairman, may I seek the privilege of associating myself with the feeling and just tributes that have been paid to the memory of Jawaharlal Nehru, the architect of modern India and one of the greatest men of all times? Sir, it has been said that humanity throws up once in three hundred years some towering personalities and titanic minds. The 16th and 17th centuries saw the efflorescence of Shakespeare, Bacon and Newton. Two of them were men of letters in philosophy and one of them was a man of science. The 20th century has been rightly called the century of action, and has seen the emergence of Lenin, Roosevelt, Churchill and Jawaharlal Nehru. It has been our good fortune that we should have been led for the past fifty years by Jawaharlal Nehru whom the tides of time had thrown up to lead us to independence and to consolidate the gains of independence.

The achievements of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru are many. The pages of history of the last fifty years breathe of his achievements on every page, but his greatest achievement, to my mind, was the fact that he laid the foundations very securely for the emergence of parliamentary democracy in our country. It was Lord Morley, the great philosopher, who said at one time that he did not believe that Western parliamentary institutions could survive in India. Jawaharlal Nehru proved him to be wholly wrong. Whatever may

happen to the country in the future, I have no doubt that the gift which Jawaharlal Nehru gave to this country, namely parliamentary democracy, will live as long as his memory lives in the hearts of men, and his memory will live for ever and ever.

Sir, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru realised more than anybody else that the Opposition was as necessary for Government as Government itself, and he extended to members of the Opposition many facilities of debate and interpellation which we all valued. He was the greatest living democrat of his time and he tried to understand the opposite point of view on every issue.

Sir, in this hour of grief let us tell the members of his family that it is not only their personal loss but the loss of every person, and the passing away of Jawaharlal Nehru is a matter for lamentation in every heart. Let us in this hour of grief pledge our loyalty and our hearts to fulfil the mission for which Jawaharlal Nehru strove all his life, namely, the maintenance of a secular, united India which will act as a force for peace and as the most effective factor of stability in Asia. Let us in this hour of grief carry on his task and be worthy of his memory so that his soul may rest in peace.

**श्री गोडे मुराहरि (उत्तर प्रदेश):** अध्यक्ष महोदय, हिन्दुस्तान के प्रथम प्रधान मंत्री आज हमारे बीच में नहीं हैं, इस बात का हमें बहुत दुःख है। वैसे प्रधान मंत्री और आयेंगे और बहुत सी सरकारें बनेंगी। लेकिन कोई भी हिन्दुस्तानी ऐसा नहीं होगा जो यह कह सके कि आज़ाद हिन्दुस्तान के लिये जो संग्राम चला उसका एक महान सेनानी बन कर हिन्दुस्तान का १७ साल कारोबार जिसने चलाया हो, ऐसा प्रधान मंत्री हमारे बीच में कभी आयेगा।

वैसे मुझे याद है कि हमारे दिल की ओर से उनकी बहुत सी नीतियों का विरोध हुआ और बहुत सख्त विरोध हुआ लेकिन कोई भी ऐसा आदमी नहीं होगा जो हिन्दुस्तान की आज़ादी के संग्राम के साथ कोई ताल्लुक रखता हो, वह यह कह सके कि किसी न किसी वक्त श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू से वह प्रेरित न हुआ हो। मुझे याद है कि जब मैं एक विद्यार्थी था और जब पहले पहल मैं हिन्दुस्तान की राजनीति में आया, तो श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू से प्रेरित हो करके ही मैं आया। और कोई भी ऐसा हिन्दुस्तानी नहीं होगा जो यह कह सके कि उसे उनसे प्रेरणा नहीं मिली। वैसे उनकी नीतियों से मतभेद रखने वाला भी कभी उनकी नीयत या उनका यह उद्देश्य कि हिन्दुस्तान का भला हो और हिन्दुस्तान के लिये सारा कामकाज हो, इस पर शंका की हो ऐसा कोई व्यक्ति नहीं है। हो सकता है कि कुछ लोगों ने यह महसूस किया हो कि उनका दृष्टिकोण ग़लत है और उन्होंने जिस ढंग से कुछ करना चाहा, वह ठीक नहीं है। लेकिन उनका मकसद हमेशा यही रहा है कि हिन्दुस्तान की भलाई हो, हिन्दुस्तान को दुनिया में ऊंचा उठाये और हिन्दुस्तान की उन्नति हो। यह दृष्टिकोण हमेशा उनके मन में रहा है और वे अपने ढंग से काम करते आये हैं। आज मैं उन सारी बातों को

दोहराना नहीं चाहता जो इस सदन में कही गई हैं। लेकिन सिर्फ इतना मैं कहूंगा कि आगे चल कर के हिन्दुस्तान में जो जनतंत्र और हिन्दुस्तान की जो सरकार होगी और हिन्दुस्तान में जो व्यवस्था होगी, उसमें और हिन्दुस्तान के इतिहास में हमेशा श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू का नाम रहेगा।

आज हिन्दुस्तान के इतिहास का एक अध्याय खत्म हो गया और अब नया शुरू होने वाला है। श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू की उदारता, उनकी जनतंत्र के प्रति श्रद्धा, उनकी मानवता के प्रति श्रद्धा, इन चीजों को याद करके हमें हमेशा इन चीजों को आगे बढ़ाना चाहिये।

मैं अपनी पार्टी की ओर से और अपनी ओर से भी श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी को और उनके सारे परिवार के लोगों को हार्दिक संवेदना का संदेश देते हुए श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू के प्रति श्रद्धांजलि अर्पित करता हूँ।

**Shri Jairamdas Daulatram:** Sir, as I have sat in the House these few minutes, old memories have crowded into my mind, memories which take me back nearly to fifty years ago. It was in 1917 that in the great national organisation it was my privilege to come into association with him. For another long eighteen years, I had the further privilege of functioning with him in the Congress Working Committee, in close association and intimacy at debates, at meals and outside. I had further the honour of being close to him for another two and a half years in the Cabinet, and for six long years in Assam I had practically weekly correspondence with him. And the net effect on my mind of all that lengthy association, that intimate association is that Jawaharlal Nehru was a great internationalist, he was a great freedom fighter, he was a great nation-builder but above all, he was a great man. It was the greatness of the man in him which raised him to a high stature, whether in the international field or in the national field.

We with our own hands have burnt the body of Jawaharlal Nehru; we have burnt it to ashes but his spirit wedded to the nation, wedded to this Parliament, still hovers over the people and the Parliament and it should not be that while nature killed his body, we, the nation and its workers, kill his spirit. He stood for certain principles. He stood for tolerance. Above all, he had a big heart—a big heart for the opponent, a big heart for the enemy, a big heart for the man from whom he differed. He was not a man of small prejudices. He forgot the conduct of a man or a party the moment it was over. It is this bigness of heart which is going to be our test from tomorrow, the test whether the nation has those workers, those guides—whether on this side or that side of the

House—who can imitate him even to the smallest degree and bring to the solution of our problems that composite mind which distinguished him. A Telugu never felt that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was somebody different from him; so the Tamilian, so the Bihari, so the Punjabi, so the Bengalee, so the Assamese, and so also the rest of the country. He brought to the problems of each part of the country that composite make-up which made him feel Indian, which made him feel that every part of the country was part of him. It was that composite make-up which made him feel that the followers of all religions were his compatriots. He never identified himself with any particular province, with any particular caste, with any particular religion. He represented them all. And I may say with all respect to those who had at times differed from him that he tried even to represent the opposite parties. He tried to go as far as he could to win their support in the various measures which had to be adopted.

Politics in our democratic structure is not a politics of the majority; it is that politics where the majority has to take into consideration the views and the propositions and the sentiments of the opposition, the minorities. Also, democracy implies that the minorities and the various groups and parties have also to function predominantly under a strong national impulse. And it is these things which are under test today—whether this nation bereft of the leadership which was at the helm for these seventeen years after independence and for many, many years before independence, can produce that type of composite-minded leadership imbued with that spirit of tolerance, adjustment, accommodation, understanding and above all, dominated by the spirit of national sentiment. It is this test through which each one of us is passing. I do not wish that we should start the new phase of our national life with any feeling of diffidence. Time there was for grief, but the time for grief must end. He ended the period of grief, when Gandhiji died, within a day and he started on his new responsibilities. The nation's workers, the nation's representatives, one and all of us, have to restart the new phase with assurance and confidence, with a feeling that though bereft of a leadership so unique in character, the Indian nation yet has got this composite-minded leadership available within it—in the majority and the minority, whether religious or otherwise—which can hold together and take this country forward. Pandit Jawaharlal



Nehru will have lived in vain, he will have died in vain, if we are not able to follow him in this basic principle of his life—to hold the country together, to have a dominant national feeling, not to feel as a partyman always and every time but to try to see that the entire nation in spite of the internal differences, in spite of the internal feuds and other divergences, is able to stand together. It was this composite make-up of his mind which enabled him to raise India's stature before the world through his personality. Let us in a humble way, in a small way, yet try to see that we, with our own hands, do not kill and burn his spirit as we have burnt his body with our own hands.

**Shri G. Ramachandran:** Sir, the nation is still in tears, and waves of sorrow keep on coming. But I suggest that we must not wipe our tears, we must put back our sorrow and we must gird up our loins. When Mahatma Gandhi passed away and Pandit Nehru was left behind, he did not weep and he did not sorrow beyond the measure that was worthy of a hero. Even in his preliminary address to the nation he said that it is not for us to sorrow and sob and sigh but we must get up and confront the tasks that were before us, and who did it better than this man who was more widowed than any other of that generation when Mahatma Gandhi passed away? Let us take a leaf out of that heroism of this great man. We consigned his mortal remains to the flames yesterday. Kings and emperors have lived and ruled in this great City of Delhi but no king, no emperor, called forth from so many millions of people that tremendous outflow of affection, loyalty and honour that this great hero of our history called forth even on his last journey as millions walked with him yesterday in the summer sun. It is now for us to look at the facts that hold us in this country. There never was a greater crisis, after Gandhiji died, than the crisis that we are facing today. We have lost our great captain, we have to function without the great captain, and we can do so only by unity, by discipline, by facing up to the problems truthfully and by not evading any issue. I remember, Sir, Mahatma Gandhi saying once that no *Guru* is worth the name if he has not produced at least one Disciple greater than himself. Looking at the tradition of human history, you see how the Buddha gave us Asoka, how Jesus gave us St. Paul and how Gandhi gave us Nehru just as again Ramakrishna earlier gave us Vivekananda. Nehru was the Asoka of our time.

He was not functioning at a simple national level as a national leader or a leader of a party. No greater injustice can be done to Pandit Nehru's memory than to remember him as a mere leader of the Congress Party. He brought into the leadership of that party the whole of this nation and he was dear to every man and woman in this country. It was a great privilege to agree with him but it was a greater privilege to disagree with him. In Parliament and on the floor of the House his Party would support him naturally. But the Opposition attacked him vigorously, as they should, for that is the function of Parliamentary Opposition. But he was worth the steel of the Opposition. I wonder who can now take his place. We look back with profound gratitude that this man lived with us, worked with us, led us during the last sixteen or seventeen years in which we have laid the foundations of our nationhood and our Republic. But we will not be true to his memory by indulging merely in works of praise for him because death plays this trick upon the human mind, to make everybody shower praise on one who is dead. Probably it is right that we do so. But it is even more right that our praise must be founded upon our own truthfulness and sincerity.

Sir, there were some values for which this great son of India stood which if we forget, we shall betray his memory. Looking back on the death of Mahatma Gandhi, I am sometimes stricken with sorrow that we have betrayed him in regard to some of his basic teachings in this country. Maybe, we shall pull out of that and become more truthfully loyal to the great values that Mahatma Gandhi himself built up in this country. But at the moment I am thinking of the priceless legacy which Pandit Nehru has handed down to us, and among them secularism stands as the most outstanding.

Now, we have explained again and again in this country that secularism is not anti-religion. Secularism in a State is giving to every man in every religion and in every community equal and complete honour and justice. Nehru stood for this. It is not enough to say that we too are secularists. There are many people who say that they are secularists but they betray secularism as soon as a challenge comes, as soon as there is a crisis. We must stand every test in the coming years that our State remains secular against every storm that might blow against it. It is not going to be easy because there is still caste in this country, there is every kind

of attitude seeking to break up our secular unity and so we have to take the greatest care that we do not betray this secularism of the State.

Secondly, Sir—and I am glad Minister Chagla mentioned it—Nehru was the symbol of assurance to the minorities of this country. I have many friends among Muslims and I count you, Sir, as one of the greatest among them. I worked with you in the Jamia Millia. I have many friends among Harijans. I have worked among them for the last thirty years. I know that the Harijans trusted nobody as they trusted Pandit Nehru, that the Muslims trusted nobody in this country as they trusted Pandit Nehru and all the other minorities looked upon Nehru as the pledge of this nation, for the fairest and the fullest justice to every member of every minority community. If Nehru had not been that then this Nation would not have been built even to the extent it has been built today.

Seventeen years is a very short time in the life of a nation. But within these seventeen years this titan accomplished the tasks of national unity and therefore we must remain true to this pledge of security and justice to every member of every minority community.

He laid the foundations, as was already said, of our parliamentary democracy. He was a great Parliamentarian and the Opposition will miss him very sadly in the coming years. His supporters will miss him too, but I think the Opposition will miss him even more because he stood broad-shouldered against every attack of the Opposition, took from the Opposition what was good in the attack and reacted in the most democratic and generous manner to the Opposition. We shall, therefore, miss him in this Parliament just as we shall long miss him in the country.

Then, Sir, he has left behind for us a national policy, which now and then comes in for attack—and I say rightly because the Opposition's business is to attack—and that is the policy of non-alignment. I do not know if that is the best word for the policy which he formulated, which he defended again and again with courage and determination in every crisis that came up. It was simply a policy of friendship with the whole world. If you want to stand for friendship with the whole world, non-alignment becomes inescapable. In fact, Mahatma Gandhi's whole philosophy leads to non-alignment. It is tragic that some of those,

who take the name of Gandhi, attack non-alignment. It is not realised that non-alignment comes out of the Gandhian teaching irresistibly.

So, Sir, these are some of the legacies that this great man has left behind—secularism, fair treatment to every man and woman in this country, parliamentary democracy at its best and also a devotion to the common man, unsurpassed in India's history. We love Mahatma Gandhi but our love for him was and is more of reverence than love. But we love this man with human love, earthly love, love which bind man and man together. He was the most, loved man of all time in this country, and he became the most loved man because he loved this country more passionately and more devotedly than any other man we can remember today. So let us cherish his memory not by merely praising him but by keeping alive the ideals he has left behind.

I am afraid India is sometimes given to betraying the great who pass away and we have in some ways betrayed Gandhi himself. I wonder now what will happen in this country. Let this not happen now. We are a new Republic, a free and proud people, constantly advancing towards a greater and greater measure of freedom. We must remake ourselves and in so remaking cherish in spirit and in action the memory of this great man. Pandit Nehru is dead; long live Pandit Nehru.

**Shri B.K. Gaikwad:** Mr Chairman, Sir, on behalf of the Republican Party, I support the Resolution which has been moved by the Leader of the House, honourable Mr. Chagla. Sir, many speeches I have heard and so I want to be very brief. I will speak a few sentences on the life of late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

All his life and strength were given to the cause of the liberation of mankind. For over thirty years he was in the forefront of the national movement, and after independence for nearly seventeen years he was the Prime Minister of the country and died as Prime Minister. The Spanish Civil War awakened him to the impending danger of fascism. When Hiroshima made the prospect of the annihilation of mankind a distinct possibility, Nehru thought only of peace, to which cause he was dedicated to the last of his days. In the country's history of the last half a century the name of Jawaharlal Nehru is written all over. The idea of a secular, democratic and industrial India fully associated

with a free and warless world is not something that springs naturally from the Indian tradition. Yet that is the ideal he set before the country. He was a revolutionary. He was an architect of modern India. He was sincere and true friend of the working class and down-trodden people. He had to face several problems in the country, which he faced very boldly. Therefore we wish to place on record our very high appreciation of the devoted services he has rendered to our country and to humanity at large.

**Shri A.K.A. Abdul Samad:** Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was living in the hearts of the people of the country for one whole generation and will indeed continue to live very long in their loving hearts. That was a brilliant, though exacting, era in the history of our Motherland. In that era the country saw many wonderful changes in her own life and in the world. The late Prime Minister played a vital role in those changes. His tender affection for the people of the country and his undaunted championship of their rights and privileges, and his stout defence of the honour of the country on every necessary occasion and, on the whole, his unrivalled leadership made him the beloved hero of the country.

The people cannot easily reconcile themselves to the departure of this great lover and leader of the country. It is indeed a shocking blow and a heavy loss to our Motherland. I join in the heartfelt homage paid to the memory of this great and unique leader.

**Mr. Chairman:** Fellow-mourners, I know words can only inadequately convey what I feel, and yet I wish to associate myself with the sentiments that have been so feelingly expressed by all sections of the House. We are paying our homage today to one of the most remarkable men of our times, who was for seventeen years the guiding genius of our Democratic Republic. Pandit Nehru is gone leaving a whole people utterly disconsolate. The shock is indeed so great that we shall take time to fully realise what has happened, for Pandit Nehru was not only the Prime Minister of India; in association with his *guru*, Mahatma Gandhi, he had led us to victory in our struggle for freedom and had given to that freedom a meaning and a content. He was a rock on which we built our faith in ourselves. He is no more with us. Let his image be

indelibly impressed on our minds so that we may not be dismayed by the feeling of emptiness.

An aristocrat by birth and temperament, Pandit Nehru had committed himself totally and unequivocally to democratic ideals, democratic institutions and democratic procedures. The aristocrat in him sought to make his whole life and activity an expression of all that is gracious and noble. The democrat in him made him the courageous fighter for people's rights. Over thirty-four years ago he committed us to the achievement of complete independence, and independence, even in those early days was, to him, not a formal negative state of absence of foreign domination, but had a positive content of social justice and economic development. It was never enough for him that the Constitution should ensure the creation of a welfare State. He incessantly laboured to educate the people to realise this assurance. One of the great educators of our time, he made the common people aware of their rights and their duties, and provided them with the means of making State policy serve the general interest. He believed in a democracy that would bring tangible and continuously increasing benefits to the masses of the people, and years before India became independent, he committed the country to planned economic growth. His discernment, his foresight, his grasp of essentials, his astonishing intellectual capacity, raised him to a height from which he could have possibly looked down with impatience at small, inhibited, narrow minds. But he schooled himself assiduously in the observance of democratic procedures, in the exercise of patience and restraint. He aspired to make all his fellow-citizens share his vision of a new society and to dedicate themselves to its realisation, because they themselves should believe, with the same fervour as he, in the happiness and glory that would come with its realisation.

He firmly believed that this was possible only in a peaceful country and a peaceful world. To bring about mutual understanding and mutual accommodation among the various elements that constitute the variegated pattern of Indian life into a harmoniously integrated national existence was a passion with him. No one could assure as effectively and as convincingly as he did that the road to this mutual understanding, appreciation and integration, long though it may seem, and beset with many a

difficult turn, will be traversed with a firm and unfaltering step. Hand in hand with this passion for internal accord and unity in the country was the one for peace in the world. This great fighter for national independence never saw India outside the context of the life of the world. He had inherited from the whole healthy genius of his people this passion for peace. It was strengthened by the example of his *guru*, Mahatma Gandhi, and by the experience of the destruction of values and the horrible sufferings of two World Wars. He worked for peace with such conviction, such deep sincerity, that he became one of the pioneer architects of an emerging peaceful world community. He gave to our foreign policy a direction which, let us hope, will contribute significantly to the full realisation of this emerging life of peace on our planet.

As Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru did not only guide and control administration and policy. The people looked to him for everything, for immediate attention, for the redress of small and big grievances, for the appreciation of ideas and enterprise in the many fields of science, literature, art, education. He was never too busy or too important for even the most obscure man who wanted to be heard and understood, and the obscure man sought him out feeling assured that he would get both appreciation and encouragement. The appreciation was not an expression of politeness. It arose out of an amazing knowledge and versatility. And the encouragement was not just goodwill. It was an ardent desire to make his country rich by helping every variety of talent to find expression and fulfilment. His well-wishers often thought, and sometimes with good reason, that he was exerting himself too much spending valuable time on things that did not seem quite relevant to his position and his office. But nature had gifted him with so much energy that he could be cheerfully extravagant, and not only carry the burden of Government on his shoulders, but also accomplish, with grace and charm, the stupendous task of generating and supporting every type of enthusiasm throughout the country.

And besides what he did for the people, besides the values he gave to them, he was, if I may so put it, himself a value. Having committed his seamless strong character to not a few absolute objective values, he had grown into a personality of such effortless graciousness, such sensibility, elegance and refinement that it seemed to partake the qualities associated with great works of art.

Association with him was a moral and an aesthetic experience. Masterpieces of art are not known to repeat themselves. They are unique. We shall ever miss his personality and be the poorer—very much the poorer—for the loss. But the values to which that personality was committed will live and will demand commitment from us. As an English poet has said:—

To us he is no more a person now, but a whole climate of opinion.

The tasks—many and difficult—of a growing national life do not stop with the passing away of its leader. They press for completion, they demand fresh commitment, they call for renewed dedication. The leader is gone to have his well-earned rest. Let us take over his tasks and hope, through mutual understanding and united selfless effort, to bring them nearer to fulfilment. He is gone, but his memory shall ever remain a source of strength and inspiration to us. He will live in our hearts, in our lives and may God, in His grace, make our hearts and our lives worthy of his memory.

I shall convey to Shrimati Indira Gandhi, to the bereaved family, the feelings of sorrow expressed in this House at the passing away of the leader and our heartfelt sympathy in their bereavement.

The Leader of the House, as you will remember, moved a Resolution:

“The Rajya Sabha, meeting in the shadow of the national calamity of the passing away of our beloved leader and Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, expresses its profound anguish and grief and declares its firm resolve to strive for the ideals of world peace and progress and national unity, solidarity and prosperity, to which he dedicated himself throughout his life.”

I would request hon. Members to rise in their seats in order to show that they approve of this Resolution, and to observe two minutes' silence as a mark of respect to the memory of the departed leader.

*Hon. Members then stood in silence for two minutes.*

Mr. Chairman: The Resolution is adopted.

The House stands adjourned till 11 a.m. on Monday, 1st June, 1964.