THE YEARS OF CHALLENGE
Selected Speeches of Indira Gandhi
JANUARY 1966 – AUGUST 1969
PREFACE

This volume is a collection of the more important speeches of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, from her assumption of office in January 1966 up to August 1969.

Besides speeches, this collection contains broadcasts, messages, interviews and forewords. The speeches originally delivered in Hindi appear here in translation.

The speeches are grouped in nine sections. The first three sections deal with various aspects of India’s political and economic situation. The next four deal with more specific areas of social change such as education, health, welfare, technology and the arts. Then comes a collection of homages and tributes. The last section deals with foreign policy and India’s relations with other countries.

Within each section, the arrangement of speeches is chronological. But in parts B and C of the last section, which deal with relations with individual countries, the arrangement is alphabetical. In cases where two or more speeches deal with the same theme, they have been grouped under one heading.

This volume is not a complete record of the speeches made by the Prime Minister between 1966 and 1969, but all of the more important speeches are here, and most of them appear in full.

The aim here is to present a selection of the Prime Minister’s speeches and writings which would bring out as fully as possible the quality and substance of her thinking on major national and international issues as also the range of her interests and concerns.
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Democracy in Action
A Servant of the Nation

My heart is full today, and I do not know how to thank you. As I stand before you, my thoughts go to the great leaders—Mahatma Gandhi, at whose feet I grew up; Panditji, my father; and Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri. It was Shastriji and Pandit Pant who brought me into politics after Independence and persuaded me to continue whenever I wanted to quit politics. These leaders have shown us the way, and I want to go along the same path. Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri gave his life for peace. It should be our effort to advance the cause of peace and, at the same time, make the country strong and safeguard its security.

I have always considered myself a desh sevika [servant of the nation] even as my father regarded himself as the first servant of the nation. I also consider myself a servant of the party and of the great people of this country.

Ours is an ancient country with a great tradition and heritage. There is something in this country which enables its people, for all their illiteracy and backwardness, to rise to the occasion when face to face with mighty challenges. I have every hope that with unity we shall be able to tackle the difficult problems facing us.

I want to thank Shri Morarji Desai in particular for pledging himself to work for unity. Elections are a normal feature in politics. Once elections are over, however, it is only fit and proper that differences are forgotten and all of us work together, especially at a time when the country is facing so many difficulties.

I hope it will be possible for me to fulfil the trust that you have reposed in me. I thank you all once again.

Free translation of speech in Hindi at the Congress Parliamentary Party meeting following election as Leader of the Party, January 19, 1966. After the speech in Hindi, Shrimati Indira Gandhi made a few remarks in English in the course of which she said, “I thank both those who voted for me and those who voted against me. I will support you all. I hope all of you will fully support me and take the country forward.”
A Pledge Renewed

Thirty-six years ago, on this very day, my voice was one of thousands repeating the historic and soul-stirring words of our Pledge of Independence.

In 1947 that pledge was fulfilled. The world acknowledged that a new progressive force, based on democracy and secularism, had emerged. In the seventeen years that Jawaharlal Nehru was Prime Minister, the unity of this country with its diversity of religion, community and language became a reality, and democracy was born and grew roots. We took the first step towards securing a better life for our people by planned economic development. India's voice was always raised in the cause of the liberation of oppressed peoples, bringing hope and courage to many. It was heard beyond her frontiers as the voice of peace and reason promoting friendship and harmony among nations.

During his brief but memorable stewardship, Shastri enriched the Indian tradition in his own way. He has left our country united and determined to pursue our national objectives. Only yesterday we committed his mortal remains to the sacred rivers. The entire country sorrowed for the great loss. I feel his absence intensely and personally, for I worked closely with him for many years.

My own approach to the vast problems which confront us is one of humility. However, the tradition left by Gandhiji and my father and my own unbounded faith in the people of India give me strength and confidence. Time and again, India has given evidence of an indomitable spirit. In recent years, as in the past, she has shown unmistakable courage and capacity for meeting new challenges. There is a firm base of Indianness which will withstand any trial.

The coming months bristle with difficulties. We have innumerable problems requiring urgent action. The rains have failed us, causing drought in many parts. As a result, agricultural production, which is still precariously dependent on weather and rainfall, has suffered a sharp decline. Economic aid from abroad and earnings from export have not come to us in the measure expected. The lack of foreign exchange has hurt industrial production. Let us not be dismayed or discouraged by these unforeseen difficulties. Let us face them boldly. Let us learn from our mistakes and resolve not to let them recur. I hope to talk to you from time to time to explain the measures we take and to seek your support for them.

Above all else we must ensure food to our people in this year of scarcity. This is the first duty of Government. We shall give

Broadcast over All India Radio, January 26, 1966.
urgent attention to the management and equitable distribution of food-grains, both imported and procured at home. We expect full co-operation from State Governments and all sections of the people in implementing our plans for rationing, procurement and distribution. Areas like Kerala which are experiencing acute shortage will receive particular attention. We shall try especially to meet the nutritional needs of mothers and children in the scarcity-affected areas to prevent permanent damage to their health. We cannot afford to take risks where basic food is concerned. We propose, therefore, to import large enough quantities of food-grains to bridge this gap. We are grateful to the United States for her sympathetic understanding and prompt help.

Only greater production will solve our food problem. We have now a well thought-out plan to see that water and chemical fertilisers and new high-yielding varieties of seed as well as technical advice and credit reach farmers. Nowhere is self-reliance more urgent than in agriculture, and it means higher production not only for meeting the domestic needs of a large and increasing population but also for growing more for exports. We have to devise more dynamic ways of drawing upon the time and energy of our rural people and engaging them in tasks of construction. We must breathe new life into the rural works programme and see that the income of the rural labourer is increased.

Our strategy of economic advance assigns a prominent role in the public sector to the rapid expansion of basic industries, power and transport. In our circumstances, this is not only desirable but necessary. It also imposes an obligation to initiate, construct and manage public sector enterprises efficiently and to produce sufficient profits for further investments. Within the framework of our Plans, there is no conflict between the public and private sectors. In our mixed economy, private enterprise has flourished and has received help and support from Government. We shall continue to encourage and assist it.

Recent events have compelled us to explore the fullest possibilities of technological self-reliance. How to replace, from domestic sources, the materials we import, the engineering services we purchase, and the know-how we acquire from abroad? Our progress is linked with our ability to invent, improvise, adapt and conserve. We have a reservoir of talented scientists, engineers and technicians. We must make better use of them. Given the opportunity, our scientists and engineers have demonstrated their capacity to achieve outstanding results. Take the shining example of Dr Homi Bhabha and the achievements of the Atomic Energy Establishment. The path shown by Dr Bhabha will remain an inspiration.
Our programmes of economic and social development are encompassed in our Plans. The Third Five Year Plan is drawing to a close. We are on the threshold of the Fourth. The size and content of the Fourth Plan received the general endorsement of the National Development Council last September even while we were preoccupied with the defence of our country. Its detailed formulation was interrupted due to many uncertainties, including that of foreign aid. We propose now to expedite this work. In the meantime an annual plan has been drawn up for 1966-67, the first year of the Fourth Plan. This takes into account the main elements of the Five Year Plan.

In economic development, as in other fields of national activity, there is a disconcerting gap between intention and action. To bridge this gap, we should boldly adopt whatever far-reaching changes in administration may be found necessary. We must introduce new organisational patterns and modern tools and techniques of management and administration. We shall instil into governmental machinery greater efficiency and a sense of urgency and make it more responsive to the needs of the people.

In keeping with our heritage, we have followed a policy of peace and friendship with all nations, yet reserved to ourselves the right to independent opinion. The principles which have guided our foreign policy are in keeping with the best traditions of our country, and are wholly consistent with our national interest, honour and dignity. They continue to remain valid. During my travels abroad, I have had the privilege of meeting leaders in government and outside and have always found friendship and an appreciation of our stand. The fundamental principles laid down by my father, to which he and Shastri dedicated their lives, will continue to guide us. It will be my sincere endeavour to work for the strengthening of peace and international co-operation, so that people in all lands live in equality, free from domination and fear. We seek to maintain the friendliest relations with our neighbours and to resolve any disputes peacefully. The Tashkent Declaration is an expression of these sentiments. We shall fully implement it in letter and spirit.

Peace is our aim, but I am keenly aware of the responsibility of Government to preserve the freedom and territorial integrity of the country. We must, therefore, be alert and keep constant vigil, strengthening our defences as necessary. The valour, the determination, the courage and sacrifice of our fighting forces have set a magnificent example. My thoughts go out today to the disabled and the families of those who gave their lives.

Peace we want because there is another war to fight—the war against poverty, disease and ignorance. We have promises to keep with our people—of work, food, clothing and shelter, health and educa-
tion. The weaker and underprivileged sections of our people—all those who require special measures of social security—have always been and will remain uppermost in my mind.

Youth must have greater opportunity. The young people of India must recognise that they will get from their country tomorrow what they give her today. The nation expects them to aspire and to excel. The worlds of science and art, of thought and action beckon to them. There are new frontiers to cross, new horizons to reach and new goals to achieve.

No matter what our religion, language or State, we are one nation and one people. Let us all—farmers, and workers, teachers and students, scientists and technologists, industrialists, businessmen, politicians and public servants—put forth our best effort. Let us be strong, tolerant and disciplined, for tolerance and discipline are the very foundations of democracy. The dynamic and progressive society, the just social order which we wish to create, can be achieved only with unity of purpose and through hard work and co-operation.

Today I pledge myself anew to the ideals of the builders of our nation—to democracy and secularism, to planned economic and social advance, to peace and friendship among nations.

Citizens of India, let us revive our faith in the future. Let us affirm our ability to shape our destiny. We are comrades in a mighty adventure. Let us be worthy of it and of our great country. Jai Hind.

Problems of Growth

IN THIS HOUSE we have a tradition that on the question of the welfare and prosperity of our people and in the matter of the integrity and security of our territory, we all work in a spirit of co-operation regardless of party affiliations. I should like to have the same spirit of co-operation throughout the nation, not only among politicians but also among other people such as scientists, educationists, industrialists, workers and peasants. We, who are politicians, give guidance. We settle the objectives and the targets in the country. We must, however, rely on the advice of experts and specialists on how to carry out these tasks.

Many Hon. Members have referred to the lack of progress in

From reply to debate in Lok Sabha on President's Address, March 1, 1966.
many fields. This I admit. I entirely agree that our page has not been adequate for our needs. But I must submit that this is not because our objectives are wrong or unattainable, but because we have failed to instil into our society the requisite degree of efficiency without which sufficient progress is not possible. When we look at other countries, whether they are capitalist countries or socialist countries, we find that those who have achieved notable progress are the ones who have laid the greatest stress on efficiency. These countries have been able to harmonise science and technology and to use in the fullest measure the young minds of the country teeming with ideas. While I shall need guidance and help from those who have the experience of long years of public work, I should like to invite the co-operation of our young men and women in shaping the future of the country which they will inherit.

We are yet a long way from giving the educational opportunities that they should have. But we are proud that among those who have had the opportunity of being educated, there are a fair number who have achieved results in one sphere or another. This talent must not be allowed to go waste. Efficiency, therefore, must be the watchword in every sphere of activity, specially in public administration. Our patterns of administration were drawn or designed at a time when the Government’s main business was to keep law and order. They are not adequate for the challenges which we face today. What we need, therefore, is a revolution in the administrative system without which no enduring change can be brought about in any field. The Department of Administrative Reforms, which will shortly complete two years of its existence, has initiated a number of studies on administrative problems. Some of these studies have been completed and the recommendations arising from them are in the process of being implemented. The effect of these reforms is beginning to be felt.

A great deal of concern was expressed by many Members regarding the economic situation. In presenting the Budget yesterday, the Finance Minister referred to the difficulties which we are facing at present in the economic sphere. I would like to emphasise that many of these difficulties are due to the fact that we in India are trying to develop at a very rapid pace. We are trying to achieve within a decade or so what many countries have achieved over a much longer period.

This is not mere idealism. It is a necessity for a country placed as India is. It may be easy to slow down our development, but that will be a confession of defeat. I am sure that neither this House nor the country would wish this to happen.

Hon. Members will have seen evidence of our determination
to defend the integrity of the country and of our territory in the Budget provision on defence. To my mind it is a tragedy that a country as poor as India should have to divert any of its resources from development. Fortunately, the Defence Budget includes developmental expenditure on industrial units, on hospitals, on roads and houses and on many other items which are not in the same class as military hardware.

We are anxious to see that the prices of essential commodities remain stable and that the upward spiral is halted. Since the main instrument for stabilising prices is higher production, prices should also provide an adequate incentive to the producer to maximise his production, hence the necessity to fix in advance reasonable prices for the main agricultural products. When there is scarcity of essential commodities, efforts must be made to stop profiteering by raising prices. There may, therefore, be no escape from the control of prices of food-grains and certain other items.

Meanwhile, we must do everything possible to attain self-sufficiency in food-grains within the shortest possible time. This, I realise, depends not only on the fullest utilisation of traditional resources but also on the application of modern methods of agriculture. Fertilisers are the most important ingredient in this strategy. Some concern has been voiced about the terms on which foreign capital participation is permitted in setting up fertiliser plants. While we must do whatever we can to secure the best possible terms, we must realise that it is better to buy fertilisers from factories in India using Indian labour, Indian raw material and a good proportion of Indian capital than to buy it from abroad.

We must make every effort for the fullest use of our own resources in capital, in managerial skill, in technological talent, in indigenous material and machinery. We must at the same time make every effort to expand our export and to increase our earnings in foreign exchange.

The Government is laying the greatest stress on the programme of family planning, because we realise that if sixty to seventy million people are added during every Plan period, we cannot hope to raise the per capita income or to improve standards of living satisfactorily. It is only if we make a determined effort in all these directions that we can accelerate the progress of the country.

A word about foreign aid. We are taking foreign aid and we may have to take it for some more time. But aid is not charity. We will take it only if we can do so keeping in view our self-respect and principles. We take aid in a spirit of co-operation. I am sure Hon. Members are aware that we ourselves are giving aid to many countries and shall continue to give aid to those who stand in need. Perhaps,
there is some misunderstanding because of the word 'aid'. It is a misleading word, because a large part of aid is by way of loans which we repay and have been repaying. Besides, the real objective of taking foreign aid is the ultimate elimination of such aid; it is taken only to help us to stand on our own feet.

Foreign aid certainly fills the gap which it is necessary to fill, but the House knows that, including PL 480, the aid we get is only a quarter of the total effort which we ourselves make. The bigger share is our own and we are moving towards self-sufficiency and import substitution.

To millions of our people mere political freedom has not brought prosperity, nor can it do so unless we translate political freedom into social and economic security. We shall, therefore, continue to devote ourselves to the task of building our economy so as to improve the living standards of our people.

Through the sacrifice of countless heroes, known and unknown, we have inherited freedom and the opportunity of creating a new pattern of living for the generations yet unborn. In this task, Hon. Members of Parliament, I seek your help and co-operation.

A New Revolution

I GREET MY countrymen on this historic day from this historic place. There are certain historic events which leave a deep impress on the life of every individual. Our Independence is one such event. Independence Day has special significance for us because on this day we began a new life. On this day, nineteen years ago, the first Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, unfurled the national flag from the ramparts of Red Fort. On this day, he lit the torch of freedom and laid the foundation of Independent India.

On this day, our minds turn to our great leaders and to innumerable people from all parts of the country who flung themselves into the freedom struggle and made immense sacrifices. They were truly great men. We owe our freedom to their courage, forbearance and sacrifice. The responsibility of following the path shown by these great sons of India has devolved on us.

Standing here on the ramparts of Red Fort, my mind inevitably
turns to India's past—a past studded with achievements in the fields of science and philosophy and in other fields. India was an advanced nation and had provided leadership to the world. How can we forget India's glorious past? It is for us to see that our record remains unblemished.

On this occasion, we naturally think of the Father of the Nation. Jawaharlal Nehru had once described Mahatma Gandhi as a magician. Despite his belief in science and the new world, Jawaharlal Nehru felt that the path shown by Mahatma Gandhi was the right path. Non-violence, 'truth' and swadeshi summed up Gandhiji's message. It is my firm belief that this message still holds good.

Non-violence means that we should live in peace and amity, and entertain respect for one another's views. It also means that we should entertain respect for nations professing different ideologies.

Similarly, we want truth to pervade all our actions. Fearlessness is an essential part of truth. We should be as fearless today as we were during the struggle for freedom. We should not be afraid of making mistakes. We should not be afraid of making changes. We should be willing to adopt new paths and to imbibe new ideas. It is very necessary for us to have a complete understanding of the problems facing us. Only then can we find the way out.

Swadeshi is the third part of Gandhiji's message. The country is faced with economic difficulties. We can improve the economic situation by imbibing the spirit of swadeshi. Swadeshi does not mean that we do not import at all. It only means that we should exercise the utmost economy, patronise our own goods and make full use of available resources. If, however, it becomes necessary to import with a view to learning new techniques, we should not hesitate to do so. The responsibility for popularising the swadeshi movement does not rest with the Government alone. Every citizen, be he a villager or a town-dweller, has to play an important part in popularising it.

We have accepted the socialist path because we feel that there is no other way of eradicating poverty. Democracy is the base of our socialism. Democracy confers many rights on the individual. These rights have corresponding duties. Our greatest duty is to help the nation achieve progress. We have launched many development programmes. The purpose of these programmes is the removal of poverty. We have to wage a relentless war against poverty. I appeal to my countrymen to join in this battle.

The peasantry is the most important wing of our society. Peasants are the predominant section of our population. I appeal to them to adopt modern techniques of agricultural production. I also need their co-operation in bringing about reforms in rural life.

The role of labour is equally important. A great responsibility
rests on their shoulders to increase production for defence and for other purposes. By increasing production, they will improve their own living standards and also help the nation in its march towards progress.

Our brave Jawans [soldiers] are guarding our frontiers. Our hearts go out to them. Let us remember that our defences lie not only on the Himalayas but in every village, every town and every city. The peasant, the labourer, the industrialist, the businessman, the teacher and the employee have all an equally great responsibility in this task. Each one of them should discharge this responsibility faithfully.

Artists, writers and thinkers, too, have a responsibility. This is to show the nation the right path. They should not hesitate to imbibe new ideas from abroad. They should also see that our own ideas flow to other countries.

We have to continue our march towards progress. There can be no let-up. Many sections of our society have suffered from neglect for centuries. There are the Harijans, the adivasis [tribal people], the hill people and the minorities. We pay special attention to them. We have drawn up programmes for their welfare. But much more remains to be done. I am fully aware of their difficulties. Some of them suffered hardship during the recent drought. Without their uplift, the nation cannot make much progress. I appeal for their co-operation in the tasks facing the nation.

Then, there are the women of India, belonging to all sections of society and engaged in multifarious tasks. They carry the responsibility of running the home, of bringing up the new generation and of braving the difficulties arising from spiralling prices. Women constitute 50 per cent of the country’s population. For centuries, they have imparted strength to the nation. For centuries, they have upheld the noble traditions of India. We look to them again to maintain the high traditions of our culture. They continue to be the source of the nation’s strength. We look to them for inspiration.

Innumerable people participated in the struggle for freedom. Many of them are not in our midst today. On this day, we pay our homage to them. Some of our freedom fighters are old. We are benefiting by their experience.

A new generation of Indians is coming up. They were not witness to the freedom struggle. They are not aware of the fervour which impelled us to fight for freedom. The responsibility for the nation’s progress and development falls on them as much as it falls on those who were associated with the struggle for freedom.

We are faced with threats on our borders. We are also faced with the threat of poverty and backwardness inside the country. We cannot fight the battle against poverty successfully unless we accept new
ideas, unless we do away with superstition, unless we work with dedication and determination to attain progress, unless we are prepared to make sacrifices in the face of difficulties. It is the duty of every individual to lend his co-operation in this great task. No one can absolve himself of this responsibility. We cannot remain idle spectators. We are all soldiers in the fight against poverty.

At the time of aggression on our borders, our young men, our students, offered to lay down their lives to defend the country's territorial integrity. They were ready to write with their blood a new chapter in the history of India. The nation beckons to them again. They should be ready to take up the challenge. They have to infuse new life into the nation. They have to regenerate the nation.

We are assembled at the historic Red Fort today. The eyes of the entire nation are focused on us. We have the panorama of Indian history behind us and we have the vision of a bright future ahead. Every citizen should ask himself what he can contribute to the making of a bright future for the country. He should ask himself whether the nation's policies and programmes can be successfully implemented. On the answer to this question depends our progress. If the people are assailed by doubts and hesitation, difficulties will naturally arise. But if they are resolute in accepting the challenge, the nation can face both external and internal dangers and march towards progress. It is not an easy task; we never had any illusions about it. We may have made mistakes. We may not have moved with speed. But many of our difficulties are the result of the process of change and development itself. If we had remained static, our difficulties may not have increased, but we would have remained a poor and backward nation. We have deliberately chosen the more difficult path of change and progress.

Let us recapture the fervour which characterised our freedom struggle, and work with dedication for a new revolution which will energise the whole nation and inspire us to answer the call of our motherland. I have absolutely no doubt that we have it in us to achieve great things. But if we stray from the right path, we will be heading towards ruin, and the sacrifices of the great sons of India would have been in vain. Let us draw inspiration from those who fought for freedom and kept the nation's flag flying.

We extend our hand to all friendly nations. Our sympathies are with the victims of colonialism. We will continue to raise our voice against injustice and war everywhere. We want the subject peoples, the victims of oppression everywhere in the world, to breathe the air of freedom and to have full opportunities for progress.

I take a pledge on this day to work for the nation's uplift and to fight injustice everywhere. If we march unitedly as disciplined soldiers
along the path shown by Gandhiji and Jawaharlal Nehru, we can make India a great nation. Let us all take this pledge.

I call upon you to join me in raising the great slogan given us by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. This slogan represents our strength. Join me in raising the slogan three times. Your voice is the voice of a great nation. It should reach the far-off mountains and every nook and corner of India. It should inspire courage and self-confidence in every Indian. Jai Hind, Jai Hind, Jai Hind.

The Cult of Violence

I welcome this opportunity to speak because of my deep concern and very great distress at the atmosphere of violence and defiance of law which is prevailing in our country. I am sorry to say that this is being encouraged.

I am one of those who abhor the use of force in any circumstances. But when there is incitement to violence and when violence leads to acts of defiance of law, to arson, looting and destruction of public property—valuable property such as transmitters, railway equipment and other things, some of which are very difficult to get again—then there is no other way; it can only be met by force. This is what, unfortunately, is happening—violence leading to force, force leading to more violence, and more violence leading to more force.

I do not think that the nation is in a state today when we can bicker over small things and take up small, petty issues or difficulties. This is a situation in which we must all pull together and think about how to bring the situation under control and what can be done to restore normal life. It is not merely a question of people airing their grievances. I have always said, and I maintain, that every grievance, every genuine demand, should be looked into thoroughly and should be promptly dealt with.

But the question today is not of any particular demand. If you ask the students what demand they are now fighting for, they do not know themselves; they have forgotten what the original demand was. So it is not a question of a demand. It is a question of the methods adopted and the manner in which grievances are being ventilated. I feel this is something which the Government must oppose, however disagreeable it may be and whatever its cost. If you do not do it, the cost is much greater in some other way.

From reply to debate in Lok Sabha on a no-confidence motion, November 7, 1966
What is happening outside is, as I said, not an attack on the Government. I feel it is an attack on a way of life, on our values, on the traditions that we have so far cherished. We have, in India, followed a certain path. Whether it was Gandhiji or my father, they took this line from our ancient teachings. They gave a modern meaning to the concept of non-violence, and we conducted our struggle for Independence in accordance with these principles and values. It was not a path that was fully understood even then. I remember that when I was a small girl, we were made fun of, we were scolded and ridiculed. But we believed it was the right path. We stuck to that path and succeeded in our struggle.

We want to establish democracy in this country. There is mud-slinging from every side about authoritarian ways, but I doubt whether you will find anywhere else in the world a party with such a great majority putting up with so much from an extremely divided opposition. The opposition has an important role to play in a democracy. But I submit that sometimes they take advantage of it, and it is because of this that we witness the scenes which we are witnessing outside. Some of the methods being used today cut at the very roots of democracy. Democracy cannot exist if the rule of law goes and if law and order are constantly violated.

I am sure Hon. Members are aware of what an extremely delicate and difficult job the police and the magistracy have to do. When they did not act in time, I remember, many complaints were voiced here in this very House as to why they did not act in time. But if they take strong action before a shop is looted or some other violent action takes place, then also they are criticised.

It is true that whenever force is used, some innocent people also suffer. It is something which unfortunately cannot always be helped. It is something which I deplore. My fullest sympathies are with those who get hurt in this manner, and we must do all we can to help them. But when there is a large crowd, it is not possible to distinguish as to who is innocent and who is guilty. If there is a lathi charge, the blow would fall on anybody who happens to be in the way.

Lapses do occur, and all that we can do is to try and minimise such occurrences. As I said before, violence is not our way of life. It is foreign to us and we want to keep it away from us. Violence constitutes a danger to our democratic system. But there are also many other dangers. We have been threatened on our borders. We have been threatened by other pressures. We have many internal difficulties. We must stand together to strengthen our democracy and our freedom.

I began by saying that I speak with a heavy heart. It is not only because of the violence which we are witnessing now. I spent the last
two days in some of the drought-affected areas of our country, in parts of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. These are the people with genuine grievances, with genuine hardships. Their lives are at stake. But I did not hear a single complaint from them; not one person came to me to say 'give us this' or 'give us that'. Every single peasant is trying to do whatever he can. He is not interested in speeches. He is not interested in agitations and demands. He is trying to utilise every second of his time and every ounce of his energy to produce whatever he can, to retrieve whatever he can. On the other hand, we find people in the cities and in other places, who instead of trying to see what they can do to help these people, create trouble by starting agitations.

This is the most serious crisis we have. We have had drought before, but it was not so bad. There was some moisture in the land even though it had not rained. But this time we face a situation in which the land is absolutely dry. There is no moisture at all in the soil. We admire the magnificent response of the people during the drought last season, the work done by the people themselves, and the tremendous job done by the administration and by workers, official and non-official, at every level. This should be repeated in meeting the present situation also. Those of us who come from places where there is no such crisis have a big role to play in this. We should organise movements which would send whatever we can spare—and even what we cannot spare—to the affected areas, and help them out by way of food and other necessities.

Our food problem is a part of the general and greater problem of poverty. For dealing with the problem of poverty it is essential to have stability and order. There can be no development without tears and hardships. Unless we can prepare ourselves and our people to undergo hardships and difficulties, we cannot go ahead; we shall only be slipping back from where we are.

We have put our faith in our Plans. We fully realise that the essential effort of the Plans must be our own. We cannot take aid for granted, nor are we prepared to seek aid at any price. Therefore, I have asked the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission to be ready with ideas to adjust the Plans in case the level of external assistance is not up to our expectation or estimate. Whatever happens, we have to take a determined stand and make a determined effort to forge ahead.

India simply cannot fail. We are all in this together. It is not just a question of this government or that government; we simply cannot fail. No nation, when it makes up its mind to do a thing, and do it unitedly, can ever fail. A stable India is not only necessary for us and our development, but for stability in Asia,
One Hon. Member said something about there being a conspiracy to keep out the steel plant from Salem. He quoted me. Here also I think my words have been very clear and I have not moved away from them or deviated in any manner. We do want to consider the interests of all the States and do not want any single State to suffer. We must diversify our industry. But at this moment, with the difficulties that we face—the drought situation and the food situation—it does not somehow seem realistic to me to be planning a steel plant which has no chance of coming up immediately. If it is something that is not coming up in the near future, I do not see how it helps to commit ourselves today that this will happen here and that will happen there. So, it is not that anything has been shelved or put away. All these things are being considered. The other day I said in the House that I had drawn the attention of the Planning Commission to what could be done about this matter and they naturally said that unless the Plan itself is accepted, it will not be possible to go into such matters. This did make sense to me, and it does not at all mean that we are brushing aside people’s feelings. But, as I said earlier, this is not the way to ventilate the people’s feelings.

Let us all uphold our democratic system and the Constitution which we have adopted. Let us uphold the values which we have always cherished. Let us hold together as a people.

The Task Ahead

I am overwhelmed by the confidence which all of you have placed in me at this extremely difficult period of our history. I feel that of the many challenges we face, we have already met the first challenge, and that is the challenge which threatened the unity of our party. We have taken the first step in unison, and I hope and pray, and indeed I am confident, that the other steps will also be taken in unity. Unity has meaning only if it goes with understanding of the objectives and methods of working together towards a common goal.

The Congress has had high objectives before it. Many times we have faltered and made mistakes. We have many shortcomings. But it has been and should be our endeavour to work towards our objectives. We do not want to be caught up in any whirlpool of ‘isms’.  

Speech on re-election as Leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party, New Delhi, March 12, 1967
When we use the word "socialism", we use it to mean primarily the welfare of the entire Indian people, of the vast masses who live in the villages, of those who are called landless labour and who, perhaps, bear the heaviest brunt of poverty. We must do our best to work for their welfare and that of those who work in factories. But at the same time, we must not cut ourselves off from the growing youth of the country and from the intelligentsia. We must also look to the problems of those who work in Government offices and other offices, of those who man our essential services; all these are the people of India. Towards all these we must direct our attention, and see how we can find quicker solutions to the many problems and difficulties which they face.

Today, no responsible person or party can make very spectacular statements. In the years since Independence we have made much progress. But problems have also been mounting up and today the demand is not only for right policies but for quick and efficient implementation of those policies and for quick results. We must realise that it is not possible to provide overnight solutions, no matter how much we may desire to do so. It is a question of hard work, of discussing together and of being in tune with the masses and all sections of the people. If we can regain this mass contact and if we can retain a contact among ourselves, then we will lay the foundation of our future work.

We face a changed situation. I am told, and I hope this figure is correct, that since 1952 there has been only a 5 per cent fluctuation in the voting and yet it has created a tremendously changed picture. We are today not only in the Government but, in some States, in the Opposition. We have to create, and we have to show, good standards of democratic functioning. We have to deal and work with the Opposition wherever they work for the good of the country, wherever we feel that they are going in the right direction. We must not oppose them merely for the sake of opposition, as sometimes we ourselves have been opposed.

In our organisation, we must renew our faith in the path of democratic socialist functioning. I do not want to go at this time into matters of policy. We shall have many occasions to discuss these matters. Today I should like to welcome all those who are new members. We welcome them here and hope that they will make valuable and interesting contributions to Lok Sabha and that their being here will enrich our party. At the same time, I should like to give my good wishes to those who will no longer be with us. They have been valued colleagues. They have played a very significant part in the debates in the House and in the functioning of the party. We shall miss these familiar faces, and we hope that no matter where
they are or what work they are doing, their advice will always be available and that they will keep up their interest in the affairs of the party. Much work has to be done not only in the legislature but at all levels. And this, again, is something which we must all work out under the guidance of the Congress President and other leaders.

When I got up, I had many things to say to you. But I must confess that I am so moved that I have no words really except to thank you once again for the confidence which you have placed in me. I should like to tell you that this burden is a tremendous burden. And it is a burden which cannot be borne by one person alone, not even by one person and a few colleagues in the Cabinet, but by the entire party here and the entire party all over the country. We must treat these problems as our problems. As I said, we have made a good beginning. Let us continue in this way; let us not hesitate to give advice or suggestions; let no one feel isolated. There should always be opportunity for all to express themselves. I know in the last session, many were a little unhappy that, although we had long party meetings, everyone did not get the chance to speak. But there are many ways of expressing thoughts and of conveying suggestions. My plea to you is that you should never feel that we are not interested in your advice or suggestions, and even if you are not called, you should take the first step and come and place your views before us. I assure you that your views and suggestions will always receive serious consideration.

Once again I thank you all. I thank Shri Kamaraj who made, in spite of his ill-health, such a tremendous effort towards this first step of unity. I thank Shri Morarjibhai who also contributed to that unity. Today, if we have had any misunderstandings, let them be a thing of the past. Let us open a new page and try to work together in mutual trust and confidence. Only thus will we be able to build up the strength of the party. This is necessary, as Shri Morarjibhai said, not for the sake of the party, but for the sake of our country and the high ideals for which the Congress has stood. As Gandhiji often said, in the midst of darkness there is light. Today we do see darkness, but in the midst of darkness we see much vitality, we see much that gives hope, much that gives opportunity for work. Let us look at the bright side, and I am sure that we shall be able to show, not merely through our talk or decisions or resolutions but by our achievement and performance, that the Congress is a party that is alive, that is undaunted by defeat or setbacks, that will always march forward for the welfare of the country and the people of India.
A Great Renewal

I speak to you tonight to seek your support, co-operation and blessings in the discharge of the tremendous responsibility placed on me once more in heading the Government of India.

I rededicate myself to this task with humility. I know that in the people of this country, I have 500 million colleagues and constituents, critics and friends.

Never have we faced such a testing time. There are demands and expectations on every side. I respect these. We must fulfil the basic aspirations of our people for a better and fuller life, free from want and fear. But I expect from you—as you have a right to expect of me and my colleagues—the highest quality of service, wherever you may be, in whatever you do, at all times and in all circumstances.

The general elections have been a momentous experience. I believe they manifest the nation's growth towards political maturity.

I should like to congratulate you on the conduct of the elections and on the results. You—the free citizens of India—have not merely made your choice of elected representatives but, even more triumphantly, demonstrated our common faith in the democratic system.

The majority enjoyed by the ruling party has been reduced in the Centre and in many States. In some others, one or other party or parties, previously in opposition, have come to power either singly or in coalition. This is a significant development. Democracy implies choice. Choice involves alternatives. It is a healthy sign that alternatives are emerging and competing.

There has long been criticism of the so-called Congress monolith. I believe the Indian National Congress has played a historic role in leading the country to Independence and through the formative years since then. It provided stability and continuity at a time when this was of paramount importance. It also sowed the seeds of change and allowed these seeds to germinate.

I do not think there is any ground for uncertainty or dismay at the fact of reduced majorities or political changes in government. India is a stable and going concern. It has been my hope that popular Ministries would be installed in all the States. I am glad that this has in fact happened with commendable smoothness and speed. The one exception has regretfully been Rajasthan which has had to be brought under President's rule. In the circumstances, there appeared to be no reliable alternative. However, the Assembly has not been

Broadcast over All India Radio, March 15, 1967
dissolved and I hope that it will soon be possible to restore normal responsible government in that State.

For the rest, the Ministries which have been formed in the States are, regardless of party affiliations, full partners with the Centre in the exciting enterprise of building a new, united, prosperous India based on the principles of democracy, secularism, social justice, and equality of opportunity. I have written to my colleagues, the Chief Ministers, and have assured them, on behalf of the Central Government, that they will receive every support and co-operation in all constructive endeavours. Equally, I look forward to their full co-operation. Whatever our differences, I know that at heart we all have a common interest—the well-being of our patient, thoughtful, courageous people.

This is not the occasion for policy pronouncements. There will be enough of these in Parliament. But I should like to share some thoughts with you.

The elections are over. But elections are held to promote and sustain representative institutions. And the essential task of Government remains unchanged—to wage the long, hard battle against poverty, ignorance, disease, inequality and injustice.

I know it is not enough to possess the will to do this. We have to fashion appropriate tools for the task. We were fortunate, in the very difficult days after Independence, to be guided by a philosophy and framework of policy so wisely fashioned by Gandhi and Panditji. We must apply our minds to furnishing answers to new challenges.

Almost two decades have elapsed since Independence. A new generation has grown to adulthood. The Fourth General Elections signify a great renewal. There are new aspirations to fulfil. We are confronted with a new set of needs, circumstances, urges. We must respond to these urges. In doing so, we have to create a new sense of national purpose, re-define tasks and priorities, and refine programmes and methods. Renewal is a continuing process.

Over the past few years, more so last year, there has sometimes been an atmosphere of misconceived confrontation between Government and people. I am sure each one of us is gravely concerned over the tendency to resort to violence or coercive methods. Such methods have no place in a parliamentary democracy.

The governance and development of the country is a shared responsibility from which no individual or section of the community can escape. It shall be my endeavour to enlarge the areas of participation, consultation and discussion. We desire partnership in progress.

The special problems of all minority groups, tribal people, Harijans, hill areas, and other backward or chronic scarcity pockets demand attention and ameliorative action. This I promise. No section of
our vast and diverse population should feel forgotten. Their neglect is our collective loss.

At this moment our thoughts go out to the people of Bihar and U.P., and other scarcity areas. The food situation will be extremely difficult during the current year. We have also to restrain the upward spiral of prices and provide fuller employment. Specific programmes have been initiated towards these ends. They will be spelt out in the Plan. But if the answer can be summed up in a single phrase, it is ‘more production’, agricultural and industrial. This calls for work, I know only one alternative to hard, unrelenting work. It is yet more work.

In the economic sphere, our goal is swadeshi and arthik swarajya [economic independence], and we mean to demonstrate that self-reliance is as much a process as an objective.

Let me tell you of some other problems to which I have personally always attached great importance.

We must strengthen and develop all our national languages and give due attention to the task of producing inexpensive books and translations in millions, so that they become vehicles of knowledge and culture, and keep abreast of the progress of science and technology.

Although we are immediately confronted with a critical shortage of food-grains, I do not believe we can afford to ignore the long-term and equally basic problem of malnutrition, which affects the health, physique and stamina of the mass of our people. Here again, I think it is necessary and possible to draw up a forward-looking charter under Article 47 of the Constitution to improve the nutritional standards of the people.

We have to control the growth of our population before we are submerged by the sheer weight of numbers. Family planning is only one aspect of manpower planning. Education constitutes the other part. Whatever the reasons for the student unrest this year, it is a warning. Our educational system is in urgent need of reform. What we do in this regard will mould coming generations. We must, therefore, give due thought to whatever we might propose doing. At the same time we must act boldly and soon.

We have to keep open, and enlarge, outlets for the creative talents of our people—intellectuals, scientists, writers, artists, artisans. They provide the aesthetic and inspirational force to uplift and sustain the Indian revolution.

If the general elections have pointed a moral, it is that the country wants performance, progress, change. Power and responsibility are passing to a new generation. The wisdom and experience of age must blend with the idealism and vitality of youth. Jai Hind.
A Changed Situation

NO-CONFIDENCE motions have become such a routine that we are not, at any rate I am not, bothered by their frequency, except that by repeated and unsuccessful use their utility will be blunted.

Though we have been in full power, we have brought this country to a stage where in many States there are Governments of a non-Congress nature, either headed by single parties or by coalitions. This in itself is proof that we do not want to cling to power, that we do not want to act undemocratically.

The fact is that the Congress Party allowed the Constitution to work. I am saying 'allowed' because in other countries which have a constitution there are parties which have adopted other methods, and have not functioned like this. This has happened in many countries of the world, and it is an aspect that we cannot ignore.

There is a changed situation in India. But it is not a sudden change. We seem to think that because there was an election, a sudden change has come about. This change has been a gradual one; it has been coming about little by little, not only in every election but also between elections. We have been watching the change coming over the people and we have been consistently saying that these are the growing pains of democracy, that these are the roots which democracy is striking in our country. We have encouraged this. And today we see an entirely new situation.

One of the first things that I did was to extend my hand of cooperation and friendship to the non-Congress Chief Ministers of certain States. I am very happy to say that they responded in a like manner, and they have assured me that we can work together. It is not an easy situation, because not only are the economic and the food situations difficult, but the whole complexity of this new political situation is there. But we will not fail for want of trying. That is the utmost we can say on this issue.

So I think it is extremely unfair of Members of the Opposition to pick out one instance where things have not gone smoothly. Everywhere else, where there are non-Congress Governments, the transition has been a very smooth and even speedy one. I wish it had been so in Rajasthan also.

There were certain conditions due to which this could not take place. In their speeches, Opposition Members seemed to imply that we intend for all time to have President's rule in Rajasthan or to pre-

From reply to debate in Lok Sabha on a no-confidence motion, March 20, 1967
vent the Opposition from coming in if they had a majority. This is not so at all. The Home Minister has made it very clear.

One thing more. Many types of monopolies are being talked about in this House. I would like to assure all Hon. Members that the Congress Party does not seek a monopoly of power. Nor does it think that it has a monopoly of wisdom. In fact, we are opposed to monopolies of all kinds—feudal monopolies, economic monopolies, personal or family monopolies. What has happened in Rajasthan has greatly distressed us. It is unfortunate that things should have developed this way.

As I said, in six States today we have non-Congress Ministries, and in three of these States the Congress has not lost; the number of Congressmen elected in the Assembly is very much larger than any other single party. Nowhere else in the world would that be called a defeat. Perhaps, because you measure it with what the strength was before, you think that it is a defeat; in actual fact it is, you could say, a lessening of the votes, but it is certainly not a defeat. Where there are these non-Congress Governments, we intend to function as a responsible and disciplined Opposition, working for the good of the States.

Actually in Rajasthan also, as you very well know, the Congress is the largest single party. But I do not want to go into this matter now. My earnest hope is that there is a peaceful atmosphere in Rajasthan as early as possible, so that a responsible Government can be formed there as in other States; and that whichever group or party has a majority is asked to assume this responsibility.

It is now a question of all of us trying to work together. Earlier we were always the Government and most of you were on the other side, in the Opposition. Now we are both the Government and the Opposition, in a way, in different places. Therefore, unless we try to work together, especially where there is a difficult situation, it will not be easy to have smooth functioning and to find a way out of the many problems and difficulties which our country faces. I sincerely hope that we will be able to create this atmosphere of working together and to have normal conditions all over the country.
A Minimum National Programme

THIS PARLIAMENT has met after three crucial months, during which the political scene in India has been transformed. This is a phenomenon which proves the vitality of our country, the strength of our democratic system, and the faith of our people in this system.

Life is always changing. It is not only the Congress but also the Hon. Members opposite who must adjust to these changes. Now all of us, the Congress and the other parties, are in the Government as well as outside the Government. We see here many new faces, and I had hoped that new ideas would also emerge. But listening to the debate, I was disappointed. I did not see any evidence of new ideas, ideas which would help to strengthen our democracy and our country.

I do not grudge my Hon. friends opposite their sense of elation or pleasure at the success they have gained in some States. I welcome the fact that they now share not only power but also the responsibility that goes with power. I am not much concerned with which party sits on which side in what State. What is important is that whichever side is in power uses this opportunity to solve the problems which confront our country.

The most important question which we face today is the question of food and of drought in certain parts of the country. The other day, some Members referred to my visit to Bihar and U.P. I have been to Palamau, Gaya and Mirzapur over the last weekend. Never have I seen the Gangetic plains so dry. The recent rains gave a little relief. They have helped some grass to grow, thus reducing the shortage of fodder and delaying the crisis about the availability of drinking water. But this is a crisis that has only been postponed, and we will have to face it within a short time.

I found that a great deal of work was being done. But I also found the need to accelerate this work and to extend it and expand it in every way. The Centre will do all it can to supply the needed equipment and stores.

The State Governments are doing the job. Non-official agencies are also active, specially in Bihar. I would like to pay a tribute here to the Bihar Relief Committee, of which Shri Jayaprakash Narayan is the Chairman. He has gathered together a band of workers who are doing excellent work.

The food-grains supply is in shortage all over the country and we cannot meet the full demand of all the States. I feel, as I have said earlier also, that there is need for a national sharing of distress, the
need to mobilise all our energies and resources, and to cut out lavishness and waste.

This is something which we can do only with the full co-operation of the States. It is something which we must sit down and discuss, and formulate a plan which can be carried out and implemented in all parts of the country. Some have said that we would rather starve than import food. I am afraid I cannot agree with this and I feel that it is an irresponsible statement to make in the present conditions.

When I talked of co-operation with Hon. Members outside, it was not on small matters of procedure and things like that, although they are important, and if we can work together, it is a good thing. But far more important is to get co-operation in matters of national importance and of life and death for our people. Certainly, food comes in that category.

Food and drought relief are the foremost problems for us. Last year we faced the same kind of problem and it was only through a Herculean effort that we were able to avert a great human tragedy. This year is even more difficult because reserves are depleted and there is considerable uncertainty about supplies. The Food Minister has already outlined the programme of short-term crops and we must all see that this programme is made a success. There is also the need to accelerate intensive cultivation programmes all over the country.

Many steps are being taken to deal with the immediate problem in Bihar and eastern U.P. Some people here mentioned Rajasthan. I would like to say that we have not forgotten at all that Rajasthan also faces this problem and so do areas of other States. There was the Joint Emergency Committee for Bihar set up under the Food Minister with the Bihar Chief Minister and his colleagues. It has already met three times.

There are some figures which I would like to give to the Hon. Members. I am told that nearly 6.5 lakh people are employed on relief works or on Plan schemes in Bihar and the number may increase to 15 lakh in the months of maximum distress which are May and June. Over 3.5 lakh people have been given gratuitous relief from the State and 2.6 lakh are fed in free kitchens run by non-official agencies like the Ramakrishna Mission, the Marwari Relief Society and others. International agencies like the CARE and the UNICEF are giving milk to 14.6 lakh people. We also received a gift of 10,000 tons from Italy which is valued at about Rs. 60 lakh to Rs. 70 lakh and this has also been used for giving relief through voluntary agencies.

Drinking water is an acute problem in Bihar and schemes worth over Rs. 5 crore have been sanctioned by the Central Government.

One hundred and eighteen rigs are being mobilised from all available resources, our own as well as those from abroad, by the
Government, the Army and private agencies. About 66 rigs are working and another 33 rigs have reached the sites. Institutions like the Geological Survey of India, the Oil and Natural Gas Commission, the UNICEF and so on are helping in this, and the Government of U.K. and Canada have offered to airlift the rigs. We are also airlifting other essential things. In cattle camps, half a million head of cattle have been provided for and there are short-term fodder crop plans for 130,000 acres. The food supply to Bihar has been progressively increased from 72,000 tons last October to 1,85,000 tons in April this year. Over Rs. 50 lakhs have been given from the Drought Relief Fund to U.P. and Bihar. Health measures are also being taken, but these need to be stepped up considerably.

The elections have thrown up certain political challenges. But the real challenge is the economic challenge of prices and production. Many Hon. Members opposite have talked about the economic situation. This is natural because it is a serious thing. But, as usual, the diagnosis as well as the treatment has differed from person to person. This is what I mean when I say that we should get together on certain things. Let us have some kind of a minimum programme on which we can agree, at least on one or two national issues.

Higher production and budgetary discipline can give some respite from high prices. Streamlining the administration and procedures is the first need, and the second is to use the full capacity of already installed plants and to have a proper survey of their capacities. It is necessary that we try to achieve our target of swadeshi in the next ten years.

Many speakers have talked about the public sector. Those whose creeds disapprove of the public sector as such, naturally saw nothing but failure about it. I am not prepared to admit that failure. There have certainly been shortcomings, but there has been some good work also. I do agree that the public sector must be run well. It must produce results and create new resources. We should try our utmost to give a new orientation to the public sector, which would increase its efficiency and profitability, modernise its management and consolidate its investments.

I am sorry that the Planning Commission should have come in for so much criticism. It has played a valuable, even a historic, role. It has translated the economic vision of our nation-builders into concrete policies, and it has provided a useful forum for discussions between the States and the Centre. It would have been very difficult for the Government to achieve this without the Planning Commission. The objective and expert composition of the Planning Commission has naturally helped. I have felt that the Commission should concentrate much more on the task of economic development, that is, analysing
factors and trends and assessing strategy. It should be a kind of expert body which would give various alternatives. Of course, the task of actual implementation falls on the State Governments.

Another criticism made here of the Planning Commission is that it was encroaching on the sphere of the States. But the major decisions on the Plan—on its size, strategy, priorities and allocations—are always taken by the National Development Council which consists of both Central and State representatives. Even in the old days, despite the fact that there was the same party in power in all the States, there were pulls and counter-pulls. There were occasions when the interests of the States were not always satisfied in the manner desired by their representatives, and there was some clash with the Centre. This will, no doubt, continue. I sincerely hope that it will not be taken to mean that the Centre is not co-operating with the States, but only that a State problem has to be viewed in the context of the national problem. All of us have to adjust our programmes in that light and in that perspective. All the schemes which we take up are national schemes, whether they are in the State sector or in the Central sector, because the welfare and progress of the country are indivisible.

Many Hon. Members have talked of Centre-State relationships. Certain Chief Ministers have also come out with statements on this matter. I read the other day an address by the Governor of Madras. I think there need be no apprehension of friction. The Constitution is strong enough, and also resilient enough. The problem of Centre-State relations is an old problem in our national movement. I think the Constitution was drawn up with foresight and its spirit is both accommodating and reconciliatory. It spells out division of functions to the extent possible and leaves the rest to discussion.

Even in these three weeks of the new Government, I am heartened by the kind of response which we have had from the State Governments. I would like to declare once more that our own attitude will always be to work together with them in the national interest.

Even if a subject is in the State list, such as Agriculture or Education, inter-State and Centre-State interdependence are unavoidable.

Shri A. K. Gopalan spoke of provincial autonomy. I would like him to appreciate more fully the spirit of our Constitution, and I would like him to look once again at the statement made by the Chief Minister of Kerala who said that time must be given for these relations to develop.

A matter which arouses great emotion is language. We had no desire to impose Hindi on the South. Friends of the D.M.K. have spoken with deep passion on this matter. Our view is well known. We believe that all our languages are national languages and are of equal status, and any of them can be made the official language if a
State so wants. But it is important also for all of us to be able to understand each other, and this was the reason why we felt that one language should be a national link language. We have given a solemn assurance that English will be retained at the Centre as an associate link language so long as it is deemed necessary. We shall move a bill in the next session to give formal effect to this assurance.

I should like to make a reference also to Urdu. I am very concerned with this problem. When certain deputations came to see me earlier, we assured them that this matter would be taken up most urgently. Here again, in some States there are new Governments. We will take up this matter when the Chief Ministers come here, and I hope that it will be satisfactorily solved.

I should like to say one more word here on our deep concern for those sections in our country who have been under-privileged and who, in spite of various programmes, have not really had their due share. I am speaking now of our Harijan brothers and sisters, of our tribal brothers and sisters, of our hill people and of the very large mass of people who are known as landless labour. These people have really had the worst of a difficult situation, and we must bend all our energies now to helping them in every way.

National problems require a national outlook and a national effort. Many Hon. Members opposite have suggested a National Government. But if we cannot even get together on these problems and form a basis of working on policy, I do not see how a National Government can function in the present circumstances. It is for the Hon. Members opposite and all the different parties to show that they are willing to tackle these problems on a national basis and to find the minimum common factor which could be implemented and pursued straightway.

Towards a Better Life

For the second successive year, I have unfurled the National Flag on Red Fort. You will recall that last year we were drenched in rain on this occasion and there were earth tremors. The tremors were said to be a warning of coming difficulties. While on this day last year we stood in rain, there was a severe drought in many parts of the country. The people were faced with immense difficulties. Today, at this time,

Free translation of speech in Hindi from the ramparts of Red Fort, Delhi, Independence Day, August 15, 1967
there is no rain here, but India is having an excellent monsoon. Let us hope that we have the required rainfall and the country takes a new turn. Let us hope there will be no more drought and food shortages. Let us hope that we will begin a new life.

The people in the drought-affected areas have faced innumerable difficulties with great courage and fortitude. This is not surprising. Our people have always been known to overcome difficulties. Our people have gone through difficult times in the past; they have faced many aggressions.

Why has the Red Fort been chosen for this ceremony? Because it is in Delhi, which is the door-step of India. The banner of freedom was raised here on many occasions. When the last battle of freedom was fought and the country was partitioned and there were riots, the message of unity and independence went out from here.

The people of India have survived many crises. Today, there is a feeling of despondency in the country. Only a few days ago, we observed the 25th anniversary of the Quit India movement. Twenty-five years ago there was gloom in the world. The world was in the midst of World War II. At that time, Gandhiji gave us the ‘do or die’ message to achieve deliverance from foreign rule. There was not a ray of hope of India becoming free. But in a short period of five years our dream came true. From this we have to learn the lesson that gloom is not perpetual. The darkness will end soon and the dawn is near. We will soon overcome our difficulties. We need courage and determination to do so.

Much has happened during the last twenty years. Perhaps we could have achieved much more. Nevertheless, our achievements are many. A new generation has been born. It is not aware that India lived in slavery. It is not aware of our freedom struggle. It is not aware that the poor and hungry masses of India fought the mighty battle of freedom and won.

Some voices are raised that there has been no improvement in the lot of the Indian people. Publicity is given to this in India and abroad. But if we look around we will find that, while milk, sugar and other articles of daily necessity were cheaper in the past, there were no avenues of progress for the people. There were few facilities for the education of children. The living conditions of farmers and other rural folk were not satisfactory. Their children did not attend school. They did not own bicycles. The spirit of enterprise was lacking. We have definitely made progress during the last twenty years. It may be that the pace of progress has not been fast enough, but it has been continuous.

Rural folk are aware of the difficulty of having to wade or swim across swollen rivers and rivulets during the monsoon. The current
flows most swiftly in midstream and it is there too that the water is deepest. India is in a somewhat similar situation. We are in midstream. I have no doubt that, given courage and determination, the people of India will be able to cross the deep waters and reach the other bank. We cannot afford to look back; we cannot afford to wait even for a single second. We must continue our progress. We must cross the swollen river. Once across, our progress will be easier.

Violence has no place in India. We must fight communalism, linguism and casteism if we have to make speedier progress. Regionalism also poses a danger. One can understand the desire of every State to make progress but no individual or State can make progress in isolation. We must keep the picture of a united India before us all the time. We have faced many challenges and many difficulties in the past. We have always overcome them. Today we are faced with food shortages not in one State but in many parts of the country. Food shortages have created a new problem and new doubts in our minds. We may recall that when India became free, we were assailed with doubts whether we would be able to form a stable Government and maintain the unity of the country. After the partition of the country, there was aggression on Kashmir. Later Gandhiji was assassinated. Our great leaders left us one by one. However, side by side, the people of India gained strength. The vast mass of people living in every part of India are the nation's real strength.

We have undoubtedly made progress in the economic sphere. We have set up new industries. We have increased agricultural production. We have to maintain the rate of progress in the agricultural and industrial fields.

We have made every effort to reach food-grains to deficit areas. You are aware that West Bengal, Kerala, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and many other parts of the country are faced with food shortages. Through the efforts of the Government and non-official organisations, the needs of the people were met to some extent. I would like to congratulate the people of these States for the courage with which they faced difficulties. They have upheld the honour of India. They have shown that a free nation is capable of overcoming difficulties.

The people of India are faced with many other problems. There is the problem of rising prices. There is a demand for higher wages. This problem is not confined to India. The whole world is faced with the problem of rising prices and the demand for higher wages. It is a vicious circle of rising prices, higher rents, higher wages and again higher prices. It is our endeavour to break this vicious circle. We want to stabilise prices. We have all to co-operate to solve this problem. We have to make sacrifices. We should restrict our purchases of consumer goods. It is not an easy problem. The poorer sections
of the community are the worst sufferers. I have the greatest sympathy for them. We have to find ways and means of solving this problem.

I know that everyone wants an increase in his wages. People are also worried that they can buy very little even with increased wages. We have to find a solution to the problem of people's needs. We have limited resources. We have to consider ways and means of augmenting our resources. If we can increase our resources by suffering hardship, we should not hesitate to do so. Then our difficulties will end soon.

Our Constitution envisages the formation of Governments by different parties in different States. Today we have Governments of different complexions. They have freedom to follow their own paths. It has always been our endeavour to extend the fullest cooperation to them. Sometimes, perhaps in anger, or perhaps because of their helplessness in the face of difficulties, the States accuse us of discriminatory treatment. The charge of discrimination is absolutely baseless. India is one nation. We treat all citizens equally. All States are equal in our eyes. It is our endeavour to ensure equitable distribution of food and other resources. We want to remove the difficulties of all. But as our resources are limited, we can only share what we have. I do hope that the people will appreciate our difficulty and co-operate with us.

We have taken up many projects for the development of the country. We have spread education. Progress in such fields as women's welfare, development of communications and industrialisation has brought many changes. We have opened up new vistas of progress. But as we progress in new fields, new difficulties arise. All sections of the community are faced with difficulties. Unrest is a world phenomenon, whether it is among students or other sections. There are problems of race, language or other similar problems facing various countries. We should not magnify our difficulties.

Two years ago, our leaders put forward a proposal that education up to the university level should be in the mother tongue so that the benefits of education could reach everyone and the talents of the people could find a natural outlet. Can we achieve this? Even a good proposal sometimes contains the seeds of danger. It is feared that this proposal might encourage separatism. This proposal could prove beneficial if there is a link language which can bind the people together and thus help maintain national unity. Similarly, there is need to maintain links with the world. We cannot afford to live in isolation in the present-day world. It will prove harmful to our interests. Therefore, there should be three languages—the regional language, a national link-language and an international language. We have to keep in view the difficulties of the people in the matter of language. We have to
consider how the difficulties of the people in various parts of the country can be minimised and how they can be helped in every possible way. No one should have the feeling that something is being thrust on him or that impediments are being put in his path.

Sometimes we think that a particular view is beneficial to the people at large. But there are people with a different view. In this matter we have to carry the people with us. We cannot ignore the views of others. We have to find a solution which is acceptable to all, and which does not weaken our democratic structure or our national unity. The question of language generates emotion and anger. If a proper solution is found, language can become a force for national unity and national progress.

Regional tendencies have been on the increase. The people of each State think that if development schemes are implemented in that particular State, India will make rapid progress. Unfortunately, our resources are limited. We have to determine an order of priorities for different development schemes. We must look upon all States as our own. There is no need to feel upset if a development scheme is implemented in another State. We should be patient. Gradually, all development schemes will be implemented. We should draw inspiration from our past when we overcame innumerable difficulties.

We need peace for our progress. We want peace at home and abroad. We stand for world peace. There are tensions sometimes. All kinds of questions arise. There are tensions even in a family, between brothers and sisters. We have always stood for a peaceful solution of all questions. It has always been and continues to be our endeavour that all questions should be solved through peaceful means. But if there is aggression on our borders, we will meet it with all our might. A few days ago, I visited some forward areas. Our officers and Jawans are guarding our borders with courage. They are not deterred by adverse weather conditions. I have seen them guard the snowy mountains. I assured them that the entire nation was behind them. I conveyed to them the good wishes of the Government and people of India. I have full confidence that the honour of India is safe in the hands of our Armed Forces. Let us not forget that we have a responsibility too. Our officers and Jawans are bearing hardship and are prepared to sacrifice their lives to protect the territorial integrity of India. We should also be ready to bear hardship and make sacrifices. We should keep in view our objectives.

What is socialism? There are differing definitions. A simple definition of socialism is that poverty should be eradicated; disparities between the rich and the poor should be reduced; the backward people—be they Harijans, adivasis or the hill people—should have equal
opportunities to make progress; and there should be equal distribution of national resources. This is our socialism and this is our goal. We want to achieve this goal rapidly.

Sons and daughters of India—be you workers or kisans [farmers], businessmen or industrialists, teachers or students, writers or artists—you are all inhabitants of this great country. You should not forget this for a moment. Through your veins runs the blood of heroes and great men. Let diffidence give way to confidence; let despair give way to hope. We will then be able to build a strong nation; we will then be able to raise the structure of a beautiful Bharat. We are capable of doing so. We have embarked on an exciting venture. We shall face every difficulty—be it war or famine—with courage and determination. We shall not let the nation go under.

My countrymen, join me with all your heart in raising the national slogan. Let this slogan echo all over. Let it be a symbol of our national strength. Let it guide us towards national progress. Jai Hind.

The Democratic Approach

It is quite evident from the trend of the debate that our friends opposite have lost the gusto they had last year. This is understandable because whatever the year might have been like for this Government, it has been a year of disenchantment and disillusionment for our friends opposite and their colleagues in the States. Hurriedly got together, United Fronts of all kinds of parties, all manner of ideologies, have crumbled one by one, perhaps under the weight of their unity! It is all right to fasten the blame again and again on the Congress Party, or on the Central Government, but the fact of the matter is that this disenchantment is born out of the inherent contradictions and weaknesses of the patterns which were evolved.

Today there are many grave issues before the country, and many of these have naturally been referred to in the debate. But some of them—however serious and grave they seem just now, and however heart-breaking they may seem to be—are problems merely of the moment. Despite all the cynicism expressed by Hon. Members opposite, we are going to get over these problems. Some of our friends have constantly expressed cynicism. They may be interested to learn of the description of a cynic given by Oscar Wilde. He said that a

From speech during debate in Lok Sabha on President's Address, February 23, 1968
cynic was "one who knows the price of everything and the value of
nothing."

There are some grave issues which are not merely issues of the
moment. They involve our long-term interests; they involve higher
stakes and they deal with matters of lasting and abiding importance.
They involve the question of the very survival of this nation. Two of
these issues are democracy and secularism. They are the pillars on
which we have sought to build our society. I firmly believe that we
must make them secure. This security is not a party matter nor a
matter which could be dealt with from a regional, local or any kind
of a partisan point of view. They have to be dealt with on a higher
plane.

I was glad to find in many of the speeches a really thoughtful note.
This is certainly more welcome than the destructive anger which one
sometimes finds in the utterances of Hon. Members opposite. There
has also been a certain amount of passion exhibited on the question of
national unity. I myself share this passion, and welcome it at a time
when our young people and even some old trouble-makers are having
recourse to violence and perpetrating ugly events in Guwahati, Meerut,
Ranchi, Madras and some other parts of India.

It is for us to discharge the responsibility of maintaining unity and
not allowing the matter to be decided on the streets. It is certainly
the business of those who are in charge—not only of the Government
and officials, not only of the political parties but even of non-political
persons—to see how these matters can be kept away from the streets,
how these matters can be discussed and debated in the institutions
which have been set up for the purpose. It is for us to decide whether
we believe in Parliament and the parliamentary method or in mob
rule.

It was exactly a year ago that the election results were coming in
and they set the world wondering about India’s stability. If there is
stability in India, it is not due to odd combinations of Opposition
and they set the world wondering about India’s stability. If there is
of balancing the instability of the States. I had hoped that the oppor-
tunity to be in power and to bear responsibility would enable the
Opposition parties to be more responsible. But our hopes have,
unfortunately, been belied. I am one of the people who had wel-
comed these different Governments in the States and had sincerely
hoped that the opportunity which our democracy gives even to smaller
parties to come into power would have been better utilised. For some
parties, it has become a pastime to make the Centre a kind of bogey-
man for all their failures. I must say that I do not think anybody in
this country is taken in by this posture.

We must now make up for lost time and regain the tempo which
the two years of drought and the two wars have interrupted in the development of our country. This year nature has been kinder to us. But, at the same time, we must not forget or ignore the human effort which countless farmers, scientists and officials have combined to put in to give us a good harvest this year. We want this record harvest to be followed by many others. In science, there is a saying that miracles occur only when the scientist works hard enough to realise them.

If the House will allow me a few minutes, I may tell a story which I heard some years ago visiting a farming community in America. It is about a Negro who was utterly destitute, living on the charity of the village. There happened to be a very tiny plot of land which was regarded as useless. So the village people said, "Why not give it to him? Even if he cannot grow anything it will give him something to do." This poor man laboured day and night and managed to take out all the thorny weeds and all the rocks and other things here and there and even managed to grow something on the plot of land. Later when the village priest passed by, he remarked, "John, that is a fine bit of work which God and you have done together." John thought for a minute and said, "Perhaps, you are right, Sir. But you should have seen this plot of land when God alone was in charge!"

No nation, not even the most affluent nation, is without its ups and downs. No country is free from problems. In fact, as I have said so many times, I believe that problems in a way determine the strength and stability of a nation.

One of our gravest problems is the problem of food. Bihar has tested the mettle and proved the capacity of our wonderful people. Even in the midst of grave difficulties, all kinds of programmes were pushed through there and elsewhere. I should like to emphasise that we are not slackening our efforts either on the production front or on the procurement front. We are installing two lakh pump-sets and digging 32,000 tube-wells, to mention only two items. In the coming year, we shall provide 17 lakh tonnes of fertiliser as compared to 13 lakh tonnes this year. Our effort is to ensure that the spurt in agriculture spreads to other fields also.

The Budget will soon be presented to you. This morning my colleague, the Deputy Prime Minister, placed before us a detailed economic survey which we will have occasion to discuss. Therefore, I need not go into the details of this matter.

But the one thing that is rightly distressing to us all and is engaging our minds is the problem of unemployment, specially among our young people and our young engineers. The President’s Address defines this problem with clarity and frankness. It has also put the solution in the right perspective, by linking it to the growth of the economy as a
whole at a rate and level which would absorb our growing population and meet its growing expectations. As economic activity picks up, the situation should also improve. But let us keep our eyes on the long-term perspective. Ultimately, it is better to have a sufficient number of engineers and technicians than to be starved of them. Capital and equipment can be found, but talent is more difficult to have. Trained personnel are difficult to find to run our industry.

Hon. Members have referred to the public sector. We fully share their concern and we ourselves are anxious and are taking every possible step to see that the public sector attains the maximum efficiency and the maximum success as soon as possible. But one thing you must also understand. It is very easy for some people to ask why the public sector is not giving profit. The answer is simple. It is because it is busy building a base; you cannot get profit out of certain basic industries immediately. But certainly where there is inefficiency, where there are other reasons for losses, it would be looked into.

In the last two decades, we have put our faith in the process of planned development and, I think, this faith has been fully vindicated. But for the work put in in this sphere, it would not have been possible for the nation to have overcome the major challenges which were posed in the last few years by repeated external aggression as well as by severe and unprecedented economic problems.

It is indeed surprising that my Hon. friend opposite, Prof. Ranga, is still harping on a Plan holiday, especially since the very captains of industry on whose behalf his party speaks are urging the Government to increase their investment. There can be no holiday for this nation—not so long as this party is in charge of the Government of this country, not so long as there are hungry millions seeking social justice.

One of the problems which makes us sad is our inability to do more for Scheduled Castes and Tribes and for our landless labour. I would like to make it clear that I am fully conscious of this gap in our programmes. We are trying to fill in these gaps. In the same way, I must express my concern for all the minorities of India. Here again, we are deeply conscious of all that we owe them. We are constantly looking at this problem and are in touch with people from many organisations, political as well as non-political, to see what can be done to deal with it and with the communal tension which rears its ugly head from time to time.

I had not really wanted to speak on language on this occasion but many Hon. Members have touched upon it. The basic issue is to see that certain assurances which had been given to the non-Hindi-speaking people by my father and Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri should be honoured. That is why it was important to bring this Language Bill here and that is what we did. Now, it is true that when it came to
the House the Hindi-speaking people felt that it was going to create a
difficult situation for them. So, what did we do? We did not change
any basic thing in the Act. We did not take any position which would
take away or lessen the assurance which was given to the non-Hindi-
speaking people. What we did was merely to add to the burden,
but whose burden? Not of the non-Hindi-speaking people, but of the
Central Secretariat officials, in that they have now to provide trans-
lations not only from Hindi into English, but also from English into
Hindi. This was the one thing that took place. It was made very clear
by the Home Minister here in this House that this burden would be on
us and not on those who do not wish to use Hindi.

Naturally, when a new step is taken, it imposes a burden. It
imposes a burden on those who have to learn a new language. But
those Hon. Members who come from the non-Hindi States perhaps do
not realise that the burden of learning Hindi is only slightly less on
many of us who live in the Hindi-speaking States. I can say for
myself that the Hindi that is now spoken here is for me an entirely
new language, and I have had to learn it anew.

Any new step does impose a burden on somebody or the other.
What the Home Minister had said was that the burden would be a
little more on the non-Hindi-speaking people. He had also said that
whatever the difficulty, we would discuss it and we would find ways of
minimising it. It was necessary for us to sit and talk and see what
the difficulties of the people of different States as well as the difficul-
ties of the administrators were.

I think the less that is said about it from now until tempers calm
down, the better it is; then we may all be in a better position to sit
together and discuss it and try to find a way which will strengthen
the unity of the country and facilitate communication not only between
all of us who have had the privilege of a higher education but even
amongst those who have not had that privilege. The time has now
come when we should give them this equality of opportunity and
lessen the class distinction which has grown through language.

My Hon. friends, Prof. Ranga and Shri C. C. Desai, have advised
me to quit. I thank them for the advice. Prof. Ranga gave the same
advice, as many older members of this House will remember, both to
my father and to Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri. I am glad to be in good
company. Hon. Member Prof. Ranga has been a true nationalist. But
what can I say about the other Hon. Member? He has held high posi-
tions in Government. He has been in the Indian Civil Service at a time
when the rest of us were in prison, when some of our colleagues were
being shot and others were being hanged. We, who have passed
through the ordeal of sacrifice, know how to conduct our affairs and
evolve policies and programmes calculated to promote the interest of
our country. It is presumptuous on the part of the people who have not gone through this, who have no idea of the hardships of people who live in the villages or of the sacrifices our poor people are forced to make, to tender us advice.

Now turning to external affairs, there was hardly any new point raised during the debate. The usual points were there on Vietnam and West Asia. There is not much to say on this, as this opportunity is given to us time and again. The conflict in Vietnam and its escalation is something that saddens us very greatly. What happens in South-East Asia is of very great concern to us in India. We have always maintained that the solution cannot be a military one and later events have proved the rightness of our assessment. Today our view is shared by a growing number of nations. We still maintain, as we said so many months ago, that the first step should be the stoppage of the bombing of North Vietnam and that this would lead to other steps which could take the conflict from the battlefield on to the conference table.

There were references here to West Asia. Here again, we have always stood for the principle that no party should be allowed to keep the fruits of aggression and that every country should be able to live in peace and security.

Some Hon. Members have referred in their amendments and otherwise to the new situation in the Indian Ocean area. We maintain a close and careful watch over the political and other developments in this area and have noted the intention of the British Government to withdraw militarily from there in the near future. Our relations with all the countries of South and South-East Asia are very friendly and cordial and continue to grow satisfactorily. We feel that the security of these countries can best be ensured not through military alliances but by the strength of their national economies and by their political stability.

One Hon. Member said that I should not say anything about the Kutch Award. But I feel that this omission would be conspicuous. We are closely examining the Award. But in the meantime, since some anxiety has been expressed about the position relating to certain points, I should like to share with the House the information that the Award has determined that Point 84, Sardar Post, Biar Bet, Karim Shahi, Bavaria Bet, Sarf-Bela Bet, Vighokot, Gainda Bet, and the entire Nara Bet chain, lie on the Indian side of the border. A marginal area to the south of Rahim-ki-Bazar, including Pirol Valo Kun and Kanjar Kot and Dhara Banni and Chhad Bet are determined to lie on the Pakistan side of the border.

As soon as the examination is complete, a further statement will be made. We shall naturally honour our commitment. I feel it
would be a sad day if we fail to meet an international commitment.

I would like to repeat the point with which I started. It is the question of violence in the streets and the feeling of parochialism. This is a national problem. I fail to understand how it is that a handful of people can create so much trouble even when a majority are not with them on some of these occasions and on some of these issues. How can a small minority terrorise a larger majority into either just tolerating them or encouraging them? It obviously shows that there is a great need to mobilise the entire community against these acts of violence, and this is where political and non-political citizens of this country should also take a hand and help to control such activities. As far as the average citizen is concerned, it is not right for him to say that he is not concerned. It is something with which he is very much concerned, because it affects not only his daily life but the future of his children.

In this connection, I should like to say a word about the various *senas* [volunteer corps] which are cropping up all over the place. I cannot understand what battles these *senas* are going to fight. As I see the Indian situation, there is only one battle to fight and that is the battle against poverty. And it requires only one *sena* and that is the *sena* of a united, determined Indian people.

It is still not too late for us to get together to evolve methods of working together on certain issues which can be recognised or identified as national issues. As the President said, on our part, we shall continue to work for such a national co-operative approach towards the major national problems. Indeed, we shall welcome every step towards a united and determined effort by this nation to solve these problems and to march ahead.

### Tradition and Modernity

**Question:** In Spain and other Western countries where there is no tradition of women holding public office (except in the case of some monarchies), it comes as a surprise that an Indian woman like Your Excellency should hold the official position Your Excellency now occupies. Does that in fact represent an exception or is it symp-
tomatic of the important role played by Indian women in fields other than family life?

**THE PRIME MINISTER**: I would not call myself an exception or a symptom. My being Prime Minister has nothing to do with my being a woman. The people of Europe and America may even now be astonished at such an event, but not the people of India. For nearly fifty years, ever since Mahatma Gandhi took up the leadership of the national movement, our people have been accustomed to seeing women in the forefront of political life. Indeed, Gandhiji's success was in no small measure due to the fact that he was able to mobilise women, rich and poor, educated and uneducated, in towns and in villages.

Our women did not fight against their menfolk, as happened in the suffragette movement in the West. They fought alongside men for freedom and fundamental rights. When we were humiliated or beaten up, sent to prison or to the gallows, we met no pity because of our sex. We shared the suffering and the sacrifice in full measure. Should we not share the fruits of freedom? Our Constitution incorporates our equality.

**QUESTION**: To what extent does the position of Indian women according to law and tradition coincide with their real position in today's public life?

**THE PRIME MINISTER**: In law today Indian women are quite free. The Hindu Code Bill has abolished the numerous legal handicaps and discrimination from which they suffered. My father was a staunch supporter of women's rights. On one occasion he described the Hindu Code as perhaps his most important achievement. However, law is one thing, tradition another. We have more women legislators than most countries of Western Europe or America. Women are also coming into their own in education, the administrative services, science, medicine, business and the professions. But one cannot say that all women have been liberated from their ancient handicaps. Working women, whether in towns or villages, have always had equality. Women who earn positions by their own effort and merit have always been accepted. But in-between are a large number who continue to be home-bound and kitchen-bound. This is partly due to economic causes. But social conservatism also plays a big role. Marriage is still the biggest career for women. Also the employment situation in India is such that there is no shortage of workers.

**QUESTION**: To what extent does the public activity of women in India limit or detract from their traditional virtues and functions?

**THE PRIME MINISTER**: Can you not ask the same question of men? It is true that women have a special role both in ensuring
continuity and in evoking new aspirations. There is an old saying that if you educate a man you educate one person, but if you educate a woman you educate the whole family. I do not think education or public work turns women away from their cultural roots. I doubt if we shall give up the sari or other colourful Indian costumes for Western dress. A woman who is competent enough to handle a difficult job is usually also a better wife and homemaker.

QUESTION: Has Your Excellency found special difficulties in political work due to Your Excellency being a woman?

THE PRIME MINISTER: I have not yet come across a problem or a situation where sex would have made a difference.

QUESTION: To what extent is the Indian woman admitted to university and professional life?

THE PRIME MINISTER: Women abound in practically every faculty in the universities—arts, the humanities and sciences. In our Atomic Energy Establishment, there are several women research scientists. Our Cancer Research Centre in Bombay has a woman director. I believe we have 12,000 women doctors of medicine and 6,000 women scientists with Master’s and Doctor’s degrees. It is interesting that in the last twenty years, the ratio of women among M.Sc.’s has gone up from one in thirty to one in eight. We have more than 400,000 girls in colleges—a fifth of the total—and half a million women school-teachers.

The total number of school-going children in India has risen in the last fifteen years from 23 million to 70 million. Four-fifths of all children of school age are now at school. In our educational polices we lay special stress on girls’ education. Soon girls and boys will be in equal proportion even as there will be universal primary education.

As for the professions, women are found in even unorthodox professions such as electronics, engineering and civil aviation. A woman has been the head of a big shipping concern for fifteen years or so. We have women judges and district magistrates. The district magistrate is a key figure in Indian administration. He or she heads all the officials in a district, which in India has an average population of one million. In the rural areas, women have been elected chairmen of village councils which help to plan and direct local development work. It is only in the Defence Services that you do not find many women, although they are prominent in the University Military Training Scheme. Women are prominent in small trade, organised industrial labour and Government services. We had nearly 1.8 million women workers last year. The Central Government alone had 71,000 women employees.
QUESTION: Present-day India seems to represent the union of two cultures, the Indian and the Western. To what extent does Western culture affect the most fundamental values of Indian culture or to what extent is it simply an instrument at the service of these values? That is to say, do you expect the birth of a new culture which would be the synthesis of both or, on the contrary, the absorption of one by the other?

THE PRIME MINISTER: A civilisation which has retained its distinctive characteristics for 3,000 years is not likely to be easily shaken by other civilisations.

Through its long history, India has suffered many invasions. Probably no country has received a greater variety of racial, linguistic and cultural influences; India has felt strong enough to adapt and Indianise all foreign influences. The end product is unmistakably Indian and there is a strong core of Indianness in us all.

It is true that modern technology is affecting an increasing number of countries. As a result the world tends to be more alike; but this is so only outwardly. Modernisation and industrial development need not lead to de-Indianisation. Human nature will insist on cherishing its differentiating features the more jealously and resist the tendencies towards uniformity. We do, however, wish to take the best of other cultures, so as to strengthen our own development and capacity for meeting contemporary situations.

QUESTION: Especially, how is it possible to harmonise traditional Indian spirituality with Western pragmatism?

THE PRIME MINISTER: It sounds romantic to talk of Indian spirituality, but as a people we have more or less the same admixture of spiritualism and materialism as most others. In ancient times our people were great traders, sea-farers and ship-builders. They organised the world’s most remarkable textile industry and built great cities and forts. Kautilya, who lived in the 3rd century B.C., wrote a book called the Arthashastra which anticipated Machiavelli in many respects. Our people created the most elegant and urbane literature and produced sculptures known for their voluptuousness. Could they have done all this if they had been only spiritualists?

But it is true that the spirituality of the Vedantic and Buddhist type has been the highest point of our civilisation. Our great men have been bridges between the past and the future, translating our ancient and timeless truths into modern idiom and giving them relevance to our own times. Thus my father, Jawaharlal Nehru, was very much a man of the contemporary world. Yet he was steeped in Indian tradition and heritage, and the policies he formulated—for the present and the future—had their roots in our past, whether it was
secularism (which means equal respect for all religions) or the emphasis on material progress for the people, or the concept of a society founded on duty.

**QUESTION:** What role does Your Excellency consider India can play along with the other Asiatic Great Powers once the last remnant of Western influence has disappeared?

**THE PRIME MINISTER:** India does not wish to claim the role of a leader. It has been given to us to voice the feelings and opinions of resurgent Afro-Asia, but we have not sought any hegemony. Because of our size and geographical position and our resources in materials and men, we cannot but play a fairly large part in international affairs and that role will always be on behalf of peace. People recognise us as a power, even as a potential great power, but we have absolutely no extra-territorial ambitions either of dominion or of control over the minds of men. Any nation which speaks of global destiny usually ends up being a menace to the world.

We are against being influenced by any outside political power, but we welcome modernisation and the expansion of science and technology; for it is through them that we can give a better life to our people and be strong enough to defend our freedom.

**QUESTION:** Usually it is said that developing countries can only achieve higher socio-economic levels through personal or group dictatorship. Present-day India represents the complete denial of this assertion. What could Your Excellency tell us about this problem which is of such interest to the world today?

**THE PRIME MINISTER:** Dictatorship can be only a short-term phenomenon. It provides a short cut, but life proves that short cuts create more problems than they solve. Churchill is quoted as having said that democracy is the most brittle of systems, yet it is the best we have. The path of democracy is long and arduous, but the democratic process itself educates; so, we have adopted the path of development through consent and co-operation. We are determined to make it work.

**QUESTION:** Spain is the mother of some twenty nations which today maintain the closest and strongest cultural links with Spain, all of them speaking Spanish which is one of the most widespread languages in the world. However, I noticed that Spanish culture was practically unknown in India. Doesn’t Your Excellency think that a greater contact between our two cultures would be beneficial to both our countries, and what does Your Excellency think could be done to that effect?
The Prime Minister: It is true that we have not had close contacts with Spanish culture. This is a pity, and I am sure that we have been the losers. We must now make up for lost time. Lately our political and economic relations with Spain and Latin America have been improving gradually. We must accelerate and strengthen this process to our mutual benefit. Spanish is a beautiful language with a rich literature, I wish more Indians would learn it.

May I send my greetings and good wishes, through you, to the Spanish people.

Two Decades of Freedom

Question: As India begins its third decade of freedom, would you make a brief assessment of where you think the greatest achievement—and the greatest failure—have been made? We are thinking here of what India has been able to accomplish and has failed to achieve in political, economic and social affairs.

The Prime Minister: The most important of our achievements is the building up of a politically unified Indian Society. Next is the development of machine building industries. The doubling of the life-span is an indication of our general progress. More recently we have had an agricultural break-through. But the disappointments are many. The biggest of them, in my view, is that our intellectuals, our industrialists and businessmen do not yet feel proud of being Indians.

Question: Outside observers have often expressed doubts about the continued survival of Indian democracy, even as other foreigners continually marvel at how India is able to organise an electoral system encompassing the world's largest and most complex electorate. There is what seems to be the end of the Congress Party era. There is the ominous rise of militant, fanatic and separatist forces. There is Delhi coffee-house speculation on the virtues of military dictatorship. Would you comment on these things?

The Prime Minister: Foreigners are not the best judges of what is happening in India, neither in what they admire nor in what they criticise. The speculation on Indian unity is an old pastime. Some maintain that the British unified India. This is one of the half-truths propagated by half-historians. The condition in which the

Replies to questionnaire, Asia Magazine, July 19, 1968
British left the princely States when they withdrew shows that they did not unify India either by design or in a fit of absent-mindedness. Real unity came through opposition to British rule, through nationalism and through the democratic process. It is the latter which did away with the princely States and ushered in uniformity of law. The nationalist impulse is still very much with us. Four general elections have been possible because the world's largest electorate has discovered that it has a stake in democracy. It is true that political power and influence have not spread uniformly amongst all classes. But have they in any country? The Indian people have become political, and having known the power that democracy gives them, I am sure they will not tolerate any system of paternalistic or elite government.

Fanatic and parochial forces are much in evidence. Some of them have been fomented by parties or individuals. I am deeply conscious of the danger they pose to our democracy. We cannot be complacent about them or about the groups whom the Chinese are trying to ply with subversive ideas in the north-east. But there are no break-away movements of any significance. And none will be tolerated.

As for your reference to the end of the Congress Party era, you may have spoken too soon. Do not underrate the Congress Party's instinct for survival, or the strength of the Opposition parties' 'death wish'.

**QUESTION:** How much longer will India be dependent on the monsoon—and on foreign aid—for its basic grain?

**THE PRIME MINISTER:** In a sense, we can never neutralise the monsoon. Our country is so vast that some region or other will have a drought or a deluge. But I can confidently say that in four years the country as a whole can do without imports of food-grains. The agricultural break-through is now a firm fact. We grew 95 million tonnes of grains last year, compared to 51 million tonnes seventeen years ago in the year in which we launched our First Plan. We shall soon build up an adequate storage and distribution organisation also. This year, for example, we could not make the best use of a bumper harvest.

**QUESTION:** What is the reason that moratorium has been declared on the Fourth Five Year Plan?

**THE PRIME MINISTER:** Only those who do not know the magnitude of the drought which parched our lands for two successive years can pose such a question. A much smaller drought killed two to three million people in the last years of British rule. If ever a famine was created by administrative callousness that was one. Much is made
of administrative inefficiency in India. The manner in which the recent drought situation was contained and conquered is a tribute to the devotion of our official and voluntary workers.

Also it was precisely during the drought period that solid development work in the agricultural field was done. The whole of our new agricultural strategy—widespread distribution of new high-yield seeds, the use of heavy fertiliser dosage, the exploitation of irrigation potential, soil conservation—was put into effect during the drought years when the Plan was supposedly at a standstill. Therefore, the word moratorium is hardly correct.

In industry we had two problems—lack of demand and lack of foreign exchange to run the plants. Aid has so far been largely tied to projects, ignoring the fact that projects must not only be established but also be operated. The latter task also requires some imports. We have now been able to convince aid-givers of the importance of ‘untied’ credits.

Before we go on to the next question, I should like to say that we are now all set to move forward with the Fourth Plan.

**QUESTION:** How far would you say the economy has come towards Pandit Nehru’s goal of a “socialist pattern of society”?

**THE PRIME MINISTER:** Some distance, although not enough. My father was not a dogmatic socialist. His ‘socialistic pattern’—which is also ours—differs from the rigid definitions given to socialism elsewhere. For example, we have never thought in terms of taking away land from the common cultivator. In the industrial sector, there has been a steady progress in the share of the public sector in the total investment and product. Thirdly, our socialism aims at the gradual but decisive reduction of inequalities of opportunities and incomes. It is here that we have not had much success. The early stages of development always increase disparities, whether among regions or among groups or among individuals. I have often tried to explain this to my rural audiences by using a homely analogy. A free library is a useful institution but only those who can read can benefit from it, and those who have some knowledge of a subject benefit more. The gap between them and the illiterate widens. Something similar happens when the natural resources of a given area are developed. That area forges ahead of the other regions which are less well endowed. This is what has been happening with our new agricultural strategy. Our aim is to get maximum output in the shortest possible time. In doing so, production scores over the equalisation process. The ‘dry’ farmer, who is entirely dependent on rainfall, remains where he is, while the man who owns irrigated land and can use the new varieties of seed and higher doses of fertiliser goes ahead.
QUESTION: The impression of outsiders is that the ideal of national integration in India has recently received some severe setbacks. Among these setbacks seems to be bitterness over language, local agitations against minorities (for instance, the South Indians in Bombay apparently are the target-group of the Maharashtrian Shiv Sena) and outright separatist movements (as in Tamil Nadu). Would you tell us the real significance of these events and how Delhi plans to deal with them?

THE PRIME MINISTER: I have already partly answered the question; but are these symptoms in any way confined to our country? Even much smaller countries have problems of language and of regional loyalties. A vast country such as India cannot wish them away, even though our federal system constitutionalises these urges and gives as much weight to diversity as to our underlying unity. Also, the democratic system and modern life are highly competitive and, therefore, initially give some encouragement to regional or group loyalties. Recently we revived our National Integration Council to devise programmes which would help to create greater harmony between different religious groups and to curb religious fanaticism and regional tension. These problems are not merely of the Central Government. There must be effort at all levels. As a first step, we are determined to strengthen the law and to apply it more strictly against such troublemakers.

QUESTION: Another common belief outside India is that obscurantism, superstition and tradition still weigh very heavily on Indian society, and that far from resolutely standing against such burdensome traditions, India's national leaders are in fact perpetuating and sharpening these reactionary forces for their own manipulative purposes. Critics on this point cite almost everything from the way Gandhiji (and other Congressmen) exalted the spinning wheel, when what was needed was that India should accept industrialisation and technological modernisation that goes with it, to the way a party like Jan Sangh could, in this day and age, campaign and win on the issue of cow-slaughter. Could you think loudly on these doubts and misgivings for us?

THE PRIME MINISTER: Outsiders tend to see India as a museum. It is true that different parts of the Indian society exist in different centuries. The modernisation process, which really began a hundred and fifty years ago with Raja Rammohun Roy and which received its biggest impetus under my father, is shaping all these groups into one mass. It is unfair to Mahatma Gandhi to talk only of his spinning wheel and to forget his revolutionary work in modernising Indian society by battling with untouchability and the inequalities of caste
and sex. The advanced nations have to deal with two cultures, the scientific and the humanistic. Our third culture is the accumulation of traditional beliefs and rituals. The battle between science and superstition will not be a short one in our country. It can be won only through unrelenting effort. The steady expansion of technology will alter the social climate. Unfortunately, there are still parties and groups in India which are opposed to enlightenment. It is well to remember that not all our old beliefs are superstitious. Our philosophy and tradition have given fortitude and strength to our people and have enabled our civilisation to survive through the ages.

**QUESTION:** Folk of Indian origin are to be found in most countries of South-East Asia. In many ways these Indian communities abroad face the same problem that the overseas Chinese do. What are Delhi's views on these problems and what policy does it follow with regard to the overseas Indians? Does it actively encourage their integration and refuse dual citizenship?

**THE PRIME MINISTER:** A long time ago, we adopted a clear policy regarding overseas Indians. We have never encouraged dual citizenship and have consistently tried to persuade people of Indian origin who have made their home in other countries to become full and loyal citizens of those countries.

**QUESTION:** During your visit to Singapore and Malaysia, hopes were raised there that India would take a more active role in South-East Asian stability after the British withdrawal from the region. And apparently significantly, units of the Indian Navy also called on Singapore and Penang round about the same time. What precisely is India prepared to do towards helping the security of Malaysia and Singapore and the South-East Asian Peninsula in general?

**THE PRIME MINISTER:** We reject the 'power vacuum' theory. We believe that the best defence of a nation is its own nationalism and its economic strength. We have no desire whatever to use our defence forces for any purpose beyond our borders except for international missions of peace of the kind which the United Nations has asked us to undertake.

**QUESTION:** There is another constant assumption about India in Asia. That is that India and Communist China are willy-nilly engaged in a race for development—Communist China by dragooned modernisation and India by persuasion and the democratic process. The outcome, it is said, will decide which way the smaller countries of Asia would follow—whether the Indian or the Communist Chinese example. Do you feel that India is in any way in a 'race' with Mainland China, and that Communist Chinese achievements are in any way a gauge
for measuring Indian achievements? And what do you think are the Chinese and the Indian strong points in this competition?

The Prime Minister: China and India are two of the big facts of Asia but not the only two. There are also other countries which by virtue of their resources, size of population and technological skills could be very important. Unfortunately, China and India are in a state of political and military confrontation. The situation is not of our choosing but we are naturally determined to face it. China too must realise the importance of living at peace with her neighbours, and I am sure that in time it will do so. The other nations of Asia are too involved in their own problems to be watching to see who, between India and China, scores over the other. Each country must find its own path and be prepared to pay the price for it. We chose democracy with open eyes knowing that it is the longer process. We were convinced that the longer road is often more reliable than shortcuts. Neither the leaders nor the common people of India are competing in any way with China. We are interested in building ourselves and establishing a modern and just society in our country.

Question: Do you propose to continue your policy of neutralism?

The Prime Minister: We have never had a policy of neutralism. We are, and intend to remain, non-aligned. We believe in judging international issues in terms of their relevance to our national interest. Whether the world has two or more centres of power, we have to continue to think in terms of India’s interest in the context of world peace. A country of India’s size and potential can never be anyone’s tool.

Question: Finally, would you tell us why India, which is renowned for its pacifism, has refused to sign the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty. What are your views on a nuclear weapon for India, which apparently Indian scientists are capable of producing within 18 months from a policy decision? What kind of nuclear guarantees would you like to see operative through the Indian sub-continent and the South-East Asian region.

The Prime Minister: India is not against the Non-proliferation Treaty although we do not propose to sign it. In our opinion, the Treaty is incomplete and unequal and does not serve the purpose which it is intended to serve. The Treaty seeks only to prevent ‘horizontal’ proliferation, by prohibiting the non-nuclear powers from manufacturing or acquiring nuclear weapons, but permits ‘vertical’ proliferation, i.e., the continued manufacture of such weapons by the nuclear-weapon powers. Furthermore, the Treaty does not stipulate any concrete steps towards nuclear disarmament as part of the larger
process of general and complete disarmament. This would perpetuate the division of the world into nuclear haves and have-nots. Although India has not supported the Treaty, we have reiterated firm adherence to our long-established policy of developing nuclear energy solely for peaceful purposes. It is for each country to decide how best to secure its protection. So far as India is concerned, we believe that as a member of the U.N. we are entitled to the protection of Security Council action in the event of our being threatened or attacked with nuclear weapons.

Need for a National Perspective

Every year we assemble at Red Fort to celebrate Independence Day. We have a long history behind us. But new India is only twenty-one years old. During these twenty-one years, we have faced many problems—drought, floods, famine and shortages. At the same time, we have seen large development projects take shape before our eyes. These are our new temples. In the midst of hopes and disappointments, we have continued to march forward.

Our people have faced innumerable difficulties with courage and fortitude. I congratulate them for the courage displayed by them in facing multifarious problems. We owe our strength to the sacrifices and the hard work of our great leaders.

On this day we take stock of the past and look at the future with hope. Undoubtedly, we are a great nation. But let us not forget that we have a long road to traverse. I have no doubt that if we follow the path shown by our great leaders and hold fast to the principles laid down by them, we will be able to achieve our goal without delay.

It is a matter of regret that in this land of the Buddha, Akbar and Gandhi, there should be violence. It is inevitable that in a country of the size of India there should be differences among various sections of the people. These differences should be settled across the table. It is the duty of every citizen to assist in this process. We should help create conditions in which violence does not thrive; we should not allow riots to take place. A vast majority of our people are peace-loving. Why is it that a handful of people are able to disturb peace? Harijans and people of other minority communities have sometimes

Free translation of speech in Hindi from the ramparts of Red Fort, Delhi, Independence Day, August 15, 1948
suffered atrocities. Several lives have been lost. There has also been a loss of national resources. All this has weakened the nation's strength. There has also been an attempt to create differences and doubts, which have the effect of undermining the confidence of the people.

Let us resolve on this day that we shall give no quarter to such deleterious tendencies. Undoubtedly, the Government has a duty to perform. But political parties, social organisations and the citizens of India have also a responsibility to discharge. The reconstituted National Integration Council has taken certain decisions which are being implemented. I have every hope that we will succeed in creating a new climate of peace and national integration in the country.

Peace is the foundation of our progress. During the last twenty-one years, we have strengthened this foundation. We are beginning to stand on our own feet. After centuries of neglect, we are emerging; we are moving towards self-reliance.

We have witnessed a revolution in agriculture. We have had a bumper crop. However, some parts are affected by drought, and some by floods. Our hearts go out to those who have suffered as a result of drought and floods. We are making every effort to relieve their suffering.

Our bumper crop has been the result of a planned effort. Our kisans [farmers] have made good use of the agricultural inputs provided to them. Higher yields have not been the result of good rains alone. The revolution in agriculture will impart strength to our economy. Industry will also benefit.

The successes we have had should not blind us to certain problems. Let us not forget that agricultural inputs have been made use of only by farmers who enjoyed irrigation facilities. A vast majority of kisans do not have irrigation facilities and were, therefore, unable to make good use of agricultural inputs. This disparity between kisans possessing irrigation facilities and those without irrigation facilities is growing. We have to ensure that the 'dry' farmers receive all possible assistance from us so that they can play a useful role in stepping up agricultural production.

Our industrial progress is to some extent dependent on agriculture. Improved agricultural production has had a beneficial effect on our industry. I have every hope that we will continue to make progress in this field. Last year I had said on this occasion that India would soon emerge from her difficulties. The dark days are ending. We have not solved all our problems. But if we continue to march forward with determination, we will be able to usher in a new era.

As we make progress, we are faced with the rising expectations of people. Several sections of people and several unions have made
certain demands. Some of these demands are just and need to be met. We have, however, to realise that workers, teachers and office employees can voice their demands but a vast majority of people who are illiterate, unskilled and much poorer are unable to give expression to their demands. We cannot ignore them. In taking a decision on the demands of organised sections of the community, we have naturally to consider what effect the acceptance of even just demands will have on those whose demands are unrepresented. We have also to weigh very carefully what overall effect the acceptance of demands will have on the general economic condition. I, therefore, appeal to my brethren, be they workers, teachers or others, to view their demands in the national perspective. We are fully seized of their difficulties and we have all sympathy for them. Let them compare their own difficulties with those of other sections of the community.

When we talk of indiscipline among workers, I would like to say that industrialists and moneyed businessmen cannot escape responsibility. They cannot ensure discipline if they continue to make big profits and draw fat salaries. I would appeal to them to give thought to this problem and find a solution. We should be able to reduce the disparity between the rich and the poor. If we want our country to prosper, we should subordinate personal gain to the national good. We should develop a spirit of sacrifice. Our aim should be more production. Every section of the community should realise its responsibility to the nation. Then and then alone can we have discipline and devolution of responsibility. We should also develop a spirit of co-operation. We should not forget for a minute that our chief aim is to eradicate poverty.

We have the problem of unemployment among engineers and other educated people. We are trying to solve this problem. We have to consider how we can set up new industries and provide employment to a large number of people. I would appeal to the educated people not to hanker after government jobs. They should try and create new opportunities for themselves. There is ample scope for them in our developing economy. They should develop a spirit of self-help and self-reliance.

We have invested hundreds of crores of rupees in our public sector projects. This money does not belong to capitalists or industrialists. It is public money. Profits made by public sector undertakings are spent on public welfare—for building roads, schools, hospitals, etc. It is our duty to ensure that public sector projects are run efficiently and successfully and yield profits. The entire Indian public is a partner in these enterprises. Workers and managers employed in public undertakings have a special responsibility. Public sector undertakings suffer from many deficiencies. We do not want to hide these defi-
ciencies. But it does not mean that all public sector undertakings are badly run. Some of them are being run very efficiently.

Our progress is dependent on national unity, on peace and on economic and political stability. We have witnessed political changes in our country recently. The prophets of gloom in India and abroad predicted that our democracy would collapse. But the soundness of our democratic structure has been fully vindicated. The Indian electorate is fully aware of its democratic rights and I have every hope that it will always exercise these rights with discretion and for the national good.

Our actions produce repercussions in the international sphere. We are living in a fast-moving world. Each country is trying to cultivate and maintain friendly relations with other countries. No nation ever relations with another even if there are differences between the two. Even friendly countries do not wish to be involved when there are disputes.

India has always followed a policy of non-alignment and of judging every issue on its merits. Other countries are also taking to this policy. Old alignments are weakening.

The Soviet Union recently decided to sell arms to Pakistan. This decision caused us concern. In our view it was an unfortunate decision. But we should not be unduly perturbed. We should not present to the world the picture of a grumbling, discontented and scared nation. We are a strong nation. During the last two years, we have taken steps to make the nation stronger. Our troops are guarding our frontiers with courage. No matter what other countries say, we should have faith in our own strength. In the present-day world, real strength is not military strength alone. We have to have a sound industrial base and a united nation. We should not lose faith in our ability and capacity to defend ourselves.

Are we succumbing to pressures from any nation? I want to declare categorically that India shall not succumb to any pressure. Men of strong conviction never succumb and we have a firm conviction and strong determination.

We have had differences with Pakistan. Perhaps, these differences are due to the fact that we have had close relations. Sometimes brothers develop serious differences. We have been the victims of aggression and of hostile propaganda. In spite of this, Pandit Nehru and Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri offered a No-War Pact to Pakistan. On this day, I once again commend a No-War Pact for Pakistan's consideration. A No-War Pact will be of mutual advantage to both and will afford us an opportunity to face internal problems and to make progress.

Swami Vivekananda had said, "Blessed are those who take birth
in this Great Land." It is equally true that blessed is the nation where great men are born. One such great man was Mahatma Gandhi. In October this year, we begin the centenary celebrations of his birth. Gandhiji had enunciated some noble principles which are as valid today as they were during his lifetime. These principles will have validity even in the future. Gandhiji had dedicated his life to the service of Harijans, the poor and the backward people. He sacrificed his life to maintain unity. We have to learn a lesson from his teachings and the noble principles enunciated by him.

Naturally on this day we think of the youth of India. They are the backbone of India. The strength of the nation depends on their strength. There is ferment in the minds of the youth in India and elsewhere in the world. There are many reasons for this ferment. Perhaps one reason is that traditional methods cannot provide a solution to problems of the new age. We can provide leadership to the youth only up to a point. From that point, they have to carve out a new path for themselves and for the nation's future. They will have to face many difficulties and challenges. They have either to climb the mountain of difficulties or cut through it. There is no other way. Our hopes are pinned on the youth of India. They can impart strength to the nation in many fields. I have every hope that they will engage in the mighty endeavour of building a great nation. Their energy and their enthusiasm will be a source of inspiration and encouragement to the entire nation.

Brothers and sisters, the welfare of each one of us is indissolubly linked with a prosperous India. We should forget our own difficulties and only think of making India strong and prosperous. We should face unitedly the many problems facing us. No matter where we are—in the plains, in the hills, on the borders or the seacoast—we are all citizens of this great country. We should not do anything, wittingly or unwittingly, which will lower the prestige of the country. We should so conduct ourselves that the future generations remember us for laying the foundation of a strong nation and for ushering in a new era.

I congratulate you all on the occasion of the twenty-first anniversary of India. I congratulate the kisans who, through their hard work, have solved the food problem to some extent. I congratulate the industrial workers for their effort in increasing production. I congratulate all others who have faced difficulties with courage.

I call upon the people to join hands in making this ancient land a modern, powerful and prosperous nation.

Gandhiji's selfless service has left an imprint on history. He will be remembered for all times to come. We should draw inspiration
from his teachings and his noble principles and make an effort to translate his dream into reality.

On this day, as I speak to you from the ramparts of Red Fort, two names that are associated with Red Fort come to mind. Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose had exhorted the 'Indian National Army' to march to the Red Fort. He had also given us the 'Jai Hind' slogan. Pandit Nehru carried this slogan to every nook and corner of India. Today this slogan has become a symbol of our unity and strength. Jai Hind.

Jallianwala Bagh

JALLIANWALA BAGH: Is it merely the name of a garden in Punjab, or is it the wound which was inflicted on the consciousness of every Indian fifty years ago?

Resentment against alien rule was not new. In 1857, our solders had attempted the first revolt. The Congress had already been born thirty years before the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy. Then, at the beginning of this century, the swadeshi movement was sparked off. Many of our great leaders had already entered the political arena. Hardly a town or village was without its own example of oppression and humiliation. Little by little, the patience of the Indian people was wearing thin. Such was the background to the massacre which took place in Jallianwala Bagh in 1919.

Even at that time, my home was a centre of nationalism and political activity. I was hardly more than a baby, but the impact of this tragedy on my elders could not but leave its mark on me. The blood that was shed that day in Amritsar coloured the rest of our lives.

At first there was no definite news. Martial Law drew a curtain around Punjab, allowing only frightening rumours to leak through. But gradually the full horror of the holocaust unfolded. According to the official British Committee's report, 379 persons were killed and 1,200 wounded. Later, Brigadier Dyer, who had ordered the firing, callously told the Committee that he stopped firing only because his stock of ammunition had run out after 1,650 rounds.

I still remember the national songs of those days calling for revenge. A young Punjabi waited for twenty years to shoot Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the then Lieutenant-Governor. But the answer which Gandhiji wanted us to give was of a different kind. Jallianwala

Broadcast over All India Radio, April 13, 1909
Bagh could not be avenged by the taking of lives, but only by the ending of imperialism itself.

Jallianwala Bagh was a turning point in our history. It gave a new quality and a new dimension to our national struggle. A movement which had been largely confined to intellectuals spread rapidly to all sections of the masses and to all parts of the land. Hesitation and doubt were swept aside.

Rabindranath Tagore returned the knighthood which was conferred upon him by the British, with these words, "The very least I can do for my country is to take all consequences upon myself in giving voice to this protest of the millions of my countrymen, surprised into a dumb anguish of terror. The time has come when badges of honour make our shame glaring in their incongruous context of humiliation."

These millions of unknown men, women and children to whom Tagore referred were the heroes of our struggle for freedom. And as they and many others fell, thousands arose in their place. The tide of the movement surged forward and overwhelmed the great imperial power. Thus we wrested our freedom.

But the struggle is not ended. We are endeavouring to advance step by step towards economic freedom, so that the fruits of political independence may reach all sections of our people. Our first concern should be for the poorest, the dispossessed and the down-trodden. If we produce wealth, they also must have a fair share in it. Their elementary needs must be satisfied. All our efforts and capacity, our knowledge, science and technology must aim at the betterment of the living conditions of the common man.

If we decry the humiliation and injustice to which we were subjected by our alien rulers, it is all the more incumbent upon us to ensure that not a single citizen today is allowed to suffer humiliation or injustice in any form, in any part of the country.

Some recent statements have once again brought to light the prejudices which seem to be deeply rooted in many of our people. There is no doubt in my mind that it is as important and urgent to fight these outmoded, unscientific and utterly false prejudices as it is to fight the vested interests in the economic sphere. For it is obvious that these attitudes are being encouraged to protect other vested interests which are just as firmly entrenched. Discrimination and inequality, whether economic or social, rob freedom of meaning and erode the very base of national unity. From the sacrifices of countless millions has grown the tree of freedom. It has yet to flower fully and bear fruit. We must tend it with care and be prepared to give even our lives in its defence.

All those who seek to serve the people should today re-dedicate themselves to this task. Such an act of dedication must necessarily
involve an affirmation of the continuing validity of the qualities which inspired us during the days of our struggle for freedom. These qualities are: integrity in public and private life; dedication to the interests of the country; and readiness to sacrifice without calculation of reward. How can we go forward and transform our country unless men and women in every walk of life, in fields and factories, in the professions and in trade, and above all, in the administration and political field, display these qualities?

On behalf of the Indian people, I salute the martyrs of Jallianwala Bagh as well as all those who gave their lives to attain or to protect our freedom.

I salute also all those in other continents who have died so that men may live in freedom, in dignity and in full racial equality.

May the spirit of the martyrs ever inspire us and guide us. Jai Hind.

New Horizons

We have assembled once again at this historic place. This day is a milestone in our history and gives us an opportunity to look back on our achievements and failures. At the same time it gives us an opportunity to look ahead and see which way we want to go and which way we are going.

I give you my best wishes on this day. This is the day when we think with gratitude of our great leaders and the martyrs who laid down their lives and sacrificed their all for the good of the country. We think of Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Nation. We think of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, whose name is linked with this Red Fort. And what Shri Jawaharlal Nehru has done for this country can be seen from one corner of the country to the other.

The Jallianwala Bagh massacre took place fifty years ago when a large number of men, women and children, young and old alike, fell victim to a storm of bullets. That was a turning point in the freedom struggle of our country. We observed the 50th anniversary of the tragedy this year. Soon after the massacre, we had pledged ourselves to complete Independence on the banks of the Ravi. And then at Karachi, at Lucknow, at Avadi and at Bhubaneswar, we took one big step after another along our chosen path.

We all know what has happened in the country during these years.

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Free translation of speech in Hindi from the ramparts of Red Fort, Delhi, Independence Day, August 15, 1969.
and the progress we have made in many directions. The production of food-grains has increased. By the abolition of Zamindari we have tried to relieve the distress of our oppressed peasants. The progress in the field of industry is not merely confined to the expansion of existing industries but includes the setting up of many important new industries after the attainment of Independence. Our effort has been to establish big industries only in the public sector and to abolish monopoly; but we know that we have been successful in this only to a limited extent. Anyhow, some very big industries have been established in the public sector; and more are coming up. There has been some criticism of this sector, but if an honest appraisal is made, we will find that on the whole these enterprises are doing very well.

Our peasants particularly are well aware of how they have benefited from these projects. Their needs of water, electricity and many other things have been met. We also know that there are a few industries which are not running as satisfactorily as they should, but we are doing our best to improve their condition. These industries are not the property of the Government but of the people. The earlier they start yielding profits and the better they function, the more the masses would benefit from them.

Our country is forging ahead in every field. Of course, there have been crises in the life of the nation. The wars on our frontiers, droughts, communal riots and other disturbances—all these have done some harm to the country. But these difficulties and calamities have also added to our experience. We have learnt a lot from them and they have made our will stronger and our steps more resolute.

Today we can be sure that we have conquered the darkness. For the first time in the last three or four years, there is brightness on the horizon. Whereas many areas, cities and dwellings are bright with this light, we cannot afford to forget those households which are still engulfed in darkness. How can we forget those peasants whose lands have no irrigation facilities; how can we forget the crores of Harijans and Girijans [hill people] and members of backward tribes who live in mountains and jungles and whose houses are still denied this brightness. We had given them hope and assurance that after Independence they would have a better life, but I am afraid their hopes have not been fulfilled.

To accomplish these unfinished tasks, we will have to move more resolutely towards the goal of socialism we have set ourselves. This path has been chosen by the people of India through the democratic process and it continues to have their approval. One very significant step in this direction has been taken only recently. You all know what it is—the nationalisation of banks. I am fully conscious of the tremendous and spontaneous reception it has received from the people.
A large number of people—big and small—came to meet me, wrote to me and sent me messages, to tell me that this was a right step in the right direction.

There still are many people for whom we have to do something. Ricksha-wallas, tonga-wallas, stone-breakers—all these people come to me. These are the people who are undergoing the worst hardships in our big cities. We have to enable these people to share this new light and to infuse in them a new hope for a better and richer life. No single step can remove all their difficulties, but a beginning has to be made in improving their condition or in helping them to change their professions. We have also to solve the unemployment problem and to provide equal opportunities to all.

Our society, the Government, and the people, all of us have to unite and help these down-trodden people and to assure them a new life. We are forging ahead but sometimes suspicion and anger are created against the minorities, giving rise to violence. This also disturbs our unity which, in turn, disturbs the peace in the country. We all know that if peace is disturbed our production cannot increase. Every section of the people has some problems and difficulties and as we go ahead some new difficulties crop up and we have to face them. For this we want all our strength, and this strength can be conserved and utilised only when we work together to solve each other's problems and difficulties.

When banks were nationalised some rumours were set afloat that this step was directed against a particular section of our society. I want to make it perfectly clear that we do not propose to do anything against anybody. We want all of us to march forward together, But I want to assure the rich and the capitalists that the step that we have taken is not directed against them. It is only in the interest of the people, and a measure which is in the interest of the masses is in their interest also.

I am pained to learn that some voices have been raised against the step that we have taken. It has been said that banks were nationalised at the instance of some foreign power. I want to make it perfectly clear that whatever steps we are taking are at the behest of the masses and in the interest of our democracy. I know that the spirit of democracy is well entrenched in the hearts of the Indian people. I am also sure that they will never do anything which may result in any harm to our country or which may compromise our Independence.

When Mahatma Gandhi started the freedom movement, a great revolution took place in our country. But he brought about this revolution with great humility and with the co-operation of all. He emancipated the country from the clutches of a foreign power. The revolution that took place has not ended yet, because in a fast chang-
ing world, our country and society have to keep changing constantly.

The path we have chosen is the right path. It is a path forged by our
history and culture. But why is it that, in spite of the considerable
progress we have made, the minds of some people are still disturbed
and there is dissatisfaction. Something seems to be lacking. Man wants
something more than progress and material advancement, and there
comes a time in man's life when a revolution emerges from his heart,
from the innermost recesses of his being and when he can recognise
his soul more deeply and can view his surroundings more clearly. Such
a time has come in the life of India today. There is a rush of fresh air
caused by the sudden opening of a door. Those accustomed to living
in a closed atmosphere are worried by the blowing of this breeze; but
there are many others who are tired of suffocation and would welcome
the new strength and life they receive from this breeze.

Twenty-two years ago India awoke in freedom in the middle of
the night. My father declared on that memorable occasion that it was
a tryst with destiny. We have again reached a similar turning point
and the future is unfolding before us; we have to adopt new paths to
take our country rapidly ahead.

This is the year of the Gandhi Centenary. We have not only to
keep the programmes of Gandhiji fresh in our memory but also to
remember the basic ideals and principles of Gandhiji and to familiari
se the new generation with them. Another great man is to visit
our country in the near future. All of you must have heard the name
of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan. He was the greatest disciple of Gandhiji.
Our people called him the Frontier Gandhi and showered upon him
deep respect and affection. I have no doubt that when he visits India
we will welcome him with the same affection.

This is the age of science. This is also the age of the youth. They
have to follow new paths. They do not have to look towards any-
body else, because those who look towards others for guidance are left
behind. We have to show a new path to our young people, I know
that they are endowed with courage and determination. It is only by
cultivating courage, hope, self-reliance and self-confidence that we can
make progress and carry our masses forward.

The tricolour we salute is a symbol of our democracy, of unity and
peace, of development and progress of our country. We have to
cultivate all these qualities in ourselves. It is our duty to preserve the
honour of this wheel of peace which was given to us by the great
Ashoka.

Standing before you here today, I can assure you that whatever I
am and whatever work I do, the paramount thing is that I will always
work in your interest, in the interest of the masses. In this connec-
tion I want to give you the talisman which Gandhiji gave us. He had
said that if you are assailed by doubts while taking a step you should always think of the lowliest and the weakest of our countrymen. If an action is going to improve the lot of the poorest and the weakest then it is the right action, and if you proceed on that path all your doubts will be removed. It is in this spirit that I want to go ahead. We have made great progress but we have forgotten the common man. Wherever we go we find brave slogans and nobody cares to find out how these slogans are going to benefit the poor and the needy.

Today we have taken a new turn. A new dawn has set in, I believe that if the youth, the peasants and the labourers, whether they are in the cities or in rural areas, follow this new path, they will bring about a new wave of enthusiasm and produce a new spirit of sacrifice. We should always think of the masses, of the poor people of the country. Only by raising them can we raise ourselves. If we have strength and if we have compassion in our hearts, then alone can we realise the difficulties of others and sympathise with others; then alone can we accomplish big tasks together. I have every reason to believe that the people of India will always stand together in unity.

Today, I give you all my good wishes. We have taken steps in a new direction; new vistas have opened before us; and a cool and fresh breeze is blowing about our faces. No one need be afraid of this fresh breeze. All of us should march forward with courage. If we can do so, we can certainly achieve something big.

We have been a peaceful nation. At the same time we are aware that peace does not mean weakness, that peace is achieved by strength, self-reliance and self-confidence. I want every Indian to cultivate these qualities. Mahatma Gandhi produced freedom-fighters out of a poor and defenceless people. We can further strengthen that spirit, because today our people are more knowledgeable, more competent and more determined than in the past.

Many children are sitting in front of me. They are the citizens of tomorrow and we expect great things from them. We want them to have equal opportunities. We have to reduce the disparity between the high and the low, between the rich and the poor, between one section of society and another. We have also to reduce the gap between what we are and what we want to become. Now let us raise the national slogan together. Jai Hind.
National Unity
Talks with Naga Leaders

A delegation of Nagas, including Shri Khugato, Shri Inkongmeron Ao and Shri Isack Swu, accompanied by the three members of the Peace Mission, met me on the 18th and 19th February, 1966. This meeting, as the House will recall, had been arranged in the time of my predecessor. It was intended to be a goodwill visit, and the talks which took place were fully in conformity with this idea. The main subject of our talk was the importance of preserving peace and stopping the many ugly incidents which still take place resulting in loss of life and property. The observer team of the Peace Mission is being strengthened by attaching two officials on each side to ensure that all incidents of breach of the agreement on suspension of operations are speedily investigated. It has also been agreed that both parties will take effective and quick action on the findings of the observers. In order to create a better atmosphere and to facilitate a final settlement, the Peace Mission has suggested the release of the Naga prisoners. This matter will be examined. I was impressed by the sincerity and earnestness of the Naga leaders whom I met. They seemed genuinely anxious to ensure the implementation of the agreement entered into in September, 1964, and to prevent further violent incidents and loss of life. I am not without hope that as a result of this meeting a certain amount of unnecessary distrust and suspicion, which had developed on both sides, has been dispelled. We have agreed to have a further meeting for which the Naga leaders will visit Delhi again some time in April, 1966. It is possible—and I would not put it more strongly than that—that at this next meeting some real progress may be made towards a settlement which would put an end to bloodshed and see the restoration of peace throughout Nagaland. The way will then be clear for all sections of the Nagas to play their rightful part in the progress and welfare of Nagaland.

These talks were the outcome of what was purely a goodwill visit. We did not discuss anything concrete; nor was the status of Nagaland discussed. However, I think that the delegation is fully aware of the stand of the Government of India. We have not changed our stand on this issue at all, the stand being that Nagaland is very definitely a part of India. One of the members of the delegation has made a statement

Statement in Rajya Sabha, February 21, 1966
saying the opposite, but they have been making this statement for the past eighteen years, and it will take some time and a lot of more goodwill, perhaps, before some change can be brought about. The only specific issue raised was the question of the recurring incidents, and they agreed with me that it was those people who were not interested in peace who were behind these incidents and, therefore, we should all make every effort to try and stop them. The purpose of enlarging the team of observers was that they would be better able to look into this matter and also, as far as possible, to decide who was wrong. If the number of these incidents can be reduced thereby, I think it will be a big step forward.

A Common Platform

I extend a very warm welcome to you all. The composition of this gathering is itself the most striking evidence of the political transformation wrought by the Fourth General Elections.

The changed political pattern is a sign of our commitment to democracy. The peaceful political transformation which we have witnessed has few parallels in post-war history. It is important to recognise this achievement and to draw strength from it.

We are meeting here today not as Government and Opposition—‘we’ and ‘they’—but as partners in the Government. All of us seated here represent Government and we share an inter-dependent federal responsibility. We have a common concern and a common responsibility—the well-being of India and the welfare of all our 500 million people.

There has been a great deal of discussion on the topic of Centre-State relations. As I see it, no new or special problem has arisen merely because of the existence of Governments of different political persuasions in the Centre and the States.

Centre-State relations are inherent in a federal structure. Local and regional interests and problems will also naturally exist in any large, diverse, developing, federal country such as ours. This is a built-in factor that does not necessarily have anything to do with the emergence of non-Congress Governments. The Constitution provides for the conduct of federal relations. We have developed certain conventions such as this Chief Ministers’ Conference itself, the Zonal Councils, the National Development Council, and so on. But more

Speech at a conference of State Chief Ministers, New Delhi, April 8, 1967
important than any of these is our common dedication to the national interest.

I envisage the possibility of disagreements and differences. These do exist in a democratic, changing, free society, but they need not lead to conflict. We can and should resolve our differences and disagreements through consultation, discussion and persuasion.

Centre or State, we have one problem, poverty; and one purpose, to eliminate poverty and create conditions for a better life for every section of our people and, more especially, for the unfortunate, the under-privileged, the traditionally backward and neglected, the dispossessed. In his address to Parliament the President summed this up in a statement of four national objectives: to attain self-sufficiency in food by 1971; to eliminate dependence on external assistance and attain a stage of self-reliant growth by 1976; to reduce the birth rate from 40 per 1,000 to 25 per 1,000 within as near a decade as possible; and to restrain the upward spiral of prices as early as possible. These are common objectives.

Our first task is to feed the people. We are confronted by the stupendous calamity of successive droughts. We have to mobilise our own food resources and stretch them to the farthest limit through a programme of national sharing. This calls for a supreme effort of procurement through such arrangements as are found locally convenient and equitable distribution. There are surplus States and surplus pockets in deficit States; deficit States and deficit pockets in surplus States. Surplus areas must come forward to meet the requirements of deficit areas. We are here concerned with human lives—Indian lives—and not with arithmetic or geography or politics.

Our own production is estimated at around 76 million tonnes. We have already arranged to import 4.3 million tonnes of grain before June and, as a result of the Consortium meeting in Paris earlier this week, we may get additional quantities of food or fertiliser and related agricultural production materials which will release cash for the purchase of food, to make possible an additional import of 5.7 million tonnes of grain during the second half of the current calendar year. This makes a total of 10 million tonnes during 1967. It will just about see us through. But it will not absolve us from making a supreme effort to maximise internal procurement, especially of rice.

We must also try to do with substitute food—potatoes, sweet potatoes, tapioca, local vegetables, fish, etc. Our problem is food, not just food-grains.

We cannot afford to neglect the problem of agricultural production. Wherever possible, we must raise a short summer crop before the onset of the monsoon and give the fullest backing to the crash agricultural programme for 1967-68.
My colleague, the Food Minister, will discuss these matters in greater detail. We shall offer you our maximum support in the matter of inputs and technical services and in all other ways which are possible.

The other large item on the national agenda is the Plan. I do not have to tell you of the difficulties we have run into in executing the Fourth Plan. This must be reviewed in the light of the food, price, resources and foreign exchange situations. We are also confronted with the paradox of inflation and recession. The food problem, the industrial slow-down consequent to the agricultural setback, and deficit financing undertaken last year by the Centre and the States, will almost inescapably force prices up during the next few months. This will not be an easy situation and there will be no soft options.

The Consortium has pledged 900 million dollars of non-project aid for 1967-68, in addition to food assistance. We are grateful to these and other friendly foreign Governments and various international agencies for their food and general economic assistance. We shall have to raise or save the necessary rupee resources so that the assistance received is effectively utilised. There is need for the strictest financial discipline all round. Yet we must be discriminating in our approach so that essential production does not suffer. In the short list of priority items, I include agriculture and agricultural inputs such as irrigation and fertilisers, family planning, export, and the fuller utilisation of idle capacity which, with some ingenuity, organisation and design skill, can be made to generate a new dynamism in the economy. We must pursue a new swadeshi policy and fully harness our growing productive capacity and technological and creative skills.

We shall have to combine economy with efficiency and seek economy in all spheres of activity, public and private. We must live within our means and enlarge our means through increased production and increased productivity. I fully appreciate the difficulties which confront our people—rising prices and the fear aroused by the prospect of retrenchment and unemployment. We have to find national solutions for these problems, and not to do anything which brings a relief which is temporary and helps only one section of society without advancing the collective well-being of the people.

It is to serve these objectives that proposals have been put forward or are shortly to be put forward for a more efficient Budget, for the reorganisation of the Planning Commission and for administrative reform.

As already announced, we propose to bring forward legislation to give statutory recognition to the assurances on the official language given earlier by our late Prime Ministers. The language question arouses deep emotion. But it should not become a divisive force.
As far as the Centre is concerned, we view all languages listed in the Eighth Schedule as national languages. They are the cultural streams that together constitute the grand river of Indian thought and tradition. The neglect of any of them would be untrue to our great heritage. Yet we need a link language and it is for this purpose that our Constitution-makers suggested Hindi. Knowledge of a language has to grow; it is a gradual process which takes time. Therefore, we have agreed that English should continue as an associate official language till such time as necessary.

In the international field, as a matter of fact in all our policies, the situation is being constantly reviewed. Since on reviewing we find that our policies have stood the test of time, we see no reason to deviate from them. We seek the friendship of Pakistan, and would like to establish with that country co-operative relations in matters like trade, transit and communications, development of joint water resources and free flow of information. As areas of co-operation develop, I believe, it would be easier to discuss other outstanding issues and resolve them on honourable terms and to our mutual satisfaction.

We would likewise wish to normalise our relations with our other neighbour. I am sorry that the Chinese response thus far has been not merely negative but hostile. However, on our part, we shall keep the door open.

One very important issue before us at the moment is the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty. We are opposed to nuclear arms and to problems. But we must have a perspective and must view whatever down the nuclear 'have nats' even in the development and use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes while leaving the nuclear 'haves' free to proliferate and improve upon the most terrible weapons of mass destruction. We are also naturally concerned about our own security. India is peculiarly placed in this regard and we must find a way to deal with the problem of possible nuclear blackmail.

I have spoken about various matters because I feel that this conference should be a meeting of minds and a forum for a frank exchange of views. We have a number of very pressing and immediate problems. But we must have a perspective and must view whatever we may or may not do against the totality of our needs and interests. Many short-term problems become less intractable and more manageable if we look and think ahead. Whatever we do, we cannot afford to sacrifice the future for the present. Equally, we must safeguard the present if there is to be any future. The Centre and the States are both parts of Government. Together we constitute the Government of India in its broadest sense. We must, therefore, work together for our progress, in ideas as well as in effort.
Hon. members will have to excuse me if I repeat myself, because obviously the same questions, when the situation remains the same, must have the same answers. I look forward to criticism not only in this House but anywhere. I find it most stimulating. In a motion of no-confidence, what is it that we look for? We look for some alternative policy, some broad framework at least of an alternative policy, which the Government can follow. But when we find not one alternative policy but as many alternative policies as there are parties and sometimes as there are members in the same party, then I very humbly submit that there is not much sense in such no-confidence motions. In fact, the only thing which Hon. Members in the Opposition have in common is some kind of a conditioned reflex which comes into action at the very mention of the word 'Congress'.

In the last General Elections, Governments of many different views emerged. This House is aware that I welcomed the emergence of these Governments. I welcomed them publicly, and I welcomed them in my meetings with the Chief Ministers. This was not motivated by any narrow party considerations. I felt confident that our federal system would respond to the changed political situation and, in fact, I did everything I could to discourage any attempt to topple these Governments. I as the Prime Minister and my colleagues in their respective departments did their best not only to allow these Governments to function effectively but also to help them in every way we could, because we believed that in so doing democracy would be strengthened. If all their demands could not be met, it was not because we did not wish to meet them but because of some very genuine difficulties—lack of resources, lack of food-grains, lack of many other things. These difficulties were faced not merely by the non-Congress Governments but also by the Governments of the Congress Party, who blamed us equally for not looking after their interests. We have been blamed on the floor of the House and outside for paying more attention to the non-Congress Governments and not looking after the people in the Congress States because they do not make a noise about their difficulties.

What did we see on the other side? The non-Congress Governments were consistently trying to blame the Centre for anything which went wrong. The effort to make this system work was supposed to be entirely one-sided. It was only the business of the Congress and the Central Government to make every effort to see that things went smoothly, while, on their side, they could say what they liked and when they liked. They took whatever occasion they could find to make comments against the Congress Governments.

From reply to debate in Lok Sabha on a no-confidence motion, November 24, 1967
Therefore, the effort to pull together was entirely one-sided and we saw the leaders of the State Governments often holding conventions to bring down the Congress Governments in the States and in the Centre, openly, without any attempt at secrecy.

We saw minimum programmes, strange alliances, coalitions and all other combinations, healthy and unhealthy. But we wanted the people to judge for themselves. We still hold to that policy. But when the internal stresses and strains within coalition governments produce disarray and conflict, then the Centre should not be treated as a scapegoat for these troubles.

I must admit that political defections of the kind which have marred our political life have tended to bring democratic processes into disrepute. All of us who have the well-being of the country and of democracy at heart cannot but feel deeply concerned that representatives elected on a particular party platform and on a particular party ideology should with such ease and facility cross over and re-cross without even making the effort of explaining what political principles were involved in such defections. All of us, on either side of the House, cannot but deplore this. I think, it is pointless to apportion blame as to who started this, and when and how and where. Let us look now to the future and deal with this in a manner that will strengthen our democratic institutions. Shri Samar Guha made a very excited speech, but in the course of that speech, as you may perhaps have noticed, he remarked that his group was preparing to fight the anti-national forces in the United Front. These are not my words; these are the words which the House heard just five minutes ago from Shri Samar Guha. Who, Sir, has been advocating violence in West Bengal? Not now when these incidents have taken place, but for months? We have all been reading the speeches reported in the newspapers. Shri Samar Guha has obviously far more inner information about this matter than those of us who have been seeing only newspaper reports. We have read reports of a Minister saying that those who defected would be skinned alive.

My colleague, Prof. D. C. Sharma, was trying to read out Shri Ajoy Mukherjee’s statement. I wish he had been allowed to do so because it is very illuminating. I would have very much liked to do so myself but the time is short and, therefore, I shall read only a sentence from it. In this statement, Shri Ajoy Mukherjee clearly stated that the Left Communists’ allegation of a “desperate conspiracy” was baseless. I should like to remind the House that this is not the statement which he made on the eve of his resignation or, rather, proposed resignation, but it is the speech which he made on 16th October, after he had decided to continue in the Government. Please note the difference in date. In that he says: “... a wing of a political party is openly
inviting China to help the party in bringing about an armed revolution starting in West Bengal. Such a tendency should be nipped in the bud. Unfortunately, I got opposition in this matter even from some of my friends in the United Front."

I must state that I am not happy at what is happening; in fact, I am exceedingly sad. I have great admiration for the people of Bengal. In the history of India’s resurgent renaissance they have played a unique and distinctive role. They have given us top leaders in many fields—in politics, in science, in literature, in art and in religion. They have given us our national anthem. I have no doubt that they will be able to go through these difficulties and that they will, as in the past, once again march towards progress in peaceful conditions.

The purpose of our Constitution is to provide a government which preserves and promotes peace and order, a government dedicated to the rule of law and the welfare of the people. Some Members, even in this House and even in the course of this debate, have talked of violence. I would appeal to them not to indulge in such talk. Shri Dange even talked of ‘gheraoing’ the High Court. Violence will not achieve any ends. There is no provision in the Constitution substituting orderly processes by mob violence in the streets. It is the duty of us all to resist such violence.

I was also disturbed when some Members, perhaps in the excitement of the debate, made what I can only call somewhat irresponsible observations regarding our Army and what happened in Pakistan and so on. These, I submit, are the voices of despair. These are the voices of those who lack confidence in India and her people. These are the voices of those who do not believe in the validity of our democratic system. I have tremendous faith in the maturity and wisdom of the Indian people. I have confidence also in the valour and the very high patriotism of our fighting forces. I deplore that they should be dragged into a political debate of this kind.

I should like to point out that when sometimes we talk about our country we tend to see it in isolation; we want certain ideal conditions for our country. We do not take cognisance of our experience and the experience of other countries of the world. In the whole course of human history, it can be seen that in no country has the economy shown a continuous upward swing, not even in the best organised or even in the most advanced countries. There are always ups and downs, and there are very often backward movements. If we had drought or recession, these are problems which should be dealt with on the plane of constructive criticism. If we were to lose heart at the first taste of such a reverse on the economic front, which is caused by factors often out of our control, there would be little inducement to go on working and struggling.
When the Government took office in March this year, the country was facing the bleak prospect of famine. There was an acute food shortage in many States and we had the tremendous task of providing food to over 500 million people. Never before in history has any government had to meet such a gigantic challenge. Yet we faced it boldly and with courage.

The general elections brought about State Governments which were not wholly cohesive. They were in opposition to the party in power at the Centre. But we collaborated with them fully to meet the challenge of starvation. Whatever else may be said by the Members on the other side, they cannot say that we did not succeed. Their own colleagues in the States have borne testimony to our success in saving millions of lives.

I should like, as I conclude, to appeal to the Members on both sides of the House to rise above the immediate and to think in terms of the larger perspective of history. We have entered the third decade of freedom. One half of the nation was born after we became free. They have, therefore, no knowledge of what bondage meant, nor of the struggle to break through that bondage. What do we want them to feel? What sort of a picture of freedom do we want to give them? Do we want them to think that freedom is merely the greed for power? Or do we want them to feel proud of their heritage and have some hope in their future?

Criticisim, as I said, is welcome. But let us not try to choke the springs of confidence. We have a tremendous job ahead of us and in the next five or ten years we can realise the fruits of our investments, our investment in development, our investment in democracy. It is in these coming years that we can become self-reliant, and I am confident that we shall become self-reliant. Let not history record that this group of legislators spent their time in bickering and denigration, and forgot to water the roots of confidence and hope.

Language and National Unity

Next to religion, language arouses the strongest loyalties and emotions. But, what is the function of language? I have heard many Members say in their speeches that language is meant for social intercourse, for understanding one another, for doing one's work, for adding

Free translation of speech in Hindi during debate in Lok Sabha on the Official Languages (Amendment) Bill, December 12, 1967
to one's knowledge and for bringing people together. Language is also meant to give people an equal share in the total deposit of thought. But today we find that language has become a wall dividing people from people. As Acharya Kripalani has said, it has become a source of conflict. This is a sad thing.

Let me ask a question. In what country has a language developed as a result of politics? Why does English today occupy the position of a principal language? Why has it spread to so many countries of the world and has such a high status? Has English developed because it was the language of official work at Whitehall? Or, did the English poets, writers, novelists and traders, who travelled to the far corners of the earth, develop this language? Let us not think that a language is built and developed by official work only, and that in the absence of such work it will die out. Indian languages were suppressed under foreign rule. It was, therefore, natural that during the freedom struggle and after we became independent, our people should have had a special sentiment for their languages and should have been keen to promote them. It is not a question of sentiment only. It is important for the country that our languages should develop.

Our friend, Shri Modi, said that poverty was being encouraged. There is no question of encouraging poverty. The fact is that there are a large number of people in our country who, on account of their poverty and backwardness, did not get the same opportunities for education, employment and many other things that some of us got. These persons can be educated only through their mother tongue. Therefore, it is essential that in all the States education should be given through the mother tongue, so that those classes of people who till now were denied all opportunities for education, should be able to receive education and to derive equal benefit from the development of the country.

But, how did Hindi come into the picture? There are some countries which are bilingual, Belgium for instance. Switzerland and Yugoslavia have three or four languages each. In our country, there are fifteen languages. It is not surprising that we should have so many languages, as our country is so much bigger than many other countries. We are now making every effort to see that all our languages get a chance to develop, that the people of different areas receive education in their own languages, and that the business of a State is conducted in the language of its people. I think there are no two opinions about this. But the business of the Centre cannot possibly be conducted in fifteen languages, however dear they may be to us and however great a regard we may have for them. It was, therefore, felt that one of our languages should serve as a national link, and Hindi was chosen for this purpose.
I am fully aware of the difficulty experienced by those whose mother tongue is not Hindi. Some of our South Indian friends have said that Hindi is a language which is not developed. Well, unless people learn it, speak it and help it grow, how will it develop? We, therefore, invite them to lend a hand in developing Hindi. A language can develop only through constant use, not so much in Government offices, but outside, in everyday life. It will grow if more and more people write in it and books of other languages are translated into it.

We have been somewhat cut off from the rest of the world, because we remained unaware of much that was going on in the rest of the world, particularly in the realm of science and technology. So long as we remain cut off like this, we will not be able to progress, however much we may develop our languages. If our languages develop, it is to be welcomed; there is need for their development. But I also consider it essential that there should be a language to link us with the outside world. If today we want English, it is not as a national language or as a language which should take the place of Hindi or Tamil or Bengali or any other regional language. It cannot be so, nor is it anybody’s intention that it should be so. But we do think that in today’s world the absence of knowledge of a foreign language will weaken us and keep us backward.

Nowadays even in other countries which have advanced languages, the study of a foreign language in schools is compulsory. There is freedom to choose any language, be it English, French, German or any other. But in actual practice we find that the majority of the people, be they Russians or of any other nationality, opt for English. Here, we have an advantage because we already have some knowledge of English and also some arrangements for teaching it. These arrangements may not be so good today as they were before. The standard of English has fallen, and sometimes the English that is spoken here is peculiarly our own and perhaps may not be clearly understood in any other country. But despite all this, English is a link. Just as we need a national link, so also we need an international link.

The shape that the language issue has taken in this country is rather strange. For some reasons, rightly or wrongly, the people of the South have come to have a suspicion that if Hindi is brought in, their jobs will be in jeopardy. This has naturally led to agitations. Shri Vajpayee just now told us that some such fear had entered the minds of North Indian students also. We have to find some way of dispelling this fear from their minds.

What is the fact? The fact is that English was continuing; whether we like it or not, English was continuing. When we declared Hindi as the official language, the situation changed. By the Amendment Bill which we are now introducing, Hindi remains the official language.
The Bill affects neither the status of Hindi nor its importance. On the contrary, we are saying that greater effort will be made to teach Hindi. An annual report will be presented to Lok Sabha, and the House will be able to see how the work progresses and what its flaws are.

Persons belonging to non-Hindi-speaking areas are faced with this problem: how will they fit into the new picture that will be evolved as a result of the progressive learning of Hindi and the gradual increase in the quantum of work to be transacted in Hindi? A solution was found according to which arrangements could be made for teaching Hindi to those who did not know Hindi and for providing translations, so that no one felt any difficulty. You all know that when such a compromise solution is evolved, it meets with all-round opposition as it does not satisfy any of the groups completely. In an effort to reach a compromise, it becomes necessary to take some points from both sides. Everybody thinks that this is not the right thing. One is helpless in this because everybody's demands cannot be met in full. What can be done is that a solution may be found which might partly meet the points of view of all.

I shall repeat what I have said several times before, that we have to keep the unity of the country in mind. At present there are seven States which want to have an opportunity to learn Hindi but are against any haste being shown in this matter. 'Imposition' is not my word but theirs. There are seven States that do not want Hindi to be imposed on them. Whatever be their number—even if it is one—we do not want to impose anything on anyone. They have as much right as others have. There is no doubt that those who are in a majority have a slightly greater responsibility in this matter. The bigger man has correspondingly the bigger responsibility, because nobody should feel that any person or group is being suppressed. I am glad that our South Indian brethren say that they will learn Hindi and that they should be given an opportunity to do so. I believe that this marks an advance from their previous stand.

I have only one aim. My aim is to adopt a policy which will help in forging a common link. There are some parties in the country, and in this House, who do not want a common link, and who say that all the languages should be allowed to function without a link. This is dangerous. If it happens, the country will be Balkanized and its unity destroyed. That is why we want to make Hindi a connecting link, and that is why we want Hindi to progress. It, therefore, pains me when I find anyone taking a step or doing something which interferes with the progress of Hindi and weakens its utility and acceptance as a link language for the people of India.

I am happy that leaders of the stature of Shri Jayaprakash
Narayan and Shri Vinoba Bhave have made statements against the use of violence by language agitators. A surprising thing is that many of our students, who are disfiguring signboards and are agitating against English, are conducting this propaganda in English, not in Hindi. One of our Ministers told me that when the students spoke to him in English, he constantly went on replying in Hindi, but they (the students) went on talking in English.

We want people of other countries to visit our country. We want tourists to feel welcome in our country. But agitations, like the one for disfiguring English signboards, are not going to be of any help. I appeal to you all, who by forcefully expressing their sentiments have lightened their hearts, to accept this Bill in the interest of the unity of this country. The passage of this Bill is necessary to remove all apprehension from the minds of the people of the South and of other non-Hindi-speaking regions. We have been giving them assurances for the last so many years. We cannot postpone this matter any further. After we have done this, we can all sit together to sort out various other problems. These problems are not going to be solved by raising slogans. Concrete steps will be necessary to see that all our countrymen are able to learn Hindi and we are able to make this language a link amongst ourselves.

The Evil of Communalism

Communal incidents, which in recent months have marred our national life in certain parts of the country, have caused deep distress as well as anxiety to this House, and to all right-thinking people in the country.

Secularism and democracy are the twin pillars of our State, the very foundations of our society. From time immemorial, the vast majority of our people are wedded to concepts of secularism, religious tolerance, peace and humanity. It is understandable that they should feel outraged and deeply disturbed at the aberrations which appear here and there and afflict small sections of the society, and which arouse or exploit communal passions or promote disharmony, tension and violence. It is a matter for satisfaction that even in areas where trouble has occurred, the general public at large, whether belonging to one community or another, has lived in a state of complete harmony and

peace. Indeed, there have been many instances in which people of one community have saved the lives and property of fellow-citizens belonging to another community.

The incidents which have occurred should, therefore, arouse the indignant disapproval of our people. I am sure this House will deplore and condemn these incidents and join me in conveying its sympathy to those who have been the unfortunate sufferers of such violence and crime at the hands of misguided elements.

As the House is aware, Government have recently appointed a Commission to go into these incidents. The object of the Commission will be to ascertain the causes which led to them and to recommend measures to prevent the recurrence of such disorders in future.

India has the privilege of being the world’s largest composite society, and the home of many great and ancient faiths. Communism is an evil which divides man and fragments society; it goes against our very genius and cultural heritage. It holds a threat to the unity and integrity of our country which must be our foremost concern.

The citizenship of India is a shared citizenship. Danger to even one single citizen, to whatever community, caste, religion and linguistic group he may belong, is a danger to all of us and, what is worse, it demeans us all. I am sure the House will join me in an appeal to the people of our country to come forward and work for solidarity and for the common national purpose. Every man, woman and child should be able to tread on Indian earth without fear and with pride of heart in belonging to this great motherland.

National Integration

The National Integration Council represents all the State Governments in our country. It represents also the political parties and groups in our Parliament, except for two, and I hope that these two will also join in this great co-operative endeavour to take up one of the most important problems in our country today. We have also representatives of trade unions, business and industry, educationists and those who work voluntarily in the field of national integration.

When the first National Integration Council was called in 1962, certain decisions were taken. It is unfortunate that we were lulled

Speech at a meeting of the National Integration Council, Srinagar, June 20, 1962
into a sense of complacency by the tremendous national solidarity evinced at the time of the Chinese invasion of our frontier, and at that time the Council was wound up. This revived Council, I hope, will function and become a durable institution.

All of you must have noticed that some people have reservations about this conference and scepticism regarding the revival of this Council. But a wide section of people have welcomed this move, specially those who think deeply and feel deeply about the future development of our country. I would like to assure you all that in calling this meeting we are not actuated by any partisan purpose. We hope that throughout our debate and discussions we shall maintain a high standard and not allow ourselves to be side-tracked by apportioning blame or scoring any kind of a debating point.

The great menace which our country faces today is that of communalism. After twenty years of Independence and at a time when we had thought that this problem was more or less solved, once again communal clashes are occurring in different parts of the country.

The second menace is that of provincialism or regionalism or parochialism. I believe this is evoked by the same sentiments that are behind communalism. In fact, it is an extension of the same sort of feeling. Another serious danger to national integration and perhaps one of the causes of other menaces which I mentioned is the persistence of inequalities. In law and theory, the ancient discriminations have been abolished but opportunities have not been growing as fast as the aspirations of backward classes and tribes and minorities and other such groups. Another factor which can unite us or create barriers is that of language.

The purpose of this Council, as I see it, is to focus attention on national integration, to create a forum which would guide and keep in touch with the action taken for integration in different parts of the country, to unite various groups to apply their minds to this question—of course political parties are included in this but it is just as important to involve voluntary organisations and people like industrial labour, students and intellectuals—and lastly to implement with a feeling of urgency the suggestions or decisions taken in this forum.

Divisive forces and tendencies have existed in all societies and at all times. Certainly these forces existed in India even during the years of the struggle for freedom, but the mainstream of nationalism was powerful enough to sidetrack them and also to fight them, and thus we were able to march ahead. During the twenty years since Independence, we have had constantly to combat these forces in one form or another. In fact, the struggle for national integration, the struggle for national solidarity, the struggle for safeguarding the ideals and aspirations embodied in our Constitution, has to be waged cease-
lessly and tenaciously. I do not think a time can ever come when these forces will not want to raise their head. But it should be our endeavour to create an atmosphere and to create conditions in which this will not be possible and in which the whole of society will react against them.

As we survey the national scene, we feel there is indeed cause for anxiety and also cause for shame that lives of Indian nationals should be threatened in their own homes and in their places of business because of their community or religion. No Indian citizen from one part of the country should be made to feel insecure in another part. The great industrial complexes like Calcutta, Bombay and Madras are a result of the investment of the capital and the skills of the country as a whole. Therefore, every citizen of India has a right to work and to live without fear in any part of the country. Killing or attacking fellow human beings solves no problem, and those who indulge in such anti-social and anti-national acts are rather like the monkey in our old fable which, in trying to squash the fly, injured his own face. Similarly they, in the long run, injure themselves.

The need for national integration, therefore, does not arise merely from a moral purpose. Certainly the moral purpose is there but in the world as it exists today, as it is evolving today, national integration is the very condition of our national survival. It is a practical necessity if we are to go forward with our development plans and to progress in unity and strength. It is only in the measure that we recognise this fact that we can create the right climate in the country for solving the various problems that we face. At times these problems seem insuperable but the entire story of modern India is one of overcoming the seemingly insurmountable obstacles. No thinking person should wish to weaken the unity of the country. I am convinced that the forces of integration are strong but they do need to be united and to be given some guidance. I think this Council will provide the means for doing so. We must find a way of harnessing the basic decency, the basic commonsense of the average citizen in order to overcome these forces which threaten his future and the future of his children.

The effort needs to be made not merely at the governmental level, although the Government's responsibility is a heavy one, but at a wider level, involving not merely the political parties and the administrators but also students, writers, artists, educationists, different types of cultural and other organisations and all those who work and can work in and through the media of mass communication. We are gathered here to give thought as to how we can achieve this. We have to create some machinery which is adequate for the purpose. We have to think in terms of a concrete national programme involving every significant
Being sworn in as Prime Minister, January 24, 1966
(Left) Laying a wreath on the Samadhi of Mahatma Gandhi at Rajghat, New Delhi.

(Right) With Dr. Zakir Husain.

(Below) At the Nehru Museum in New Delhi.
With Shri V. V. Giri

In conference with leaders of political parties in Parliament.
(Above) Independence Day address from the ramparts of Red Fort, Delhi

(Right) Calling on Shrimati Lalita Shastri, widow of Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri
(Above) Addressing a public meeting in Calcutta

(Left) Receiving people at her residence in New Delhi.
With women workers in Srinagar

Receiving a party of tribal leaders from NEFA in New Delhi
section of our society in purposeful action to combat in every town,
and indeed in every village and every street, the dark forces which
seek to disintegrate the very fabric of our social and political existence.
I think this Council should be able to give a call to all those who have
national integration at heart to come forward and to rally together.
only such a mass movement dedicated to the cause of national
integration and secularism and sustained over a long period can help
to find an adequate solution of this very grave problem.

Our people must be made to understand the virus of communalism
and of regionalism which seems to corrode our national will and pur-
pose. We must also study and expose to public gaze the poisoning of
the young mind through misguided educational processes and ill-
conceived textbooks. We shall study in depth and propose solutions
to the disruptive effects of economic imbalances and disparities. But
I think that, while these studies and deep analyses are necessary, they
will take time and we should not waste any time.

What we need is a many-pronged attack on the forces of disinte-
gration. Merely to say that if we overcome economic disparities and
attain a degree of affluence, we shall solve our problems is not enough.
And since every problem ultimately has its origin in the mind of man,
we have to ensure that our educational processes, the books we read,
the radio we hear, the films we see, do not distort the Indian mind but
lead it towards integration and solidarity.

There will perhaps be different analyses of the problem and diffe-
rent diagnoses of the disease because we are a mixed group, but I
certainly hope that as a result of this Council’s meeting, there would
emerge an agreed approach to what needs to be done to start the pro-
cess that will help our society and body-politic to become healthy,
strong and self-confident.

As I said earlier, an important part of the responsibility rests with
the Central Government, but how can they discharge their duty without
the co-operation of the State Governments? We have to consider,
therefore, what the States can do, how political parties can help, how
the Press can help, what role the general public can play and how this
particular organisation or the machinery which is set up works. Should
we have committees at the Centre or at the State level? What collec-
tive effort can be made for permanent vigilance? I do not wish to
lay down the law or to set any rule because the whole purpose of this
meeting is to invite suggestions and concrete proposals. I certainly
hope that when you are speaking, you will help us in this regard by not
giving us much of general analysis but by taking up specific points
which can be discussed and on which action could be taken in a pur-
poseful manner.

A great deal of thought went into the calling of this Council. There
was some delay because we were consulting people. I speak today with great sorrow in my heart. It is not merely a matter of sympathy for the minorities, Muslims or Christians or any other minority, or of concern for the down-trodden, the Harijans and the tribals, but there is a deep anguish at the blurring of India’s image and the tarnishing of the basic values and ideals which have made India great through the ages. In modern India, I think, two men above all others made it their mission to discover India and to interpret her and her values to our own people and to the people of the world. Swami Vivekananda did the pioneering work in this regard, and my father and other national leaders continued this work. They have all stressed the same values. Our former President, Dr Radhakrishnan, has described an Indian as not just a person who is born in India but as one who believes in the ideals and values for which India has stood through the ages.

In all periods of India’s true greatness she has stood for tolerance, of and respect for other faiths. This, as you know, has been enshrined in our Constitution. But this was never meant and cannot mean tolerance for those who strike at the very root of our unity and harm our future. All great causes need on the one hand a deep conviction about their being the most urgent questions of their day, and on the other a burning passion in those who believe in these causes to summon all their will and strength in support of these causes and to fight injustice, inequality, discrimination and forces of disunity and disruption.

Let us, therefore, not leave this meeting with vague generalisations or pious platitudes. We must go out with definite guidelines for action and a firm resolve to implement our decisions through an adequate machinery set up for the purpose.

* * *

This meeting has been, as the Deputy Prime Minister remarked, a worthwhile exercise in working together for the solution of a major national problem. May I thank all the members who have taken the trouble to come and have resisted the temptations of this beautiful city to work long hours in a closed room? May I also express my deep appreciation of their co-operative approach and helpful attitude? We know what differing viewpoints are represented here and that it could not have been easy to arrive at an agreed general approach. The fact that we have been able to do so, I think, is heartening.

The results of our labours are set out in the Declaration of Objectives. I hope this declaration will be the rallying point of all that is
decent, honest, tolerant and rational in our society. The recommendations made by the three sub-committees and adopted unanimously provide a basis for action. But there should be no ground for complacency. I think we all realise how difficult the situation is and how long and arduous will be the journey on which we have embarked.

In the world today no country can stand still or ignore the advance of others. Modern history is not one of dynasties, but of forward progress. India must go ahead remaining true to its civilisation and yet re-interpreting that civilisation in modern terms, so that it can have meaning for the average man and woman of today. It is with this sense of history that we should assess the significance of this meeting of the National Integration Council.

I think many cynics and sceptics have been belied. There was an earnestness about our discussions which provides the guarantee that as in the past so now we shall solve our problems by the application of reason and logic and by sitting together.

Politics can be ennobling in the measure it seeks to serve the people by finding the highest common denominator of public morality and decency. It can be degrading if it is based on hatred or enmity. The solution to tensions and conflicts which relate to economic disparity and imbalances will take a long time. But if we move in the right direction and put the correct facts before our people I have no doubt that they will understand the situation and respond.

It is perfectly understandable that political leaders in the States and of different parties must respond to the needs and aspirations of the people, but it is also essential that in pleading for the satisfaction of these needs and aspirations we should keep in mind the limits placed on it by the overall growth of wealth in the country as a whole. If the aspirations of the people of a region or State are divorced from the context of India as a whole it will be difficult for us to progress or even to remain united. Therefore, while leaders must be responsive to the voice of the people it is also their responsibility to guide that voice in the larger national interest.

India can grow only if capital, labour and ideas have mobility and we have the stimulus of a vast common market and common opportunities for all our people.

As I said earlier, our discussions have been in a spirit of co-operation and of trying to meet each other's point of view. I should like to thank you, Sadiq Sahib, on behalf of us all, for all the hospitality, the entertainment and the facilities which have been given to us by the Government of Jammu and Kashmir.
The Evil of Regionalism

FIRST OF ALL, I would like to congratulate all those who have succeeded in these elections. We would certainly have liked our Congress colleagues to win but we accept the verdict of the electorate. Those who are sitting in this House or in the Assemblies should not feel that we resent their presence. On the contrary, we welcome them and hope they will make valuable contributions to the debates and to the work of this House and the various Assemblies.

I was very unhappy about what Shri Vajpayee said yesterday. He said that I abused his party [Jan-Sangh] during the elections. I would like to make it very clear that I did not abuse his party or anybody else. But I spoke very strongly about certain matters—relating not only to his party but to some other parties also—which to my mind are not in the national interest.

In respect of Jan Sangh, I said that we are not against Jan Sangh as such. I did not tell anybody not to vote for Jan Sangh. But I did appeal to the people that they should make all those parties, whose attitudes are not conducive to national peace, harmony and unity, understand that such attitudes must be discarded. I did not speak strongly against any particular party but against what I considered were wrong attitudes, and I certainly spoke very strongly about it.

The main question that was raised by the mover of the motion was with regard to senas. When I speak on those matters, I make it a point not to speak against communalism alone but against all those attitudes which promote casteism, regionalism or parochialism and which make one Indian citizen feel that he does not enjoy the same rights as other citizens of India do.

It does not matter where an Indian citizen chooses to live or work. Today he may be living in Delhi, but tomorrow he may want to live in Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal or somewhere else. Every Indian citizen must have that freedom. What has happened recently in Bombay, what has happened between the people of Telengana and Andhra, or what has happened in other parts of India, is certainly most deplorable and absolutely indefensible. I have spoken out very strongly against Shiv Sena and all such senas on various occasions and I have absolutely no hesitation in saying here also that such movements do constitute a very serious threat to the development, progress and unity of the country.

I am very sorry that the name of one of our great and lion-hearted heroes has been associated with such a movement. I had the privilege

From reply to debate in Lok Sabha on a no-confidence motion, February, 20, 1969
of having a part of my education in that part of the country where Shivaji operated, that is, in Poona, and most of our excursions were to the sites of some of the old forts which he captured. I have grown up to regard him as a national hero and not as a Maharashtrian hero or as a hero of a particular region. Although I have not in the same way been connected with Sardar Lachit of Assam, he also had a great name in our history. These are people who belong to the nation, and it is very unfortunate that their names should in any way be associated with anything which has to do with any small part or region of the country.

Bombay is one of our great cities. It is a cosmopolitan city. All these big cities have been built by many communities. People from different parts of the country have brought in their money, their industry and their talent. This is how these cities have grown and prospered and any movement which wants to shut off anybody from them will result in bringing these cities down; instead of their rising and growing and adding to the general strength of the country, they will become much narrower in scope.

I would like to make one brief point in passing. In all such debates some Hon. Members have a great deal to say about the police. We sometime seem to believe as if the police belongs to some other country. Our police may behave well or not, but they are Indians. Most of them are from relatively poor families. They do not come from the top families or from the exploiting classes. We must all help in creating an atmosphere where policemen can have a more positive, broader and more friendly attitude. Much has changed already. There is a constant effort to see that they view their job not only as a law and order matter but also as an opportunity of helping the people.

All that I am trying to say is that these issues should not be exploited for narrow party loyalties nor used for mutual recrimination or blaming one another. These are, as many Members pointed out, larger national issues and we must all do some heart-searching about them. Unless we raise these matters to a higher level, it will not be possible to solve them. I do not wish to indulge in accusations but I am fully aware that narrow-minded elements of one kind or another do exist amongst all sections of society. No party is free from them. But the Jan Sangh has a point of view about minorities which I do not think is in the interest of the unity of the country. There are still many people in the country who do fall a prey to feelings of communalism, casteism and regionalism. I have not said, either during the elections or in this House or anywhere else, that the Congress Party is perfect. But we have always been making an effort to try and fight these divisive tendencies.

So far as the Government is concerned, it can and does deal with
these situations through many methods. I have been in constant touch with the Chief Ministers of Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh throughout these days, trying to find out what has been happening from day to day and what other measures could be taken. They are doing all they can. I am not saying that all the problems have been solved. Whenever any solution is found, there is always room for creating a feeling or rousing passions among those who do not like that solution. That is why I am asking for the co-operation of all parties.

In the course of the debate it was perhaps natural that a lot should be said about the mid-term elections. In a democracy, parties do grow up and do go down also. There is nothing strange about this. Yet, we seem to get very excited every time a seat is lost here or gained there. The non-Congress parties are not used to winning. So, naturally, when they win, there is a great deal of excitement. We also are not used to losing; so, when we lose we also have a good deal of excitement. It is time now that we take democracy in our stride and welcome those who win and sympathise with those who do not win.

We offer full co-operation to all those who have been elected and all the Governments which have come or will come into being in the States; the Government of India will deal fairly with all the States.

The Centre does want to co-operate. But co-operation is not so easy when it is unilateral. We expect some co-operation from the State Governments also, specially on matters which have repercussions in other parts of the country. We have to see how we are going to maintain the unity of the country in a situation where there are Governments of entirely different persuasions in different States.

When we speak of unity, we have to see that we transcend our narrow party interests and reject any course which brings our system into contempt or creates the slightest feeling of insecurity in any citizen of India. I am sure that all right-minded people will agree with this.

I know that sometimes people take up a cause which seems to them just. But those who fight for a cause are not always able to control the emotions aroused on its behalf. I am specially unhappy to hear that at many of the places where disturbances have taken place, a large number of children have been got involved in it. This does not help any cause, nor is it good for children and other young people who are at a very decisive and impressionable stage of their lives. We must all see how we can keep them out of such disturbances.

When the country was not free, it was different. At that time, all citizens had to get together to free the country. Again, during the fighting on our borders, the entire country got together. But this is not the way to solve problems between one State and another or bet-
ween Indians living in the same State. It is this kind of violence and disturbances which must be deplored and condemned in the strongest possible terms. I have no hesitation in doing so. I should like to assure Members from all parts of the country—in this we seek the cooperation of all the parties—that it is the Government's endeavour to enable all the Indian nationals to live and work freely in any part of the country. We must work for an India which is one and which is not fragmented, as our great poet Tagore said, by narrow domestic walls, an India, in which there are no high or low and no privileged or under-privileged.

Problems of the Telengana Region

During the last few weeks, I have conferred with my colleagues in Government and the Party, Leaders of Opposition in Parliament, the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, political leaders of some parties from Telangana and other parts of Andhra Pradesh as well as others, on the prevailing situation in Andhra Pradesh.

These talks have been held in a spirit of free and frank exchange of views and with the object of evolving constructive steps to meet the genuine problems of the people inhabiting Telengana. We had to keep in mind the importance of finding urgent and positive solutions which will further the objective of providing immediate as well as long-term answers to the needs of people in the Telengana region and, at the same time, of maintaining and strengthening the unity and integrity of Andhra Pradesh. The overall aim is to ensure that the pace of development and the expansion of employment opportunities in Telengana are accelerated, and conditions are created for the balanced development of all parts of Andhra Pradesh through co-operative and shared efforts on the parts of the people living there.

With these objectives, a number of specific measures have been decided upon, as follows:

(1) A high-powered Committee will be appointed by the Central Government with a retired or serving Supreme Court Judge as Chairman, and an eminent economist with knowledge of State finances together with a senior representative of the Comptroller and Auditor General as Members,

The Committee will go into the varying estimates and representations, and determine the surplus relatable to Telengana which was

*Statement in Lok Sabha, April 11, 1969*
expected to have been spent on the development of the Telegana region.

The Committee shall report to the Union Government by the end of the next month.

(ii) Discussions will take place immediately between representatives of the Union Finance and Home Ministries, the Planning Commission, and the State Government regarding the manner in which the requisite financial resources could be found to make good the surpluses relatable to Telengana.

(iii) At the suggestion of the Chief Minister, it has been agreed that a high-powered Telengana Development Committee shall be constituted immediately, composed of the Chief Minister, Andhra, as its Chairman, and a Member of the Planning Commission, the Ministers of the Andhra Cabinet belonging to the Telengana region and the Chairman of the Regional Committee for Telengana, as its Members.

The main functions of the Committee will be to identify within the overall framework of the Five Year Plans the programmes and schemes relatable to the Telengana region with reference to the physical as well as financial targets to be achieved; to review from time to time the actual implementation and working of these programmes and schemes; and to advise the State Government on appropriate decisions that may be considered necessary.

(iv) There will also be a Plan Implementation Committee at official level, presided over by an Adviser of the Planning Commission, and composed of representatives of the Union Finance and Home Ministries and the State Government, with the object of detailed periodic review of the actual implementation of Plan programmes and schemes relating to the accelerated development of the Telengana region.

This Committee will meet every quarter and make its report to the Chief Minister and to the Prime Minister.

(v) In order to ensure adequate co-ordination as well as effective and speedy implementation of decisions, the Chief Minister will consider what further delegation of powers, if any, need be made in favour of the authorities specially entrusted with the task of dealing with the problems of the Telengana region.

(vi) The possibility of providing for appropriate constitutional safeguards in the matter of public employment in favour of people belonging to the Telengana region will be examined by the Government of India, in consultation with a Committee of Jurists.

(vii) At the suggestion of the Chief Minister, it has also been agreed that the high-powered Central Advisory Committee, which was set up under the States Reorganisation Act of 1956 (which is headed by the Chairman of the U.P.S.C. and composed of a retired High
Court Judge and a retired Law Secretary of the Union Government), will undertake a very early visit to Hyderabad, in order to examine expeditiously the grievances of the public servants of various categories and make appropriate recommendations to the Union Home Ministry.

The Union Home Ministry will also devise an urgent programme, within a definite time schedule, with the object of deciding any outstanding cases relating to the integration of services.

The Chief Minister has given an assurance that the State Government shall implement promptly any decisions that the Government of India may give in the light of the advice tendered by the Central Advisory Committee or the State Advisory Committee.

(viii) In order to ensure the continuous attention of the Central Government towards the problems of the Telengana region, at the suggestion of the Chief Minister it has been agreed that the Prime Minister will hold review meetings, every six months, with the Chief Minister and his other colleagues in the high-powered Telengana Development Committee referred to earlier. The Deputy Prime Minister, the Union Home Minister, such other concerned Union Ministers whose presence may be found necessary, and the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission will also be associated with these meetings.

The accelerated development of the Telengana region, and the balanced economic development of the State as a whole are objectives which can be secured in an atmosphere not only of peace and tranquillity but also of amity understanding and co-operation between people inhabiting different parts of the State. In the course of his talks with me, the Chief Minister indicated his desire to make, in consultation with me, appropriate political arrangements which would promote these objectives.

There was recognition, in the course of various discussions, of the importance of restoring an atmosphere of complete peace and harmony in Andhra Pradesh. May I take this opportunity of appealing to the people of Telengana to end the present agitation, and of inviting them to extend their wholehearted co-operation in the fulfilment of various positive measures evolved as a result of these discussions, and any other measures that may be devised hereafter. Towards this end, I propose to continue further the process of discussions with the widest possible section of public opinion in Andhra Pradesh.

I should like to assure the people of Telengana as well as those of other parts of Andhra Pradesh, that their genuine problems will receive the continuous and sympathetic attention of the Central Government.
The Economic Scene
A. PLANNING

Devaluation and India's Economy

I AM SORRY I could not speak to you last Sunday. Many things were on my mind which I had thought of discussing with you. But even at that very time, the Government was moving towards a larger decision which touches on all these other problems about which I had wanted to speak.

Let me be frank with you. The decision to devalue the rupee was not an easy one. It was taken after the most anxious and searching consideration. How much easier it would have been to have evaded a decision, to have drifted along—waiting, hoping!

There are times in the history of every nation when its will is tested and its future depends on its capacity for resolute action and bold decision. This is such a time in India. We are probably passing through the most difficult and crucial period since the very first year of Independence. When I assumed my present office some months ago, I was not unaware of the tremendous difficulties ahead, of the great effort and sacrifices which would be needed to steer through hard lean months of scarcity and to get the economy moving forward again.

Let this be understood. We have not failed. And only the timid will say that we cannot succeed. We have carried the process of development to a stage where we are in a position to register substantially larger gains. There is a dynamic potential which we must use.

Yet, all is not well. A combination of circumstances, aggravated by war and drought, has temporarily slowed down, almost halted, economic growth. There is scarcity. The balance of payments crisis has rendered industrial capacity idle and compelled retrenchment. Small industry has been particularly hard hit. Exports have come to a rest. Prices have moved up steeply. There is frustration, agitation, uncertainty. Above all, the people are in distress.

We tried various remedies. But these first-aid measures proved ineffective. Stronger medicine was necessary to restore the nation to economic health.

Devaluation, however, is not a magic cure. It does offer an immediate corrective to some of the distortions which had crept into the economy. The increasing disparity between Indian and international prices was one such element.

"Person to Person" broadcast over All India Radio, June 12, 1966
Its basic importance lies in increasing the profitability of exports and *swadeshi* import-substitutes and, thereby, establishing a climate in favour of investments in these two vital sectors. It should also give a useful stimulus to Indian inventiveness and technology.

I want to tell you that we have not acted under foreign pressure. Nor is there any question of the rupee having lost 36 paise of its internal purchasing power.

We are seeking more aid in order to give a strategic push to the economy which will carry it to a stage of self-generating growth. We can achieve this objective within a decade, given a rapid increase in production and sizable expansion of exports which will enable the country to pay its way. We must aim at tripling earnings from exports, tourism, shipping and other sources over the next ten years. There must be a substantial widening of the export base and a built-in incentive to go *swadeshi* in order to register a permanent improvement in the balance of payments.

The price line must, of course, be held if the gains of devaluation are not to be neutralised. There must also be a whole series of other supporting action along a broad front.

Immediately, however, I am deeply conscious of the fact that prices have been rising and have risen still further in the past few days. There is little justification for any price increase in respect of items in which there is no import content. Anti-social practices will be dealt with firmly under the Essential Commodities Act. Government will not hesitate to take additional legislative powers, if necessary. I do appeal to all citizens, as consumers and as producers, to resist any unwarranted price increases. I have already received assurances from a number of responsible manufacturers that they will maintain the prices of their products. We are taking steps to ensure that everyone is able to procure essential supplies such as food, vegetable oils and kerosene at reasonable rates.

The opening of consumer stores and fair price shops is being accelerated. A control room is being organised to get reports on prices and availability of essential articles all over the country. This will facilitate prompt remedial action to deal with profiteering and local shortages.

A suitable distributive system must be developed so that there is no danger of runaway price increases in the future. This can no longer remain a pious platitude. It is an imperative.

More non-project aid will enable us, selectively, to liberalise imports in accordance with a strict order of priorities. This will permit fuller utilisation of key industrial capacity and, to that extent, will not merely augment production but will reduce costs. We have already begun simplifying procedures and eliminating unnecessary and irk-
some controls so that everybody, whether in Government, industry or agriculture, whether in the public or private sector, can get on with the job. Urgent action is being initiated to relieve critical shortages and to avert the looming threat of further lay-off and shut-downs in industry.

In a few days or weeks from now, with the onset of rains, agricultural operations will be in full swing. We must provide adequate and timely supplies of seed, credit, bullock or other tractive power, fertilisers and pesticides to each individual farmer. This year’s scarcity must not be allowed to impair next year’s crop. Agriculture constitutes the very foundation of the economy. We cannot falter or fail here.

Exhortation is not enough. The Government will have to give a better account of itself. Our administrative system and procedures must undergo drastic revision. There has to be decision, co-ordination and follow-up. There must be economy and a lively awareness of the waste inherent in delay. Merit will have to take precedence over seniority if we are to get the right men in the right job. I am shortly convening a round-table to discuss how we can improve the working of the public sector. There must be an adequate return on the 2,000 crore rupees already invested in various public undertakings. The public sector is fast expanding and has a leading role to play in the scheme of development. Its performance must improve.

We are once again examining economy in expenditure. We cannot afford deficit financing. I shall shortly address the Chief Ministers on the economic and financial discipline which the States must observe. I propose to consult with labour and management on how we can jointly increase productivity and cut costs. Discussions are in progress with the chairmen of various export promotion councils to formulate a plan of action on the export front. We must also harness the skill, drive and initiative of the thousands of imaginative small-scale entrepreneurs up and down the country to better purpose.

We must move ahead purposefully with the Fourth Plan. Planning has to be more meticulous and implementation quicker and more efficient. There must be a new deal for the adivasis, Harijans, landless and other weaker sections of the community. It is they who deserve most. We must press forward with family planning. This is a programme of the very highest importance.

It is these things, many thousands of actions by individuals, organised groups, private agencies and the Government, which constitute self-reliance. It is united and constructive action in these many directions which will make India strong and prosperous, which will enhance its prestige. It is by these means alone that we will defeat
poverty and move nearer our cherished goal of socialism through the creation of new wealth.

Tonight I make no promises. But I do want you to think over what I have said. Devaluation is a means. It is not the end of the road. We have to make a new beginning through hard, sustained, disciplined effort which will give substance and meaning to self-reliance through the exploitation of new opportunities.

Only a few days ago, the Government took another decision relating to the reorganisation of Punjab. You know that a high-powered boundary commission was appointed to go into the territorial division of the existing State of Punjab. The unanimous recommendations of this Commission have been accepted. There was only one major area of difference—that concerning the future of Chandigarh. On this, the Commission was divided. We consulted the two parties. We were also confronted by the fact that the country cannot afford the large investment needed to build a new capital for either State.

Accordingly, we decided on a via media. This is, that Chandigarh should become a Union Territory and the common capital of Punjabi Suba and Haryana. This may not be an ideal arrangement. But, given a measure of goodwill on all sides, it does offer a workable solution. Punjab and Haryana will have so much in common that a common capital should assist in developing co-operative relations. In the initial period, this would certainly be invaluable.

Few decisions satisfy everybody. The formula announced should be given a fair trial. Let both Haryana and Punjab settle down. Let everybody work for a smooth transition that leaves no trail of bitterness. The people of Punjab have always been at the forefront of both the defence and development of the nation. I have no doubt that the two new States will once again set the nation an example as they have done on more than one occasion in the past.

There are various other political problems which the Government is trying to resolve, one by one. On these, I appeal for patience and goodwill. This is no time for petty discords and agitation.

Speaking to you on Republic Day, I had said that there were "new frontiers to cross, new horizons to reach, and new goals to achieve". Let us hasten on this long, hard, exciting journey, Jai Hind.  

* * *

When the motion was tabled, I had the impression that devaluation was going to be the main point which the Opposition Members had against the Government. However, in his remarks, the mover of the
motion did not mention even one argument against devaluation. Devaluation was the main concern, however, and the theme of devaluation ran through most of the speeches.

Since the fear was not whether devaluation was good or bad but whether we were pressurised into taking the decision on devaluation—and it was emphatically stated on the other side that we were so pressurised—I want to state equally emphatically that we were not pressurised. That is not to say that we were not advised by the International Monetary Fund to take certain measures. We were also advised by our own economists, as well as economists outside the Government, not now but a very long time ago. In fact, the renowned economist, who is supposed not to support devaluation now, had supported it in an article just six months before we took action.

I think it was Hon. Member Shri Manoharan who asked us whether we had in fact consulted other people. I want to tell him, as our Finance Minister stated in this House, that we had consulted not only our own economists but also technical experts and economists outside the Government. We remain in touch with economists.

At no time have we said that devaluation was something which we would rush to do. On the contrary we took this decision, as one Finance Minister said, after long and painful thinking, and it was an unhappy decision. But it was a decision which we felt we had to take. Some Hon. Members have tried to point out that we had to take this decision because of wrong policies followed over the years. This is absolutely incorrect. There was, of course, a certain amount of pressure of circumstances. You are well aware of these circumstances—the aggression on our borders, and the tremendous strain put on our economy by it and by the drought. These compulsions were there. Nevertheless, I would like to repeat that when we took this measure, it was not a measure taken with our back to the wall. It was a measure taken with our eyes open. It was a deliberate measure which we took in order to prevent a worsening of the economic situation. It was a part of a confident, forward-looking approach, designed to give the Government a better command over the economic situation, and we felt that the permanent and long-term effects of it would lead to a healthy and self-reliant growth of our economy.

We did not think then, nor do we think today, that it is a magic cure; that just by the act of devaluation all the ills will be cured and the prices checked. The prices, mind you, have not gone up just this last month. The prices have been spiralling upwards during the last two or three years, and in spite of numerous measures and attempts to try and curb this rise, we have not been able to do so. So, devaluation is not going to achieve all this suddenly. But it is something which, if followed by the right action, can give us the opportunity of resuming
the onward progress which had been held up due to circumstances beyond our control.

Prof. Mukherjee argued that if only we had nationalised our foreign trade we need not have devalued the rupee. Surely he is aware that even the countries that have nationalised foreign trade have had to devalue their currency. For instance, in January 1961, the heavy rouble, equivalent to 10 old roubles, was introduced in the U.S.S.R. In fact the rouble was devalued by 55 per cent, after taking into account the change in gold content. Another socialist country, Yugoslavia, devalued her currency not so long ago. I was there a few months ago and after talks with their Government—some of my officials had talks with their officials—we found that it had helped them to stabilise their economy. They felt that there, too, it was not a pressure from outside, but a pressure from internal circumstances.

Devaluation, if tackled the right way and if the correct follow-up action is taken, will immediately enhance the export prospects of infant industries and indeed pave the way for exporting new commodities. It is in this larger context that we should appraise the devaluation decision.

Prof. Mukherjee made an appeal for the revival of the swadeshi spirit. If the Hon. Member has been following some of my tours in this country, he will perhaps have noticed that this is what I have been doing, and this is what I consider the most important subject for us to take up now. But I feel that devaluation itself is no more than a device to penalise all those who patronise anything which is not swadeshi. What does devaluation mean? It means that foreign currencies become more expensive.

Was there an alternative to devaluation? The alternative was to establish a closed society, to peg the rupee artificially, and to take over total powers to direct the nation’s economy and manpower. Is it possible for us to do so, with our existing system and without the wholehearted and single-minded co-operation of all the different people living in this country. Could we be able to get this co-operation, for instance, from Hon. Members opposite? I do not think so.

One matter which has, naturally, aroused the concern of the House, and of the Government to, is the increase in prices of essential commodities. As I said, this is not something that has suddenly come into being after devaluation; it is an old process, and it has been getting out of hand even before.

Devaluation by itself is not solely responsible for any increase in prices which may have taken place after it except of course in the case of imported goods. We have to deal with this matter. We have started various shops. I fully realise that they are not adequate. Far greater measures will have to be taken, and such stores will have to be
opened not only in the urban areas but in the rural areas as well. We cannot, in this matter, neglect the rural areas which need more help. Hoarders and anti-social elements have been prosecuted not only in Delhi or Punjab, which have received a certain amount of publicity, but in some other States also, although this has not been publicised. But I agree that perhaps all that could be done has not been done. We are not perfect. We make an attempt to do something. We do not always succeed, nor can we always succeed. We have taken up tremendous programmes. Whenever we have taken up these programmes, the cry has been that these are too big and that we cannot do it. Yet we have tried to go ahead with our programmes. You cannot expect cent per cent success, but in a large number of things we have succeeded.

These are some of the difficulties which we face when we take up new programmes. Everything we have done in India is new. Even democracy is new. Democracy has existed for a long time in many countries, but the manner in which we have brought it in India—with adult franchise in such a vast country—is something very new to the world. I remember the debates in foreign newspapers at that time. All prophesied that it would not work and that there would be riots at election time. But one by one, we have achieved many things, in spite of the tremendous difficulties which we had to face.

I spoke about follow-up action. Most important, of course, is holding the price-line of articles of mass consumption. The next is stimulating exports, and liberalisation of those imports which help stimulate exports and which are also otherwise essential for our purposes. But we do not intend at all to liberalise the imports of those articles which could even remotely be considered luxuries.

The Fourth Plan is based on the follow-up action, on what is to be done to gear up the economy. There has been much talk about whether we should have a big Plan or a small Plan. I personally think that big or small has no relevance here. Big related to what, or small related to what? I believe—as perhaps Shri Krishna Menon said, not in this House but elsewhere—that no matter how small our Plan is, it will still be a very big Plan because of the size of the country.

Perhaps you have seen that the size of the Plan is something like Rs. 16,000 crore for the public sector. But, as I said, I do not look at the Plan in terms of money. What I feel is that the Plan must be big enough to utilise more fully our existing industries and agricultural potential. It should be able to correct the imbalance in our economy, and fill in the gaps in production that make us dependent on aid. The Plan must also lay a base for future growth; otherwise, at the time of the next Plan we will find ourselves exactly where we are at the beginning of this Plan. So that the maximum we can do is the minimum:
we must attempt. It is with this spirit that we must look at planning and the next Plan.

Some Hon. Members, for instance Professor Ranga and his party, would like to have a small Plan. This would result in freezing poverty at the lower rungs. I feel that such a Plan would be in favour of the more affluent sections of the society and will make self-reliance a receding goal.

The policy we have followed, or the path we have followed, has been such that we are bound to come in conflict with people on either side of us. On some matters we are in conflict with one side, and on some others with the other side. So, whether anybody likes it or not, this Government is determined to go ahead with the expansion of the public sector. We are determined to go ahead with measures to correct inequalities in the economic system. That is why we took the decision the other day with regard to the managing agencies. If wealth remains in a few hands—apart from the injustice of it—it will disturb the stability of the country. The whole idea of planning or of building up the economy is to build the muscles of the nation.

I have stressed in the Planning Commission and elsewhere that we must give very special consideration to landless agricultural labour. Although I feel that there has been tremendous progress in India since Independence, this is one section which has really had a very hard time and which is deserving of very special consideration. Similarly, although many programmes have been initiated, the tribals, the Harijans and the backward classes are the sections which deserve and should get far greater attention than they have been getting. We want to make every effort to do so in our next Plan. We want to try to benefit all the under-privileged.

There has been much talk of honour or loss of honour. If anything is going to bring India down, it is the view we form of ourselves. If you go out and meet people outside, you will find a very genuine appreciation of the tremendous effort which we are making in this country.

Let me say that this effort is not the effort of the Government. The Government lays down the Plan. It shows the way. But the effort is the effort of the Indian people. What we have done has been done by the Indian people, whether it is in industry or in agriculture. When we talk of shame or when we talk of failures, let us remember that the only thing that counts in the world—no matter how far down you are, how poor you are, how broken you are—is hope and confidence.
The People and the Plans

I am no economist but I do claim to know something of the people of India. I know their difficulties and aspirations. There has been no day in the past six months when I have met fewer than 200 persons from every part of the country. On some days I see as many as 500 people. I must confess, when I meet them I only think of our achievements with pride.

In respect of the size of the Plan — this question came up also when I was Minister for Information and Broadcasting — I had expressed myself against a small Plan. We have to view this from the psychological and political aspects. A small Plan will not fulfil the needs of the people.

The other day I was in Andhra. Even the poorest of the people there came to me and said, "We must have a steel plant." I told them, "I will convey this to the Planning Commission who will take a final decision." I asked them if they would not rather have some irrigation works, since a steel works would mean huge expenditure. Irrigation, they said, they could arrange themselves. They also asked me, "Do you object if we raise money for the steel plant?"

Many persons look upon a steel plant as a prestige investment. At a time when there was starvation in Moscow and people had to live on the ration of one potato a day, the Russians still felt that the Moscow underground railways should be the best in the world. This is human psychology and should not be lost sight of. We do need a few things to stir the people's imagination.

It sounds extraordinary to me that any Indian should say that we have failed. Compared to any country during any period of its history, we in India have not done so badly in terms of economic development. This is not to say that all the areas have benefited equally. Nor have all the sections of the population gone ahead at the same pace. But conditions in the villages are better. We now have a situation in which people do not know what to do with money. You go to our cinema houses and hotels, they are all full. There are so many new restaurants, all chock-full with people, not only in big towns like Delhi and Bombay but also in small and far off places like Muzaffarnagar and Moradabad. All our hill stations are crowded. Where does this spending come from? Not from Tatas and Birlas. This money should be mopped up and put to productive use.

As for foreign aid, I am all for getting more foreign aid until we stand on our feet economically. You will remember that our plans

From speech at a meeting of the Planning Commission, New Delhi, July 23, 1966
were so framed as to require more and more foreign aid up to a particular stage. Then it was to stop. Many people say that this was not our policy some years ago and that it is going against Nehru's thinking. This is not correct. I know what he thought. Until we become self-reliant, I do not see any loss of prestige in asking for more aid.

Some people have complained that we have not done enough to encourage talent among our people. I think what has happened in respect of new skills is something miraculous, something phenomenal. It is true that talented individuals are sometimes ignored or not made use of. That is one of the reasons why our efficiency has not gone up.

I have no doubt our difficulties will mount, almost a hundred per cent each day. But I go to difficulties head on. Since I was a child, I have been able to proceed only in this way. If I talk to people about lower targets they will tell me, "Have your little plans and let the Planning Commission itself implement them."

Money is very important. But looking at the Plans from the monetary angle alone is not the right approach. You will pardon me for looking at the nation's problems as a mother in terms of a household. Do I allow my children to starve? If I am short of milk or medicine or other basic necessities, I do not just sit there and say, "I have no money." Just because you are poor you do not say that you will let your family starve.

The basic necessities of the country have to be provided for. What are the basic necessities of our States? Do we provide our projects with the right amount of funds at the right time? Often we do not, and the result is unproductive projects and wasted money. The country is littered with hundreds of such projects. This attitude of ad hoc cuts and inadequate provision has to change.

Somebody talked about our honour having been lost. Whose honour has been lost? I have not lost my pride. India's pride is not lost. We keep on saying that we have lost to the Chinese, that we have not done this or we have failed in that. We do not remember that U.K. and U.S.A. went on losing the war for a good four years during the Second World War. There was a swing in their favour only in the fifth year. And in Europe, the war was not a surprise. A year before it started—September 6, 1938, I remember the date—I got a telegram in Germany asking me to return as war was expected to break out soon. It came a year later. When it did come, Britain was not prepared. The Chinese beat us in a surprise war. But if anybody tells me that we lost our honour because of that, he knows nothing about war or how wars are fought. If the honour of U.K. and U.S.A. was not lost, how is our honour lost because of a strategic retreat? It is people like us sitting here who are guilty of going on saying, "We have lost our honour." Our honour is too big a thing to
be lost in this way. Similarly, if we have to retreat on the Plan it is because, in military language, we are shortening the front tactically.

We talk of self-reliance and self-sufficiency. Have we thought it out fully in our Plans? Have we asked what is it that we can do ourselves in respect of essentials like food and other basic needs and even spare parts. We must think of our Plans in physical terms. We must ask what they would bring to the people whom we have to convince that life is worth living.

There is a great deal of wasteful expenditure. We have to cut it out by resorting, if we have to, to fairly dictatorial methods. We talk of Plan figures as though it is a game, Rs. 16,000 crore, Rs. 15,000 crore, etc. But do we realise that the lives of millions are at stake?

There is criticism about food imports. But if there is no grain there will be deaths. We must have realism. Yes, but realism in regard to whom? For what purpose? I have not eaten any cereals for a year except when I eat out. I just cannot when I know others are not getting enough.

There is a strong group opposed to planning. They were opposed to our building Ashoka Hotel. Within a week of its starting, there were questions in Parliament: "Why did we build it? Why are we running it at a loss?" Panchayati Raj was similarly criticised the very moment it started. So here what we need is boldness, thrust, courage, and doing it in a big way. There should be more flexibility.

I hope you have given enough thought to unemployment, to landless labour and to rural works. They are badly off. We must revive the *swadeshi* spirit and adopt modern but indigenous methods. We should use our own materials. Our demands, our desires are mounting.

We have a tendency to start something and then draw up a hundred and one exceptions to our rules and decisions. We have to be far more ruthless. In a business house, they do not mind if they sack an inefficient worker. They do not think of his family or bother even if he commits suicide. But when the Government wants to get rid of an inefficient officer, we say, "The poor man is in such hardship."

It is very, very important that economically the momentum of development is not lost. It is very important that, politically, we have no break from the past. The Fourth Plan must retain the momentum generated in the Third Plan and must avoid any sharp break with the past. We must catch all idle money. There is much talk of strengthening the country. This is very important. For, otherwise, everyone will try to knock us down, politically, economically, psychologically. This is what is happening in smaller countries of Africa, where outsiders buy up the people. We must use every means to build up ourselves, to make the country strong. We must have a high target, there must be a visible movement in the economy. If the movement
is in doubt, people will fail us. But if we are moving forward, they will bear up with hardship.

A FEW DAYS AGO, water was released into the two canals of the mighty Nagarjunasagar project. These waters will transform Andhra. Everyday, every month, somewhere in India, some scheme or other is coming to fruition. All this development and change is tremendously exciting.

I remember visiting Nagarjunakonda some years ago. Two memories come to mind. First, the application of mass manpower in building this tremendous structure—a human conveyor-belt snaking up the bamboo scaffolding, carrying stone and mortar to raise the dam higher and yet higher. And then, the wonder of the ancient site of Nagarjunakonda, capital of the Ikshvakus, with its Hindu kings and Buddhist queens, the seat and university of the great sage and teacher Nagarjuna, scene of the Ashwamedh, a market that knew commerce with ancient Rome, now covered by the waters of the Krishna. Nagarjunasagar will bring new life to the land where nearly 2,000 years ago, Acharya Nagarjuna spread knowledge.

It is this link with antiquity that is the wonder of India. What we are seeing today is the rebirth of India, a new India, in transition from a traditional to a modern society. This is being achieved through planning.

Fifteen years ago, planning for development was formally introduced in our country. Traditionally, the Prime Minister is also the Chairman of our Planning Commission. In some respects, this may appear a curious combination of offices. But it has clear logic, since planning and execution must go together and co-ordination becomes easier if some members of the Government are associated with the process of planning.

We have already launched our Fourth Five Year Plan. The annual plan for 1966-67 is being implemented within the broad framework of the Plan memorandum prepared earlier. A detailed outline of the Plan as a whole is expected to be ready by the end of this month.

The Plan is the centre of our lives. We are immersed in poverty. The threat to our political stability comes from poverty. Poverty gives edge to such divisive forces as communalism, casteism, linguism and regionalism. Ultimately even our security depends on our economic strength.

No matter which aspect is considered, we are confronted with the

"Person to Person" broadcast over All India Radio. August 7, 1966
problem of poverty. It is a tremendous human problem, for it affects the lives of millions and millions of people. The answer to poverty lies in development, and it is to ensure orderly and rapid growth that we, like others, have embarked on planning.

It is astounding to hear some people say that planning has failed or that our present problems arise from planning. I think we can claim that we have achieved much of which we can legitimately be proud. In many directions there has been remarkable progress—in education and health, in the development of transport and communications, in irrigation, in the production of food, in the growth and diversification of industry.

Not for a moment would I suggest that we have done as well as we could have, or, that we have not made mistakes. We are passing through a most critical period because of the drought and foreign exchange difficulties. These have caused acute shortages and have resulted in a rise in prices.

The answer does not lie in taking a holiday from planning or having a smaller Plan in order to live within our means.

Knowing the aspirations and needs of our people, can we lower our sights? There is a political and psychological dimension to our Plans. A small Plan cannot fulfil the needs of the people. In a sense, it would mean a “freeze” on poverty for the poorest and the weakest. It is they who will be hurt by a small Plan, not those who are well off.

I do agree that we must live within our means. Nevertheless, in a developing economy, there must be a dynamic concept of means. The more we work, the more we develop our resources and create wealth—the more will we enlarge our means and our ability to develop the economy still faster without external assistance. Of course, there are limits to this—limits set by our natural resources, human skill, organisational capabilities and foreign exchange. But the maximum we can do is the minimum we should attempt. Our task should be set and our progress measured in physical terms. It is not enough—in fact it is often misleading—to think and talk only in terms of money.

If we can carry conviction to our people that our plans are well-prepared, their support and co-operation will be forthcoming in any steps for the mobilisation of resources.

It is the ordinary people who have donated most generously to the National Defence Fund. Even today money comes in, sometimes collected in paice, from teachers, students and others. The poor have done and are willing to do their part if we can give them evidence of progress. There is money in certain pockets much of which is wasted in ostentatious living and extravagant spending. These funds must be tapped and put to productive use. Resources can also be enlarged through economy and efficiency, by speed in execution and avoidance
of delays. Much greater thought is now being given to these matters.

Our aim is development in conditions of financial stability. We are
determined not to allow inflation to distort our economy. But the fear
of inflation should not be carried to a point where it makes us far too
timid and inhibits us from thinking and acting in bold enough terms.
A right balance has to be struck.

The lower we aim, the less we are likely to achieve. If we set
ourselves low targets of effort and accomplishment we may still not
fully achieve these modest goals. But if we carry the people with us,
we may be able to undertake larger tasks by harnessing their enthu-
siasm and readiness to help and participate.

We hope within the next ten years to attain a stage of self-generat-
ing, self-reliant growth. This means that we shall be able continuously
to raise production in farm and factory, to step up exports and to im-
prove efficiency and productivity all round without recourse to fresh
assistance beyond the next decade. Most of the goods which our
growing economy requires will be produced within the country. Those
which we cannot produce or which we find economically advantageous
to import will be imported by using foreign exchange earned from much
larger and growing exports. Thus self-reliance will not mean a narrow
concept of self-sufficiency. It will, however, very clearly mean an
all-pervasive spirit of *swadeshi* in which Indian produced goods, Indian
engineered projects, Indian designed machines, Indian invented tech-
niques, Indian trained technicians and scientists will not only dominate
the scene but enjoy high reputation and regard. The process has
started; it has to be accelerated. It is the purpose of our Fourth and
Fifth Plans to secure these results.

Let us not then allow ourselves to be diverted from these challeng-
ing and constructive tasks into negative acts of agitation and violence.
We must build, not destroy. We must produce more, not stop produc-
tion. The recent transport strike in Uttar Pradesh interrupted move-
ment and hurt growers in the State and consumers in Delhi. Strikes
and destruction of public property anywhere constitute an unproduct-
ive, self-inflicted tax on every Indian.

Let us not allow ourselves to be oppressed by frustration or mis-
guided by anger into wrong action which will inevitably increase the
burden on the common man, undermine the very foundations of demo-
cracy and imperil the well-being and happiness of us all. But let our
concern lead us to constructive effort, to hard work, to co-operation.
Earlier this week, the draft outline of the Fourth Five Year Plan was presented to the nation. It is a product of considerable thought. It seeks to present a balanced pattern of development in terms of size and content in the somewhat difficult circumstances in which we find ourselves today. The document is before you and I would welcome analysis and comment on specific issues, specific programmes, but they must be taken as part of a comprehensive picture which is the total Plan. We are good at general criticism, the splitting of intellectual or ideological hairs, as it were. But finding solutions to actual problems is quite another matter, and this is the task before us.

It has been said that the success of the Plan depends largely on our capacity to mobilise and enthuse the people and that past performance hardly gives reason for hope. I do not want to enter into a debate on this point. But I do want to say that our people have proved themselves in no uncertain terms. Only a year ago we rose as one man in defence of the values we cherish. Fortunately, the tragic conflict which engulfed the sub-continent ended within a few weeks.

The best tribute we can pay to the gallant men who fought and suffered and died on the battlefield is to ensure, so far as lies within our means, peace along our borders and a better life for our people.

We stand by the pledge that both India and Pakistan had earlier accepted to abjure the use of force in the settlement of differences. Let there be no doubt about this. It is our sincere desire to live in peace with our neighbours.

We want economic co-operation and we want our peoples to mix freely so that false fears can be removed. Let leading citizens from Pakistan visit India, travel around and make their own assessment. We seek friendship, not conflict.

Conflict threatens elsewhere too. The Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference opens in London in a few days. A problem of as much interest to us as to our African friends will be on the agenda—Rhodesia. The Rhodesian question and the recent International Court judgment on South-West Africa are matters which the world cannot ignore. The worst form of racialism and colonialism is entrenched in Southern Africa. This tyranny must end before there is a fearful explosion of hatred and violence. Both Britain and the United Nations have a special responsibility in this matter.

Let me return to problems at home. People ask whether devaluation has been a success and what follow-up action the Government has taken. I am surprised by this question. Devaluation is no instant remedy. It is no more than an instrument with which to promote further development and create conditions for greater self-reliance.

'Person to Person' broadcast over All India Radio, September 4, 1966
Besides the many measures already announced, the Fourth Plan incorporates all that we must now do.

It is also asked why prices continue to rise. It is necessary to distinguish between the rise in prices after devaluation and the rise in prices because of devaluation. Certain seasonal factors are involved. There are physical shortages. Also we are now paying the price of 400 crore rupees of inflationary financing undertaken last year, partly for reasons beyond our control. Besides, with devaluation, the cost of imports has been deliberately tilted upwards. Still, I do sincerely share the people's concern that prices have in fact risen.

Apart from the measures we are taking to ensure proper distribution, basically there are three answers to the price problem—increased production, agricultural and industrial; avoidance of every kind of inflationary financing on the part of the Central and State Governments; and the strictest enforcement of economy all round. I confess that I am not satisfied with the measures taken so far. We have not moved swiftly enough in all directions where action is urgently needed. We have to deal sternly with hoarders and anti-social elements.

Our administrative procedures are slow-moving and communication and co-ordination are imperfect. This is an internal problem which we must remedy.

The Central and State Governments have also been handicapped by all the bundhs [strikes] and agitations of the past weeks. More are threatened. I sympathise with and appreciate the genuine hardships and distress of the common people. But I simply cannot see how stoppage of work and production can help to improve matters in any way.

I am also constantly asked whether our expectations of foreign aid have been realised after devaluation. Time and again, I have repeated that devaluation had nothing to do with aid. From the beginning, we have sought aid for our Five Year Plans. Why should we be frightened of friendly foreign assistance which can accelerate the pace of development? At the same time we should not idly wait for it either. We can and must conserve and utilise our own resources. It is in this context, for example, that Government has decided not to abandon gold control even though the policy is being relaxed in some directions. Gold control is a long-term measure of social and economic reform. The inflated social value attached to gold has encouraged ostentatious display, smuggling and the piling up of useless hoards. Let us not be slaves to gold. Let us invest gold productively in order to create more wealth for the country.

I was glad to read in the newspapers a few days ago that some of our design and engineering organisations are confident of shouldering larger responsibilities. There are vast untapped resources of productive capacity and skills in the country which we need to utilise more
fully. This means swadeshi. Our thinking in these matters has to be much more flexible and imaginative. I am sure that we can design, construct and manufacture a great deal more plant and equipment than we are doing at present.

Even the small-scale sector has shown itself capable of considerable achievement. But procedures must be simplified. If we can do this, then much of the frustration and cynicism around us will disappear. Whether in the public or in the private sector, planning should aim at liberating initiative in our society.

If we want to eliminate our dependence on imported food and foreign assistance, we must not only produce more but export more. We must think not only of traditional exports but of newer exports. We are now manufacturing a wide range of machinery and we can now design, engineer and construct whole projects for overseas clients and supply on suitable terms the entire plant and equipment that go with them. There is nothing which cannot be turned into an export product. Few exports have such a large potential for us as tourism which we must organise, assist and sell far more vigorously than before.

I should like each one of you to study and to take part in the debate on the Plan, not in academic or doctrinaire terms but as an action programme which can and must involve the entire nation, every part of the country and all our vast human and natural resources. Ultimately, it is what we actually do and implement that will become the Plan. Therefore, let us get on with the job with zest and faith—faith in one another, in ourselves; faith in India.

Problems of Planning

It is time for us to affirm our will and determination to boldly seek a solution of our basic problems through planned effort, relying more and more on our own resources of men and material to forge and sustain a satisfactory pace of progress.

As those on whom is cast the great responsibility of guiding the affairs of the country at this stage, we have to realise that to bring about ordered progress in the country, we cannot yield to the temptation of enjoying transient popularity either with the masses or with organised vested interests, or of surrendering to short-sighted views in matters of vital importance concerning our development. Such surrender would
only cause delay and place difficulties in the way of our self-reliant progress. Spontaneous support, whether by way of acceptance of certain tasks and obligations or sacrifice of narrow self-interest, will not be forthcoming for the measures which may be necessary without sufficient education and understanding of the very complex issues involved. Unfortunately, we hesitate to explain to the people frankly and frequently enough what the situation is, or to tell them the pros and cons of our proposals, or to provide them clear guidance as to what they should do in a given situation. Or, it may be that, not fully confident of our capacity to carry the people with us, we resort to policies and programmes which are halting and compromising and wholly inadequate to meet our problems satisfactorily and to create conditions of popular understanding and enthusiasm.

It is only a spirit of resolute purpose and confidence in our people that we should set out on our next phase of planned development, which has to be a phase of accelerated and self-reliant progress.

The time now is for clear thinking and decisiveness. After two years of catastrophic mishaps, mainly due to severe droughts and wars whose costs yet remain uncalculated, we are in a hopeful situation with regard to agricultural production. Prosperity in the rural areas will make an impact on the rest of the economy. If we are able to pursue right policies, on the basis of the potential already built up in the economy, it should be possible in the next year to achieve a further increase in the national income. Thus, in two years we could nearly resume the interrupted rate of growth and provide a convincing demonstration of the resilience of our economy. If a high rate of growth can be later sustained as a normal rate of growth by the bold steps taken in the interim period, we would have converted a set-back into a real and permanent advance. During the next year, our principal task should be to extract the maximum out of the productive capabilities which have been built in agriculture and in industry.

We shall have to take measures to restore the rate of capital formation, as quickly as possible, to at least the levels which were reached two years ago. An increase in the rate of capital formation, progressively supported by a larger proportion of domestic savings, is the core of the process of dynamic development. In the last two bad years, we have lost ground in this regard. But this can be and must be recovered by purposeful action in the next one or two years.

Then there is the problem of a large deficit in our international trade. Our imports are more than a thousand million dollars in excess of our exports. In the present international climate of aid and in pursuance of our policy of achieving early self-reliance, we must seek to reduce this gap quickly and ultimately eliminate it by following a vigorous policy of export promotion and import substitution, keeping
in mind rational economic calculations so that the nation takes the maximum advantage of its resources. As a substantial part of this deficit arises because of our dependence on the imports of food-grains, fertilisers, oil, metals and machinery, we must concentrate on the development of their production in the right proportion, taking into account the increasing needs of the future. Exports must rise and every reasonable support required for this purpose should be provided to bring the day of self-reliance nearer. In fact it is with this that our strategy of development has been concerned, and for which it has been striving over the last ten years with different degrees of success. The constant unthinking criticism of our Plans and policies has served to confuse the issues. I think that our efforts are now bearing fruit. We can look forward to a growing, dynamic agriculture. We are increasingly able to support a programme of increased capital formation on the basis of our own resources. In fact the situation at the moment is rather anomalous. We have idle capacity in the capital goods sector where only a few years ago we had to depend largely on imports. The situation has arisen not because we have suddenly become a great steel-producing and machine-building nation. It has happened mainly because of the lower rate of capital formation which was forced upon us during the last two years. The remedy for this situation is to get back to the required rate of capital formation as quickly as possible, so that the gap between the capacities created and the production required is eliminated.

The problem is how to mobilise financial resources to enable us to make fuller use of our capacities. It seems that during the next one or two years we are not likely to be short of the real resources required for increased investment, such as steel, cement and machinery of various kinds. But some arrangement has to be found to finance the necessary outlays without accentuating inflationary pressures.

Also, it is clear that if the public sector expenditure on development is to be expanded, we shall have to pay for developmental outlays for the purchase of materials, for payment of labour, etc. The obligation to meet this expenditure has to be assumed by the community. Ultimately this must be reflected in higher savings and taxation. Logically there should be no problem so long as the share comes out of a substantial rise in national income, which is the object and result of development. In a democratic system this task is not an easy one. The issue is simple. To develop the country, the Government, both at the Centre and in the states, must have sources of revenue, but if people, even those who greatly benefit from development, are not willing to pay taxes, what is the way out? Is our effort adequate for our development? The savings of the community, which represent the 'effort' put into development and are a token of our concern for the future
advance, are very low. Should capital formation be supported entirely by such poor domestic savings?

In the long run we should barely expect to keep our per capita income from falling below its current level, especially if the population continues to grow at 2.5 per cent. Thus, it is absolutely necessary to give very serious attention to the issues which are of crucial importance to development. Our sincerity about following a course of self-reliant growth will be tested by our attention to these issues.

Resources are not calculated in terms of money alone, but also in extracting the maximum out of the potentialities of the economy. Once we begin to contract, resources will become smaller and smaller and our situation will become much worse. This will be neither planning nor progress but merely sliding down. A slowing down in capital formation will, however, be justified if it is clearly designed (1) to bring the economy into balance; (2) to provide for reducing the vulnerability of uncertain factors by organising buffer stocks, etc.; (3) to adjust prices so as to provide the right basis for future economic calculations and the mobilisation of future resources; (4) to make adjustment for a better utilisation of capacity; and (5) to generally restore financial stability. In short, it could mean taking one step backward to enable one to take two steps forward later on.

The process of development is a continuous one. The boundaries between the Plans and the length of Plan periods are arbitrary. As long as the effort is not weakened and the absence of a formal Plan is not used as an excuse for slackening the effort, any controversy regarding the dates and periods of planning is not terribly important.

I welcome you all once more. We attach great value to your opinions and to the experience which you have had in your respective States. I sincerely hope that sitting here and debating these matters together we can have fruitful discussions and evolve a path which will take us all forward.

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THE NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT COUNCIL is charged with the responsibility of providing guidelines to the Planning Commission. The detailed work on planning can be undertaken only when you have given the indications. I should like to emphasise at this stage that we are not concerned with the details of the Plan in this meeting but only with the basic approach to the Plan. Of course, this is just as important because it circumscribes the Plan itself to some extent. The major issues are the overall goals which we seek, the tempo and pattern of

From speech at a meeting of the National Development Council, New Delhi, May 17, 1968
development, the national effort, discipline, co-operation and determination required for reaching the set goals. We have, for instance, to address ourselves to the problem of the rate of growth. Do we consider it adequate or do we think that it should be less or more? If we think that a rate of 5 per cent or 6 per cent is essential, are we prepared to make the necessary effort in terms of mobilisation of resources?

Despite the progress registered in many directions, the broad fact remains that the real income per head is exceedingly low. Growth has not made a significant impact on the living standards of the people, and has not provided opportunities for full employment or for reducing disparities. That is why the rate of growth in the future is a matter of crucial importance. Planning for a 6 per cent growth of the economy in conditions of diminishing external aid is a bold undertaking. Are we prepared to undertake it? Is there the national will for this? On the other hand, can we possibly do less? Our efforts necessarily must be strenuous. We need, therefore, a firm direction, a longer perspective and commitment to action.

The National Development Council is the supreme body of our nation and can give this lead and impart this confidence to our people. The right policies and programmes must be backed by the necessary resources, physical as well as financial. If we aim at having a buffer stock of food-grains, it has to be financed as part of the programme of price stability. Agricultural development must be promoted and credit facilities extended increasingly to the weaker sections of the agriculturists. The infra-structure of irrigation, fuel, power, roads, transport and communications will have to be expanded. Basic industries will also have to be expanded, especially to promote rapid industrialisation on a broad basis. Many programmes will have to be undertaken in the field of education, health, scientific research, technological development, and for the promotion of engineering design and consultancy services. We will have to devise methods to enlarge our resources, in particular the governmental revenues which would enable the Governments at the Centre and in the States to discharge their responsibilities.

I am sure the members of the Council will give serious thought to this problem of resource mobilisation. We cannot talk of progressive elimination of PL.480 grain imports and the reduction of foreign aid without devising ways and means to raise the necessary additional resources. A large part of the annual increases in income will accrue in the rural sector, particularly amongst the prosperous farmers who will benefit by the developmental effort. It is evident that the mobilisation of resources must take full cognisance of this fact. Our attitude in this matter should cease to be equivocal.
Another range of problems to which the Planning Commission has drawn attention is related to the operation of a mixed economy. A number of questions arise. What combination of market forces and administrative directions is most suitable for resource allocation? What role should be assigned to the public sector, and how can it be made important and effective? How do we encourage private enterprise without concentration of wealth and economic power? The Planning Commission has tried to strike a balance between the various sectors and has made proposals for consideration. In this respect, again, we must provide a clear lead and guidance.

I hope the Chief Ministers will pardon me if I mention a problem which has been worrying me. There is sometimes talk of fighting the Centre. I cannot see how the country can be strengthened by any such in-fighting, or by the tensions which it is bound to generate. The present situation requires a concerted and united effort to pull out of the rut in which we find ourselves. I want to assure the Chief Ministers that I am fully aware of the difficulties which confront our States and sympathise with their just demands. I am unhappy that we cannot do all that is needed to help them. But I do hope that in this meeting we shall not follow the old pattern of reiterating our grievances against the Centre or against anyone else, but will make a conscious effort to assess the major economic difficulties on a national plane and see how each State can play its part to overcome them. Only thus can a situation be created when the Centre will be in a position to come to the assistance of the States.

I am told that even without planning we could achieve some growth. But it is obvious that this kind of growth would give rise to acute tensions in society. A free market economy can bring economic growth but will not bring the kind of equality of opportunity which the vast masses of our under-privileged expect. We are pledged to look after the needs of the weaker sections of the community and the backward areas of the country. Surely the aim of planning was not only to budget our resources but to find ways to advance faster so that increasing population and growing needs do not outstrip our national advance. Surely planning was also to be an instrument for correcting imbalances and lessening disparities.

I think I have indicated some of the issues which are before us. I shall now request the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission to explain in greater detail some of the underlying assumptions and problems inherent in the approach to the Fourth Five Year Plan.
The Fourth Plan

I have great pleasure in welcoming you all to what is a crucial meeting of the National Development Council. Our deliberations should help us in reconciling different points of view and in securing the commitment of the nation as a whole to the tasks of development as envisaged in our Plans.

I should like to express my appreciation to the Deputy Chairman and Members of the Planning Commission for the manner in which they have handled this difficult task of getting the Plan ready in the limited time at their disposal.

The formulation of a new Plan signifies that through our own determined efforts we have in a measure overcome the difficulties which had led us to operate on the basis of annual plans and to postpone the implementation of the original Fourth Plan, which was scheduled to commence in 1966. This Plan marks our resolve to resume orderly economic progress on the basis of an integrated approach to our problems. The whole object of a Plan is to assess realistically the potential for development and to spell out in advance the problems likely to be faced in realising it. The analysis made from this angle in the Plan documents shows that while we should not pitch our expectations in regard to improvement in the standard of living too high, at the same time we need not be unduly pessimistic in regard to the possibilities of growth.

The very constraint of resources which we faced during the period intervening between the Third Plan and the new Fourth Plan has sharpened our sense of priorities and has facilitated the concentration of our energies and resources on vital programmes.

We are all aware of the importance of agriculture in the national life of India. It was the new agricultural methods based on the use of high-yielding strains, extensive application of fertilisers and remunerative prices for farm produce which gave us a measure of success and this was due as much to our scientists and technicians as to the farmers themselves and to their quick response to new ideas.

About 85 per cent of the commodity consumption of households is comprised of agricultural products or manufactures principally on agricultural raw materials. The achievement of the targets of growth under conditions of price stability will, therefore, depend entirely on the growth of agricultural production at the pace envisaged. This order of growth in agricultural production should also enable us to do away with food imports on concessional terms within a period of two years.

Speech at a meeting of the National Development Council, New Delhi, April 19, 1969
The accent of the Plan is thus on self-reliance. This means that imports should be kept under strict control and the fullest use should be made of indigenous capacity, wherever available. The investments made in the earlier Plans have strengthened the industrial base of the country and in quite a number of fields there is significant surplus capacity. With the increase in the rate of investment contemplated as part of the new Plan, it should be our endeavour to make the fullest possible use of this capacity. I attach the greatest importance to the development of indigenous technology, design and engineering skills.

The reduction in foreign aid also lends urgency to the mobilisation of domestic resources. The total size of the Plan as it has emerged is by no means large, judging by the real needs of the States. I am sure that there are many programmes, such as those relating to education, medical relief and provision of water supply, to which we should all like to allocate larger resources if this were possible. We have obviously to adjust our programmes within the resources that we can reasonably hope to mobilise; but the point that I should like to stress is that we should not let our investment fall below the levels indicated in the Plan. This will be feasible only if we look upon mobilisation of additional resources as a task of the highest national priority. We should not yield to the temptation of seeking transient popularity by shirking our responsibility in regard to the mobilisation of resources. May I also urge that we should refrain from any action which will have the effect of eroding the resources base of our Plans.

I have had the opportunity of meeting many of the Chief Ministers separately or in groups before this meeting. I am fully aware of their difficulties in their States and of the need for greater resources for special projects which would make a great difference to the people, not only economically but in raising their morale and in gaining their commitment and involvement in the process of planning. I should not like them to feel that their views are being ignored. We are looking into this matter and trying to see how we can possibly squeeze something out of somewhere so as to meet some of their needs, not wholly but in some part.

Efficient management and evolution of a rational pricing policy for public sector enterprises, whether under the State or the Centre, should be an important element in our programme for the mobilisation of resources. The decisions of policy taken recently in regard to the personnel policy of major industrial enterprises under the Government of India will, I hope, contribute significantly to improvement in efficiency. The bulk of investment in State Plans has been in irrigation and power projects. Here, apart from improvement in the day-to-day management and fuller utilization of the potential already built
up, there is clear need to ensure that we secure a reasonable return on investments already made through appropriate revision of irrigation rates and power tariff. It is only by improving the rate of return on the investments already made that we can generate sufficient resources to maintain even a minimum tempo of development in the years that lie ahead.

In the present context, the emphasis should not be on how the resources already available could be redistributed between the different layers in our federal set-up, but on how the State and Central Governments, acting jointly and in a spirit of imaginative understanding of each other’s problems, could raise the public sector’s command over the resources of the nation. There has been a considerable setback in the resources position of both Central and State Governments and this has led to a slackening in the pace of development with all its attendant adverse consequences. If we are to make any major impact on problems such as unemployment, provision of basic amenities such as water supply and medical relief in the rural areas and full utilization of our industrial capacity, there is no escape from raising additional resources on the scale envisaged in the Plan. Taxation as a percentage of national income has registered a decline from 14.2 per cent in 1965-66 to 12.3 per cent in 1967-68.

Our response to the challenges of the present situation would be entirely misconceived if we think in terms of Centre versus States, or Central Plans versus State Plans instead of concentrating our attention on the crucial issue of how to step up the rate of investment and thus give a boost to our economy. I should be grateful if the Council would bear these in mind in the course of its discussions. I think you should look upon the outlays in the Central Plans not as something substracted from State Plans but as intended to sustain and support the developmental efforts of the States. The development of railways, shipping and communications, the provision made in the Central schemes for fertilisers, Central support to financial institutions for agricultural sector, for buffer stocks, for warehousing, marketing and storing are for economic progress in particular States and in the country as a whole. The Centrally-sponsored schemes are for the benefit of our people as a whole.

In planning for the future, we have to take particular care to see that the benefits of development are spread as widely as possible. Apart from specific legislative and administrative measures for preventing concentration of wealth and economic power, it is necessary to incorporate in our plans positive programmes for the weaker sections of the people, including in particular small farmers, farmers in dry areas and landless labour. In my view the policies of lending institu-
tions and co-operatives should be reviewed and recast, if need be, so as to provide special help to the small farmer.

Very much more has to be done in regard to research and to improve the productivity of lands in dry areas; the bulk of our farming is still carried on under unirrigated conditions and we can make an impact on standards of living in rural areas only if the needs of the dry areas are taken special care of. The improvement of agricultural production under the new programmes will itself aggravate economic inequalities and cause social tensions unless suitable corrective steps are taken right from the beginning. Apart from ensuring, through fiscal and other measures, that the more substantial farmers contribute their due share to development, it is necessary to review the existing legislation in regard to tenancy and take positive steps for their effective implementation. The question of assuring certain minimum wages for landless labour has also to be pursued with vigour. Through a package of such fiscal and legislative measures, it should be our endeavour to promote a more equitable distribution of the fruits of development in the countryside. Similarly, in the industrial field, concrete steps must be taken for a wider dispersal of entrepreneurship; indeed in the execution of all our programmes, we should keep the needs of the common man and the small producer prominently in view. The benefits of development should accrue more and more to the relatively less privileged classes, such as the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and others. Only thus can we create a sense of involvement in our developmental programmes among all sections of the people.

We must also initiate positive measures to reduce regional imbalances, as otherwise the tensions caused by such imbalances will inhibit the very process of development. The normal operation of economic forces is so overwhelmingly weighted in favour of areas which are already developed that a wider dispersal of industries can be secured only through the positive intervention of Central and State Governments. It will obviously not be possible to make up for all the backlog of development in these backward areas within the span of one Plan. But we should make a bold beginning in the new Fourth Plan. We must identify areas of comparative backwardness so that programmes of development suited to those regions could be formulated and vigorously implemented. The reports of the two Working Groups appointed by the National Development Council may provide the basis for action in the coming Plan period.

I have deliberately confined myself to certain issues of general importance. The Deputy Chairman will deal in greater detail with the implications of the new Plan and with the fiscal, administrative and other measures necessary for the attainment of the goals envisaged in the plan.
I should like to welcome you all once again and to assure you that we attach great value to your views and suggestions. I sincerely hope that sitting here and debating these matters relating to our economic development in a constructive way will help us to evolve a plan of action which will bring all sections of people into the picture and enthuse them and involve them in the process of implementing the Plan, because only in this way can we take the country forward.

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I should like to express my pleasure in initiating this debate on the Plan and in seeking the views of Hon. Members and, through them, of the public on the Fourth Five Year Plan on which we embarked at the beginning of last month.

It is now eighteen years since we set out to promote economic development on a planned basis against tremendous odds. Planning has thus come of age and it is accepted by our people as a regular and normal feature in the economic life of the country, even as freedom of speech and free elections have been absorbed as normal elements in our political life.

When some critics say that there is at present lack of enthusiasm about the Plan, I think they are apt to overlook this aspect. It is natural that when planning was new, there should have been greater excitement over it. But today the people have come to accept the Plan as an integral part of our development; they have come to accept it as a part of the new economic order which we are trying to build in our country.

Thus every Plan now is just another milestone in our long and arduous journey towards a better life for our people. We have undertaken planned development within a democratic framework. Debate and discussion on the objectives of the Plan, its priorities, its achievements and, of course, its shortfalls also are, therefore, part of the very process of planning. These discussions, sometimes of an acrimonious nature may seem to hold up decisions, and even blur our objectives, but they are part of our set-up and it is through these discussions that we can secure the commitment of the people to the goals envisaged in the Plan and evoke the necessary enthusiasm and the hard sustained effort, without which no plan, however well conceived or technically good, could possibly produce results. Government, therefore, attach great importance and value to the discussions on the Fourth Plan. We give the greatest importance to Parliament's part in shaping public opinion and in mobilising the support of the people for the success of the Plan.

Speech initiating debate in Lok Sabha on the Draft Fourth Five Year Plan, May 8, 1969
We are again in a position to look forward to economic progress on the basis of an integrated Plan. The difficulties and tribulations through which we have passed, the need to divert larger resources to defence so that we are in a better state of preparedness against the growing areas of tensions in different parts of the world—these and many other factors have to be borne in mind in any fair assessment of the progress we have made.

We may not have been able to achieve all that we had visualised. There may have been many failings in the implementation of the Plan or in certain decisions which we have taken. I shall be the first to admit these deficiencies, but we should all do our very best to ensure that they do not recur. I feel that we do not serve the cause of economic progress on a planned basis if we keep on harping all the time only on the shortfalls, ignoring the substantial progress that has been registered in several fields in the last eighteen years and without recognising that even this measure of progress would not have been possible, had we not opted for disciplined progress through economic planning.

I referred the other day to certain highlights of the progress made so far. We should know, for instance, that our food production has gone up from 51 million tons in 1950-51 to 96 million tons in 1967-68, that is by over 83 per cent. We do realise that it is still vulnerable to the vagaries of the monsoon. But the fact is that both the highest and the lowest points have been on a gradually higher plane from Plan to Plan. This order of increase in food production has not come about on its own; it is the direct result of the steady increase in irrigation facilities, greater availability of chemical fertiliser, increased coverage with improved seeds, plant protection and similar other measures. When the programmes embodied in the Fourth Plan are implemented, utilisation of irrigation water will have increased to about 46 per cent of the usable flow. In 1951 when we started planned economic progress, only one-sixth of the usable surface water was being utilised for irrigation; but by the end of the Third Plan it had been stepped up to nearly one-third of the total availability.

There has been a qualitative change in the industrial structure as witnessed by the development of our basic and heavy industries. In the field of social services also, progress has been considerable. This has been mentioned by different Ministers on the floor of the House from time to time.

There has been much talk here and outside on what is called ‘plan holiday’. I have said this before and I think it needs to be repeated: there has been no holiday. Planning has been a continuous process. The Fourth Plan was scheduled to start from April 1966 but, for various reasons, which I have enumerated earlier, arising from unprece-
dented drop in agricultural production due to drought, it could not become operative. But neither planning nor progress came to a halt. On the contrary three annual plans have witnessed appreciable progress in several fields such as agricultural production, major irrigation, power generation, etc. It was during this period that we formulated and very successfully implemented our agricultural strategy. Almost as many pump-sets—nearly five lakhs—were installed in the last three years as were commissioned at the end of the Third Plan. About Rs. 314 crore had been spent on minor irrigation programmes in the three annual plans as against only Rs. 270 crore in the entire five-year period of the Third Plan. Development has, therefore, not come to a halt. On the contrary it was stepped up considerably in certain chosen fields. All that has happened is that some of the assumptions on which the original Plan had been framed needed to be modified and the relative priorities had to be corrected in the light of the experience which we had gained.

We all know that the greatest need today is to increase the tempo of development and this is the only answer to the problems which are confronting us and which have been mentioned here so many times—unemployment, under-employment, unutilised capacity in industry, development of backward areas and backward sections of the community. We must increase the outlays on development, taking care at the same time that there is reasonable stability in price level. One of the main features of the proposed Fourth Plan is growth with stability. Stability is sought to be ensured through increase in agricultural production by 5 per cent per year and through the building up of buffer stocks.

This Plan throughout lays emphasis on self-reliance. This is reflected in the complete cessation of import of food-grains on concessional terms by the end of two years and reduction in net foreign aid to half the present level. The net foreign aid constituted 25 per cent of the total investment in the Third Plan, whereas it will account for only 8 per cent in the proposed investment in the Fourth Plan. This is also reflected in the importance which we attach to the development of indigenous effort in design and consultancy organisation. There is no retreat from our objective in this new plan, because the aim now, as in the past, is development accompanied by social justice. This can be brought about through rapid growth, because without economic growth of the order which we envisage in the Plan, it will not be possible to make an impact on the problems of poverty or even to ensure greater social justice. Social justice obviously demands an increase in the standards of consumption of the poorer sections of the community and this in turn calls for an increase
in the availability of food-grains, cloth and other essentials. This is what the Plan proposes to do.

There is increase in the public expenditure on education, health and social services, and this is one of the most effective ways which are open in a democratic system to improve the productivity and earning capacity of the less privileged sections. The Plan seeks to ensure a reasonable rate of growth for public expenditure under the various heads. Our aim in fact is to mobilise larger resources and, if possible, to further increase the levels of expenditure on these social services.

Priority is naturally given to agriculture because the whole development, including industrial development, is to a large extent dependent on what happens in the agricultural sphere. It would not be right to take the sum mentioned in the Plan under the heading 'Agriculture, Community Development and Co-operation' at Rs. 2,217.5 crore. It would not be fair to take this to be the total investment on agriculture, since there are allocations under other heads which will directly benefit agricultural production. The figures broadly are: irrigation, Rs. 963.8 crore; rural electrification, Rs. 363 crore; village and small-scale industries, Rs. 36.25 crore; tractor, fertilisers or industries and minerals, Rs. 854.5 crore; and transport and communications, Rs. 100 crore. There are various other small items and the total of this amount, apart from that under the heading 'Agriculture, Community Development and Co-operation' is Rs. 4,606 crore—that is, roughly one-third.

In the agricultural sector it is most important to take certain steps. Therefore, certain policies have been laid down in the Plan document. For instance, it is necessary to implement more effectively tenancy laws, to fix minimum wages of agricultural labour and to re-orient credit policies of co-operatives in favour of small farmers. Also, it is necessary to promote a policy of wider diffusion of entrepreneurship in the industrial field. The policy of financial institutions like the Life Insurance Corporation will have to be refashioned to promote these objectives. Something has already been done about the financial institutions, but we are taking another look.

Important as agricultural production is, it cannot obviously constitute the whole of our developmental strategy. We have, therefore, sought balanced development laying emphasis also on industrial growth. The bulk of our farm-educated manpower can find employment only in the non-farm sector. Since the commencement of the Second Plan, we have laid stress on broadening and strengthening our industrial development with a leading role for the public sector. We feel that the public sector alone can make investments of the kind needed in building up capacities in basic industries such as steel,
machine-building, petro-chemicals, etc. The allocation for the public sector is about Rs. 14,400 crore and for the private sector, Rs. 10,000 crore. A closer scrutiny of the scale of the investment in the private and public sectors under different heads of development will show that a good deal of the investment of Rs. 10,000 crore for the private sector is under heads such as agriculture, housing, road transport, etc., and relates to individually small but collectively large investments in items such as land development, sinking of tube wells, procurement of trucks, construction of houses, etc.

Throughout the Plan emphasis is laid on the common man, and on the weaker and less privileged sections. It is laid down that planning should result in greater equality in income and wealth, that there should be progressive reduction in concentration of income, wealth and economic power, and that the benefits of development should accrue more and more to the relatively less privileged classes of society; in particular, special attention should be given to promoting economic, educational and other interests of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. We have certain institutional constraints. One of them is that the whole strategy of growth has to be within the existing constitutional framework with its stress on Fundamental Rights and the Rule of Law. While we give the fullest opportunity for private enterprise we have to have certain amount of social regulation and control while seeking to give a larger role to the public sector in fields of vital concern to the national economy.

Earlier, I spoke about employment. Rural employment is helped by our agricultural programmes and as agricultural production goes up there will be more opportunities for employment in the rural areas. Thus, extension of irrigation and increase in the area under multiple cropping, and other measures of this kind can provide more remunerative employment round the year in the rural areas. Larger investments in industry and in sectors such as transport can also absorb many educated young persons. To the extent we augment our agricultural production and other production, we shall be able to step up the rate of investment without generating inflationary pressures.

Whichever way you look at it, whether from the point of view of increasing agricultural production and meeting the minimum food requirements of our people or of enlarging opportunities for employment, it is necessary to aim at least at the minimum level of investment which is contemplated in the Plan. If we have to fulfil a Plan of this order and, at the same time, to reduce our dependence on foreign aid, there is no escape from the mobilisation of resources. This responsibility has to be shared by the Centre and the States. Each sector has a part to play and it is the States which are responsible for development in crucial sectors like agriculture, irrigation, power and
social services. Any reluctance on their part to raise resources will impair the tempo of development.

Practically every State has demanded a bigger Plan and, as I have said earlier, we realise that their demand in view of their needs is perfectly reasonable. However, it has to be backed by a determination to raise additional resources. An aspect of mobilisation of resources which has been specially stressed is that users of public utility services—of power, irrigation and transport—should pay for such services so that the benefits of the services could be expanded to other areas and other sections of the people.

There has been a great deal of controversy here about Centre-State relations as regards planning. The Fourth Plan breaks new ground in this regard because it assures reasonable freedom to the States in formulating programmes with reference to their special problems and needs. The Central assistance has been determined on objective criteria and the size of the State Plans will now depend entirely on the resources which they have. There is no conflict of interest between the Centre and the States in regard to this matter.

The other question is that of regional imbalance in economic development. We know that there are certain areas in our country, specially those near the port towns, which have had the benefit of what is called momentum of the start, that is, they were the first to feel the impact of modern science, of public utility services, water supply, technical education, banking and other financial services. So they had a lead of a few decades over the rest of the country in the process of development. It is not possible to correct all this imbalance within the span of one Plan. But, I think, in this Fourth Plan, a bold beginning has been made. The House knows that 10 per cent of Central assistance has been earmarked exclusively for the six backward States and another 10 per cent reserve has to be distributed with reference to special problems of the States. It has been said that this formula does not provide adequate resources for meeting all the needs of backward States. It may be so. At the recent meeting of the National Development Council, we proposed that a fresh look could be given to the resources position. After the award of the Finance Commission becomes available, it would be seen to what extent we can provide a little more to some backward States so as to enable them to have larger Plans.

Apart from the Central assistance for State Plans, we have also to keep in mind the need to promote balanced regional development in taking decision on the location of major industrial projects. Certain projects must necessarily be located in particular places with reference to techno-economic and other considerations, such as availability of raw materials, cost of transport, etc. But wherever there is any room
for the exercise of discretion in regard to location of projects, the Government have generally exercised it in favour of backward States.

In regard to private projects also, the question as to how far the location decision could be influenced through licensing policies and policies of financial institutions has been studied in some depth by the Wansoo Committee. The Government of India will pursue action on that report as soon as the Chief Ministers have considered the report and given their views on it.

As the Hon. Members know, there are backward areas in every State and it is now left to the State Governments to identify such areas and to frame suitable programmes for their accelerated development within the framework of their Plans. Some States which were formerly regarded as economically backward have, through special efforts, advanced at a fast rate and reduced the gap between themselves and the advanced States; for example, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Punjab and Tamil Nadu.

The size of the State Plans will depend entirely on the resources which the States themselves can mobilise and the Central assistance will be given in the form of block loans and grants under broad heads of development and there will now be no itemised control. There will, therefore, be no basis for apprehension that the State Governments will have to conform to certain standards fixed by the Central Ministries and Planning Commission. In these many respects the Fourth Plan does break new ground. The Plan is, as I said on an earlier occasion, a national Plan. It is a national plan by its very nature, because the entire nation is concerned. The Plan is made up of the plans drawn up by the States. Even the money which the Central Government gives is mostly for projects and schemes to be implemented in the States. Therefore, the extent of our success depends on the ability and capacity for pulling together—whether it is the Centre and the States, whether it is the Public and the Private Sector, and whether it is one kind of political party or another. There must be maximum commitment to the minimum needs which have been laid down in the Plan. Without that we cannot build the base which is so necessary for growth.

I welcome this opportunity of knowing the views of the Hon. Members. Somebody here shouted that we do not listen to their suggestions. But it is not true. There may be suggestions which it is not possible to incorporate or which are contrary to the path which the Government is pursuing. At each stage from the very inception, the Plan is discussed with the officials and Ministers from the States; so the Planning Commission is very much in touch with local needs. But they have to look at the picture of India as a whole because there
is such a great shortage of resources that sometimes very necessary programmes have to be pruned.

Even if all our measures can be carried through, any attempt at pushing up the rate of overall development above a particular level may vitiate the possibility of reducing foreign aid. The Plan, as now proposed, seeks to reduce the net foreign assistance to half the present level by the end of the Fourth Plan, and to eliminate it altogether in the course of the Fifth Plan. This implies a very difficult and tremendous effort to increase exports and to expand production at all levels. There is also the question of mobilisation of internal resources. I hope that Hon. Members will look at all these problems from the larger point of view of the country and the larger interests of the people.

If we want to take the people with us, we have to reconcile various points of view. We do not believe in controls for the sake of controls. We have already liberalised many controls. But we do think that in some sectors they are still essential; and where they are necessary in the national interest, they have to remain.

I think that the Plan has made a very painstaking attempt to evolve various schemes and programmes. We all realise that it is far from ideal and it is far from covering or meeting all the needs of the States or areas within the States and, therefore, it is bound to create disappointment. We ourselves are disappointed from this point of view. But we do regard it as a very firm and bold step in the right direction so that if we are able to complete it—as I sincerely hope and I am confident that we shall be able to do it—successfully, then we shall have really strengthened our base and taken the country in the right direction. Each of the Hon. Members here represents large numbers of people in our country. I hope they will use this opportunity to bring the Plan to the people and to evoke public enthusiasm and understanding for the difficulties under which the country is moving ahead.

We do not want to absolve ourselves from the mistakes which we have made. When we take tremendous tasks in hand, we are bound to make some mistakes. Certainly mistakes have been made and there have been shortfalls. Nobody is denying it. But is it right to deny the tremendous achievements in the country? It is not the Government alone which is responsible for these achievements. It is the people of India, and we should give them full credit for meeting the difficulties with great courage and for adopting new methods and new ideas, in spite of the tremendous burden of the past which is on them.
Bank Nationalisation

Some of you have, perhaps, already heard that the Government has nationalised, by an ordinance, fourteen of the biggest commercial banks incorporated in India. I should like to tell you how we propose to operate the nationalised banking system.

As early as December 1954, Parliament took the decision to frame our plans and policies within a socialist pattern of society. Control over the commanding heights of the economy is necessary, particularly in a poor country where it is extremely difficult to mobilise adequate resources for development and to reduce the inequalities between different groups and regions. Ours is an ancient country but a young democracy, which has to remain ever vigilant to prevent the domination of the few over the social, economic or political systems.

Banks play a vital role in the functioning of any economy. To those who have money to spare, banks are the custodians of their savings, on which a good return can be earned by wise and efficient management. To the millions of small farmers, artisans and other self-employed persons, a bank can be a source of credit, which is the very basis for any effort to improve their meagre economic lot. Even established trade and industry, big or small, cannot function or expand without adequate bank credit on reasonable terms. For our growing number of educated young men and women, banks offer an opportunity for employment, which at the same time is an opportunity for service to society. To those who do not have business of their own, banks, like the postal system or the railways, provide a facility for our daily life.

An institution, such as the banking system, which touches—and should touch—the lives of millions, has necessarily to be inspired by a larger social purpose and has to subserve national priorities and objectives. That is why there has been widespread demand that major banks should be not only socially controlled but publicly owned. It is not an accident that this has been the practice even in some countries which do not adhere to socialism. That is also why we nationalised, more than a decade ago, the life insurance business and the State Bank, or the Imperial Bank as it was then called. That is also why we have set up, directly under the aegis of the State, a number of financial institutions to provide medium or long-term credit to agriculture and industry. The step we have now taken is a continuation of the process which has long been under way. It is my earnest hope that it will mark a new and more vigorous phase in the implementation of our

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avowed plans and policies. But it is not the beginning of a new era of nationalisation. Nor is it an attempt to transfer resources which are already employed productively to other sectors. The problems of growth, whether on farms or in factories, whether in backward regions or in others only relatively well-developed, whether in relation to exports or growing self-reliance, can be solved only in a positive manner, which looks essentially to an enlargement of resources and opportunities rather than to redistribution for its own sake. Certainly, public ownership of the major banks will help to eliminate the use of bank credit for speculative and unproductive purposes, particularly to the extent that it is encouraged at present by the association of a few leading groups with some of our major banks. I should like to assure all sections of industry and trade that legitimate needs for credit will be safeguarded. Indeed, it shall be our endeavour to ensure that bank credit expands on the basis of genuine savings in keeping with the growing needs of all productive sectors of the economy.

Some time ago we had adopted social control over banks. What is sought to be achieved through the present decision to nationalise the major banks is to accelerate the achievement of our objectives. The purpose of expanding bank credit to priority areas which have hitherto been somewhat neglected—such as (1) the removal of control by a few, (2) provision of adequate credit for agriculture, small industry and exports, (3) the giving of a professional bent to bank management, (4) the encouragement of new classes of entrepreneurs, (5) the provision of adequate training as well as reasonable terms of service for bank staff still remains and will call for continuous efforts over a long time. Nationalisation is necessary for the speedy achievement of these objectives. But the measure by itself will not achieve these objectives.

As far as possible, and certainly for some time to come, we propose to retain the separate identity and the present management of each bank. Therefore, when the banks reopen after the week-end, your relations with the bank will remain the same as they were before nationalisation. This is true not only for those who bank in India but also for those who bank abroad with the branches of the Indian banks which have now been taken over. In due course, structural and other changes may become necessary. These will be made in an orderly fashion and after broad-based consultations and the most detailed expert examination. Most of you are, perhaps, aware that a Banking Commission is examining this very problem of defining a structure for the banking system which would be more appropriate to the needs of the economy.

We are poised at present for substantial progress in agriculture and industry, in exports and in replacement of imports by domestic
production. In order to exploit fully the opportunity which has been created by the enthusiasm and initiative of our farmers, workers and industrialists, by the industrial capacity already built up and the growing cadres of well-trained managers and technicians, we must make a determined effort to mobilise resources and to deploy them wisely for productive uses. I have no doubt that the important step we have just taken, at the beginning of the new Plan period, will facilitate the achievement of the aspirations we all share for our great country.

I appeal to all of you to help in the productive and purposeful implementation of this step. I appeal particularly to the managers and staff of the banks, which have been nationalised, to co-operate fully in the task of making the banking system serve our national objectives better. I am sure that the management and the staff of these banks will make every effort to render prompt and courteous service to those whose well-earned savings are entrusted to their care.

In our internal as in foreign policy, we believe in acting according to our judgment and in keeping with our traditions and needs. There can be no question of aligning ourselves this way or that, whether internally or externally. We remain committed to the freedom and progress of the people of this great country.

* * *

This debate in the House has revealed many strange things—the people who support the Bill and why they support it, those who do not support and the reasons for which they do not support—and many strange arguments, theories and similes have been put forth. Whatever the reasons, I should like to express my gratitude for the general support which Hon. Members have extended to this Bill. I have already expressed my thoughts on it here and most of the points which have been made have already been dealt with previously.

However, I should like to remind the House that it was more than a decade ago that Parliament put before the country the goal of a socialist pattern of society. To us this did not imply ownership of all the means of production by the State, but we did visualise that there should be large areas for the operation of private initiative and enterprise subject always to regulation in the public interest. The socialist pattern of society did impose on us the obligation to bring the strategic areas of our economy under State ownership and control. It also meant that the Government had and has an obligation to take remedial measures to ensure that our political democracy is not eroded by economic distortions.

Speech during debate in Rajya Sabha on the Banking Companies (Acquisition and Transfer of Undertakings) Bill, August 7, 1969
In every country, including the predominantly capitalist communities, it has been recognised that banks and other financial institutions occupy a vital position. In an economy such as ours, which is a developing one and which is seeking to compress the process of development within the span of a few five-year plans, the role of banks is even more important than in the mature economies. We must stimulate the saving habit amongst all sections of our people, both in the rural and the urban areas. We must see that these savings are garnered and utilised in accordance with the priorities and objectives of our Plans and in our new Plan, on which we have just embarked, we want to provide greater opportunities for small and new entrepreneurs. We want to ensure that the full potentialities of the agricultural revolution, which is under way in many parts of the country, are realised and that the efforts and aspirations of our progressive farmers are not impeded for want of credit. We want to initiate corrective action against the concentration of economic power and privilege which has come about in the wake of economic development.

We cannot deny that the control of the banking system by the bigger business groups was an important contributory factor in the growth of monopolies in the private sector. In spite of all the publicised efficiency of the private banking system over all these years, we find that deposits in them constitute only 16 per cent of the national income and I understand—I think this point has been made by other Hon. Members—that there are still 13 districts in India where there is not a single banking office and the major metropolitan centres still account for the bulk of bank deposits and bank credit. Can anyone deny that the development of banking facilities has been lopsided and that banks have not been efficient instruments in the mobilisation of deposits and the provision of credit for worthwhile purposes in different parts of our country?

I do not want to embark on the virtues or otherwise of the public sector. I should like to say, however, that in the field of banking, the public sector has a record of which it can be legitimately proud. I see my Hon. friend, Shri Babubhai Chinai, here and I would, therefore, like to say a few words specifically about the State Bank. I think it has shown imagination and initiative in formulating and implementing programmes to finance small-scale industries since 1956. At the end of 1968, the total sanctioned limits for assistance to small-scale industrial units by the State Bank and its subsidiaries amounted to Rs. 162 crore.

The State Bank also played an important part in providing remittance facilities. In 1969 alone remittances effected through the State Bank on behalf of the co-operative banks which are dispersed throughout the country amounted to nearly Rs. 700 crores. Also the State
Bank, from the very beginning, looked upon the provision of banking facilities in the rural areas and semi-urban areas to be one of its primary responsibilities. More than 70 per cent of the branches opened by the State Bank and its subsidiaries were in towns with a population of less than 25,000. About 60 per cent of the total number of branches are today located in such smaller places.

The State Bank has also been a pioneer in introducing several new facilities. Some of these are: travellers’ cheques, credit transfers, instalment credit scheme for the benefit of small-scale industries, one-man offices and schemes for assisting qualified technicians, transport operators and retail trade. The State Bank has undertaken these developmental activities without detriment to commercial and banking principles. Its record in the mobilisation of deposits compares favourably with other banks.

Now, this is where I come to Shri Chinai. In 1968, the State Bank’s deposits rose by 12 per cent. Its performance was better than that of other banks. Shri Chinai observed that while the deposits of the State Bank rose only by 84 per cent during 1960-68, the deposits of the other scheduled banks in the private sector went up by 164 per cent. Now, why has this happened? This does not accurately reflect the growth of public deposits in the State Bank because at the end of December 1960 the aggregate deposits with the State Bank were Rs. 576 crore, out of which PL-480 deposits were Rs. 241 crore. The PL-480 deposits were subsequently transferred to the Reserve Bank of India over the next two or three years, of course, under a phased programme. Therefore, if we exclude the PL-480 deposits, public deposits in the State Bank rose from Rs. 335 crore—i.e. Rs. 576 crore minus Rs. 241 crore—to Rs. 1,061 crore at the end of December 1968. This reflects a rise of about 200 per cent. So it is clear that we have allowed the State Bank to function untrammelled, without interference by the Government on political or other considerations and I think this should give sufficient assurance to this House and the people at large that the banks which we have taken over will function not as wings of the Government, but as sound business institutions.

There is one point I would like to make very strongly and that is that sound business does not mean that credit should be provided only to those who can furnish security in the form of property and that it should be denied to others even if the projects proposed by them are otherwise credit-worthy. I think that the whole emphasis should shift from credit-worthiness of persons to the credit-worthiness of purpose.

Loans which help production and in stimulating employment will now be encouraged, while borrowing for speculation and similar
purposes will be discouraged. Today our banks are not well equipped to deal with loan applications on the basis of their viability. Government will take early steps to arrange for intensive training of personnel for technical appraisal of projects, and in view of nationalisation it will be possible to pool the resources of the fourteen banks and to promote programmes of training on a common basis.

I have said several times and I should like to repeat that nationalisation does not mean that the existing industrial enterprises will be deprived of their credit needs for genuine productive purposes. But we are aware that there is a tendency on the part of some enterprises to make heavy demands on bank resources while their own internal resources are used for other purposes such as cornering shares and acquiring control over other enterprises; these practices, I am sure the House will agree, must be curbed.

May I also emphasise that nationalisation will lead to a more equitable distribution of credit throughout the country. Hon. Members are aware that many areas of our country have remained backward not for want of natural resources, but for various historical reasons. It is our duty to ensure that their backwardness is not perpetuated for want of finance. Now with nationalisation, it will be possible to draw up a rationalised programme of expansion which will pay special attention to those States and those parts of the country which have so far lagged behind. Institutions providing finance for the development of industries have recently decided to take certain steps to encourage enterprises in backward areas and the nationalised banks must provide working capital and contribute to the growth of industries in these backward regions.

It is unfortunate that even some responsible persons and some people even in Parliament should try to create misgivings and a sense of insecurity amongst the depositors. I should like to repeat the assurance, if indeed it is needed at all, that the interests of the depositors will always be kept in the forefront and they may rest assured that their funds in the nationalised banks are safe as those in the State Bank of India or in Post Office Savings Banks.

Critics forget that small savers in our country have long been used to putting their money in Post Office Savings Banks for nearly a century, and the State Bank has already more than a decade of loyal service to its credit. I am sure that the depositors will not pay heed to the criticism of the self-appointed guardians of their interest. Their true guardian is the Government, and efficiency and courtesy should be the watch-word of our nationalised banks. Special responsibility, of course, rests not only with the Government but also with the employees of the banks including the supervisory and managerial staff. I have no doubt that the professional and managerial staff will
rise to the occasion as it now has a unique opportunity to promote the real interests of the community through sincere and dedicated service. I have faith in the innate good sense of the employees of the public sector, and I am sure that this faith will be fully vindicated in their performance in the years to come.

May I add that the large numbers who have been coming to see me have, of their own accord, assured me of their co-operation in this matter. I should like to request businessmen and industrialists to adopt nationalisation not merely in the spirit of acquiescing in an accomplished fact but of extending their hand of co-operation in developing our economy. May I remind them that the Government and they have a vital common interest in accelerating economic growth through progressive and co-ordinated endeavour. There is still considerable room for free-play and to provide them with initiative and drive in many fields. So, I hope that instead of adopting a purely negative, critical attitude towards the policies of the Government, they will realise their obligation towards the society and walk with the Government towards the fulfilment of the objectives which are enshrined in our Plan.

I think there has been no single measure the Government has taken in recent years which has evoked such widespread approval. Not only have farmers, small-scale industrialists, trade unionists and professional and managerial classes welcomed it both for its intrinsic merit and for the evidence it affords of Government's concern for social justice and economic growth, but many other people have also been coming, and, if I may say so, the shift which was visible between the stand taken by the Jan Sangh in the other House and the stand taken by it in this House is itself a proof or witness that within these few days even they, isolated as they are from the contemporary world by the cobweb of superstition and of communalism, must pay some heed to the upsurge of feeling which they see all round them.

The Swatantra Party's thinking we have always seen to be a little twisted, and how twisted it is has been demonstrated once again. I would like to ask the House only one question: Is the right of a person to put money into a particular bank greater than the right of the common man to basic necessities which right also is enshrined in our Constitution? We all have rights. We all have needs. But there must be some comparison. Some years ago when I paid a State visit to the United States, I quoted a proverb which I believe comes from Maharashtra: "A man said, 'I complained that I had no shoes until I met the man who had no feet'". We have to look at the problems of the country from that angle. Nobody wants to deny the rights of any person unless these rights are impinging on far more valid rights of a far larger number. This is the question which is put before us.
It may also interest the Hon. Members that after I said that 95 per cent of the public has supported the measure, besides the large numbers of associations, labour, peasants, Rickshawallas and stone-cutters and others who came to me, a very large number of people have written or come from the intelligentsia, including bankers, editors, depositors, etc., assuring me that they would like to be counted within the 95 per cent. It is for the Hon. Members to judge whether—this point I think has been made, I cannot remember by whom—chaos is more likely to come because of some slight annoyance or slight inconvenience to a few people than from the disturbance and tension which the growing disparity causes amongst vast numbers of the under-privileged in our country.

Some Hon. Members here and many people outside have raised the bogey of communism. It is strange to see that MacCarthyism, which is long dead in the place of its birth, should have now found a foothold across the seas and the continents in India. It shows that those who propound this theory show an astounding ignorance of the political forces at work in our country and of the facts of life in the India of 1969. I was astonished to see screaming headlines in some financial newspapers about a speech which I made recently. I said nothing in that speech which I have not been saying for many years, when I was Congress President, after that and before that, and I think that this is a very deliberate attempt to distort and misrepresent the thought or feelings or sort of views which I was trying to put across to the people who had gathered. Certainly, I said that many changes have to take place. Is there anybody here who will say that we do not want changes in this country? What are we sitting here for? What is the Government functioning for?

It is the business of every one of us who is responsible, who is at all interested in the welfare of the country, to see that the country changes steadily and as fast as possible because the people’s impatience is growing. It has already been said, I have said it, that this is a small step we have taken. I do not think it is a giant step or revolutionary step, but it is a small, very definite step in a particular direction, and what I said there was that if we did not implement this step or if we did not do all the follow-up which was necessary, then this step would be worthless. This is what I said. This is what I believe in. Many things have to be changed in our country. The whole picture of disparity has to be changed. I do not think this has anything to do even with socialism. This is just plain commonsense.

Therefore, we should not get swept off our feet or like King Canute try to control the waves and say that if we want the sea to stop at a particular place, it will stop. Here the sea is a mass of human beings, human beings who are politically conscious, human
beings who have suffered and struggled for freedom and who today are suffering and struggling to make that freedom real.

It is not in the power of Hon. Members opposite nor is it in my power to stop this upsurge of public feeling. No one can have missed the tremendous psychological change which has come about in this country by this one small step. I do not think that anybody, even the least understanding, even the poorest person, thinks that this is going to change his life suddenly or that it is some miraculous wand which has been waved. They are very conscious that it is not. But they think that at last things are moving and they think that we were in a rut and we have got out of the rut. How far we move, where we move, that responsibility is still with us. But they do think that we have been able to push back the forces of inertia and of status quo. Nowhere else is this change of mood and exhilaration more noticeable than in my own party. Congressmen who live at the grass-roots level feel that bank nationalisation is the fulfilment of larger goals and objectives of our party to which its leaders pledged themselves even in the thick of the struggle for freedom decades ago. It is an important step forward in keeping with its promise to the people and in keeping with the changing needs of the time. If I may, I want to quote something:

I am afraid that for years to come India would be engaged in passing legislations in order to raise the down-trodden, the fallen from the mire into which they have been sunk by the capitalists, by the landlords, by the so-called higher classes. If we are to relieve these people from the mire, then it would be the bounden duty of the national Government of India in order to set its house in order continually to give preference to these people and free them from the burdens under which they are being crushed.

This is not a communist speaking; it is Mahatma Gandhi.

Some Hon. Member, I think my good friend Shri S. N. Mishra, expressed fears regarding the likely political appointments. Now, 'politics', again, is a word with strange and different meanings. When I was in England a long time ago—I was a student—we heard the phrase 'the politics of the unpolitical', which is that any change in the existing state of affairs is considered 'political' but if a person sticks to the status quo and fights the forces of change, that is considered to be 'unpolitical'. Only the other day, I read a well-known, non-communist liberal British journal. In this there was a description of the typical double standard which exists. That is "Radical rules are called doctrinaire meddling while status quo, right-wing rules are supposed to be the free man's commonsense." Similar confused thinking seems to persist in our country also.

Bank nationalisation, as I have said earlier, is but a part, a signifi-
cant part of our larger programme. May I say, because of these headings which have been appearing in the newspapers, that there is no mystery or hidden surprise about our future programme. Our policies and our programmes have always been open, have always been in front of the people. The broad socialist objectives which my party seeks to serve and which we have placed before Parliament have been approved by Parliament. Nationalisation of banks was intended to serve the same goal. Other aspects of our programmes have been incorporated in our Plans and in the economic policy which our great party has approved. They were summed up recently in a resolution adopted unanimously by my party at Bangalore. These are the items of the programme; they have to be studied in depth and pursued.

Today we have taken one step. We have to see that it is properly and rightly implemented. But we shall certainly look at the other programmes which the party has endorsed. What is needed at this moment is a new sense of urgency, a new sense of dynamism, a new sense of dedication and service. Let us make this the occasion. After a long time we have such a large commitment to this programme, with support almost from every political party with the exception of two, and from the country at large. This can form the basis for our co-operation in taking our country in the right direction, not at once but certainly step by step. It will take us out of the present stagnation towards a better and brighter future.
Towards Self-sufficiency in Food

I CONSIDER this conference to be one of very great importance. It would be no exaggeration to say that if we take the right decisions here and follow them up with prompt and concrete action, we should have determined the pattern of national life for some years to come.

I am glad to be able to meet you so soon after my visit to the world capitals. I am happy that, as a result of this visit, there is greater sympathy for our country and greater appreciation of our economic and international policies. There have been renewed assurances of more food aid and more assistance for our development plans. The outlook for our Fourth Plan has definitely improved and that is indeed a big gain.

All over the world, there is considerable concern at our food shortage. Although for years we have been importing food to meet deficits, this year’s drought came as a tremendous reminder to the advanced nations of the troubles of the developing world. There has been warm response from all parts of the globe. The speedy passage which the new food bill had in the United States Congress is proof of this new awareness.

We are most grateful for all this sympathy and help. But let me remind you that friends will help only if they are convinced that we are doing our best to help ourselves. Unless we increase agricultural production rapidly, control our population, and thus achieve self-sufficiency in the next few years, we will have forfeited our right to call ourselves a free country, let alone a great country. We must become self-reliant. Aid and help should be a temporary phase.

I am confident that we are well set on the way to self-reliance. Last year’s reverse on the food front should not blind us to the gains made under the three Five Year Plans. Even in regard to agriculture, we recorded a 70 per cent increase in fifteen years. But what is more important is that we are on the threshold of much larger increases. In the first phase, the increase came to us mainly through traditional methods like bringing more areas under cultivation and irrigation. We have at last moved on to a higher level of agricultural

From speech at a conference of State Chief Ministers and Agriculture Ministers, New Delhi, April 9, 1966
technology. The High-yielding Varieties Programme, the Intensive Agricultural Development Programme and the Intensive Agricultural Areas Programme represent this second phase. They rest on the use of heavier doses of fertiliser, the choice of new seeds which promise a break-through in production, and the adoption of plant protection measures. All these should be managed by a truly modern agricultural administration.

Consumption of fertilisers has been increasing rapidly. In 1965-66, the figure stood at 6 lakh tonnes in terms of nitrogen. Next year, it will be 10 lakh tonnes. In 1965-66, we spent Rs. 13 crore on pesticides; next year, we will spend Rs. 22 crore. The outlay for short-term credit will go up from Rs. 375 crore to 450 crore. We shall also spend an additional Rs. 40 crore on rural electrification. Then, there is this scientific programme of bringing land under the high-yielding varieties. Nearly five million acres are to be brought under such varieties of seed in 1966-67. In the Fourth Plan period, we hope that a total of 32.5 million acres will come under such seeds.

We have already gathered some momentum: this must be kept up. There can be no more slackness. There is only one direction in which we can go, and that is forward. We cannot afford another crop failure.

While we must be firm on the essentials, we should be flexible and ready to try out new approaches in the interest of the ultimate goal. From this point of view, I commend the decision to increase the target area for plant protection. It is only right to raise the target, for there are exaggerated stories of grain being wasted or consumed by rodents and insects. But merely to raise the target is not enough. To allocate more foreign exchange for import of pesticides is not enough. How soon will a trained staff be available with the right tools and supplies? What matters is not what we say but how we organise our business.

Another area where flexibility is called for is agricultural credit. We have been stressing the importance of channelling credit through co-operatives. But if co-operatives cannot do it fast enough, they have to be supplemented. The Government has an inescapable responsibility for meeting the farmers’ requirements. The cultivator must be able to get adequate credit and at the right time.

Another welcome departure is the experiment being tried out in Andhra Pradesh, under which the farmer is offered credit in the form of inputs in return for which he agrees to give the Government agencies an equivalent quantity of grain. This kind of repayment in kind has worked well in Japan and Taiwan. In our country too, it is an old idea which can be applied in the new conditions. Our Food Corporation is authorised by its charter to make advances in return for an
agreement to deliver grain. This effectively links credit and marketing.

I now turn to the subject of organisation and allocation of responsibility. In earlier years, whenever the subject of agricultural administration was discussed, almost always the first suggestion was to have an all-India agricultural service with more security. Perhaps this constant search for personal security has been at the root of most of our ills. It is more important to give recognition to quick and good work than to give security to those who fail. How else can we improve methods and performance? I am glad to find in the agenda papers that it is now proposed to place responsibility for agricultural production squarely on the shoulders of specified officials—the agricultural production officer at the district level and the commissioner at the State level. It is not enough to draw up right schemes for doing away with confusion and divided responsibility. Three or four months from now, we must examine how many States have actually enforced such unified lines of command.

If a person is answerable for his deeds or lapses, he must know the area of his responsibility. This applies to Governments also. It is, therefore, a good idea to have some clear understanding between the State Governments and the Union Government as to who does what. Take the high-yielding seed varieties. Who will supply them? Who will grow them, grade them, store them, distribute them? In the same way, who will find the fertiliser needed by intensive programmes? Clear prior understanding will cut down needless paper chasing and the journeying back and forth from Delhi.

Various governments and private organisations all over the world are sending us large quantities of milk-powder, vitamin tablets, baby-food, etc. These generous gifts are meant for children, pregnant and nursing mothers, the aged and the disabled. The utmost vigilance should be exercised to ensure that these gifts reach the people for whom they are meant. We should give no occasion for any complaint in their distribution.

We often say that we have accorded agriculture the top-most priority. This is only stating the obvious. Without a marked advance in agriculture, there is no future for the country. Agriculture is a matter not only of financial allocation but also of efficient administration. What is required is to convey the right kind of inputs to the right place at the right time. To this task must be bent all the energies of the State Governments and the Union Government.
DO NOT THINK one can over-estimate the importance of solving our food problem. In my view, our honour is involved here, our security is involved, the lives of our people are involved. It is true that we may not be able to find any positive solutions this year. It may take a little more time. But whatever we do, it should be part and parcel of an integrated thinking. The note which has been circulated says that any policy, however sound and logical, will fail to achieve this objective if all States do not unreservedly accept the assumption underlying it and fully discharge their commitment. The Food Minister, I am sure, will go into the details. His Ministry has already circulated a report and we have statistics of one sort or another. The Food Corporation has been having intensive and extensive consultations with all the State Governments. All these should lead to a common acceptance of certain fundamental principles.

Can we not at least jointly say that we shall do whatever lies in our power never again to let the country or even parts of it pass through the kind of crisis with which we have been faced during the last two years or so? It is important to have this resolve, but it is equally important that it is translated into practice, village by village, tahsil by tahsil, district by district and State by State.

This year, we anticipate a good harvest, but we should not be complacent. A good harvest will be of no use unless those who produce it get a reasonable return on their labour and investment. It will be of no use unless we build up a buffer stock against future hazards of rain or lack of rain. We must procure sufficient quantities of foodgrains. Internally, we must ensure that the prices are kept stable so that anti-social elements, hoarders and profiteers can have no hope of making money from the misery and starvation of our people.

All efforts should be made to maximise procurement both for the State and for the Central buffer stock from within our own production. We recognise that the pipeline has dried up. We recognise that there are no reserves and, therefore, we have to import. We shall try to do so. But we must also be firm in our resolve to keep imports to the very minimum. All this will have to be done in terms of practical considerations and taking into account the existing situation. It is essential to mobilise all our efforts and resources to begin procurement from the very commencement of the kharif season. The Agricultural Prices Commission has provided us the structure of procurement prices. I am sure you will discuss this and reach a quick decision. Quite clearly, procurement is required not merely for buffer stocks, but also for the public distribution system. Such a system

From speech at a conference of State Chief Ministers, New Delhi, September 26, 1967
needs to be maintained in order to ensure price stabilisation throughout the year. Government is determined to achieve this end.

If one looks at the problems of our country in the light of reason and rationality, one is bound to recognise the fact that there can be no salvation for any one part of India unless there is salvation for the country as a whole.

Looking at each State in isolation is fraught with dangerous consequences not only for that particular State but for all of us. So I earnestly hope that, throughout these deliberations, the Chief Ministers, regardless of their political predilections, will consider the problems not only from the point of view of the interests of their States but also from the national point of view.

I must thank the Chief Ministers of the surplus States for the help they have given. Some of them could no doubt have helped a little more, and I hope that our able Food Minister will be able to persuade them to do so. We at the Centre are conscious of the difficulties which each one of you faces in your particular State, and we do not want to minimise those difficulties. But if the nation as a whole suffers, those difficulties will also increase a hundred-fold. So, I would once again stress the point that we should make an attempt here to look at the larger problem of India as a whole and see how we can solve it both in the short-term and the longer-term aspects.

Power for Prosperity

Irrigation and power form the basis of the agricultural and industrial development of our country. After the droughts of the previous two years, no one in India needs any reminder about the vital importance of irrigation. There is also no doubt that electricity will always be a basic element in any formula for progress. The drought has also proved that electricity is an input for agriculture.

I am glad to be here because as engineers, scientists and technologists, you represent the future. As citizens and administrators, we look to you to uncover our natural resources and suggest how best these might be exploited in the national interest. Technology is moving ahead with giant strides in every direction and, day by day, new opportunities are opening up before us. What we need is the availability of large quantities of power at very low prices, which would influence

From inaugural address at the Forty-fourth Session of the Central Board of Irrigation and Power, New Delhi, November 22, 1967
changes in technology and stimulate the development of a new technology.

We have vast water resources in the Indo-Gangetic basin of which I am being constantly reminded by our Minister, Dr. K. L. Rao. These must naturally be tapped for irrigation. When one merely thinks of all that our institutions or a board such as yours can do, the prospects are truly exciting and open up new vistas in many areas of national life.

You have already mentioned, Mr. President, the importance of electrification and I am glad to find that some aspects of rural electrification figure on your agenda. In most of our 5,00,000 villages, people are still prisoners of daylight and, therefore, have a short working day. At one time, we hoped that we would be able to electrify at least one lakh villages by 1969, which is the Gandhi Centenary Year. I still hope that we will somehow manage to reach this target, and will continue to make rapid progress towards bringing electricity to the remaining villages.

Today we are able to build a good deal of the generating and transmission equipment which is required, but we have also to improve the economics of our power generation and transmission so as to supply cheap power to needy consumers and yet earn profits on the operations of our electricity undertakings. The development of regional grids will assist in optimising the distribution system.

Only a fraction of the cultivated area is at present irrigated. You, Mr. President, have remarked that we can double the acreage under irrigation so that cropping can be extended. The amount of land available is fixed, but the pressure on the available land in steadily increasing. There is no alternative, therefore, to increasing the efficiency of land utilisation and getting higher productivity per acre. Irrigation is one means towards this end. It is important that we utilise fully and rapidly such irrigation potential as has been already created. I think this requires much closer association than is generally found between the irrigation engineer, the agronomist and the farm extension worker. Planning for the utilisation of water must commence at the time an irrigation project is conceived. It cannot be left to be taken up when construction is advanced or after storage has been completed. I have been heartened to hear of the good work which has been done in the Kosi area. This might well be a model, along with some others, to be studied with advantage.

India already has what is said to be the largest irrigation system in the world. But I am told that our water management system could be greatly improved. Irrigation can be wasteful, and irrigation without drainage can cause damage. Water management and soil conser-
vation constitute sciences in themselves, and I am happy that you are holding a symposium on the problem of water management.

Our rivers and our ground water are national assets which we must use to the best overall advantage. I am deeply concerned that there has sometimes been a controversy over what are termed inter-State river waters. I am sure that technical solutions can be found to safeguard the legitimate interests of every region or State, and that these matters are best considered in a rational and scientific manner rather than on the basis of emotion.

There is one other aspect, perhaps not directly related to your conference, on which I should like to touch. The development of irrigation, especially in arid tracts, is often a starting point of an economic and social revolution. It demands more tractive power and creates new demands for roads, markets and processing and storage facilities. The stimulus which irrigation provides to agriculture also generates new and additional incomes, much of which are invested in the facilities earlier described. A part of it also goes into village improvement schemes—the renovation and modernisation of individual homes, the paving of streets, the digging of wells and so on. I believe this kind of development offers an unrivalled opportunity to promote a "new village" movement, a movement designed to build better homes and better villages through individual and community investments that are, in any case, likely to take place as a result of the additional incomes generated by irrigation and better farming. How much better it would be if this development could be planned by taking the advice of town planners, regional planners and rural architects and by showing to the villager how to invest his money in building a neater, more convenient, more sanitary home with cheap local materials and at no extra cost. Collectively done, this would in effect mean rejuvenating the entire scene, and here again it would be worthwhile to associate from the very beginning and with each project, the irrigation engineer, the agronomist, the extension worker and the architect.

We find in India that although so much good work is being done in different fields, many people still work in separate compartments. They do not have full touch with what the other person is doing in the next compartment. It is only if we can break down these artificial walls and compartments and keep fully in touch with each other's work, not only in different disciplines but within the same discipline in different parts of the country, that we can have a proper planning and proper execution of our Plans and programmes. Such a cross-fertilisation of ideas and experience will enrich all of us and yield better and, I sincerely hope, quicker results.
Co-operation for Rural Development

In our strategy of development, we want growth and greater equality. We want to prevent concentration of economic power. That is why we must help the public sector as well as the co-operative sector to grow, both absolutely and in relation to the private sector. Cooperatives combine the good points of both the public sector and the private sector. They give a voice and sense of participation to the ordinary man. They are based on voluntary union and democratic control. At the same time, they can take full advantage of modern large-scale management.

If I may say so, the co-operative way is a civilized way of working, providing as it does the means of diminishing large-scale ownership by individuals and groups, but without sacrificing the advantages of big units essential for the application of modern science and technology. The co-operative thus bridges the gap between the small unit and technology. Dreams cannot become realities, unless there are material factors by which we can implement them. It is only through science and technology that we can supply these material conditions.

Even the so-called advanced countries assign a major role to co-operatives. Therefore, I feel, they fulfil a more extensive economic function than we are normally aware of. In most European countries as well as in the United States, co-operation is the ruling principle of agriculture. In Japan, co-operatives are a big force.

Whether it is agriculture or industry or the services, co-operatives have made spectacular progress since 1950-51 when we took up planning. I find that the total agricultural credit dispensed by co-operatives was only Rs. 290 million in that year, while last year, the figure rose to Rs. 3,450 million. Over the same period, the working capital of all co-operatives has grown nearly nine times. I am particularly impressed by the great strides made by this movement in agricultural processing and marketing sectors. Co-operation is an ideal instrument for rural development. In the Government of India, co-operation is part of the same Ministry which looks after agriculture, community development and food.

But co-operation has as vital a role in urban areas as in rural areas. All over the world, urbanisation has led to the erosion of people’s ability to live a well-adjusted corporate life. People might reside together in cities but they are isolated and lonely and do not seem to live together. The faster a city grows the less mutual

From inaugural address at the Fifth Indian Co-operative Congress, New Delhi, December 2, 1967.
regard and sympathy there seem to be among its people. Co-operation has the capacity to shape groups into communities with shared interests.

Our co-operators should devote more attention to the consumer movement. The utility of consumer co-operatives is not limited to the fight against rising prices. We have another fight, hardly less important, which is that for quality. Co-operatives can ensure quality in what is produced much better than private trade can.

We need much greater participation by co-operatives in banking. In our country, banking has largely remained the preserve of the affluent, at any rate of the middle class and above, not only in its control, but even in its reach. It has cared more for the big man than the small man. Only rarely do we find the common people having recourse to banks. Lately, agricultural co-operatives in some areas have begun advancing credit against an approved production programme instead of the security of land.

A well-run co-operative banking programme can finance a large number of small entrepreneurs, such as graduates who want to set up small industries, etc. Co-operative banks can also attract small savings, especially if they go to the people instead of expecting them to come to them, waiting long hours and filling forms. I believe some banks in western and southern India have already made a beginning on these lines.

Having spoken of the co-operatives, I must also sound a note of caution. Not all that we hear about the actual working of co-operatives is flattering. There is the general belief, which I mentioned, that the co-operatives help the bigger people rather than the small people. Such a state of affairs would defeat the very purpose of the Co-operative Movement. Secondly, our co-operatives seem to have become far too dependent on financial aid from the Government. This is a negation of the basis of co-operation which is self-help and self-reliance. Thirdly, there is also a widely prevalent feeling that co-operatives are too mixed up with politics. I find that you are discussing how to de-officialise the Movement. I wish you would also discuss how to de-politicise it.

The history of the Co-operative Movement in India of the last sixty years shows that wherever the Movement is strong, it is due to the selfless work of dedicated individuals who have steadily resisted the temptation of politics. They have regarded co-operation as an alternative form of serving the people. There is great need in the country today, in every walk in life, for selfless people. It is more so in the Co-operative Movement.

Co-operation enshrines the principle that the social good is supreme. It is because co-operation is a form of social control and
also helps the common man that my Government is committed to promoting the co-operative sector. We want this sector to become more powerful. At the same time, it should develop internal strength and safeguards, simplify its procedures, and widen its base by increasing its membership. It must not allow a handful of people to dominate its decisions.

Role of Agricultural Scientists

A large part of the work of a modern government has to do with science. It is only through science that we can transform into reality the hopes we have held out to our people. For many more years to come, the people will measure progress in terms of our ability to give them their basic needs. The agricultural scientist has a specially vital contribution to make to our plans of economic development.

For years the Government has been persuading farmers to adopt new farming practices. It is only in the last three or four years that the response of villagers has overtaken the official effort. The farmers have shed their scepticism of city people and their new-fangled ideas. What has convinced them is what they have witnessed with their own eyes. Everywhere farmers tend to be conservative and slow to change. But once they change they are not content to be indifferent converts. The discovery of a new seed variety stirs rural people as much as a space walk or a transplanted heart does the more literate classes. Farmers today walk miles to buy seed. The great problem for the Government is to find sufficient seed and fertiliser to meet their demand. What a change from the days when we could not get them to hear us or look at what we had to offer!

Rural India has shed its apathy. Agricultural scientists can rightfully claim their share of the credit for bringing about this transformation. But they cannot rest there. The solution of one problem gives rise to many new problems. New varieties are being extended to vast areas. Because of the demand from farmers and our own race towards self-sufficiency, this work is being done far too fast and with only a minimum of pre-testing. Modern farming is a combination of many techniques and materials. It is not possible to adopt any one in isolation disregarding the others. The scientist has a special responsibility to provide answers to the problems which are consequences.

Speech at the Indian Agricultural Research Institute, New Delhi, February 10, 1968
of his own work. The greatest task before the agricultural scientist and before the Government in general is to ensure that there is no set-back in the new programme. If, for example, widespread plant disease attacks the new varieties, the farmer’s hard-won trust in modern practices will be shaken and he might retreat into his shell of traditionalism.

The average farmer does not have money to waste. Nor can he afford undue risks. He will not experiment on his own unless he is certain that the experiments have succeeded elsewhere. It is because our demonstration programmes have been convincing that the cultivators have come forward in such large numbers today to use new varieties of seed and fertilisers. It is not the big farmer alone who has ventured forth. The small farmer’s enthusiasm is even greater. To him even a little improvement goes a long way. In the new agricultural programme he sees the opportunity to fulfil his numerous small needs which have so long been neglected. It is obvious that farmers will pay heed to the call for national self-sufficiency only to the extent that the programme makes a difference to their lives. How can we expect them to grow more for the nation if their additional efforts do not bring adequate reward to their own families?

We talk of inputs. But in scientific agriculture the most important input of all is the human input. Modern farming is a far cry from spreading the seed and leaving the rest to the sun, rain and stars. The farmer has now to intercede constantly with Nature, repairing its shortcomings, exploiting its advantages, and forcing the pace. This calls for greater knowledge and training on the farmer’s part. In turn, the administrative agency has so to devise farm information that even the nominally literate farmer can understand and utilise it.

Advance will not endure if it is isolated. Additional effort in any one field must be matched by similar effort in others. Water, seed, fertiliser, pesticide, tools, credit, marketing and education—all form parts of the spectrum of change. Agricultural scientists, by whom I mean not only botanists but also agricultural engineers and economists, have much to contribute to this co-ordinated agenda of progress.

There has been considerable debate on the question whether research in India should spend time finding out anew what has been found elsewhere earlier. While there might be need and justification for buying industrial know-how from abroad, we cannot hand over our agricultural problems to others. A lathe may be bodily brought here from Europe or America, and it will turn out parts of the same shape and specifications. But a plant from elsewhere is unlikely to grow the same way in our soil. Every time a plant is introduced, the scientist has to do considerable adaptatory work. He has not
only to test its suitability to our soil and climatic conditions, but also to find out how far it is susceptible to pests and viruses in its new home. It is only when disease-resistance is combined with high yield that the farmers and the nation will really gain.

The experience of temperate agriculture will not always provide ready answers to the problems of tropical agriculture. An example is multiple cropping which is not feasible in temperate climates, but which should increasingly be the rule with us as irrigation spreads. Hence the pressing need to develop indigenous research and know-how in agriculture.

I should like the scientists to make a special effort in improving the quality of grain. We have made a conventional division between grain and protective foods such as fish and meat, milk and fruit. It should be our endeavour to promote greater production of these. But grain itself can be a richer source of protein than it is now. The application of higher doses of fertiliser makes a higher protein content possible, since nitrogen is the main building block of protein. We tend to think of nutrition as the business of the medical man. The time has come for the agricultural scientist and the medical scientist to join hands to remedy the widespread protein deficiency in our people. In agriculture, our goal should be not only more food but better food, not only quantity but also quality.

Higher production and self-sufficiency are important. But the number dependent on dry farming is so large that we cannot neglect their needs. Here is a challenge to the agricultural scientist. How to make dry farming more productive and remunerative? If farmers in unirrigated areas are taught new methods of conserving soil moisture, it should be possible to reduce the inequalities between them and the other set of farmers.

Modern farming requires a better farmer. Productivity of labour will increase with new tools. New incomes are accruing in rural areas. In olden days if farmers got an unexpectedly good price for their produce, they thought first of buying a pair of bullocks, and then of repairing their houses. Today they are also on the look-out for pumps and seed drills.

There is scope for the introduction of many kinds of new agricultural implements—not only tractors—in our countryside. Here is a challenge to our agricultural engineers. Their ingenuity and the under-utilised capacities in the machine industries can combine to endow farming with technological teeth.

To sum up, in the coming few years, I see the tasks before agricultural research as follows:

(a) to consolidate the gains of intensive agriculture and pre-
vent a slide-back, by giving special attention to prevention of plant diseases;
(b) to pursue the concept of quality no less than the goal of larger quantities;
(c) to make dry farming more remunerative so that the strategy of intensive agriculture does not widen inequalities in the countryside; and
(d) to design and promote tools and techniques which will add to the efficiency of the farmer.

The Indian Agricultural Research Institute is held in high regard not only within the country but by similar organisations in other countries. May it be your proud privilege to strengthen the agriculture of the country and to liberate the Indian farmer from the domain of poverty and backwardness.

* * *

It is an honour and a privilege to address this convocation. I am always glad to visit a centre of learning, and a convocation, for all its formality, symbolises the link between knowledge and life. An agricultural university in particular must deepen our roots in life and make our land truly what Bankim Chandra Chatterji called it, 'bounteous in water and in produce and gloriously green'. In 1966, I laid the foundation stone for the new Complex of this agricultural university's building in Hyderabad and I am glad to know that a vast complex of hostels and laboratories has grown up around it.

This ceremony is being held in Tirupati, a place of pilgrimage which draws the devout from all parts of the country. Traditionally, our pilgrim centres have also been centres of learning and scholarship. The far-sightedness of the Temple authorities in spending a large part of the revenues of the Temple on education is commendable. This is appropriate, for, after all, is not knowledge itself true religion? Tirupati is in the Rayalseema area which is periodically subject to drought and is in need of special help.

The last three or four years vividly demonstrated how greatly agriculture dominates our economy and our entire life. The years of the gruelling drought were not only years of lean faces and industrial slow-down, but also years of political and psychological disquiet. But the record harvest of last year—as well as the promise of a good harvest this year despite floods, drought and cyclones—has altered the bleak political landscape, and we can see the national confidence re-emerging.

Address to the fourth annual convocation of the Andhra Pradesh Agricultural University, Tirupati, February 10, 1969
These good harvests are not accidental, but proof of the saying that fate itself is moulded by character and action. The drought tested the mettle of our people and our people proved their stamina and their heroism. They did not accept the act of nature with the customary Indian resignation.

Even before the drought, we had evolved a programme of intensive agriculture. The years of drought served to prove the value of this programme. What is equally heartening is that the performance of the farmer has been good even in areas which were not classified as intensive areas. This is because of the general strengthening of the services offered by official and co-operative agencies to the farmer. The very large effort of the last twenty years in building up an irrigation potential and an extension network is at last showing results.

Recent experience with the use of improved agricultural technology fills us with the hope that we can grow all that our people need. In a country where half the national income comes from farming, agricultural self-reliance is the basis of all self-reliance. We are determined that in the course of the Fourth Five Year Plan, which will be launched two months from now, we shall overcome the need to import food. Agricultural self-reliance is one of the cardinal objectives of the Fourth Five Year Plan.

We are sometimes accused of having neglected agriculture in our earlier Plans. The tasks that the nation requires to fulfill are so many that each of them will find its special champions. We do not have a choice between agricultural progress and industrial progress. We need both. We cannot argue about irrigation versus fertilisers. We need both; one cannot progress without the other. It was right that we undertook major irrigation works in the First Plan and then turned our attention to major industrial development in the subsequent two Plans. All over the world, experience shows that agriculture can be modernised and larger harvests garnered only with the help of a solid industrial structure. It is the industrially advanced nations which have also achieved high production and productivity in agriculture. Today, we are in a better position to correlate industrial and agricultural programmes. We propose to do this in the Fourth Five Year Plan.

The President has cautioned us against being too complacent about the Green Revolution. A nation on the march cannot afford to rest or grow complacent. Our task has only just begun. The Green Revolution is a fact, but not yet a general fact. It is limited to some segments of our vast land and has still to reach the small farmer. The lands which depend only on rain have not yet turned from brown to green.

It is this small farmer about whom we should all be intensely concerned at the present moment. As we have often said, the new agri-
cultural strategy, while it has brought national self-sufficiency within sight, has aggravated rural disparities. The example of the highly affluent nations like the United States and Canada ought to warn us that by stressing only production we shall not be able to attack the hard core of agricultural poverty. Recently there was a report giving telling details of the pockets of malnutrition which still exist in the United States. Our economists and agricultural scientists, particularly teachers and students at our agricultural universities, should give deep thought to devising ways of helping the small farmer.

Enforcement of ceilings and redistribution of land to the landless and to the very poor must be expedited. But when holdings are small and resources for investment in land are not plentiful, we have to turn to science. Le Corbusier once said, "We do not have much money, so we have to think". The graduates of agricultural universities must carry the new technology to their villages. They should devise new activities for the small farmer which would bring him a larger income from his small holdings. The use of higher yielding seeds, better land management, more intensive use of animal husbandry and poultry farming as well as horticulture will all have an important share in better farming. You must go back to the land to give a modern outlook to our tradition-bound society.

We are proud of the contribution made by our plant scientists to recent progress in agriculture. The new seed varieties which they have evolved have been very widely adopted. The demand far outstrips the supply. There is new hope for cereals. But in the matter of rice cultivation, I believe we still have many unresolved problems. Disease-resistant varieties have still to be evolved for rice areas in different parts of the country. Recent experience has also shown that quantity alone is not enough. We must keep in mind consumer preferences as well as nutritional needs.

Fortunately the farmer, who was said to be conservative and slow, has been quick to learn. Not far from here, in the Tungabhadra area, farmers have learnt the technique of light irrigation and have begun to derive higher incomes from Jowar and cotton.

There is need for a nation-wide campaign to learn to use water and other agricultural resources as scarce resources. There is great need everywhere to extend irrigation facilities, but even more important is irrigation improvement. We must popularise land management and water management.

The new technology also helps us to revise some of our old notions. For example, we have for long been told that one of the main problems of our country is over-population; that too many people are dependent on land, and that this dependence leads to widespread unemployment and under-employment. Yet intensive
agricultural practices create a demand for more labour, and in some progressive districts there is shortage of labour.

Besides finding answers to unresolved problems in rice, our scientists have also to give more attention to evolving new varieties of pulses and oilseeds. As rural incomes improve, demand will build up for pulses and oilseeds, milk and meat.

I have touched upon some problems and some requirements in our agriculture. But one of the main tasks before the nation today is to make the farmer contribute to development and not seek only to benefit from development. Fortunately, agriculture has ceased to be an unremunerative activity. In fact, in many areas of the country, particularly in Punjab, farming has been drawing people away from other professions.

We must progressively seek to eliminate the element of subsidy in agricultural inputs, which are largely going today to the comparatively better-off farmers. We must also strive to divert part of the additional incomes which have generated into larger schemes of rural development which will benefit the smaller and poorer agriculturists.

I have expressed a few thoughts on agriculture but life is not lived in compartments. Life is one. Agriculture and industry are interrelated. Science permeates all aspects of life and it must be correlated with purposeful action. We need new ideas but let us not be swept off our feet by them. New ideas need also to be correlated, so that neither development nor our lives nor Nature itself become unbalanced. In solving our problems, we should beware of creating worse ones. You who have been trained in agriculture, horticulture and forestry must also learn to preserve the flora and fauna of our country. I frequently receive reports of irreparable damage already done to several species which we cannot reintroduce.

In India we have too long sought individual salvation. Perhaps that is why as a country we came to grief. We now realise that there cannot be salvation for the individual without social salvation. In the sphere of science or in any other sphere, working together counts. Education is not, it is said, what a man knows but what a man is. But whether it is knowledge or personality we are after, it must be used for a higher aim—the welfare of our country.

We must have a feeling of involvement in the country’s future. We all like good conditions in which to work, but we should and must work, no matter what the conditions. I should like each student to say, “Come what may, I shall live and work for my country, to make it a better place, to leave my mark on it.” It was this sense of commitment which brought us freedom, transforming ordinary men and women into heroes. There has now to be a new commitment.

Young graduates, a university passes on the knowledge of earlier
generations to a new generation. You have completed the years of preparation and now you will be on your own. I wish you well in life. Serve Andhra Pradesh and the country well, and add to the greenness of the land. My good wishes to the new graduates and other students. May you shine and bring credit to our country!

Value of Wild Life

I AM HAPPY to have this occasion of saying a few words to this reconstituted Board for Wild Life. I am here not as Prime Minister but as one who loves Nature and feels deep concern for the manner in which it is being gradually destroyed, not intentionally but through, perhaps, lack of knowledge on the part of the public and the people who live around.

Forests, and the wild life that exists in them, are not only beautiful to see but they are also of great value to us in a variety of ways. In some countries, there is a debate going on as to what effect the extinction of certain species of birds or insects is having on the human being, on crops and on many other parts of our daily life. India is indeed fortunate in having a great variety of plants, trees and animals. This should have been a source of pride and joy to us. But, unfortunately, there is hardly any appreciation of this bounty and beauty. We should aim at conserving what is available to us and, if possible, to add to it, so that the coming generations do not have less but more.

The two great enemies of wild life are economic progress and greed. Also, ignorance and insensitivity. But if progress is well-planned, there need not be a danger to wild life or natural beauty. Sometimes our engineers or administrators or dam-builders do not have any reverence for Nature. I entirely agree that if it is a question of the needs of men, we cannot sacrifice people to animals, however, beautiful or useful. But I do not think there need be this conflict. Whenever dams and projects are located in the midst of forests, care should be taken to make provision for the planting of trees in such a way that the animal life can be rehabilitated in other parts. Similarly, schemes of afforestation can be such as would give livelihood to the people who live there without necessarily conflicting with the animal life. We all know how the cutting down of forests has affected the climate of places. I am told that the land-slides, which we are

Speech Inaugurating the Seventh Session of the Indian Board for Wild Life, New Delhi, July 8, 1969.
now having in the Darjeeling area, are partly due to the cutting down of trees.

It is naturally important that not only engineers and administrators but all of us should be given special instructions regarding wild life preservation and conservation of trees and plants. I would like to see that the State Governments are urged to set up bird sanctuaries and wild life parks near some of the new dams and reservoirs. I hope that high priority will be given to this and that the State Governments will seek the advice of wild life experts.

Of course, it is not quite enough to designate some areas as national parks and sanctuaries. We should ensure that they are really sanctuaries. I must confess that I have not seen all our national parks, and I do not know if they are run as well as they ought to be. I have seen several of the game sanctuaries in Africa. The atmosphere there is entirely different to what we find in India. The first thing you notice when you happen to be there is that the wardens have a genuine love for the animals. They know each individual animal. They can recognize them by their pug marks. The whole atmosphere is one of convenience of the animals first and of the tourists second. Although cars are allowed on various roads, they are not allowed to blow horns to do anything that might disturb the normal routine of the animals or to frighten them in any way; that is important if the parks are to continue to be natural and do not acquire the atmosphere of a zoo.

In order to preserve wild game one has also to preserve smaller animals that have grown in the forests because it is on the smaller animals that the larger animals live. Tiger and leopard are big animals who, when they cannot pursue their normal hunting habits, start attacking domestic cattle and sometimes become man-eaters.

I made some reference earlier to greed as one of the enemies of wild life. We all know that in the last century many countries have suffered because of the impatience of those who traded in animal skins, furs, and so on. Even the need for foreign exchange does not justify the killing of tigers and leopards and other such valuable animals in a manner that they become extinct.

A few months ago I received a cable from the International Conference on Game Conservation and Wild Life Management on this subject and I believe that this is one of the items on your agenda.

Last March I was very sorry to read about the devastating fire in the Corbett Park. A place cannot be called a National Park if lorries and jeeps are running around and timber men and traders are swarming and disturbing the life there. The new Chairman of the Board also happens to be our Minister of Tourism and I hope that this coincidence will lead to greater tourist facilities in our national
parks and sanctuaries but, as I have said, without disturbing the animals.

If I may, I would like to tell you about a personal experience in one of the parks in Uganda. They have built very small cottages. From outside they look like mud huts. I do not know what they are really made of. Very early in the morning I heard a noise outside my door. I thought that somebody was disturbing me with morning tea which I do not take; I was prepared to go out and shout at the person for waking me up so early. But when I looked out I saw a lot of small animals. In the pre-dawn light they were playing perfectly free from all fear; it was really one of the most unforgettable sights. This is an atmosphere which we should try to build up in our parks.

I am pained to see the condition of many of our archaeological centres. The Department of Tourism has put up buildings which are entirely out of keeping with the spirit and atmosphere of the place and often these buildings jar with the existing archaeological or natural beauty. We need a new approach to tourist architecture, both at archaeological sites and national parks. Tourist buildings should certainly have all the modern amenities, but they should also blend with their surroundings.

I have been grieved to receive complaints that sometimes even forest officials and district officers turn poachers. I do not know whether there is any truth in it, but it certainly deserves to be fully investigated.

I find you have a proposal for an All-India Wild Life Service and for the training of guides. There is certainly need for guides who are well-trained in the art and science of preserving wild life and who will be able to indicate their love and enthusiasm for animals to the public.

Shri Jagjivan Ram has rightly referred to education in schools on this subject. I hope that close co-ordination will be kept with the Departments of Education in various States to see that, though it does not become a separate subject, something about our wild life is taught to our children along with language lessons or in some other context. It is very important that the children should learn to recognise our birds and animals and plants and should know their value.

Wild life specialists must think not only of animals but also of trees. I was happy to see during my recent visit to Afghanistan that some of the young people, who are required to do national service there, are banded together in what they call a 'Green Corps' and are put to work to plant trees on barren hill slopes and elsewhere. Here is an activity that will be of interest to our young people and will also augment national wealth.
Towards Self-reliance

MR. PRESIDENT, when I received your invitation to inaugurate this, the thirty-ninth annual session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, I was somewhat hesitant in accepting it. I was aware that, since Independence, each annual session of the Federation has been inaugurated by the Prime Minister; this, in fact, was the main reason for my reluctance. These annual meetings are beginning to become almost a ritual and I am not much of a believer in rituals. I am also not happy about the tendency to turn to the Prime Minister to inaugurate every function of importance and to consider that a function which is not inaugurated by the Prime Minister is only of second-rate importance. I feel strongly that other Cabinet Ministers as also people in public life outside officialdom should perform such functions far more frequently than they are at present doing.

Your experience will always be useful. Within the ranks of industry, the younger group feels that it is not fully playing its part. I have often spoken of my intention to keep in touch with the younger generation. I am calling together some younger industrialists, technicians and managers from both the private and public sectors to discuss concrete and specific problems within the broad framework of our basic objectives. It will be a sharing of thought and perhaps evolving of new ideas. Dynamic changes are needed now in attitudes and functions.

In your address, Mr. President, you have pointed out that India is still a depressingly poor country and expressed concern that we have not succeeded well enough in our effort to fight poverty and develop our economy. Poverty is, indeed, the central problem facing us and it is the way in which we set out to tackle it that we as a nation will be judged. It is a long and arduous battle that we have to wage. It calls for clarity of purpose, for determination, for unity. It demands of us all the perseverance, the discipline, the hard work of which we are capable. Slowly and steadily, we shall be building a new and progressive nation in which even the poorest in our country will be able to enjoy a minimum level of living. There will be

From inaugural address at the annual session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, New Delhi, March 12, 1966
fuller employment, more widespread facilities of education and health, greater opportunities for youth and less inequalities of income and wealth. It is to give shape to these aspirations, to translate them into reality, that we adopted the course of planned development in our country fifteen years ago.

After you had shown so clear a recognition of the challenge of our situation, I was a little disappointed, Mr. President, to hear you suggest that we would be well advised to have a smaller Fourth Plan. After a detailed analysis of all the relevant considerations and a recognition of the limits of the possibilities open to us, one may come to any conclusion about the size of the Plan. But to suggest and propagate that a smaller plan is desirable for its own sake, and that it may even help in our fight against poverty, is not convincing. There is no question in my mind that we have to mobilise our resources to the limit of our capacity and use these human and material resources in a co-ordinated and efficient manner. If we shirk this responsibility and seek to cover it up by phrases, we shall be merely paying lip service to the cause of the common man. It is not with caution and circumspection that we can win the war against poverty, but by our capacity to take risks and to accept burdens and responsibilities. This does not mean that we should not take the greatest possible care in the husbanding of our resources. I am anxious to seek advice on the methods by which we could achieve a higher rate of growth in our economy, and ensure better performance in every sector of our activity, with lower investment or input of resources in general.

I do not deny that our performance in the recent past has fallen short of our expectations. We could have done better in many directions. However, let us not belittle our achievements. There is much in our record of the last three Plans of which we can legitimately be proud.

Let us not forget that the current level of industrial production is nearly twice of what it was in 1955, and we produce a large range of commodities which we did not produce before. The output of food-grains increased by 70 per cent between 1950-51 and 1964-65. Let us not ignore the great progress in education, especially primary education and technical education. New skills have been developed. Science and technology are making their presence felt in distant villages.

Much of the frustration which exists in the Indian economy today, and which you have voiced, flows from the fact that the performance of the Third Plan has, in many respects, fallen short of our hopes. Let us, by all means, learn from our mistakes and attempt to correct them. But, let us not ignore the peculiar disadvantages from which
our Third Plan suffered due to the Chinese attack in 1962, the
necessary but totally unforeseen diversion of resources from develop-
ment to defence, the conflict with Pakistan, and the pause in aid;
the most recent blow was the unprecedented drought which has
affected very wide areas of our country.

I say this not in extenuation of any lapse on the part of the
Government or the administration. There is laxity, waste and in-
efficiency in government, as it is sometimes in business and industry,
to which you have rightly drawn attention.

We have to overcome these deficiencies by first recognising them.
But we must always keep the larger perspective in view. Having lived
in the midst of crisis from my earliest childhood, I am not overawed
by present difficulties. Today’s crisis is a challenge not merely to the
Government or to any one group or party. It is a challenge to India.
The Indian people have twice in the past four years responded magnifi-
cently to external crises. The nation has demonstrated that it is
imbued with an essential unity and sense of purpose. We can win
the war against poverty, too. Indeed, we must win it. I have abso-
lutely no doubt that we will do so if we all set about the common
task unitedly. There is no room for diffidence about the future. We
must be sure of ourselves. We must be confident and resolute.

Mr. President, you spoke of rigidity in planning and urged the
Government to move with the times. I whole-heartedly agree with
this sentiment. We have no desire to be rigid. But, sometimes,
rigidity creeps in almost unconsciously. However, we are reviewing
many things, the structure of controls for instance. Controls are
often desirable and necessary. But I know that control by itself has
no virtue. We have weeded out some controls and we shall always
be ready to eliminate those that outlive their utility. At the same
time, we shall not hesitate to impose controls when circumstances make
them essential.

It does not serve much purpose to debate on whether or not con-
trols are desirable. It is far more important to consider what controls
are necessary and what controls should be removed. As you know,
controls over steel, pig-iron and cement have been removed. On the
other hand, we cannot, in the conditions of today, immediately remove
the control over food-grains. In conditions of scarcity, controls may
become necessary and even unavoidable. We must be careful that
controls are not administered in a manner which tends to perpetuate
the scarcity conditions in which they are born. Controls should pro-
tect the consumer but should not discourage the producer. I should
very much hope that in the course of our consultations, it will be possi-
ble to have a constructive discussion on the role of controls and the
manner of their working in our economy today.
Our inability to make the fullest use of the industrial capacity we have built is a matter of grave concern. We should greatly welcome the initiative and co-operation of industry to investigate the problem, to diagnose it, and to find a proper solution for it.

Another field in which a constructive dialogue between industry and Government is possible is the manner in which our limited foreign exchange resources can most usefully be allocated to different industries and to different sectors of the economy. Had we enough foreign exchange, we would gladly remove all restrictions on raw materials and other essentials of industrial production, so that all our industries could produce to the limit of their capacity. However, how can we forget the fact that the foreign exchange available to us is far below our minimum requirement? We can relieve the shortage only through increased private investment from abroad.

There is, as I said earlier, a measure of rigidity in our administrative system, in so far as it has not kept pace with the growing complexity and changing character of government. This is an area where much remains to be done. The process of decision-making must be expedited and the executive and the supervisory organs strengthened. There is constant criticism of extravagance in the Government. We are certainly conscious of the need for economy and have been trying to exercise very strict control over all items of avoidable expenditure. But it must be recognised that no modern government can avoid large and growing commitments for health, education, science and technology and the welfare of backward classes and tribes, as also for national security and efficient administration. Administrative expenditure will increase with rising salary costs and with every expansion of what even the severest critic will concede to be the legitimate government business. But substantial economies are possible by saving on time so that productive effort is not needlessly held up while files perambulate. Among other things, this will require greater initiative and greater delegation. Progress will also need to be evaluated by performance and not by expenditure or obedience to out-moded procedure.

We are apt to think of the public sector and of the private sector as if they were two different worlds. Efficiency is equally necessary for both. In both sectors, every attempt has to be made to cut down costs, to eliminate waste and to make our products competitive in international markets. Towards this end, we must make the maximum use of science and technology, of research and know-how. It is through a reduction in costs, rather than by exploiting the consumer in a sheltered market, that industry can give an adequate return to shareholders who, in the case of public sector enterprises, have to be counted in hundreds of millions.

It is popular not to levy new taxes or to reduce their incidence.
But a responsible government has to be guided by the basic interests of the people. We must proceed with our development and not hesitate and falter in mobilising resources required for the purpose. Taxation must be viewed as a necessary means to this end. Government is as anxious as you are to encourage savings and to promote investment. One of the basic difficulties in so doing is the paucity of savings in a poor country. Neither the Budget nor the credit policy of the Reserve Bank can alter the fact that as an economy, we are desperately short of capital—both the working capital needed to maximise production in existing units, and the fixed capital needed to set up new ones. It is a matter of some satisfaction that we have been able to raise the proportion of savings from incomes to about 11 per cent from 5 per cent in 1950. But this is far below our needs. In such conditions, the surplus in the revenue budget becomes an important instrument for mobilising savings for productive investment, as also for providing outlays needed for programmes, such as education and health, which are as essential to ensure a better life for the people as to add vitality to our productive endeavour.

I have tried in my speech to emphasise the importance of a better appreciation by the Government of the problems which affect industry, and by industry of the concerns which weigh with the Government. These concerns are primarily with the welfare of the masses, the working classes and the farmer in his field. I do feel that, as a counterpart of the dialogue between Government and industry and between Government and labour, there should be a dialogue between management and labour, so that the nation’s resources are not wasted by industrial unrest or strikes. It is only through a united, well-planned and well-coordinated effort that we can carry on our fight against poverty.

MAY I THANK YOU, Mr. President, for your words of welcome and also for your reference to my father. My father had great pride in being an Indian and a limitless and undying faith in our people. He had also enormous courage—moral, intellectual and physical. These are the most vital elements we need today. Throughout history, men and women have sacrificed themselves for ideas and ideals, and have risen to great heights at times of great difficulties. My father’s life is now a part of history, but his thoughts and beliefs are not bound by

From speech at the diamond jubilee celebration of the Indian Merchants’ Chamber, Bombay, December 9, 1967
the barriers of time. What he said then is equally true for us now. At your golden jubilee meeting, he had said, "We want to cross the barrier of poverty, provide the basic needs of a livable life to our people, encourage forces which curb disparities between group and group and region and region, and to do all this speedily and within the framework of freedom, consent and constitutional democracy."

Throughout our nationalist struggle, freedom to us meant not only political independence but economic emancipation—emancipation of the country from foreign economic domination, as also the emancipation of the general mass of our people from the clutches of poverty; _swadeshi_ and _swaraj_ [self-government] were two aspects of our aspiration.

May I ask you to recall the story of your own organisation? What was the state of our country when your Chamber was born in 1907? In your speech, Mr. President, you have referred to the constant apathy of and stiff resistance from alien rulers. You have said that the founders of your Chamber were imbued with a sense of service and sacrifice. They were men of vision. They were men of patriotism. When we are celebrating the sixtieth year of the foundation of the Indian Merchants' Chamber, let us pay homage to the founding fathers and draw inspiration from their example.

We have all to work together—industrialists and the commercial community, scientists and technologists, administrators and politicians. There is no reason why we cannot co-operate on the acceptance of a common base. Our motivations should stem from love of our country, from patriotism and national purpose. Given these common denominators to our thinking and our action, there is no obstacle which we cannot collectively overcome.

We have given an important place to private enterprise. We want it to flourish. But we also expect the leaders of private enterprise to abide by the discipline necessary to ensure the production of goods of quality, their sale at competitive prices in international markets, and the conforming of business practices to certain standards of national ethics. In a democratic society, self-discipline is by far the most effective method. It is for the Chamber to help in creating the right atmosphere.

We should lay at rest the ghosts of fear and suspicion and should meet often. Therefore, I entirely endorse your plea that there should be increasing rapport and dialogue between the business community, the planning authority and the Government. I did take the initiative for such a meeting when I called together a group of industrialists. More recently, I had a similar round table with scientists and technologists. I think this should become a normal feature of national life. Let us have dialogues between all vital elements of our society. Let
there be criticism and a clash of ideas, not to destroy or denigrate but to stimulate and energise.

You, the leaders of industry and commerce, have a special task to increase the nation's stock of managerial skills. Recently, Prof. Blackett told us that the developing nations need better management more than new technology. The world over, new trends in business management have profoundly influenced public administration, giving birth to new concepts and experiments. In India, our effort has been to modernise administration and to enable it to shoulder the economic tasks which development imposes. Your suggestions will always be welcome, but in making them you should not overlook the fact that in many important respects running a government is different from running an industry. Governments have to weigh the social costs. It is possible for a business venture to be an island of efficiency in a sea of sloth. But a government has to think of all sections of the population and in terms of managing and altering a whole country.

We have just entered the third decade of freedom. It is only the perverse who can ignore our achievements, being overawed by our shortcomings and paradoxes. Many of our troubles spring from unutilised capacity, but the capacity itself has been increased. We have built the infra-structure which will enable us to become a modern economy. We have built institutions to train the scientists and technologists who are the nerve-cells of such an economy. The good harvest that is expected this year is proof of the solid additions made to agricultural capacity over the last fifteen years. Even during the two anguished years of drought, this work did not stop. Compared to our starting point, we are in a much stronger position, be it in agriculture, in industry, or in social services.

The prime task now is to exploit the capacity that has been created, to maximise production and to regain economic momentum. Our success in this direction will help people to renew their faith in the future and in their own ability to shape it.

In the coming years, we must give new opportunities to our creative youth. We must promote initiative in government and industry, adopt the methods of modern science, and work for more flexibility everywhere. Only then can we respond to the needs of our people.

No mere 'ism' will help, not even pragmatism. We can succeed only if we have basic faith in our people and in our own abilities and if we have a clear view of the future. In everything we do, we must ask two questions: Does it enlarge or narrow the inequalities in our society? Does it make us more self-reliant or less? Our democratic consciousness is so developed today that people will not tolerate further accentuation of inequality. It is equally essential for us to overcome the psychology of dependence. I do not rule out foreign
collaboration, provided it is strictly to achieve quick results or to acquire know-how which we might not have. But collaborations should not be resorted to as easy short-cuts. The private and public sectors are equally culpable in this respect. It is here that we re-capture the vision and dedication of the pioneers, and draw inspiration from their spirit of swadeshi.

The Public Sector: an Appraisal

There is no such thing as 'public sector technology' or 'private sector technology'. It is the same with project planning, costing, research, marketing and the rest. The public sector must stand or fall, like the private sector, on the tests of efficiency, profit, service and technological advance. The only difference lies in the fact of social control and social purpose with regard to the public sector. The 'philosophy' might be different. The operation is similar.

We advocate a public sector for three reasons: to gain control of the commanding heights of the economy; to promote critical development in terms of social gain or strategic value rather than primarily on considerations of profit; and to provide commercial surpluses with which to finance further economic development.

The public sector in India today is a large and growing family. We have industrial units such as Hindustan Steel; construction units like the National Projects Construction Corporation; design and engineering units like the National Industrial Development Corporation and Engineers (India) Ltd.; financial units like the State Bank and the Life Insurance Corporation; trading units like the State Trading Corporation; and service units like the Shipping Corporation and Export Credit Guarantee Corporation. We also have railways, post and telegraph departments, ordnance factories, river valley projects, commodity boards and national laboratories. The State Governments have their own public sector undertakings like electricity boards and State transport undertakings. Together, all these constitute a large and critical aggregate of investment spread over a wide field.

The public sector, however, can claim no virtue unless it functions effectively as an instrument of production and development and as a creator of new wealth. Here, the results have, on the whole, fallen

Speech inaugurating a Round Table discussion on the role of the public sector, New Delhi, June 14, 1966.
below our expectations. Some undertakings have done extremely well; others have fared poorly. Many are making indifferent progress. This is a matter for national concern. I certainly am anxious to see that impediments in the way of the smooth and efficient working of the public sector are removed.

We should consider this question in three or four parts. First comes the stage of project planning, and then the stage of construction, erection and starting up. These two stages constitute the gestation period. The third stage is reached with the commissioning of the unit. This is the stage of operation. This also includes sales and exports. The last stage is the stage of expansion, diversification and technological refinement. This includes research and development and the acquisition of design capability.

Many of the difficulties of the public sector belong to the gestation period itself. Faulty planning with regard to concept, size, location, raw materials, design, choice of processes, equipment, personnel, contractual arrangements, supervision, co-ordination, time-schedules, etc., has resulted in cost escalation and delay. Over-capitalisation, over-staffing, incidentally adding to township costs, inadequate work-study, lack of delegation of power, the application of secretarial codes and procedures to commercial undertakings, faulty system of financial control and audit, and the lack of a well-thought-out personnel policy, constitute another set of problems. The proper programming of orders, pricing policies, quality and cost controls, research and design development and the structure of management are other factors which need looking into. Labour relations have not always been satisfactory.

My purpose is not to list all the problems, but to suggest the need for a close, hard look at every aspect of public sector. There has yet to be a satisfactory reconciliation between autonomy and accountability. Some of these problems are no more than teething troubles, while others are products of inexperience. We must learn from our mistakes.

The public sector, too, must set an example in self-reliance. We should not have to go in for turn-key jobs or foreign collaboration the second or third time. Our engineers, scientists and technicians are second to none. Government has been too cautious and conservative in giving them greater opportunity to show their worth.

There can be no stereotype for the public sector. It must grow, evolve and change with the times. In another twenty years, the public sector might well be larger than the Government in terms of personnel and budget. A new generation of industrial and scientific civil servants will have come into being. We have to plan for that day.

It would also be useful to study the working of the public sectors in other countries. Italy, for example, has a large and flourishing
public sector which is highly competitive and often works in partnership with private enterprise. Also, it has embarked on an ambitious programme for developing southern Italy, which is the less developed half of that country. Sweden offers another pattern of public enterprise and initiative. In France, large successful corporations like Renault and Sud Aviation are State-owned. In Germany, Volkswagen has been developed in the public sector. We should keep all these examples and developments in mind and never shut our eyes to the possibility of improvement and change.

As I said, the final test lies in profitability, service and growth. If the public sector cannot pass these tests, then there is no meaning in it. I am confident that the public sector in India is quite capable of delivering the goods, provided it is allowed to function.

This is an informal gathering, and I hope you will speak frankly and carry forward the debate on this important topic in a manner that will assist us in ensuring that the public sector truly becomes a creator of new wealth.

Tourism: a Growing Industry

You are all well aware that international tourism is world's single largest 'export' industry and enjoys the highest rate of growth. Last year, 115 million tourists spent 12 billion dollars. I am told that India's share was a mere half per cent.

Tourism is now the leading industry in Eastern Europe. Yugoslavia, for example, has received over 12 million tourists in the first eight months of 1966. Last year, its tourist earnings totalled 150 million dollars. By 1970, they hope to reach 500 million dollars.

Nearer home, the city of Bangkok alone attracts more tourists than the whole of India.

In India, tourism does not enjoy adequate priority even now and the rate of growth of tourism declined from 20 per cent in 1956-61 to under 10 per cent during 1961-65.

Only a fraction, say 10 per cent or less, of the air and sea traffic transiting through India disembarks in this country. It should be our aim to capture a larger share of this existing transit traffic even if it is for short halts of a few days or the week-end.

Speech at a Round Table discussion on tourism, New Delhi, October 28, 1966
It is necessary to provide facilities to attract a larger volume of middle-class traffic, not only from the West but from Asia and Africa. This involves cheap but clean hotels, low-priced package tours and so on. A system of paying guests can also be organised.

The tourist industry cannot be the exclusive responsibility of the Department of Tourism. It concerns the airlines and shipping lines, the Department of Civil Aviation, the Ministry of External Affairs, the Customs authorities, the Railways, Finance, the State Governments, the Departments of Archaeology and Culture, road transport and taxi operators, the hotel and restaurant industry, handicrafts, textiles, souvenirs and curio shops and others. The tourist wants to see ancient monuments, new developments, beauty spots, local festivals, etc. He would like to eat Indian specialities, go on shikar—preferably with a camera—climb in the Himalayas, holiday on our beaches, sample Indian culture, music, dance and local handicrafts and other ‘bargains’.

All this requires close co-ordination between a larger number of official and private agencies. This is felt to be lacking at present. Would a high-level Tourist Board ensure co-ordination as also a higher priority in official and public thinking?

India’s tourist budget is limited. But even this tends to be fragmented and frittered away owing to the practice of pro rata allocations item-wise and area-wise which often means that nothing can be done really well or quickly or completely. “Fair shares for all” entails wasteful dispersion.

It has been suggested that we might begin with developing four or five tourist regions like the Delhi-Agra-Jaipur complex, the Calcutta-Bhubaneswar-Konarak-Puri area and so on, on a package basis. Some preliminary thought has been given to a ‘Project Delhi’, limited to the capital and its environs in the first instance. If it is successful, it will become a model for other regions.

The hotel industry is a key industry. I know it faces many difficulties which must be looked into.

The world does not know enough about India and the tremendous range and variety it has to offer. The Taj is famous. But even Ajanta and Ellora are not so well known. Nor is it easy to reach them. Here, publicity is very important. It has been suggested that we might get well-known film producers to make some travel and holiday feature films with an Indian setting.

Tourism is a regional industry since international travel involves traversing or transiting through several countries. Indian tourism, therefore, has to be set and planned in the context of regional tourist development. India and Nepal could, for instance, jointly promote Himalayan tourism.

Stress should be laid on simplified procedures and provision of
amenities and comforts. Beautifying surroundings, new constructions harmonising with the environment, development of interesting and specialised eating places and hotels, improvement of the existing dak-bungalows, planning and highlighting certain festivals are some of the steps which should be taken to attract more tourists.

Given adequate organisation, facilities and publicity, there is no reason why India should not aspire to earn Rs. 200 to Rs. 300 crore or more from tourism by 1979-80. Tourism could soon become not only a major source of employment and regional development but also a large foreign exchange earner. Promotion of tourism also leads to the development of cultural activities and aesthetic surroundings.

Most important of all, we ourselves should be trained to appreciate beauty. This will help change our attitudes which will be far more effective than any number of official plans.

The Value of Machine Tools

It is indeed a pleasure for me to inaugurate the Fifth Unit of H.M.T. Hindustan Machine Tools is one of our outstanding industrial enterprises, and it is a model of dynamic management not in the public sector alone but in the public and private sectors combined. Machine-making is the true test of the economic strength and self-reliance of a nation. H.M.T. has been able to set up a new unit every year out of its own resources. It has shown that it can set the pace. But now unfortunately this pace has slowed down because of an economic crisis, and by a lack of demands for its machines. It is not easy for the popular mind to grasp the full meaning of such an economic crisis. We are aware of prices going up. The main reason for this rise in prices is the fall in agricultural and industrial production. The second reason is the increase in defence expenditure, thanks to our friend across the borders who covets our territory.

The drought and the consequent economic crisis has put us back by almost one Plan. But in many sectors, progress has been maintained and this, I hope, will gain further momentum. Conditions are being created for recovery. And with this recovery there will be a spurt in demand for H.M.T. machines. I hope that H.M.T. will

specially benefit from the new export incentives. And I am sure that the atmosphere of uncertainty which has prevailed in H.M.T. and elsewhere will soon be dispelled.

Basic and machine-building industries are the back-bone of our strength. They give us the sinews of defence. H.M.T. machines are playing a notable part in the expansion of defence production. As the Chief Minister said just now, the workers in the factory are partners in building a new India. Skilled industrial workers have a great role to play in the building of a nation, because knowledge and technical ability converge in them. They should give their best to the nation. I should like to congratulate Mr. Patil and all those who are concerned with the building of this factory. I should like to give them my good wishes for the progress and prosperity of this factory, and to those who work here and their families. It is through these individual families that India is built up. And as, through education, training and work, they move forward, the country as a whole moves forward. We all have faith in a new India. Let us put our shoulder to the wheel. Let us put in our best effort. Let each one of us help in the realisation of the ideals that our great leaders have put before us.

Role of the Private Sector

MR. PRESIDENT, I am grateful to you for your words of welcome and am glad to have this opportunity of being with you all this morning. I have listened with interest to your speech. You have covered much ground. We might differ amongst ourselves regarding the analysis of certain problems and their remedies. But what is more significant is the fact that industry and government have a common concern in the development, progress and well-being of this great nation. Mr. President, if I may say so, your speech was informed by a constructive purpose. I hope that this purpose will animate the day-to-day relations between the Government and industry. Indeed, without such a continuing dialogue, annual exchanges of compliments cannot take us very far.

It is to be expected that at every meeting of your distinguished Chamber there should be some complaint against the inequities of taxation. One can sympathise with tax-payers. But can one ignore the

From speech at the annual session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, New Delhi, March 30, 1968
fact that those who pay taxes are far too few, those who ought to pay are many, and those who just cannot pay number millions?

Taxation is not merely an instrument of transferring resources from the people to the Government. It is also an instrument for transferring resources from the rich to the poor, and from consumption to investment. It is the mechanism through which services as varied as defence, roads and education are paid for.

What the level of taxation should be at any given time calls for a deep study of the prevailing situation as well as of the direction in which the economy should be moving at that point of time. Last year's experience has shown that a cut in government expenditure can have a depressing effect on industrial economy, particularly in the capital goods sector. So, a sectional or a static view can be dangerous. If we think only in terms of today, we might seem to be better off if taxes were reduced. But the results tomorrow may be very different. Following cuts in government expenditure, there would either be large-scale unemployment or a further upsurge of prices due to inflation. Taxation should not be considered as an issue between the Government which levies it and the business, the industry and the consumer who pay it, but should be viewed in terms of its impact on the economy, in terms of whether it acts as an accelerator or as a brake on the economy.

The Government's approach has to be empirical, whether in respect of taxation or in respect of control. No one derives any pleasure from having controls for their own sake. We resort to them, selectively, in response to varying situations of our economy. As soon as conditions change, when controls cease to serve the purpose, the Government has no hesitation in modifying or even dismantling them.

There has been much talk of the neglect of agriculture. But the argument between industry and agriculture has no meaning, for each is dependent on the other. We could not have achieved a breakthrough in agriculture, had there not been something of an industrial base. What we see today is not just a bigger harvest but a widespread process of technological change in Indian agriculture and social change in Indian villages.

The story goes back to the much-maligned Community Projects and National Extension Service movement, which constituted one of our earliest exercises in planning. It was this which exploded the ancient myth of the conservative Indian farmer. The farmer followed practices learnt from his father, because he had no margin with which to experiment or take any risk. However, as soon as the possibility and profitability of change was demonstrated, the farmer was in the vanguard, demanding fertiliser, improved seeds and the
rest of it. The package programme constituted the next step. With the adoption of high-yielding varieties with higher doses of chemical fertiliser, the breakthrough has come. Now that a dynamism has been imparted to Indian agriculture, we have to keep moving.

Here then is a tremendous challenge to industry. An enormous market has opened up, with an appetite that will grow as it is fed. It is significant that in the past two years, when certain industries have suffered a setback because of recessionary tendencies, agro-chemical and agro-engineering industries have forged ahead.

I welcome your exhortations to fellow-industrialists to respond to new ideas in the field of management, and the utilisation of science and technology as essential components for the achievement of excellence in the field of industry. Without such excellence and deep concern with the problem of export promotion, our nation will never make a headway, howsoever much we may sell goods in the protected and large domestic market.

Mr. President, you have referred to the UNCTAD and expressed disappointment with its results. I share your sense of disappointment. But if it is right to point out that the rich nations owe a duty to the poor nations, based on the common interests of the rich and the poor in securing the stability of the world order, then the well-off sections of a society owe a similar duty to the poorer sections in the common interests of the stability of that society as a whole. If the art and science of international politics consists in building bridges between the rich and poor nations, the art and science of domestic politics must consist of building bridges between riches and poverty, between the dwellers in mansions and the dwellers in jhuggis [slums].

Some of the major themes of your address are clear enough. It is the inarticulate major premises of your reasoning which need to be carefully examined. Such an examination should take place in an atmosphere which does not evoke the image of the Government and industry being on the opposite sides of the imaginary barricade. I believe that the only dividing line in India is between those who think and feel in terms of the totality of our national interest and endeavour, and those who are guided by particularism of one sort or another. I am strongly opposed to the latter and I make no secret of this.

Human affairs are extraordinarily complex. In trying to unravel them and to advance our understanding of them, we naturally begin to translate the unknown in terms of the known. We try to comprehend things in terms of our own predilections, preoccupations and interests. This is perhaps natural; but if we are interested in seeing the whole truth, we should make allowance for the distortions which are inevitable when one examines reality in terms of a special standpoint.
A politician sees issues in terms of his own discipline. So does the economist and the scientist. The task of creative thinking is to ensure that analyses of human affairs, even when conducted from a specialised angle or interest, are not put forward as examples of final truth. In this, it is necessary for each one of us to have a feeling of involvement in the total process of change and development.

India is in transition—in political, economic, and social transition. And many of the stresses and strains which we witness today are manifestation of the tensions that go with growth and change. This so-called political instability is a symptom of the deeper social and institutional transition, as our political system adjusts to new situations and circumstances twenty years after Independence. As industrialists you are familiar with the concept and function of ‘infra-structure’ in economic development. There is something in the nature of a political infra-structure, too. This comes from experience in working the Constitution and the evolution of certain norms and conventions. As industrialists, you are also familiar with the problems of commissioning a highly complex plant or machine, and know that there will be some teething trouble. So it is with an elaborate political system which has only now been fully commissioned in an altered situation. The phase through which we are passing might have come sooner but for a unique combination of political circumstances which gave us stability during the earlier, formative period. We certainly should not be complacent. But neither need we be overawed.

Our achievements over the last twenty years are there for all to see. And I am glad, Mr. President, that you should have taken cognisance of them. However, we cannot be complacent when we contemplate our present responsibilities and future tasks. The very process of change produces tension. It has been said that the whole of human history could be described in terms of tension between the forces of change and the factors of continuity. The tensions which our society is experiencing take varying shapes, some ugly and even dangerous. Throughout our history, we see two rival and contradictory forces at work—fissiparous tendencies which separate and pull down, and the forces in favour of synthesis and absorption. So today also, negative features exist, but there are also powerful forces working for political and cultural unity.

We have a vast number of talented people. We have large resources. We have installed large capacities. The question is now to bend all our energies to utilise the capacities we have built, to channelise our talents to proper use, so that we can go forward with our social, economic and political revolution, with the consent and cooperation of our people. Our country is attempting something unprecedented in human history. It is an exciting time to be alive, it is
exciting and invigorating to be involved in this tremendous task. Let us be inspired by the challenge.

I should like our captains of industry to see the totality of our national picture even while they pursue their special interests. I should like your discussions to be fertilised by the ever-present consciousness of the dignity of our country and the destiny of our nation. I have every confidence in India, in its unity, in its stability, in its progress. I seek the co-operation and partnership of your Federation and of industry in general in breaking the bonds of economic stagnation and in moving this vast nation towards the great future that is its destiny.

Industry and Social Objectives

It was with some hesitation that I accepted your invitation, because I wondered whether these meetings were becoming mere grievance-ventilating sessions. But as I attach importance to co-operation between Government and the business community, I felt that this would be a renewed opportunity to bring about greater understanding between us. Through understanding and co-operation, it would be possible for us to have a fruitful dialogue. Otherwise, on occasions like these one tends to speak from a prepared position on subjects like taxation and controls, inadequacy of return on capital, and slackness of the capital market. Government is not unaware of these problems and we are always ready to respond to suggestions which are reasonable and practicable.

Mr. President, I am glad that you have talked about Government and business sharing common objectives. At the same time you have referred to possible differences in the approach to these objectives. Perhaps you would like to see obedience to the laws of market economy in the hope that it would help to produce wealth and that wealth so produced would ultimately reach down to the people. This proposition could have been considered at some other periods of human history, but not today. The world now is qualitatively different from what it was anytime before. India is very much a part of the world. In fact some of the movements which exist elsewhere are found in greater intensity in our country. There is a stirring of

Address at the annual session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, New Delhi, March 15, 1969
consciousness that riches and poverty are not God's creation but man's. There is a crisis in civilization, a restlessness of spirit, and a revolt against unimplemented declarations and hypocrisy. There is a demand for participation and involvement. Are we who work in the political field, or you who work in the field of commerce and industry, capable of responding to this mood of the people?

The mood is more understandable in a country like ours where the poor outnumber the rich in overwhelming proportion. But the same mood prevails even in countries which boast of affluence and opulence. No system is perfect, but we have to realize that no economic solution can ignore the social or political context. To allow a haphazard growth of productive forces and to wait for the satisfaction of human needs in God's good time is not an answer to the problems which confront us. The first essential in our country today is to provide the elementary needs of our people.

Of the many matters you have referred to specifically, may I pick up one, namely the question of controls? Government's approach to controls is not a doctrinaire one. We do not believe in controls for the sake of controlling. Nor do we accept the view that controls are bad in themselves. We should prefer that those who are concerned with production and distribution should so conduct their business as to obviate or reduce the need for controls. The most effective remedy would be for the industrial units themselves to exercise self-discipline in such matters. But when this does not happen, it becomes necessary to apply controls so as to regulate the use of scarce resources and to protect the consumer. This is particularly so when competitive conditions do not prevail in many sectors of industry.

Our objective is to infuse social purpose at strategic points in decision-making while avoiding cumbersome and unnecessary intervention. I am fully aware that sometimes our methods have been cumbersome. But in the last few years the structure of controls has been considerably simplified. A number of industries have been exempted from the licensing provisions of the Industries Act. Much greater freedom has been given to industry in the matter of adjusting production to changing requirements. Capital issues control has also been greatly simplified. Distribution and price controls have been progressively streamlined and, in fact, removed from a number of commodities. Licensing of imports for priority industries is on the basis of requirement.

The Planning Commission's "Approach to the Fourth Plan" has indicated lines of further progress in this matter and they are spelt out further in the Fourth Five Year Plan. The broad objective is to confine detailed planning to the key sectors. I would call upon industries to devote greater attention to the formulation and revision of
targets. In our fast-changing economy, we can secure balanced industrial development only by continuous study of the trends in demand in India as well as abroad and adjustment of our production plans accordingly.

The broad approach to the reform of the industrial licensing system will also be set out in the Plan. The basic and strategic industries, which require significant investment and foreign exchange, must be carefully planned and subjected to licensing. Priority will have to be given to them in the allocation of scarce resources such as foreign exchange. When the foreign exchange needed for equipment or maintenance is marginal, and the interest of the small and village industries is looked after, there may be no need for industrial licensing.

In a society where affluence and power are tiny specks in the vast sea of poverty, it is not unnatural that monopoly should attract strong hostility. Industrial development is regarded by many in our country as an instrument which has benefited only a few. The problem of the concentration of economic power will have to be dealt with inter alia by the adoption of suitable policies by our financial institutions. It is reasonable to expect that large industrial groups should raise a substantially larger part of the finance required for projects than is feasible in the case of smaller groups.

Although the rate of growth is important, progress cannot be adjudged by it alone, but more by the composition of the national product and by the nature of the social forces which are generated by development. Governmental decisions and policies are apt to be judged by individuals according to their own preoccupations. Within the same party or organisation there are different approaches and evaluation. You have often spoken about the size of the Plan being too large: at the same time you have urged greater public investment in infrastructure as well as in productive industrial activity.

We shall have to deal more vigorously now with the problem of regional disparities. A Committee of the National Development Council is looking into this matter. I should like to clarify that we do not think in terms of one State being less developed than another. The approach is in terms of particular regions. Even a State which on the whole is highly developed may contain pockets which are economically backward. The Planning Commission is working out criteria for the selection of less developed regions for special attention.

Mr. President, you have made mention of foreign investment and collaboration. There is no doubt that these will play a useful role in the implementation of the Fourth Plan. There have been complaints that in the past decisions with regard to proposals for foreign investment and collaboration have been unduly delayed. These and
other problems relating to foreign investment and collaboration have
been discussed in the seminar which the Federation recently helped
to organise. The procedure for dealing with these cases has now
been streamlined. I am sure that delays will be considerably reduced
as the potential investors and collaborators now know clearly the kind
of industry in which their help is required. The setting up of the
Foreign Investment Board will ensure that decisions in Government
are taken more speedily.

The import of technology is useful and may even be essential in
several sectors, but we have to rely increasingly on our own resources.
Industry has sometimes complained that indigenously developed know-
how cannot be applied because it has not been carried to the produc-
tion stage. Our national research institutions are taking steps to
remedy this defect. At the same time, industry should not always
opt for the easy path of importing established know-how but should
make a genuine effort to utilise what is indigenously available. In
fact, much development work could take place in our factories, quite
apart from the research work which is being done in the national
research institutions. Industry should devote a greater quantum of
resources to improvement of our own technology.

If we must import technology, we should do so as cheaply as
possible. There has been an unnecessary controversy with regard
to the centralised purchase of know-how. The Minister of Industrial
Development has fully clarified the position and I hope that there are
no misgivings on this score now. The point is simple enough, i.e.
when a number of units are to be set up in an industry simultaneously
or within a limited period, the possibilities of saving foreign exchange
by unified purchase of know-how should be explored. When it is to
the national advantage to purchase know-how on a unified basis, this
possibility should not be overlooked.

As regards delays, I find that many captains of industry have
spent considerable energy and words in referring to these matters at
different forums. But a delay does not take place merely because
one does not wish to take a decision or one thinks that one should
sleep over it. Sometimes it takes place because many other factors
have to be considered. I have referred earlier to the social and
political context. There are situations when there may be a very
good economic solution but it may involve the country in other long-
term difficulties, which may even impinge on the independence of think-
ing of the country. And these matters are no less important
than the mere solving of an economic problem, because if by that
solution you create a political problem of long standing, then obviously
the solution is not a good one. So some of the delays are due to
our anxiety to progress on an enduring basis which would be accept-
able to our people. The stability which we seek along with our economic progress is not only the stability of prices but also the stability of social, political and economic order. And I do hope that all of you present here will subscribe to these objectives.

The continued prosperity of industry is closely interlinked with that of agriculture. It is necessary for industries which use the products of agriculture as raw material to do everything possible to stimulate agricultural productivity. Research work on commercial crops is being intensified. Industry is helping in this but I should like them to further supplement the efforts of Government to take research to the farmer. The time is ripe now to strike out more vigorously to capture markets both for consumer goods and inputs in the rural areas. It may be necessary to evolve completely new techniques of marketing for this purpose.

As you have mentioned, exports of manufactures have shown a striking increase in recent months. In order to secure our goal of self-reliance, we need to place greater emphasis on the exports of these newer products. It is the Government's policy to give high priority to the needs of exports, in matters such as capacity expansion, allocation of imports and scarce materials. We should not allow the revival of domestic demand to interfere with the steady expansion of our export earnings from the newer manufactures. If total exports are to grow at the rate of 7 per cent in the Fourth Plan period, the exports of engineering goods, for example, would have to grow at a substantially higher rate of 15 to 20 per cent. As exports are small at present in relation to output, an expansion of exports of this magnitude is not difficult to achieve. But the task can be fulfilled only if it is given the highest priority in our national endeavour.

I was glad to hear of the efforts made by your organisation to absorb technical personnel facing unemployment. I should like to refer to another group of persons who need the special attention of Government as well as of industry. During the last Emergency, a large number of educated young men were commissioned to meet Defence needs. Some of them have had to be released from their commissions. The Government is trying to rehabilitate these officers who have all proved their qualities of leadership and capacity for decision. I do hope that private industry will also play its part in utilising their services. The Directorate General of Resettlement of the Defence Ministry will be glad to provide the information which you might require.

When I spoke from this forum last time, I referred to people who are not directly members of the Federation, namely, the wives of members. I had heard that they were doing good social work, and I should like to make a suggestion to them which concerns all of you
as well. It is about the employment of people who may be handicapped physically but without interference with their capacity for doing other types of work. A person may not be able to use his legs but he may be a good writer, a good typist, a good accountant. It is necessary to awaken the conscience of society to the plight of these people and see whether we can help them to rehabilitate themselves. This problem has always been with us. But after the fighting on our borders, it has acquired a more acute form, because we have many of our brave soldiers who find themselves in this tragic plight. This might be one direction in which the women who have taken up various aspects of social work could help these handicapped brothers of ours. In many countries, there are actually laws which provide for a small percentage of them to be absorbed. We do not want to go to that extent. But we do hope that this problem will be viewed with sympathy.

I spoke earlier of the contrast between the rich and the poor in our country. This is a situation which is very real and none of us can ignore it or bypass it for a moment. Everything we do is conditioned by our history, by the forces which have made this land what it is today, and by the situation as it exists in our cities and our villages.

The problem is made more acute because we have chosen the democratic system which gives room for ventilating of difficulties, of grievances, of inequalities, and encourages social urges to come to the surface. It also affords opportunity for the exploitation of these grievances if they are not dealt with in time.

I am reminded of the early days of our national movement. The premier national organisation was at first content to be a petitioning and a protesting body until Mahatma Gandhi made it a major force for social change and unlocked its inner strength. Several men of great vision belonging to the industrial and business community became identified with the cause of national liberation. As my father used to say, if we work for a great cause, something of the greatness falls on all of us. You have to find an answer to your own satisfaction to the question whether the prestige enjoyed by the present-day captains of industry is equal to the prestige which the great founders of our economic regeneration enjoyed during the period of our national struggle. I should like to see this august body, this Federation, become not merely an enlightened forum of discussion for industrialists but a moral force insisting upon the promotion of the highest levels of quality, integrity, public service, national self-reliance, dedication and—the most precious of all things—national self-respect. The economic history of other countries shows us that it is not through governmental edicts and laws that one enforces respect. Respect has
to be earned and one has to live in the first as in the last analysis by the applause of one's own people.

I am glad that you have referred to the achievements of the people of our great country in the last few years. We are fully conscious that these achievements are nowhere near sufficient to satisfy our own objectives or the needs of our people. But it is not by decrying ourselves that we can build national self-confidence. This can be done by acknowledging the achievements and by being aware of the deficiencies. As poet Tagore wrote, "If you weep for the sun, you also miss the stars". We have not found a place in the sun yet.

You referred to us as a developed country. Actually while some small areas are developed, many large areas are either undeveloped or developing. And this creates special problems, because we simultaneously have the problems of undeveloped nations as well as the problems of developing nations and of developed nations. I believe in accepting difficulties as a challenge. Only that nation which accepts challenges can grow in strength. No nation has grown to greatness without facing hardships with courage. If we, you and all sections of the Indian people can combine in this endeavour, then shall we be able to face the difficulties, find solutions to our problems, and create a kind of India which is the right of the Indian people to expect.

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In your thoughtful address you have rightly observed that the country's welfare and progress demand close co-operation between Government and entrepreneurs. The understanding of each other's points of views is the starting point of such co-operation. It is in that spirit that I address you today.

The decade which is drawing to a close was to be the "Decade of Development". But our expectations have been belied. In our own country we have been through a number of harrowing experiences in quick succession and this has checked the march of development.

Yet these very setbacks have made planning all the more necessary. The realisation is also dawning that the problems generated by the recession, such as the unemployment of the educated, can be solved only by regaining the tempo of development. We must make up for lost time. Our economic problems present a special challenge at this stage of transition to a higher level of technology. This would have been the case even without the invasions on our borders, the

From inaugural address at the annual session of All India Manufacturers Organisation, New Delhi, May 10, 1969
drought and the political uncertainties that we have been through. You have rightly said that change generates challenge. Our expectations grow; competition grows between class and class and between one region and another. Fortunately, the gradual easing of the agricultural crisis and of the industrial recession has enabled us to move forward decisively and to bring about a new outlook amongst our people.

The Fourth Plan has now been launched. I shall be interested in your comments and criticism. Constructive criticism is always welcome and it is right that the Plan should evoke countrywide discussion. But while the debate is still on, we must implement the Plan.

We find again and again that the mere fulfilment of statistical targets is not enough. Planning is not a game of numbers. It has always been an exercise in social engineering; this is more so today. Our planning must increasingly provide dependable solutions to social problems. Targets themselves represent some of the social objectives. But statistics should not make us lose sight of the social facts behind the figures.

We want a higher growth rate in agriculture and industry, but the price we pay for it should not be in greater disparities and larger concentration of economic power. The Government cannot content itself with the creation of the infra-structure, leaving the building of the super-structure for individuals to do as they like. The State has the responsibility of building a fabric which ensures economic strength combined with social justice. I am glad, therefore, that you have recognised and accepted the directive powers of the State as also the important role played by the public sector in response to economic necessities and in pursuit of the social objectives of our people.

The public sector must justify itself by its efficiency. I agree that a basic requirement for increased efficiency in the public sector is the induction of professional expertise instead of mere administrative talent. We often speak of the constraint of resources. This is real enough, but even more real is the shortage of managerial ability, a shortage shared by public and private sectors alike. It is easier to raise capital, to build buildings and to instal machinery than to develop the managerial skills necessary to run a plant at a high degree of efficiency. It is easier to buy technical know-how than to develop it ourselves. It is harder, still to unite technical and managerial know-how under the same roof. For tasks which demand initiative, comprehension and competence, we must have the best men, from wherever we can and whatever be their background—whether they are in the public or in the private sector. The shortcomings in the private sector are supposed to recoil only on the entrepreneurs; although this is not wholly true because private enterprise also involves the
wealth of the nation. But shortcomings in public sector management directly involve the money and the hopes of the people as a whole.

As a result of numerous studies, we have initiated several steps to improve the performance of the public sector. Our appointments now do reflect a trend towards the employment of more persons with professional understanding and grasp of industry and business.

You have said that resources generation is more important than resource mobilisation. Is this not only a partial truth? Unmobilised resources are dead resources, and we need resources even to locate and develop resources. For example, the finding and exploiting of oil reserves or deposits of other minerals demand investment. Water is a resource. Land by itself is a resource. When water is brought to the land, we have a resource mobilised for a purpose. But to bring about this combination, considerable investment is required in irrigation projects. From where can this investment come if not from the mobilisation of other resources which have already been created? Only a small portion can come as aid. Hence our whole strategy has been to mobilise, invest and add to our resources, and absorb part of the additional wealth so generated.

Another important point you have raised is about regional imbalances which create social tensions. This is a matter of deep concern to me. There have been agitations in several parts of the country, highlighting the political consequences of economic disparities. Gone are the days when people were resigned to their lot and accepted the affluence of others as a decree of Providence. Each individual wants a place for himself and rightly so. If he sees others get more, his impatience increases. This is true also of regions.

Certain regional imbalances arise out of the uneven distribution of natural endowments. You cannot move a river or a mine from where it is, but you can carry water from the river or move minerals over long distances. A dam or a factory benefits not only the region where it is situated but the country as a whole.

In industrial location, techno-economic considerations must prevail over others. But at the same time, we must do all we can to redress the special backwardness of the less developed regions. The Government's policy, aided by alert public opinion and parliamentary pressure, gives high priority to the development of backward regions. The private sector also can do much. I am glad to say that your organisation has commended to industrialists the need to set up industries in areas which have so far been neglected. Government has offered many kinds of rebates and incentives to make up for the absence of infra-structure advantages in such regions, and we are willing to consider any other constructive suggestions in the matter.

In your address, you have also referred to the delay in the creation
of a National Power Grid. Your criticism is valid; but an examination of the reasons for the delay will give an inkling of some of the problems of planning, especially when the responsibility is shared. Decisions are sometimes delayed because they must be governed by reasoning, argument and the interplay of regional and national considerations. We are all agreed that there should be a National Grid. We have taken a decision on it. However, the implementation was to a very large extent, the responsibility of the States. This responsibility is jealously safeguarded by the States. Consequently, many programmes of national importance, such as the Grid, can be implemented only through the processes of persuasion. We had hoped that the States would build the Grid lines on their own, but State Electricity Boards were reluctant to do so. That is why, in the Fourth Plan, we have taken up the Grid as a Centrally-sponsored scheme. The work will have to be done by the States, but the financial resources will be provided by the Centre. At the same time it is worth noting that regional Grids have done good work in the north, south and east. Rihand power has helped Calcutta. Mysore power was fed into Tamil Nadu at a time when insufficient rains affected power production there. Sharavati and Koyya have been linked. Tarapur serves both Maharashtra and Gujarat.

It is through the Plan that our economy can move forward and it is for the Plan to set right economic wrongs. The Fourth Plan may not have many new eye-catching projects, but it has addressed itself earnestly to the task of achieving results out of the investments made so far and also of anticipating some of our future needs. Does it matter if there is less fanfare? So long as determination and dedication are there, the objectives of self-sufficiency in food and of reduced reliance on foreign aid are of high importance. We have had too facile a recourse to foreign assistance and collaboration, both financial and technological. If we do not take a second look at collaboration, it can easily become a habit-forming drug. It is incumbent on all who seek to serve our country to give first option to Indian know-how and Indian talent which are now available. Therefore, I commend the Plan to you and seek your wholehearted co-operation in implementing it.

I thank you for your invitation and assure you that we shall always think of you as partners in progress. I hope that the vision and patriotism of your founder will always inspire your organisation. I am glad that you are perpetuating his memory by establishing a World Trade Centre. This is indeed an imaginative idea and I wish this Centre success. But you should always remember that your long-term success depends on the success of the people of India as a whole and, therefore, one of the most important virtues to be cultivated today
is commitment to the welfare of the people. I specially welcome your remark regarding respecting human dignity. We are a country where in spite of tremendous development and great progress, poverty and inequality still persist. And when we keep the problems of these people in the forefront and think of their dignity and their basic needs, then indeed we can create goodwill and sense of security in our own country and contribute to these concepts in the international field as well.
Science and Technology
Science in Developing Countries

EVEN THOUGH the Indian Government is very conscious of the importance of science and has tried to help in its promotion in every way, we still find that we are a long way from having a scientific or a national outlook in the country. This, to my mind, is the most important thing which we have to achieve, here and elsewhere, if we plan to go ahead and to really raise the standards of our peoples and to give them what they need for their betterment. Asia and Africa were cradles of civilisation and thought and led the world for centuries. But they fell prey to foreign domination and imperialism, not only because of internal troubles, but because they fell behind in science and technology. After generations of foreign rule, freedom has returned to these two ancient continents, except in some parts where the freedom struggle still continues.

We have found in India that political freedom by itself has little meaning. It has to be defended against economic pressure. It has to be made meaningful by the possibility of a better life for the people. Therefore, development is vital to the maintenance of freedom.

Today the nations of Asia and Africa are engaged in the hard task of development. In most areas, this involves a transition from traditional to modern practices. Technology is the key to change and progress. The world has seen wonderful advances in science and technology, but even the simplest tools and processes of modern science have to be adapted to the circumstances of each country and this in itself is an immense task. Developing nations also have certain problems of their own because of geographical and other factors; therefore, original scientific effort is very necessary. The nations of Africa and Asia have much to offer one another and can usefully pool their experience.

Scientists today have a great responsibility because they are increasingly shaping the destiny of mankind. They have, in this sense, a great part to play and great responsibilities. You have hinted in your remark, Mr. Chairman, that scientists cannot be divorced from the life of people. While you are discussing scientific problems,
I hope you will always keep in mind the role of the scientists in society and the impact of their work on the lives of the ordinary people.

Many of the countries of Africa and Asia seem to be in turmoil, and the question is asked why this should be so. Sometimes a very simple answer is given in the West, which is that these countries are not able to rule themselves, that they are not able to handle their assets. This is a simple answer. It is not a correct one. Let us look back and see what happened in Europe half a century ago. We had two of the bloodiest wars which engulfed the entire world. Before that, for centuries, there were conflicts, with internal wars, civil wars, revolutions, not to speak of many other tensions and conflicts. Now many of the conflicts which we see in Asia and Africa stem from the same social, economic and political conditions which obtained in Europe in past centuries. They were trying to transform their agrarian economy into an industrial economy, a feudal social order into a democratic social order leading to a freeing of human relations from concepts of hereditary status, from being divided by regional, linguistic and religious particularism to being organised as nation States.

Now this scene has shifted from Europe to Asia and Africa. The countries situated in these two continents are going through the same processes in this latter half of the 20th century. All our difficulties, our instability and our tensions have their origin in our attempts to lay the foundations of an industrial society, to democratise our political and social institutions and to set up nation States, so that the minds of our men and women become freed from local, religious, tribal or caste feelings, so that their concept of citizenship may become a more effective force.

However, the framework within which these historical processes are working are not always the same; they vary from place to place. Although Asia and Africa are experiencing the sensations and tensions of change which affected Europe for several centuries, there are certain vital differences which add to these tensions. These arise from the fact that democratic rights and liberties, adult franchise and trade union rights came in Europe at the very end of the processes of economic growth. Consequently, when rights were asserted for bread, education, health, housing, etc., the economy was capable of satisfying these vital needs of man. In contrast, in India, for instance, we have already the widest democracy, the widest franchise; we have equal rights for all people—men and women—and trade union rights. These are exercised and asserted at a time when our economy is still developing. Hence, there are so many tensions. Population increases are
taking place even as the economy is growing. And meanwhile the disparity between the rich and the poor nations is widening.

This is really the nature of the economic, social and political climate in which we have to fashion our relations and in which we have to consider the problems of science—how it can help to remove disparities and ease some of these tensions. I am sure, you will look at the problems of science from these many points of view and try to find solutions which will prove satisfactory in the varying circumstances of the nations which you represent.

Though it is recognised that, in the interests of true research, knowledge should be advanced, how that knowledge should be used has until lately been largely ignored, and there has been a feeling that man depends on science and technology rather than that science and technology are tools for what we want to do for mankind. I think that if you keep this in view, as I am sure you will, we shall be able to go ahead much faster.

Administrators and the People

We all are fully aware of the very great importance of efficiency in administration and in management. In fact, although this is the age of science, I think it is more the age of management in some ways. More and more importance is, therefore, being given to this part of administration.

In India, we have tried to take up many programmes which, by the very size of the country, become vast undertakings. To my mind, the major problem in India today is to increase efficiency all along the line. It is not a question of what we do, because I think that our programmes have, by and large, been good ones. But we have not been able to implement them or work them out as they should have been, and that is why we have often fallen short of targets.

What is important is to get the right man on the right job. I think this has again been one of our failures, partly due to the system of the old government where there was not enough specialisation, or perhaps no great need for specialised knowledge, as it was felt that a general administrator could deal with everything. Now, we find to our cost that, while there are some brilliant and intelligent people who can do any number or variety of jobs with equal success, there are

Speech at the Administrative Staff College of India, Hyderabad, June 24, 1966
also others who cannot do so. We find that many of our services in
the Government and outside have suffered on this account.

As far as managers and administrators in India are concerned, it
is not merely a question of having knowledge and experience but hav-
ing the will to change all the time. Society is changing and, in a
sense, all societies are transitional. They are always changing since
each generation has newer ideas. But, in India, this is more so, be-
cause we are still between a feudal set-up and the next step. Well,
whatever is the next step, we have not got to it yet. When you
take the country as a whole, you find there is—whether it is our young
people, or our villages or our farmers—still a great deal of groping. In
this, they expect guidance from those who are in authority. I think
that India is very much at the teen-age stage. Most of us who are
parents know the difficulties we face with teen-agers. Well, India is
also about eighteen years old as a new republic, and I think it is pass-
ing through that phase when, if you do not give guidance, people are
resentful, and if you give guidance, they are even more resentful. You
have to somehow find a way so that guidance is there and yet it is
not obvious. It has to be subtle and it also has to change along with
the area, because certain areas are backward and need more obvious
guidance. So, it is very much a question of having a 'feel' of the
people, of their genuine needs and how they can be met. Obviously,
we cannot meet all their needs, but if we can give them an impres-
sion that we are sincerely trying to solve things, then our people have
the patience to wait and to do whatever is necessary in the waiting
period.

Take, for instance, the controversy about the private sector and
the public sector. Now, in my view, there should be no conflict be-
 tween the two. They are both essential to India's economy and the
closer they work together, the more harmony there is, the more effi-
ciently we can function. There are whole areas which cannot be
dealt with by the private sector, because of lack of resources. To me,
it makes no sense that the Government should give all the money and
somebody else should have all the profits. If a person is capable of
doing something with his own resources, well, nobody wants to stop
him. He should go ahead and, in this matter, we will certainly help
him as much as we can. But there are vast areas which have to be
dealt with by the State. As far as personnel is concerned, we in the
Government are already making a great deal of use of personnel
employed in the private sector. If we find that there is a good
person for a job, we would naturally like to have his help. There
are many committees and corporations in which these people are taken
or brought as advisers and we find that it makes quite a difference.

There is a great deal of education to be given to the public at
large. You are all experts in your fields and I am not. So, is it not presumptuous on my part to be lecturing you on what you should do? But I am an expert at dealing with people. This is something, I think I was either born with or I learnt from my very childhood. There is no time that I remember when I was not in the midst of crowds or amongst quite different groups of people. I had the good fortune of being part of a household where we used to meet a very varied crowd. Even at the height of the independence movement, we had scientists, writers, artists from all over the world staying with us and there were English people, even people who were in a way against the whole independence movement. Thus, in this manner I developed what may be called a 'feel' of the people and I find that this intuition helps me with the ordinary people. I think this is something which can be cultivated. It is not something that is a gift from heaven. It is something that can be cultivated by meeting people and trying to be sincere in finding out what troubles they have. If you can bring this attitude to bear on whatever you are doing, whether it is business or administration, you will find that you are more successful.

Science and Social Change

Science, as most people understand it, means rather complex research and the application of the findings of such research. It means probing the secrets of our world and harnessing the power of Nature for our own needs. We are apt to forget that, at the ground level, it means combating superstition and the deadweight of outdated habits and customs. In India, we have to contend not with 'two cultures' but with three. The third category in India, as in any developing country, is, of course, superstition, tradition and similar forces of inertia. The role of science in such societies must be as much to promote rational inquiry and judgment as to encourage research and development. Science is not an objective but really an attitude. Therefore, it means the inculcation of new attitudes and a spirit of rational inquiry amongst the people as a whole so that they turn to science and technology to transform our agriculture and our industry.

Jawaharlal Nehru clearly recognised the importance of science. It is due to him that we as a people have at least some consciousness

From inaugural address at a Round Table discussion on science and technology, New Delhi, September 7, 1967
of science. He talked always of the scientific temper and went to the smallest village and remotest parts of our country to educate the masses regarding the role of science in their life. He founded a chain of national laboratories and established what is now the Bhabha Atomic Research Centre in Trombay. It was under his inspiration that the Government adopted a Scientific Policy Resolution in 1958. But there we have stopped. I get numerous letters from visitors to our country as well as eminent scientists in other countries, who virtually accuse me that nothing has happened for these several years and that we have not progressed further.

I would like to share with you the views of one such eminent visitor to our country. Although it is not directly linked with this Round Table, it is something which I think is important in creating a scientific temper and in giving a base to science in India. He writes:

"Much of what I saw was wonderfully good: for example, Trombay, the Tata Institute; the All-India Institute of Medical Sciences and several stations and sections of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research. I will not burden you with praise of these; they are going well on the path that they have taken and need no cheering on from me.

"But the same is not true of the overall plight of scientific education in schools and universities. This is a state of affairs which in my view will get worse and not better at the present rate of progress. Science occupies a minor place even in distinguished universities and attracts neither the best teachers nor the best students.

"The failure of science to take hold in schools and universities and indeed its strangulation by traditional subjects there can only be reversed by setting much higher targets for scientific education than those now planned. The targets proposed at present are too low and too slow. They cannot push science ahead of the economy and turn it into an industrial leader. Science and all aspects of a truly modern education can only forge ahead in India if far-sighted minds accept the thesis that it must be given a disproportionate share of the national cake now. Only so can the national cake itself grow faster in the future. The cost of scientific education must be accepted as a long-term investment in the economic future of India."

So we must end the drift, and call Indian science and technology to our aid. India is a potentially rich country with a variety of rich national resources, which should be used more fully. Our greatest asset should be the creative talents of our young people. You all know that in twenty years India has made considerable progress and
yet we still stand on the threshold of self-reliance. The experience of the past year has underlined the dangers of agricultural stagnation and dependence on foreign aid and know-how, especially in the critical fields of industry and defence. We require more trained manpower and must hasten the scientific and technological revolution.

It is at this crucial juncture that we discover, amongst the many crises which face us, a crisis in Indian science. It is possible to detect a sense of disquiet and frustration in the country’s scientific community of which brain-drain is not the only manifestation. There appears to be a gulf between science and administration, inadequate contact between science and industry and, in my view, foreign collaboration is still too readily sought.

Science and planning also could draw much closer. There is urgent need for more careful and detailed research planning linked to specific needs and time-horizons. We must be sufficiently bold and imaginative in developing and using our own know-how as well as making the fullest use of the experience of others. Above all, we must ensure that the results we achieve are commensurate with our investment.

Science has long ceased to be considered an esoteric pursuit. It has to be part of the life of every Indian—the jawan [soldier], the farmer and the worker, the housewife and the student.

* * *

We welcome the presence of distinguished scientists from many lands in this ancient city. Varanasi has been changing during the last thirty centuries or more, yet it has remained the symbol of our continuity and has retained its special place in the hearts of Indians. It is one of the main centres of our tradition.

But what is tradition itself? When the Buddha preached in this region, it was not tradition which he preached but a social revolution. The great scholars who made this city famous were ceaselessly experimenting, and each discovery of theirs was a revolution. Malaviyaji, who founded this University, was regarded as a traditionalist, but did he not introduce the teaching of science and engineering? Our greatest contemporary philosopher, Dr. Radhakrishnan, has advised us “not to be prisoners of the past but pilgrims of the future”.

We in India have sustained ourselves with a vision and a faith. We believe that the world, as it is constituted today, can never be peaceful or creative unless all nations can co-operate and contribute.
towards the solving of the greatest problem of our age—the problem of the growing gap between a small section living in wealth and splendour in the midst of dispossessed 70 per cent of the human race.

During the last two decades we Indians have been engaged in a great endeavour to fight poverty and backwardness. Not only have we to raise the standards of living of our people as a whole, but to give special assistance to those who have been the least privileged in our society, and their number is legion. We must transform an ancient tradition-bound people into a modern nation. This is not a unique situation, except in the scale of our problems which are so enormous that we cannot rely merely on quantitative processes of change. The quicker way is that of science. What do we expect of science? The immediate answer is, generally, that we seek more advanced technologies and their application to bring material benefit; to take knowledge and training within the reach of different sections of our people, thus enabling them to produce wealth in their fields and factories, and to exploit our vast untapped resources. While this must remain a primary objective of scientific endeavour in any country we are equally aware of the importance of other aspects and of basic science.

It is a measure of our resolve to give to science and technology an important place in our scheme of things that India has made considerable investment in stimulating their growth. The awareness of science and technology is part of our national policy and we have made strenuous efforts to give practical shape and content to this ideology in the form of institutions. We have today some thirty national research laboratories. We have more than a dozen major agricultural and medical research centres. We have seventy universities and a sophisticated atomic energy programme. And yet we must admit that all these developments have not made a significant impression on the consciousness even of our scientists, educationists and policy planners. We do still continue to lead a somewhat schizophrenic existence—one half of our individual self pays homage to science and the scientific approach, while the other half remains deeply rooted in the past. Paradoxically enough this applies even to some who work in science!

We must give special attention to the teaching of science in our schools, colleges and universities, which should foster the scientific approach. Technology cannot exist and certainly will not grow without a base of fundamental science. We might progress by borrowing advance technology from other nations, but no great nation can live by borrowing alone. It must have something to give back to the world if it wants to attain a degree of economic and political independence even in an inter-dependent world. We should like our universities to become the centres of development of basic science, and in this they should have the assistance of the national laboratories. There
is a necessary inter-connection between the growth of science and technology as a general movement and the ethos of society. Much of what is called tradition in our country is no more than a fossilisation of thought and habit. These layers of superstition and dead habit have no meaning in our times or relevance to our needs. They impede the growth of science and the scientific temper. This dichotomy between our social life and scientific needs has to be overcome.

It is sometimes said that innovations or more efficient machines which are proving useful in other countries may be unnecessary and even luxuries for a poor country. Perhaps the more pertinent question to ask is whether a poor country can afford to be without greater efficiency. I remember reading recently that in the United Kingdom 80 years ago a Committee of the House of Commons questioned the value of the telephone. It was their view that while the telephone might be essential for the United States, it was not so for England, which had plenty of messenger boys! Today, we too might feel that we have plenty of messengers of various categories. Are these the right kind of messengers for the messages and the work which alone can carry India into the twentieth century?

Science knows no barriers. Under its liberating influence we have progressed from the concept of loyalty to one's own tribe towards loyalty to the nation, and from the concept of nationhood to the concept of a world society. The very phrase 'world society' implies tolerance, understanding, friendship and co-operation between nations.

But close contact and the sharing of knowledge should not mean loss of individuality. The aim of progress is not to produce a race of faceless men, all owning and wanting the same things. Indeed, I find that as society achieves greater mastery over the mechanics of organisation, the greater is its desire to break out of the straitjacket of uniformity and to seek individual expression. How can science serve man without an insight into his history, his culture, his hopes? It is important, therefore, that the physical and technological sciences should work in close co-operation with the social sciences and with the science of the mind, and that all these endeavours should take us towards a commitment to moral values and social purposes.
Technology for Development

It is an honour to visit this renowned home of builders and makers. Around me I see many veterans of the great arts of construction. I see the young who have trained themselves for the profession. This is privilege enough, but you have also chosen to confer on me the honorary degree of Doctor of Engineering.

There was a time when I used to be puzzled by this practice of universities admitting persons from the rough and dusty world of politics to the community of academics. I even took it to be the mocking tribute of learning to power. Recently, I have begun to find an inner meaning in this gesture which saves it from being a mere ritual. This kind of ceremony is a symbol of the close relationship that should subsist between the university and the world of action. Those entrusted with the burden of practical affairs must take their problems to the universities. Universities in turn must teach men to see things in perspective. Implicit in the idea of a university is the habit of looking at least two or three generations ahead.

I should like to utilise this occasion to share some thoughts on the place of technology in our development. We might consider (1) the contribution of technology to the task of transforming the economy; (2) the administrative environment in which engineers and scientists can best serve the community; (3) the contribution of technology and science towards changing social attitudes and organisation; and (4) the relationship between the state of technology within our country and in the wider world.

In 1950 we earnestly took up economic planning. It was important for us to utilise science and technology to solve the problems of poverty and inequality. The first task of the Planning Commission, as listed in its terms of reference, is to "make an assessment of the material, capital and human resources of the country, including technical personnel", and to investigate the possibilities of augmenting them. Our nationalist movement had for long realised that our ills could be cured only through the right use of science. Like many philosophers in the West, Mahatma Gandhi reacted against the first consequences of the Industrial Revolution. But even he saw the inevitability of technological advance. "What I object to is the craze for machinery, not machinery as such," he once declared. "I want to save time and labour, not for a fraction of mankind, but for all; I want the concentration of wealth not in the hands of the few, but in the hands of all... Scientific truths and discoveries should first of all

Convocation address at the University of Roorkee, November 18, 1967
cease to be mere instruments of greed." Our approach to economic planning was inspired by the great experiment in the Soviet Union. But never was there any doubt, whether at the time the National Planning Committee was set up by the Congress in 1937 or when the Government constituted the Planning Commission in 1950, that planning in India had to be Indian in its ethos, in its methods and its prescriptions.

The Industrial Revolution came to our country a century after it took root in Europe. The first railways, telegraph and textile mills were established here in the middle of the last century. But the rate at which technology spread was very slow compared to Japan where the Industrial Revolution had its beginnings about the same time. The reason was our political subjection. It is only after we became free and began planning that we gained speed. After the completion of the Third Plan, we are at a stage where the first industrial revolution is over and the second has begun. With some notable exceptions, we are today where the advanced nations were before the First World War. These exceptions are atomic energy and electronics, two fields in which we do not lag behind.

Great changes have occurred in our economy in the last twenty years. Production has expanded. Even more remarkable is the increasing diversity of the goods we produce. I shall not attempt to list the achievements of the years of freedom. But I should like to draw your attention to the change in social outlook which has accompanied economic change. A bullock-cart driver with a transistor radio is no longer an isolated sight. In the last few years the transistor radio has caught the imagination of our people. It is to be seen everywhere. The people want it not merely for the music and information it brings; to them it is a symbol of modernity and the world of plenty. It is a release from drabness and drudgery. Its vogue is proof of the fact that nowadays invention is the mother of necessity. We are reaching the stage where the first fruits of technology trigger a general demand for more technology.

It has been remarked that Britain and other European countries carried through their industrial revolution without any considerable addition to the stock of science. Progress came mainly through the technological exploitation of known knowledge and its extensive application. Although we are on the threshold of the Second Industrial Revolution, which presupposes new findings in science, we have by no means exhausted the first task of extending known knowledge to all parts of the country and to all sections of the population. Irrigation, electrification, the making of primary tools for the farm and the factory, and the building of low cost houses—all this is the work of the technologist and the engineer rather than of the scientist.
Indeed, the bulk of the labour we have undertaken under the Five Year Plans falls on the shoulders of the engineer. So much so that planned development is often referred to as social engineering. This work is far from complete. We are proud that we have electrified 50,000 villages in the last fifteen years. This is no mean achievement, but it still leaves us with 500,000 more villages to electrify. The whole of the countryside of Madras is studded with electric pumps, but there are sixteen other States where this needs to be accomplished.

Recently, I invited forty eminent scientists and technologists from various fields of activity to discuss the problems of science and technology in India. My main purpose was to find out how much truth there was in the observations made to me that Indian science had come to a halt. I am convinced that we have people of the requisite calibre and force who can set things right. The meeting strengthened my belief that in all that the Government does it should use existing talent in the country more extensively and discourage the all too prevalent practice of looking to the outsider. Scientists on their part conceded that the laboratories had not yielded the results expected of them but pointed out that the fault lay with the problem-setters rather than with the scientists.

Who is the problem-setter? It is we in the Government, whether the politically elected representatives or the civil servants. Criticism of inadequate scientific expertise on the part of the politician and administrator is not limited to our country. We hear it in Britain and Europe. We hear it in the United States. We hear it in the Soviet Union, despite the increasingly larger place which engineers and scientists occupy in governments there. Sometimes the theories and ideologies on which States are run hinder the fuller use of science. Sometimes it is the fault of systems and decision-making individuals. The civil servant is primarily the master of the short-term solution. The politician's horizon is sometimes not much larger. The vision of both is governed by what is practicable. The civil servant goes by precedent and notions of administrative feasibility. The politician is dominated by considerations of popular acceptance. Yet what is popular need not necessarily be right or wise. The immediate is often the enemy of the ultimate. Commonsense forms the basis of much of the judgment of civil servants and politicians. But commonsense is not necessarily scientifically valid. It becomes the duty of scientists and technologists to set the pace. They can do it through universities and other professional organisations which should make known their views on all subjects involving science and technology.

The use of the expert is a major problem in public administration. I have no doubt that our present administrative system uses the expert inadequately and indifferently. It gives undue weight to the generalist
and persists with criteria of competence developed in times when the range of government decisions was very limited and was unrelated to the demands of economic management and growth. Also, in the absence of responsible governments, the official class developed a mystique both of infallibility and of transferability of talent.

After we attained freedom, governmental responsibility suddenly expanded. The public sector was enlarged as a matter of deliberate choice. Officials were called upon to bear vast and new kinds of responsibility. Not many could be trained in the expert knowledge and scrutiny which their work required. Experts from outside were not assimilated fast enough into the service.

In spite of numerous attempts at reform, the administration still tends to be hierarchical and status-bound. Pay and power are equated, instead of pay and utility. It is odd that the greatest doctors and engineers in the country who would be rated as the leaders of the profession and who save lives or add permanent assets to the nation, can rarely hope to receive the pay or status of Secretaries of Ministries. The brightest of our young men and women choose engineering and medicine. If they happen to go into Government, they are very soon overtaken by the general administrator. This must change, and I am trying to change it. The administrative system must reflect an individual's contribution to human welfare and economic gain.

Having made the point, let me hasten to correct any apprehension that the technologist is ipso facto and in every way superior to the professional administrator or politician. The man trained to be a technologist may not necessarily be competent to decide on matters outside his specialisation. He may not be the best person to judge the social or political cost.

A great deal of administration consists in taking political decisions in the handling of men. The instincts and talents of leadership do not automatically flow from training in technology. Technology as such has no answers to political problems. Some scientists and technologists certainly possess qualities of social leadership of the highest order, but the abilities of most remain confined to their fields of specialisation.

Earlier I said that our administration is too status-conscious. This is true of our whole society. Seniority seems to be the rule of our national life. The creative young person does not always get the chances he merits. In certain branches of science and higher technology, the most creative work is done at a young age. Bertrand Russell has remarked that he was at the height of his intellectual powers at twenty. Einstein did his greatest work when he was twenty-five. Considering the rate at which knowledge is growing, some of our elders in science and technology have not kept pace with
new developments. They are also not fully appreciative of the intimate relationship of higher technology and laboratory research. They cannot believe that young scientists might often be greater experts in specific fields than themselves. In traditionalist countries like ours, governments tend to seek advice from the elderly rather than from the young. The old, wiser in the world's ways, are also apt to give convenient advice. This can be dangerous. The outspoken, inconvenient opinion is often the more valuable.

Even engineers and doctors in our country are as prone as others to develop the bureaucratic attitude. An eminent scientist once told me, "Your young scientists and engineers are very able people. They know exactly what is to be done. But they do not do it themselves, they ask others to do it." Speaking to a gathering of engineers some years ago, my father deplored the fact that many engineers preferred desk jobs and felt prouder pushing files than working in the field.

The officer-mentality is also responsible for holding up progress. The hold of caste, not only in society but in government as developed in colonial days, feeds this outlook. Technology ought to have made a difference, but it did not. In the West, most of the early technological improvements and innovations were the work of artisans and craftsmen. Science itself arose from this technological base. In our country, Western technology was appropriated by the middle-class and it remained unrelated to the indigenous artisan class. The middle-class which first took to engineering education retained the middle-class outlook of not sullying their hands. It is only now, when people from the under-privileged classes are going in for education in large numbers, that we have an opportunity to end this dichotomy.

It is well known that knowledge has been growing faster than our ability to handle it. Administrators sometimes lag behind the situations they are supposed to administer. If a large proportion of the investment we have made under the Plans remains unutilised, the cause is to be found in administrative shortcomings. The Tungabhadra project provides a case study of such shortcomings and how they are sought to be corrected. For years after the dam was completed, water flowed untouched in the canals. It was found that the administration had not provided field channels or taken care to educate the farmer in the new farming practices suited to irrigated cultivation. There was not enough co-ordination between the irrigation engineer, the agricultural officer and the revenue authority. Tungabhadra learnt its lessons the hard way and today it has introduced a well-coordinated system of administration in which the engineer's responsibility extends to the point where the water actually reaches the field of the user.

I should like to see the technologist take very much more initiative in agricultural engineering. Our farmers are awake at last. They do
not need to be preached to any longer. Most of them are converts to modern farming even before the evangelist approaches them. In fact the difficulty of the administration has been to meet this rising demand. In this situation the agricultural engineer can make a great contribution to the wealth of the land and the well-being of individual farmers.

The industrial designer also has vast opportunities opening out before him. There are so many items which the people want, The industrial designer should devise ways of providing these goods at prices which the common people can afford.

Industrial designing is a comparatively new profession in our country. So far it has addressed itself only to the needs of the well-to-do sections. These sections are attuned to international norms of consumption, which are wasteful and inappropriate to our conditions. The imagination of the industrial designer can design a new range of articles for use in ordinary homes, schools, and offices which will not only save resources but narrow the gap between the affluent and the poor and thus make for a more egalitarian society.

It is the duty of every engineer and technologist to help the country to use resources economically. The wealth beneath the surface of the earth, the wealth of the forests, the wealth of the rivers, all this belongs more to posterity than to us. We have no right to squander it. Even in well-endowed America, the people are blaming the pioneers for the reckless way in which they exploited mineral and soil resources.

There has been a spectacular increase in the facilities for training in engineering and technology. In terms of numbers we might feel reasonably secure that our future development will not be stalled for want of qualified scientists and engineers, Q.S.E.s as they are called in Britain. But we cannot be satisfied with the general quality of our trainees. This University and the prestigious Indian Institutes of Technology are exceptions. In general, our engineering colleges, as indeed most of our educational institutions, are under-staffed, under-equipped and intellectually under-nourished. That even Roorkee cannot find enough teachers to fill the sanctioned strength highlights the gap between expectation and reward in the profession.

So far I have spoken of the role of technology in bringing about economic change, and of the conditions in which the scientists and technologists can give their best to the nation. The purpose of technology is to make and provide the goods and tools which a society needs. In so doing it goes beyond the merely utilitarian. In the advanced countries, technology has increased the area of choice and satisfaction for people. It has begun to do so in our own country. If life is more open today than before, it is not only because of our political system but also because of the economic progress we have already achieved. As the Scientific Policy Resolution so eloquently
says, "Science has led to the growth and diffusion of culture to an extent never possible before. It has not only radically altered man's mental environment but, what is of still deeper significance, it has provided new tools of thought and has extended man's mental horizon. It has thus influenced even the basic values of life, and given to civilization a new vitality and a new dynamism."

Jawaharlal Nehru, who inspired the Scientific Policy Resolution, saw science as a liberating force. The lines I have read out speak of enlarging mental horizons. Such an enlargement involves the shedding of old prejudices and fears. Science fights superstition. The unquestioning reverence of everything old is superstition. The notion that some races or religions or castes are superior to other is a superstition. The belief that a system of thought appropriate to one historical situation is of universal validity is a superstition. Science, on the other hand, is attuned to changes. For various reasons, superstition is entrenching itself and finding new supporters. Without the help of science, I see little hope of checking the virus of religious hatred. Scientists and technologists should make it their mission to spread the scientific temper so that our forward march is not blocked by obstacles of superstition.

Does all this mean unqualified praise of science? Some of you might ask, "But has not the machine swallowed meaning, and has not science brought the world to the brink of nuclear disaster?" Others might reflect on the growing technological disparity between the 'have' countries and the 'have not' countries, and wonder whether the gap will ever be closed and whether poverty can be conquered. These are legitimate questions. We believe in the commingling of the humanist and scientific traditions, of the best in the old and new. The more specialisation there is, the greater the need for a cross-fertilisation amongst different callings and disciplines.

The widening technological gap is a cause for anxiety. Whatever the relative distance between the levels of living in rich and poor countries, I believe the latter can and will banish hunger, illiteracy and ill-health. It is these which make poverty so unbearable, and not the absence of a plethora of material goods. The way of life in advanced countries is not always right. In fact we should resist and reject any such apotheosis of affluence. Nor should all nations attempt to create within their countries the type of life which exists in the advanced countries of today. We must summon the best findings of mankind's spiritual history to guard ourselves against the sense of futility and vacuum which seems to be pervading some countries. Everywhere the most sensitive minds feel concerned at the predicament of man in this nuclear age.

I thank you for giving me an opportunity of sharing some of my

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It is always a pleasure to be with young graduates and scholars, but to be with engineers and scientists is a special privilege, and I am delighted to be here. More than others, it is our young engineers and scientists who are changing the face of our country. Often, an ironic reference is made to the co-existence of bullock-carts and jet aircraft in India. But this is the reality of our country. We have 13 million bullock-carts, and we also make jet aircraft. Several layers of technology, several centuries of history, live side by side in India, imparting a special significance to our problems. The management of a country which is entering the jet age demands a constant awareness of technological problems and processes on the part of its politicians, administrators and the intelligentsia. This awareness is not as widespread in India as it should be. It is the duty of our scientists and technologists to bring about and deepen such awareness amongst fellow citizens.

In his address, the Director of your Institute, Professor Dogra, made several stimulating observations. He is right when he said that students of engineering were concerned not only with machine-management but also with man-management. Those who deal with fellow human beings need the insight which only a study of the humanities can provide. There is another reason why a good engineer cannot afford to be without education in economics, sociology and other social sciences. An engineer is the creator of wealth. He introduces and administers modern methods of management; here there are two yardsticks of assessment—economic costs and benefits and social costs and benefits. These two must be delicately balanced.

The Director spoke of unemployment amongst engineers. How can one ignore this important problem? But as he said, this is a passing phase. I sincerely hope that, as economic growth regains the momentum and the tempo which the years of drought and recession have interrupted, the employment prospects of engineers will become as bright as before. But I would urge you not to look only for assured salaries and security. Be adventurous, take risks, strike out on your own.

All over the world entrepreneurs come in large numbers from amongst engineers. In our country, even though we have laid stress on the basic and strategic industries being in the public sector, there is practically limitless scope for enterprising young men and women.

From convocation address at the Indian Institute of Technology, New Delhi, November 16, 1968
to set up industries. But opportunities are not offered; they must be wrested and worked for. And this calls for perseverance and tenacity, determination and courage. More than half of our investment in the Plan goes into construction and equipment. Thus, you and your senior colleagues are trustees of our development. Today we face special hardships, because we are moving from a situation where we received large-scale foreign aid towards self-reliance. This is the most difficult of all phases of development and needs the utmost effort to mobilise and fully utilise our resources. In everything you do, it should be your endeavour to effect the maximum economy, thus releasing scarce resources for other productive activities. Today we must mobilise every paisa and every ounce of energy. We must work with dedication and above all a sense of deep commitment to our country. Only thus can we ensure our future.

This situation is not peculiar to our country. The history of economic development in what are now advanced countries is clear evidence of the great hardships through which these nations had to pass. Western Europe had three centuries of travail. The citizens of the Soviet Union led a life of deprivation for half a century so that their country could develop and be powerful. Economic solutions even within the framework of monolithic societies are extremely difficult. Our young people must learn to think about these things. Above all, the engineers must have reverence for life, not only human life, but flora and fauna and the living tradition of our country. Tradition is not just the past. It is that part of the past which lives on in the present, and enables a people to face the challenge of the future. The future cannot be built on the past but on our present effort. Does this mean that one should cut oneself adrift from spiritual anchorage? On the contrary, I believe that it is only through a creative fusion of science with spirituality, with the deep and abiding values of our philosophy, that we can survive and prosper. But spirituality and philosophy should not be confused with superstition. There are scientists, I am told, who wear science as if it were a coat to be put on in the laboratory or in the office and taken off when you go home. I was told that there was some years ago a professor of astronomy who on certain holy days took a special bath so that Rahu would not follow the Sun. These are the attitudes which scientists and engineers must challenge and fight.

What does science mean to various people? The industrialists seek science as a means for augmenting production. The farmers look at it as a tool for growing better crops. The average citizen thinks that science will ease the hardship of his daily grind. To my father, it was a means for raising the standards of living of our people
and of liberating them from prejudices and superstitions. To me, science stands for a deepening awareness of life in all its many facets. Science awakens the urge to enquire and to search for truth. It gives one the ability to observe and sharpens one’s perception. It means precision and discipline in thought and action.

A free flow of ideas is essential to progress. Our political life needs to be enriched by the entry of men and women brought up in the new and growing traditions of science and technology. Intellectuals and politicians must get to know and understand one another's problems.

Your Director spoke of life being a struggle, but those of you who are scientists already know that it is not smoothness which makes for action. It is struggle, adversity and friction that help people to grow and develop. So we should not be afraid of struggle, but welcome it. If we face struggle with courage and with faith in ourselves and in our people, then will it help us to grow in strength. It will help us in whatever we do.

India and the Space Age

W e a r e proud to have developed the Thumba Equatorial Rocket Launching Station with the assistance of the United Nations and other friendly Governments. The co-operation of the space organisations of France, of the United States of America and the Soviet Union with the Indian National Committee for Space Research has made this possible.

I see in this ceremony the timeless endeavour of man to reach out farther and farther into the great unknown. This station is a very tiny part of the vast programmes of space exploration which have already carried rockets to the Moon and to Venus. All previous talk of a shrinking world is meaningless today as we witness in amazement the phenomenon of a shrinking universe in which our human habitation, the Earth, is indeed a single 'United Nations' in the planetary membership of the larger universe.

In this ceremony I see also the vision of a resurgent India, an India struggling to liberate herself from the shackles of poverty and ignorance, and to harness the strength and bounty of modern science and technology for the betterment of her 520 million people.

From speech at Thumba Rocket Centre, February 2, 1968
This centre represents only one facet of the tremendous industrial and technological revolution in which we in India are involved in our attempt to regain the ground lost during the long intellectual and cultural twilight of the past two centuries of foreign domination. Technology is a key. It is a key to knowledge that opens the door to plenty as well as to power. In a sense it is a key to independence, for it was the failure to advance technologically which made Asia and Africa dependent and poverty-stricken.

As a tool of social progress, modern technology can be zealous and demanding. It is influencing the nature and content of society and the character of political and cultural relationships. Whether we admit it or not, our lives are being increasingly governed as much by technology as by politics and economics. The modern industrial society, which it supports, has its own ethos and social dynamism. The compulsions of industrial organisation tend to create similar social organisms. Yet it would be a pity for us to allow technology and industry, and the organisation of a mass-consumption society to destroy individuality and the diversity which adds richness to the lives of men and of nations.

Technology points the way to a better and happier world; but it also vests Man with the tools of self-destruction. The immense power of science for good or for ill makes it imperative to temper science with humanism. Although science has explained Nature in so many aspects, its very success has enhanced our wonder at the universe, and made us conscious of an infinite order in the cosmos. Science is the enemy of superstition. But superstition comes from dead habit and ignorance, and the inability to distinguish between outworn beliefs and values which are timeless.

The nations of the world do not know enough about one another. Misunderstandings multiply, and fear and jealousy breed tensions. This is an area where science, and space science in particular, offers the hope of building new bridges of understanding. With satellite communications and satellite television, the world as a community of people can draw closer. However, there is also the danger that prejudice might also be multiplied by the wrong use of this new opportunity for global mass communication.

Ultimately, it is the quality of Man that matters more than the instruments he uses. India is engaged in a mighty struggle to improve the quality of her people. The progress we have made in fifteen years is, in many ways, impressive. But we know that we have a long way to go. The Thumba Rocket Centre is a milestone on that road. We are examining the possibility of developing a national television network through a satellite distribution system. We envisage
television as an aid to education and development and as a force for national integration.

I should like to congratulate our young scientists and engineers, who are working here and elsewhere on various aspects of our space programme. They are working on one of the most advanced frontiers of science. The knowledge they acquire, the skills they develop, and the electronic, chemical, metallurgic and other industries that their activities stimulate, represent an important part of India's essay in development. The recent launching of Rohini rockets, developed and built at the Space Science and Technology Centre, is the first step in the direction of self-reliance in a field of technology which is of great significance in the contemporary world.

The Problem of Brain Drain

We welcome Dr. Chandrasekhar as a son of India, and one of the greatest scientists to be born in this country. It is appropriate that a scientist is delivering this lecture, because Jawaharlal Nehru was fascinated by science. Science is in itself a spirit of enquiry as well as a tool for modernising India and Indian thought and liberating men from prejudice and superstition. I think Jawaharlal Nehru's place in history will be that of a great moderniser of our country. Greater than all his other contributions to India was his work to make India cultivate a rational and scientific outlook. He knew that without science India could not solve her problems. In himself, he combined the rational scientific outlook with a basic faith. Many ingredients went into this basic faith—the teachings of the Buddha, the Gita, Mahatma Gandhi, the humanism of the great authors of the East and the West, the thoughts of the philosophers of the enlightenment and of social revolution, as well as the investigations of the scientists into the great mysteries of the universe. He once described himself as being attuned to the entire thought of mankind, which is perhaps what every civilized person should be. He was happiest when he was among scientists.

I remember that some twenty years ago our distinguished guest's famous uncle, Sir C. V. Raman, said that he considered astronomy to be the greatest of all sciences because it could not be used to harm mankind. Now we are not so sure about astronomy's innocence. But,

From speech on the occasion of the Second Nehru Memorial Lecture, New Delhi, November 13, 1968
of course, much in life is not wholly good or wholly bad. It is merely a convenient habit to categorise the world into these watertight compartments. Good or evil, help or harm, depend on the user.

Today a great debate is going on in our country after the award of the Nobel Prize to Dr. Khorana. Something which should have caused pride and gladness has become an occasion for self-condemnation. Had Dr. Khorana remained an Indian citizen, most Indians would have felt that they themselves had received the prize. Now they feel cheated. Yet there are many who in the name of equality wish to deny special opportunity to the above-average student. Our country deserves the best, and the fact that we could not hold Dr. Khorana and Dr. Chandrasekhar and cherish them is a matter for regret. Yet I wonder whether they could have done their remarkable work had they remained in India, for in modern science team work counts for as much as individual genius. The individual creates and transforms his environment to some extent but he is also a creature of environment. While we should strive with determination and tenacity to improve our research institutions and to rid ourselves of the archaic administrative system we should not forget that we cannot yet provide everything required by talented scientists doing advanced work in various branches of knowledge.

Even countries far more advanced than we face the problem of the exodus of junior scientists as well as of leaders of research. These men are concerned with the frontiers of knowledge, and, therefore, they do not feel bound by national boundaries. Our eminent lecturer today is an American citizen but, I am sure, that does not make him less of an Indian or diminish our admiration for him. But he himself may perhaps be remembering some of the frustrations when he wanted to serve the land of his birth. And how can we forgive ourselves? The time has come, if it is not already too late, when we must make an all-out effort to break the bonds of defeatism which envelop science in India.

Many of our scientists working within the country and some working abroad are rated amongst the world's leading scientists and can be the pride and adornment of any institution. We should do our utmost to give them the best deal by creating conditions where they can give their best to the country and the world. There is no time to lose. Much despondency is due to the pattern of our administration in which the scientist is subordinated to the bureaucrat. But I must admit that sometimes when a person joins the Government he himself does not remain free from the limiting outlook of the bureaucracy. This climate is something which can be changed by decisive action, not only by the Government but by the scientists
themselves. Government is certainly to blame and the responsibility must rest very much on them but I do not think that you can leave it entirely to Government. Achievement in our conditions takes three or four times more effort than in an advanced country. We have to fight the forces of inertia and resistance. And it is only when we can make this sort of effort, when some people are willing to face the challenge, the difficulties and the frustrations, that we will be able to make headway. I know that we do not lack in talents and I know that in spite of obstacles and difficulty young people are forging ahead. People like Dr. Chandrasekhar will be an inspiration and help to them.

Managers for a Developing Society

ALL OVER the world, regardless of political patterns, growing importance is being attached to managerial training. A technological society needs managers as much as technologists. The old concept of an entrepreneur-owner hiring a few technicians for his plant but running it himself became obsolete long ago. As technology has grown increasingly complex and as the size of operations has expanded, the manager with leadership qualities has come to the fore. Ownership of capital and the managerial function are seen as two distinct entities. The manager may or may not be a technologist himself. He may work for a capitalist or he may serve a socialist society. Whatever his background, the same set of qualities is required and the same results are expected. He has to run his plant efficiently. He has to command the respect of a large number of different types of people. He has to keep a look-out for advances in his field of technology, so that he can meet changes half way.

In a developing society, such as ours, management has an ever greater contribution to make. Development is a process of moving from a primitive or traditional technology to a scientific, modern technology. In every sector of the economy, whether it is agriculture or industry, whether it is transport or even public health, development consists of locating, processing and harnessing latent resources. In a study of America's Needs and Resources, I found a chapter entitled 'Technology: A Primary Resource'. Here is an obvious

Convocation address at Indian Institute of Management, Ahmedabad, April 13, 1968
truth well put, for no resource, natural or man-made, is usable without technology. Oil must have existed in this part of the country long ago when the Narmada and the Tapti first began to flow. But it required modern technology to discover it and put it to the service of this State and the country. The will and ability to spot a resource and convert it into wealth is generally termed entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurship cannot exist without managerial talent. At every stage, when choices are to be made from among numerous alternatives, each with its own implications of capital, personnel, time schedules and social impact, decisions cannot be left to instinct. They need the trained managerial mind.

The managerial mind has special appreciation of cost and benefit. With the right kind of training, it will count not only the economic cost and benefit, but also the social cost and social benefit. The managerial mind is attuned to change. The advice of the professional manager should, therefore, be of special value to Government. The decisions of Government affect the future of millions, so it is important to take advice from those who look towards the future. The general administrator is basically a status quo man. He lives by rules which are the outcome of precedents and past experience. The scientist, on the other hand, is an agent of change. The future has no precedents. Scientists and managers and, indeed, politicians, must have a keen perception of the future and be sensitive to change. Expert knowledge provides the necessary means for informed governmental decisions, especially when they deal with the increasingly complex process of industrial and economic growth. Most people still tend to judge the Government by the static norms of the revenue-dominated and law and order administration of the olden days, little appreciating how complex the process of government has become in the last twenty years.

The need to bring about planned and accelerated change has compelled Government to assume direct responsibility for a large number of productive and distributive functions. It needs less time to put up a factory than to train men of competence to run it. When we embarked on planning there was a general shortage of trained executives. But the assault on poverty could not be delayed, and so the drilling and the fighting had to be taken up simultaneously.

The management of public enterprises is a relatively new and important part of administrative practice. It involves not only the skill of production and maintenance, but of bringing projects to fruition within stipulated time schedules and monetary allocations. It involves a knack for forward planning and a heightened awareness of social responsibility. Each project manager in a sense acts on behalf of
At a meeting of the National Development Council.

At the Nagarjunasagar Dam.
During an aerial survey of flood-affected areas

On a visit to a farm near Jodhpur
Inaugurating a new unit at the Hindustan Machine Tools, Hyderabad
(Left) Talking to a wounded Jawan

(Right) During visit to a forward area in the eastern Himalayas
(Above) Presenting the Sangeet Natak Akademi Award to a noted musician

(Left, top) Delivering convocation address at the Indian Institute of Technology, New Delhi

(Left, bottom) With a party of folk-dancers
the nation. As the Third Plan document observed seven years ago, there is considerable under-estimation of the management implications of development. It was recognised that one of the key tasks of planning was the training of competent managers with the ability to lead.

I believe in efficiency which is the avowed objective of scientific management. But life is not lived in compartments; efficiency which is divorced from the facts of life around us can create new problems. Anyone who wishes to be effective as well as efficient must develop a social conscience and sensitivity to the needs of our people as a whole. It is an uncomfortable fact that technological development has increased the disparity between nations and disparity within our society. The industrial worker improves his skill and earns more, but the landless labourer remains where he is. The farmer whose land is irrigated avails himself of the credit and commodity facilities and uses the new inputs, but the 'dry' farmer continues to look to a stern sky. It takes time for skills to cover a substantial part of the population. Our limited capital resources have perforce to be devoted to projects with assured results, rather than to the equalisation of handicaps.

Modern science and technology are the outcome of successive Industrial Revolutions of Europe and America. We have adopted them, yet have not wholly learnt to adapt them to our own circumstances. We must evolve approaches to technology which suit our social milieu. The problem is not a new one. We have been discussing this since the beginning of our planned development. In practice, however, many of our decision-makers automatically carry over the prevalent norms of an advanced society. They are mesmerised by modernity and forget that they have to plan for India and work for India. We cannot afford to help a smaller number to the detriment of the vast.

Jet travel, international seminars, etc., may increase the peril of too much internationalism. International living and the understanding in depth of the problems of others create sympathy and friendship and take us towards our goal of One World. But mere speed may mean skimming over the surface and taking a superficial view or searching for short-cuts. In India the need is not only to go fast but to see that each step is a strengthening one, leading to self-reliance.

Our executives must certainly see what goes on in the world, but their feet must be firmly planted in the soil of India. We have so many castes—let us not create a new one. You have a special obligation to pull down the old walls which separate one Indian from
another. Your training and skill should be used to integrate society and to promote social mobility.

I note with special pleasure that one of your activities is to train people for the managerial needs of agricultural co-operatives. I should like you to take special interest in the unskilled employees under you—and help them or their children to acquire technical skills. In your recruitment policies also you should strenuously reject parochial considerations. The whole of India should be the home, as well as the workshop, of every Indian.

All over the world a certain glamour is attached to things from outside and foreign brand names are more in demand. At one time or another, almost every country has felt the need to popularise its own products. I remember the 'Buy British' campaign in England with its slogan 'British is Best'. In India the craze for foreign goods may be one of the side effects of our old colonial past. This psychology of inferiority is an obstacle in our rise to the top. Gandhiji put us on the right track when he introduced the 'Use Swadeshi' movement. We have all certain common tasks and imperatives. The foremost of them is to develop greater pride in Indian products and Indian skills. Inventiveness and the use of indigenous materials and skills must be encouraged. With a little more confidence in the proven abilities which have been developed in the country, there would be less need for collaboration. We cannot do without importing know-how and technology, specially in the comparatively new industries, but dependence on collaboration is bad, for it diverts us from our own effort and encourages people to take the easy road. I am reminded of a few lines of verse which I had read some years ago. The stanza goes as follows:

Knock, knock.
"Who is there?"
"A little lonely sin."
"Come in," I said, and all hell was in.

I am glad to have this opportunity of participating in this convocation and of meeting the young executives who are on the threshold of the adventure that is life. During the years of training, you have learned to wield new management tools. You must keep abreast of further technological and managerial developments. At the same time you should develop sympathy and a sense of identification with the common people amongst whom you will work and live. In the years to come, large sums of money, and the lives and hopes of a large number of people will be entrusted to you. If you keep growing, and if you blend efficiency with social conscience, you will earn the
best rewards of your profession—not merely money or the sense of power, but the gratitude of the people.

I have talked of the future. We are concerned with the future we make for our children and their children, but we should be equally concerned about what these coming generations will think of us. Let us so live and work as to leave behind shining memories. As Dr. Martin Luther King said of his people, we hope history will say of us—there lived a great people who put new meaning in the veins of civilisation.

Science for Rapid Development

We have assembled here to celebrate the silver jubilee of the C.S.I.R. With the advent of freedom, my father became directly concerned with it. He breathed new life into it, making it into an instrument of national regeneration and progress. He was deeply and actively interested in the growth and development of science in India, for his long study of history and social development had convinced him that the progress, prosperity and independence of a country was indissolubly linked with its advancement in the field of science and technology.

The Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, with its national laboratories and other scientific organisations, represents a considerable segment of our national effort. Although this scientific effort is still small in relation to our needs and aspirations, it represents a substantial quantum of human and financial resources. It is appropriate on this occasion to pay tribute to the many dedicated men and women who have worked, often under difficult conditions, to bring science and technology to the service of our fellow-beings.

This is also an occasion for us to analyse some of our basic problems and the part which science and technology must play in the social advance of our people. We had believed that organised research and education in science would catalyse structural changes in the social order which we have to identify as the process of modernisation.

India has had a long tradition of classical science and technology. But we must recognise the fact that despite the range and quality of our institutionalised research and education programmes, science,
as an intellectual and social force, has not yet made adequate impact on the vast mass of our population. The ‘third culture’ of superstition, tradition and fatalism still has a hold on the individual and collective personalities of our people. Our scientific research cannot yield results unless our culture is cross-fertilised by what my father used to call the “scientific temper”.

Many economists and technologists have been of the view that one of the most attractive features of modern technology, particularly in the science-based industries, is the potential which it offers to developing countries to span many decades and to achieve minimum adequate standards of living in a shorter period. In India we have accepted this view and, indeed, have incorporated it into our policy in wide-ranging areas such as agriculture, medicine, electric power and communication.

At the same time, it has been our experience that the giant size, complexity and capital-intensity of such technologies, especially in the areas of industrial production, do produce social and economic forces which severely distort our social systems. They create large urban concentrations, the maintenance and renewal of which put a strain on social and economic resources. Also, the kind of psychological environment which is built up in these conurbations widens the gulf between city and village and between worker and peasant. India has tried to meet this challenge by attempting to strike balances on several counts—between locally developed and imported manufacturing technologies, between large and small scale production units, between ‘high’ technology and ‘intermediate’ technology. In seeking this balance and keeping within the framework of a coherent policy, we have had to interact with social, psychological and economic environment.

I have so far used the term science as referring to natural science. But if we are to understand the many dimensions of the role which natural science and technology can play in the progress of our societies, it is imperative that the social and historical sciences also be fully encouraged. Such an effort should be undertaken not only to provide insights into the nature and working of our social systems, but also to explore the psychological, social, economic and managerial dimensions of promoting and utilising natural science and technology.

May I now deal with the narrower question of the development of science and technology in India? Sometimes these have tended to develop without adequate and deliberate correlative relationship between research expenditure on the one hand and priorities and programmes in planned development on the other. There is a clearly established need to have stronger links between research and economic planning,
to concentrate in priority areas, to co-ordinate efforts, and to use imported know-how largely as a base for further indigenous development. There is also much to be gained by adapting known knowledge to our own needs and circumstances.

A number of useful recommendations have been made by the Education Commission, the Round Table of Scientists and Technologists which I convened last year, as well as by other bodies. As a first step, it has been decided to reconstitute and reorganise the Scientific Advisory Committee of the Cabinet. The concept and membership of the Committee are being enlarged to include science and technology. Following this, it is to be redesignated as the Committee on Science and Technology. It will include more technologists as well as a social scientist. Dr. B. D. Nag-Choudhury, the Member of Science in the Planning Commission, will be Chairman of the organisation. This will ensure close and constant liaison with the processes of planning and development. The Cabinet Secretary, as ex-officio Vice-Chairman, will provide an organic link between the organisation and the executive departments of Government and between it and the Cabinet. The Committee will associate and involve a wider body of scientists and technologists of varied disciplines in the processes of mapping out areas of research and development through the constitution of panels on the model of the earlier Bhabha Committee on Electronics.

The organisation and advancement of science cannot be the concern of Government alone. Universities have a great and fundamental role to play not only in science education and pure research but in propagating and stimulating a climate of science and rational judgement. There is also an onus on industry to devote far more resources and attention on research and development and, indeed, to indent on the national laboratories and the C.S.I.R. which are there to serve them.

In a number of countries, academies of science have been prominent in developing science. In India, we have several academies, some of which operate on a regional basis but none of which commands the kind of primacy and allegiance which alone could enable it to function effectively in the manner of their counterparts abroad. I hope that we too can look forward to the evolution or establishment of a representative national science academy organised by the scientific community itself.

The Indian scientist and technologist faces a tremendous challenge today. It is among the basic objectives of the revised Fourth Plan to seek to reduce by 1973 the net dependence on foreign assistance by one-half. This is a quantitative expression of our determination
to promote swadeshi and self-reliance. This is the task set for our scientists and technologists. I assure them that the Government will do everything possible to support them.

Our economy is beginning to look up after the drought years. We have achieved something of a break-through in agriculture. We must now work towards a break-through in industry. Enough industrial capacity and expertise is available for us to achieve dramatic results in a fairly short time. The C.S.I.R. and its laboratories and scientists have to take the lead in this. They have done good work in the past. But the nation expects much more in the years to come.

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I SHOULD LIKE to welcome all the distinguished scientists who are gathered here, especially those who have come from abroad. My greetings and good wishes to you for the New Year. I am very sorry that, in spite of my interest in science and deep concern for its advance in India, I am unable to be with you on this occasion.

Silently and inexorably, a revolution is taking place in our towns and villages. Our people are changing, yearning for the economic progress which could deliver them from the poverty of centuries. They are ready to learn new skills and to take to new methods. Yet the old pulls of tradition and the familiarity of dead habit remain strong. India is not governed by a small elite. The people are sovereign, and if their outlook is superstitious and tradition-bound, it will surely be reflected in the country's administration and politics. Thus, the inculcation of a scientific temper among our people—and this includes politicians, administrators, managers, farmers, workers, students and, of course, scientists themselves—is of primary importance. It is not enough for this temper to be cultivated in our laboratories, classrooms and offices; it must permeate our homes, the market place and the village square.

I cannot presume to give advice to experts. But I should like to mention some problems which come to mind. Much has been said about the adverse effects of the hierarchical structure on scientific and research and design organisations, yet the system persists. I am told that sometimes younger scientists do not have the freedom of publishing their papers or of carrying out investigations. Our senior scientists have the great responsibility of creating an atmosphere of confidence to enable the younger generation to turn out original research and design work. Indeed, one of the greatest contributions that the older

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Address read out at the annual session of the Indian Science Congress, Bombay, January 3, 1969.
scientists can make, may well be to guide and inspire younger ones. Great scientists have been known by their disciples.

Large numbers of our trained scientists and technical personnel are being drawn to other countries. The nation needs their talent. Naturally, we are not in a position to offer the salaries or the opportunities which are available in the developed countries. But lack of encouragement and the denial of ordinary facilities do aggravate the situation. This matter needs to be looked into carefully, and urgent steps taken to remedy the conditions of work of our bright young people. I believe that we cannot advance science in the country without involving our young scientists and technicians in policymaking decisions which have a bearing on science and technology.

In a few weeks, the Planning Commission is to present the draft outline of our Fourth Five Year Plan. There have been the usual argument and controversy about resources and allocations. Resources should be judged not merely in rupees or in foreign exchange, but in terms of all our many resources—human as well as natural. Also, we must aim to get the maximum out of past investment in plant, machinery and infra-structure. It is here that we need the help of the scientist and the technologist. Our thinking on capacity and production has been somewhat static. We can ill-afford under-utilised capacity. But capacity itself can be stretched through productivity, through technological improvements, through economy by the use of cheaper or more readily available substitutes as well as by reliance on modern codes and specifications. It is disturbing that, although we are not unaware of these possibilities, there is a hiatus between our knowledge and its translation into action. Many of our administrative and management practices stand in the way of prompt and efficient realisation of concrete benefits from creative thinking.

India has reached a stage of development in technology when it is no longer enough for us to draw up plans and then to seek the technological wherewithal to execute them. It is necessary, and it would be possible, for our scientists and technologists to tell us what can be achieved and how it should be done. It is around this conception that our plants should be built. I hope that we shall be able to move forward in this direction during the Fourth Plan.

Another urgent need is to make the fullest use of the available manpower, equipment and so on. Much of the money which is now spent on research and design is distributed to various Government laboratories. There is a feeling that the R&D effort is not contributing sufficiently to economic growth and that scientists and technologists should concentrate on projects which have a more direct bearing on social gains and rapid economic development. Can we not select specific fields for group effort rather than spreading our resources
thinly over a wider area? Equipment and apparatus are now becoming more and more sophisticated and hence increasingly expensive. Our national laboratories are well equipped, but others run by industrial establishments and our universities are not always so. Is it not possible to evolve some way of sharing these facilities?

Life is not lived in compartments, nor can all-round development take place if it is so viewed. The solution of contemporary problems involves many spheres of activity. We must, therefore, encourage the cross-fertilisation of views, experience and data, and also promote inter-action between different disciplines. The sustained and combined efforts of different groups of scientists would give a tremendous forward thrust to any programme. In the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, scientists and industrialists have a forum where they can discuss problems of mutual interest. But it is equally desirable for industry to participate actively in the research and design programmes of our laboratories, so that the projects undertaken and successfully completed, make a more effective impact on production. It would be helpful to have an exchange of personnel between universities, national laboratories and industry. As a people, we tend to be individualistic in our outlook, and perhaps our scientists and technologists are not wholly immune from this tendency, often preferring to work by themselves.

Just a few weeks ago, I heard of the work done in the Community Science Centre of Ahmedabad, which is significant in its own small way. The Centre has developed a simple microscope which is made of wood and uses a simple detachable lens. I am told that this microscope can magnify objects by a factor of 60 and costs only nine rupees. Steps are being taken to produce this microscope in bulk, which could then find a place in every village school. Such humble developments might do more to educate people and to introduce them to scientific methods of observation and hence to rational thinking than learned thesis and costly sophisticated gadgetry. We should certainly be proud of any Indian who achieves great things, but I would also laud those who aim at doing ordinary things extraordinarily well. In life, the big and the small go hand in hand. In fact it is the daily painstaking grind of doggedly planning and experimenting which leads, step by step, to the spectacular achievements. We soar into outer space but we are also rooted to the earth. 1968 will be remembered as the year in which man encircled the moon. We cannot but be struck with wonder and admiration at the vision and the conception, no less than the drive and meticulous team work which made this great adventure possible, transforming one of man’s oldest and most romantic dreams into reality.

Science is not merely the imitative learning of the discoveries of
others. It is the constant search for truth, the spirit of invention and of resourcefulness. The love of knowledge for its own sake may be satisfying to one’s ego, but knowledge harnessed for the betterment of one’s countrymen will bring satisfaction to millions. We in India cannot divorce science from the urgent needs of our long-suffering people. We cannot hide from reality nor should we want to do so. The challenge is worthy of our effort. Yet I would not wish to confine the mind of the budding scientist within any narrow boundaries. The true scientist is one who rises above all barriers, pettiness and prejudice. My father once described him as “the sage unattached to life and the fruits of action, ever seeking truth wheresoever this quest might lead him. To tie himself to a fixed anchorage, from which there is no moving, is to give up that search and to become static in a dynamic world”. We know now that this search is limitless, that the more we find the more there is to seek, and the more we do the greater grows our capacity. Shri Vinoba Bhave quotes the mantra which in ancient times was given to the student when he left his Guru’s house, “The four quarters of the world lie before me, and I am the Lord of creation. I am the maker, and to this clay I will give what form I please. For this is mindless matter, and I who have mind am able to give form to the mindless.”

Man on the Moon

May I take a minute from our immediate national problems to share with the House my feeling of great excitement and refer to an historic cosmic event which has taken place today? Even though the reception on the radio was not too clear, I stayed up till early hours of the morning to get the news of the landing on the moon. We are now able to see our world in greater perspective and to discover new beauty in it.

On behalf of all Members of the House, I offer my warmest congratulations to astronauts Armstrong and Aldrin who have stepped on the moon and to Commander Collins and also to the remarkable team of technologists and thousands of their co-workers who are behind them.

This is surely the greatest and the most daring of scientific feats.

Statement in Lok Sabha, July 21, 1969
It is a proud moment for the people of the United States and, indeed, for all mankind.

The space travellers of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. are the heroes of our times and the young everywhere are inspired by their example. In this moment of achievement, our thoughts go out to the Government and the people of the United States and specially, if I might say, to the families of these courageous men. May we wish them a happy landing back home.
Education and Youth
Youth and Social Change

A new age has dawned not only in our country but all over the world. The last fifty years have seen more significant changes in the thought, institutions and actions of mankind than several centuries of human history put together.

When we became independent, we found ourselves in an exceptionally difficult situation. We had a heavier load of problems to carry than the loads carried by the more advanced and richer countries like America or Great Britain. On the one hand, we were confronted with problems which the industrialised countries had already tackled a hundred years ago. On the other hand, we had to face the entire set of modern, contemporary problems which these countries are facing now.

Even if we wish to, we just cannot avoid these problems. We have to face these problems with determination, intelligence and discipline. Above all, we have to prepare our people to face these problems and to get their co-operation in solving them. We met success in our freedom struggle because it was the people's struggle; the people were fully aware of the goals to be achieved and were fully prepared for the effort required in reaching these goals. We need today a similar awareness and a similar effort on the part of the people to solve present-day problems. We must have a clear picture of what we want to achieve, what the difficulties before us are, and how we are going to overcome these difficulties. Only then shall we able to enthuse the people and carry them with us in our programmes.

What ails us today is our inability to arouse and utilise to the fullest extent the latent power or energies of our people. This power is our greatest wealth, our biggest resource, and we must find a way to use it not in any narrow, sectional cause but in the cause of the nation and for the betterment of the people as a whole.

The youth of the country are the single largest repository of this power. What are they waiting for? I have no sympathy with those who wait because they want someone to show them the way. This 'show us the way' business does not appeal to me at all. Each one of us has to think for himself and decide what is right and what is

Free translation of speech in Hindi at a youth rally, Faizabad, June 11, 1966
wrong. To go on believing in an ideal because it has been there for centuries is a kind of laziness. We have to look at every ideal, every value, with a questioning mind in order to understand its relevance to contemporary problems and needs. We should accept only those values and modes of action which will bring strength to our society. The rest we should reject or modify. It is this continuous revaluation, this continuous modification, that distinguishes a live culture from a dead or dying culture.

The youth have a special role to play in this process of change, adaptation and growth. Many progressive ideas are embodied in our Constitution. But our society is still far from accepting these ideas completely. We have to convert these ideas from mere intentions into concrete realities. This cannot be done merely by exhortation or enforcement. Each one of us has to make these ideas and values a part of his or her mental make-up. Only then will these values find genuine expression in our actions. We must begin with ourselves and not wait for others to set an example. This will require a certain degree of moral courage, a certain freedom from petty concerns about personal convenience and comfort.

It is all right for young people to say, in moments of inspiration or excitement, that they will lay down their lives for the country. It need be, we certainly will have to risk our lives for the defence of the country. But making the country strong does not demand such an extreme sacrifice. What is demanded of our youth is the preparedness to face hardships and a measure of moral and physical courage. The young people have to nourish this courage in their hearts and to express it in their thought and action. Only then will our people be willing to come with us, and our society will recover the strength to move forward.

We have set before ourselves certain policies and programmes. We have to understand what these policies and programmes mean to us. Policies and programmes, howsoever high-minded or hoary, are not ends in themselves; they are the means to certain ends. Somehow, in some minds, a certain measure of sanctity gets attached to certain policies. And whenever there is a necessity or a move to change these policies, voices of protests are raised. We should not be inhibited or deterred by such protests. All policies have to be examined and re-examined for their relevance to certain situations and for their efficacy in solving certain problems or meeting certain ends. Only then can our policies serve the purpose we have in view. Whatever policies we pursue, our main purpose is to make the country strong, to build firm foundations for the prosperity and well-being of our people.

There are three basic principles which will help us in reaching
our goal. These are not new principles. These have been part of our ancient culture. Our freedom struggle, under Gandhiji and Jawaharlal Nehru, was founded on these principles. These principles are embodied in our Constitution. We often talk about these principles but we have yet to make these an integral part of our lives. The first of these principles is the principle of secularism, of unity, of co-existence of different philosophies and faiths. Without this unity, we cannot realise equality; we cannot bring about socialism, which is our second basic principle. Secularism and socialism are essential for building a truly democratic society. Democracy, thus, is our third principle. Secularism, socialism and democracy are really inter-related values or concepts. Without one, the others are not possible. We have to work for a fuller realisation of all the three together. Only then shall we be able to make our people strong and to take our country forward.

These principles must become a part of all our programmes, if these programmes are to have any meaning or value. Whatever you do, whether it is work among the students or work in the villages, you must keep these larger values and aims constantly in view. No programme or work can succeed in isolation from other programmes and work.

I invite you, the youth of the country, to give serious thought to these matters and to take firm decisions. Act on these decisions with devotion and determination, and never hesitate to re-examine and re-evaluate your actions. There is need for some action in the country today. But it should be organised action, intelligent action, purposeful action. I wish you well in your endeavours.

* * *

Tomorrow is National Solidarity Day. Four years ago on this day, India was invaded. The aggressor thought that our country was weak and divided and that it would collapse. But India united as one—every State, every religion, town and country, rich and poor. Our differences were dissolved in an over-riding sense of oneness and national purpose.

The external danger remains. We must be vigilant and prepared. I have been visiting our forward areas, and recently I met our jawans in areas as far apart as Tithwal in Kashmir and North Bengal. I found them in fine spirits, keen and fit, despite the trying conditions imposed by climate and terrain. I salute the officers and men of all our armed forces and those others who stand sentinel on our borders. We

From broadcast over All India Radio, October 19, 1968
remember with pride and gratitude the sacrifice of those who gave their lives so that we might be safe.

National solidarity, however, is not related exclusively to external attack. It is something we need at all times. For, apart from the enemy without, we have also to face the enemy within — poverty, the challenge of development, rising prices, production, exports. Development is our best defence. For this, and otherwise too, we must have unity, discipline, constructive effort, an understanding of national interests and how they are to be safeguarded.

Again, during the extraordinary food crisis we faced this year, the mettle of our people was demonstrated. Looking back, I think we can congratulate ourselves on having come through a most difficult period—the aftermath of a terrible and unprecedented drought—with minimum distress. I regret that this has so far been unsung, unnoticed.

The responsibility for development and defence is not, and cannot be, that of the administration and the armed forces alone. If there is one section above all others whose concern it must be, it is our youth. They are the inheritors of the future. In all things the torch must pass to the next generation. So our future as a nation is bound up with our education and the calibre of our people. A country’s human resources constitute its greatest asset. Attitudes and skills make a nation. Education provides the key to both.

We have today about seven crore students in school and college. By 1985, the number will probably be around 17 crore. The expansion of education at all levels is necessary to provide greater opportunity to the individual, and trained and literate manpower for the nation. However, general education for its own sake is not enough. We intend to lay stress on vocational and professional education. We shall also simultaneously transform the character of the educational system. It is clear that only then will youth respond to the challenge of development and advance.

Youth has two attributes: energy and idealism. Studies made elsewhere suggest that, generally speaking, a scientist is most creative between the age of 25 and 35. We look to our younger generation to provide the motive force for innovation and creative ideas. It is for them to cut a path to India’s future. The conditions for this have to be created, so that our country moves forward with a new determination.

Gandhiji taught us the dignity of labour and enshrined this concept in his scheme of basic education. The Education Commission has sought to revive this principle and to adapt it to our present-day requirements through emphasis on vocational education and ‘work-experience’. Work-experience can be a bridge between manual and
intellectual work, between hand and head, between town and country, between rich and poor.

For the last fifteen years or so, we have been talking about some kind of selective national service for young people. It was tried for a brief spell by one State in a modified and rather routine manner, and declared impractical. But such a programme is necessary to fill the gaps in the lives of young people and to involve them in our national life. It could provide a challenge and a creative outlet to our young people. Perhaps we might give the idea a trial this winter on a voluntary basis. I am sure our students would respond. This could then become the forerunner of a larger programme.

We need to establish a closer and more intimate dialogue between youth on the one hand, and the administration, as well as the older generation, on the other. During one of my recent tours, I heard a phrase which worried me—the "lost generation". Now I know that this is not entirely true. There is no "lost generation". Wherever they have been given the opportunity, our young people—men and women—have done outstandingly well. In fact this is one of the achievements of which I am most proud, and which gives me such confidence in the future. But perhaps what the phrase implies is also partly true. There could be several reasons: the rapidity with which the educational system has expanded, inevitably resulting in a certain fall in standards; the complexities of our language problem which becomes a barrier to communication at every level whether between teacher and student or in the examination hall; our inability, because of paucity of resources, to provide the necessary equipment and facilities; and the tremendous social and economic change that has come over the country since Independence—in some ways, almost a revolutionary change which has probably left sections of society without adequate moorings.

It is certainly true that we have a whole new generation—about half the population—born and grown to adulthood after Independence. Values may have changed, but not the common dedication to India. For it is the blood of our youth that was spilt in 1962 and again last year in defence of the country.

National Solidarity Day is a time for reflection and for resolve. Let us steel ourselves for the tasks of defence and development—with unity, purpose and pride. We have not only to defend India. We have to make it.
WHAT IS THE PROBLEM before the nation today? The problem is to build—not to break and to bring down but to construct and to raise. And this is something which we expect from our universities and students.

We are at the most critical stage in our development, a stage when it is necessary that all of us pull together. In a country as vast and as diverse as India, there are bound to be differences. In fact, we are proud of diversity; we feel that our diversity adds richness to our national life. So we do not want to sink our differences, but we want to function in such a way that, irrespective of differences, our energies and enthusiasm find constructive expression.

In *Alice in Wonderland*, Alice comes across the queen who is running very hard and asks her, "Why are you running so hard?" The queen replies, "Well, I have to run hard to stay in the same place!" India is much in the same position today. The advance of science and technology has created this situation. Those nations who already are advanced in science and technology are able to use that advance to go still further; and countries like India find it extremely difficult to catch up, because the faster we think we are going, we find that we are very much where we were compared to the more advanced nations. It is only by making a far greater effort that we can make any visible and tangible advance.

Now, who is to make that effort? Today many of our problems in the country are the problems which are inherent in development and growth. They are the problems of transition. Actually all societies are changing, but in India this change at the present moment is due to a colonial country becoming free, a feudal society trying to modernise itself. So many things are happening at the same time. The change here is greater and more abrupt than perhaps anywhere else in recent history.

It is the people looking to the future who help to bring about these changes, and those are naturally the young people of the country. They are the people who have a great stake in the future and who are responsible for shaping and moulding it. It is very heartening to know that through these Planning Forums the students here are doing different types of social work. Medical students are giving treatment to people in the villages, and other kinds of work are also taken up. Recently in Uttar Pradesh, which is going through an extremely difficult situation in the eastern districts because of the drought, students of one particular district decided to do something. Students, both from colleges and schools, and their teachers went out
into the fields and dug a large number of wells. Now this is the spirit and this is the attitude which we expect and want in the younger generation.

We have at the moment a great deal of student trouble all over the country. Part of it reflects a much bigger problem, the restlessness that exists amongst young people all over the world. Partly, it is due to the specific difficulties which we face here. Everywhere we go, there is some section or the other which is demanding something. Many of these demands may be perfectly justified. Take, for instance, the demand for increase in dearness allowance. When prices have risen so sharply, it is difficult not to sympathise with such a demand. But we are faced with demands which are far in excess of our ability to meet them. This is so because the industrial revolution, which could have given these and other things that the people are asking for, is far from complete. This is a circumstance created by history. We have no control over it. So in such a situation, what do we do? Do we just sit down and say that things are difficult, that things have gone wrong, that nothing can be done? Or do we take the constructive attitude, not the ‘down-down’ attitude but, if I may say so, the ‘up-up’ attitude?

I had no intention of touching upon the language question but I just want in passing to ask, what do you want when you say “down with that language”. It is not really that you want to ‘down’ that language but perhaps you feel that because of that language your own language is not coming up as much as it should. Therefore, the way to solve that problem is to see what you can do for your language.

I am not in the habit of giving advice. As a young person I was not in the habit of taking advice. That is why I am reluctant to give it. There is always a conflict between generations. The older generation will always think that the younger people are wrong. They think that everything was better in their time, that they worked much harder and did everything better, and that the younger people can never come up to it. Unfortunately, the younger people, when they grow older, think the same way about those who are younger! This is something that is part of life, which we cannot escape. It is for today’s students to judge what is good for them. But in doing so, they must look at the bigger picture of the people of India.

Whenever you take a step forward you are bound to disturb something. The young people must have the courage to face this. I think when Winston Churchill was asked which was the most important virtue, he thought a great deal and finally said, ‘courage’. Because without courage you cannot practise any other virtue. You
have to have courage of different kinds. You must have intellectual courage to sort out different values and make up your mind on what you think is right for you. You must have moral courage to stick to what you think is right, no matter what comes in your way, no matter what the opposition—not only from your enemies but also from your friends, which is much more difficult to face. You must also have physical courage because doing what you think is right is sometimes full of hardships.

Let me give an instance from our independence struggle. Can you imagine a time when an Indian in his own country, in his own city, was not allowed to walk along the main street? I do not know what was the condition in Madras, but I know that in the cities of Uttar Pradesh such was the condition. An Indian, even if he had the money, could not travel in a first class railway compartment. It was reserved for Englishmen.

Let me tell you a story about my grandfather. He was one of those pioneers who tried to break through all these obstacles. He was a self-made man. He had a lot of money. He was living very comfortably. He had a lot of English friends and because of his friendship with many important Englishmen, he could travel where he liked and do what he liked. But he felt that it was not a question of his being able to do something but of every Indian being able to do what he desired. We have a hill station in U.P. called Nainital with a very beautiful lake where no Indian was allowed to swim or sail. My grandfather said, "Well, I am going to sail for some days, everyday." I think he was fined fifty rupees—and in those days fifty rupees was supposed to be a very large sum. But he just said, "Well, even if I become bankrupt I am going to do this everyday till everybody gets used to seeing an Indian on the lake." Thus, for one full season, he kept on paying the fine. The next season, the authorities felt, "This is too much trouble. If he wants to sail let him sail." And, of course, when he sailed, other Indians also could do it.

Once when my grandfather was travelling first class he was thrown out of the compartment. So he decided that he must do something to find out the way by which he could not be thrown out again. So he took with him two very tall and broad nephews, I suppose as his bodyguards. There he would sit in his compartment and some Englishmen would come and look at him and say, "Oh! here is an Indian!" At which, he would look around for Shyamlal and Kishanlal, the two nephews. One look at these two hefty boys and whoever wanted that compartment would just go away! These were small things but they created the right atmosphere, and little by little these things became bigger and bigger till the independence movement
acquired such a momentum that it made the whole population of India move like the sea moves; and this is the movement that finally brought us our freedom.

Now, we need some kind of a movement like that to continue this fight for freedom. We are politically free but it is not a complete freedom, in the sense that we are still dependent for our economic advance. We have this drought situation and we have to get food from outside. To develop our industries we need so many things from outside. When we were involved in fighting on our border, although we are making a large number of things ourselves, we still were dependent on some equipment from abroad. This is not my idea of freedom. My idea of freedom is a self-reliant nation. It is true that no nation today can be fully self-sufficient. We will have to have something from outside; but at least there should be a base of self-sufficiency and self-reliance. We need help from our young people in creating an atmosphere of confidence in the country's ability to meet difficult situations. We can do it if we work together. Each one of us by himself, each State by itself, does not have the strength or the resources to do it. But put together as one unit, there is no power on earth which can stop us from going ahead.

A tremendous responsibility lies on your shoulders. May you bear it lightly and may you bear it not only with courage but also with good humour.

* * *

It gives me great pleasure to be here on this particular day because it is a momentous day. As I was up last night waiting for the news on radio of the landing of two people on the moon, I remembered the day many years ago when I was seven or eight years old, I was perched on my father's shoulder in a crowd at the Paris airport waiting for Charles Lindbergh to land after the first solo flight across the Atlantic Ocean. It was an exciting day, but today is a far more exciting day, because mankind has realised its very very old dream.

We must dream these dreams, otherwise they cannot be fulfilled. But dreams take a long time to fulfil. Between the dreaming and the fulfilment, there is a great deal to do; but who is to do it? Only those who will live to see the realisation of their dreams, namely the young people of the world.

When I was young, we had a dream of India's freedom. We had our difficulties. We had our frustrations. But the cause of freedom
was so exciting and so large that it filled our horizon, and we forgot our difficulties and frustrations. We forgot the insecurity, the hardship, the humiliation, the sorrow and the pain which was physical no less than mental.

Today the young people know something which we did not know. They know that man, who is a mere speck in this vast universe, is capable, if he has the courage and the will, of achieving anything that he puts his hand and heart to.

It was poet Wordsworth who said of another time:

Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,
But to be young was very heaven!

I think we are living in such times. We are living in times when the difficulties seem much sharper—not because the difficulties have changed, but because our sight is clearer and our minds are more perceptive. The tasks are also bigger, because as knowledge grows our minds have to grow along with it. We must have a sense of involvement in the problems which surround us, not only our personal problems, but also the problems of our neighbours. In the world of today, there is hardly anybody who is not a neighbour. All our futures are linked together.

Young people everywhere have a feeling of unrest. They have a feeling that something is wanting. They do not know what it is. But they are groping for it. I welcome this groping. Sometimes it takes strange directions and forms which we, who are older, do not understand. But that does not give us the right to reject those forms, because with the help of such groping in earlier ages we have grown, and the world has become what it is today. Anything that is new, any search which is sincere and honest, must bring about something worthwhile.

Our young people have contributed a great deal to the India of today but there is, of course, far greater amount still to be done. How will you do it? You should not wait for anybody's advice. You must find it for yourself and do it the way you think it should be done. For this you need initiative, resourcefulness, the capacity to think for yourselves, and the ability to take risks and make mistakes, because without mistakes nothing can be achieved. What each generation achieves is based on the experience gained by the mistakes of those who have gone before. So, even a mistake is in a way a step forward. If we do not achieve something, at least we gain the knowledge to help others to go ahead.

So, I am glad that this programme is being inaugurated today on this special day in the history of mankind. I hope that it will be truly a young people's programme where young people can say what they
like and do what they like. As I saw in the little pamphlet, it is for the young people, by the young people and of the young people. This is what we need. If you ask the historian, he will say that India is a very ancient country, but if you ask the demographer he will say that it is a young country because the majority here is of young people. Somewhere I had said that we have only two majorities in India—the young and the poor. Every other group is a minority.

The young and the poor must get together. The young must try to know what the problems of the poor are, because those problems affect our lives and our future. If we can solve the problem of poverty, then we would have solved the basic problem of India. So let us concern ourselves with how to take India forward, how to build a strong foundation and on that foundation to build a beautiful country, which will give opportunity to our young people to go ahead, to create new paths of adventures, so that this ancient country can be ever new, shining and great.

I have great pleasure in inaugurating this programme and through it I would like to give my good wishes to all the young people who are listening in. And may I say that youth is really an attitude of mind; youth is eagerness, the desire to know, to discover the feeling that all of life is not behind us but ahead of us; that the great adventure is not something that has happened, but is going to happen. This is the attitude which we want in a country which wants to go ahead and which wants to reach new heights.

Education with a Purpose

Your university, as you stressed, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, is a young one, but the tradition of education in Bengal is by no means new. Bengal has been in the forefront of our intellectual renaissance and our nationalist awakening. From the time of the first of our moderns, Rammohun Roy, after whom this township is so aptly named, down to the present day, the number of great sons and daughters of Bengal who have enriched and ennobled our national life is legion.

This occasion is more than a ceremonial. It marks a turning point in the lives of the young graduates. You move on to greater responsibility in life. From being receivers you now become givers. The student stage is the stage of preparation. Society owes its young

Convocation address at the University of North Bengal, Raja Rammohunpur, October 10, 1966.
an education. After school and college, the educated young owe society a duty. This duty is to place the skills they have learned and the knowledge they have earned at the disposal of society.

When, nineteen years ago, our country started on its career of freedom, Jawaharlal Nehru invited the young to join in “the wonderful adventure of building a new India”. That call is as relevant today as it was in 1947, for a nation is not built in a mere score of years. You of today, even if you did not have the privilege of working for the achievement of freedom, can still partake of the adventure of consolidating that freedom. Therefore, you should regard yourself as pioneers; you have much to do which has not been done before. What greater adventure can there be than to bring new life to our people?

The newspapers sometimes bring news of restlessness among our young people, of strikes and fasts, of direct action and clashes. To some extent, this restlessness reflects the dynamism of youth. To that extent the sentiment is welcome. But sometimes it does seem as though some of our young people are opposed to the very existence of authority. Is this a phase or a trend? It is important that we should seek to know why our students feel and act in this way.

This psychological understanding is generally lacking. Between the outlook of the young and the outlook of those who are in places of power, governmental or social, there seems to be a gap of non-comprehension. This is true not only of India but the world over. The revolt and the reaction of youth against authority of any kind is a natural process necessary to growth into adulthood. But the urge to revolt is a force which can be used positively or negatively. In its positive form it becomes the will to achievement. It is dissatisfaction with the times which has led people to seek new answers to old questions, and has produced social, religious, educational and political reformers. In earlier times, it led to the exploration of new areas; and in modern times, mountaineering and other adventurous expeditions are an expression of the same spirit. The same questioning and rejecting spirit has produced new inventions in science, medicine and other fields.

In the vastness of our universe, man is a tiny creature. His achievement is of imagination, of will, and of endeavour. He pits himself against Nature to conquer his own inferiority. In so doing he has harnessed the forces of Nature for his own ends. As the development of communications makes the earth smaller, man seeks the exploration of outer space. All this has generated new ferment in youth and has also created many new problems of adjustment to constant change. Mass media have given us easier access to knowledge, cutting across national barriers. What happens in the rest of
the world affects young people in each country. The conflict of the
generations—with youth wanting certainties and simpler solutions, and
age opting for compromise—gets sharpened. This is all the more so
in post-Independence India where the present generation has been
uprooted from its old standards and is groping towards something
new.

We are the inheritors of an ancient culture, which has sustained
our people through their long history and has strengthened them to
meet countless trials and tribulations. Many of its ideals and values
are timeless. But to make them relevant to our own lives, we must
ever renew them and cleanse them of all that is mere superstition or
meaningless ritual, accumulated and petrified over the centuries. You
must know your tradition and culture, for only then can you judge
what must be kept and what weeded out, what is energising and what
is dead weight. You cannot belong to the world unless you belong
to your own culture and your nation. A tree must have roots.
Though the roots go deep into the ground, the tree itself grows up
into the sky, towards the sun. So must we turn our faces and our
steps towards the future though our roots remain in the past. I believe
in our ancient culture but I believe also in modernity, for it has opened
out wider vistas of opportunity, it has put within our reach the means
of solving age-old problems.

Present-day youth is becoming clearer about its personal goals.
Educational facilities have expanded. There are more institutions
and newer courses of study. Scholarships are more plentiful. Social
mobility has increased. Opportunities for travel and access to sources
of information have widened. Our young people are taking advan-
tage of these and have, in the process, been both agents of equality
and the providers of skills which the nation needs. You may not be
aware that 50 per cent of all engineers in the country are under 30
years of age. Similarly 70 per cent of all women with post-graduate
qualifications are below 30.

As opportunities increase, so does aspiration. This is true of indi-
viduals and societies. Scholars of social change tell us that the early
stages of economic development are accompanied by considerable dis-
satisfaction. The dissatisfaction we see around us is due not so much
to failure to achieve set targets as to the success achieved in moving
forward. People realise that they have a right to ask for more.

A changing society is not always as well administered as a static
society. Quick increase in opportunity is also a phase when the right
person is not always found for the right job. This brings me to the
point of standards. In some ways, perhaps standards have fallen.
It may be that the average has fallen because of the speedy increase
in numbers, but there is no decrease either in the number or the quality
of talented persons. On the contrary there is more talent, because
the numbers have increased. Talent is not a gift of birth but grows
with training. Because of the increase in educational opportunities
and of world awareness, the talent of our young people has blossomed
forth. The best of our young atomic and biological scientists, our
young economists and doctors, our young engineers and artists vie with
their counterparts elsewhere in the world. The number of Indians
going to teach in the great universities of the world is not small—and
so many of them are surprisingly young. One of the driving forces of
freedom was that we should overcome the sense of inferiority bred by
foreign rule and technological backwardness. That sense of inferiority,
like the old sense of helplessness, is going.

But much of this aspiration has remained personal aspiration,
understood in terms of income, position and fame and not related to
group or national aspiration. Perhaps this is the result of some fault
of our educational system or a consequence of our existing social
institutions. We must do more to harness the energies of the young.
The number of the young people keen to render social service has
not diminished, but unlike some other developing countries, we have
not evolved a scheme of social service for students as part of the edu-
cational system.

I want you to assert yourselves and not be acquiescent. But
assertion is creative, not destructive. While it might sometimes oppose
discipline, it also implies a duty to resist the less worthy ideas or
actions among your own kind. May I remind you of a lesson in
history? It is because the majority of people were content to keep
quiet out of weakness of spirit that organised hooligans under Hitler
could rise to power in Germany by misusing the democratic apparatus.
If our democracy is to prosper, we must learn to assert our right to
orderly government.

To seek redress of grievances is natural. But many of the unseem-
ly incidents we have recently witnessed have not arisen from any
grievance. The most ordinary occurrence touches off a riot. I appeal
to students to give up this habit of resorting to methods of the street,
for that does not befit educated people. As Swami Vivekananda said,
"True education is a training of individuals to will rightly and effi-
ciently." The community must keep in check all outbursts of violence
and lawlessness, which after all are touched off by a very small minori-
ty. Violence, Gandhiji has pointed out, is man’s main problem. We
in India, despite Gandhiji, cannot claim to be more non-violent than
other peoples. Nations whom we sometimes condescendingly call
materialist have shown more self-restraint.

Some people have said that the recent student unrest is an expres-
sion of the alienation of youth from society. Why should this be so?
This country is yours; its future is what you make it. The welfare of our people is in your hands. There is no individual advance for you except through the uplift of your fellow-beings. There can be no running away from responsibility. As Lincoln said, "We cannot escape history." Each hour of the day each one of us is by his actions shaping the future of this country.

The problem before you and all of us is how to make good use of the knowledge of the world, how to make right use of the powers which this expanding knowledge is bestowing upon us. We cannot mould our environment or control what happens, but we can and we should control our reactions to events. In aiming for the larger good, we help ourselves. In identifying ourselves with larger causes, we ourselves gain in stature.

More than a century ago, Raja Rammohun Roy started a movement which led to the renaissance of India through Indian nationalism combined with social reform and modernism. Some decades later the idea of swadeshi was born in Bengal. Today, we are on the threshold of a new renaissance. We have to build this new India and you are the builders. We have to give new life and new meaning to swadeshi, to nationalism, to modernism. We have to make an industrial, agricultural and technological revolution consistent with our self-respect and national pride without losing our soul, our culture or our values. We have to rediscover faith and purpose—not in words and slogans, but in work, in action, in attitudes.

Bengal has achieved much. More than Calcutta, Durgapur symbolises the new Bengal and the new India. Durgapur constitutes the largest single complex of heavy industry in India today. And where industry ends, agriculture begins with the D.V.C. canals taking off from the Durgapur barrage. One of our great new scientific laboratories is also located there.

This university also represents the new Bengal and the new India. You are located in a most strategic area—in the narrow corridor that links the north-eastern region with the rest of the country. This places you in a position of vantage to study the country's external relations in the context of our immediate neighbours—sub-Himalayan, trans-Himalayan, and to the south, East Pakistan. I would welcome specialisation in area studies of this kind—the history, political and economic situation and cultural mood of these neighbouring territories. Foreign policy is our first defence for it seeks to make friends and avoid war. Foreign policy must be based on an intimate knowledge of and feeling for current international developments. This is not a matter for our Foreign Office alone. Area studies by independent scholars at universities such as yours would be invaluable. It is also important to know the languages of these areas.
Our dreams are for an India rid of poverty, for an India where political liberty, economic equality and social justice prevail. By building such an India we shall be strong; but even to build such an India we need to be strong. We desire the development of our national and individual life, but defence today is the yoke-fellow of development. Our strength should be thought of not only in terms of the ability of our valiant fighting forces. It consists equally in our ability to maintain order and domestic peace, in our devotion to the task of increasing production and improving skills, in our resolve to attain speedy self-reliance. The frontiers of freedom are within your minds, not along some river or mountain. All over the country there is similar progress and a spread of the sense of social equality. There is no justification for gloom or defeatism.

So I call upon you, builders, creators and leaders, to accept the challenge. Do not let the fog and mist of the valley depress you. You live in the shadow of the mighty Himalayas which have inspired poets and philosophers, sportsmen and saints. May they inspire in you a love for India, an appreciation of her beauty and her quality, her riches of the past and her vast potential for the future. Only if you are aware of all this, can you truly serve her. Talking of sensitivity to life and nature, Tagore said, “The great human societies are the creation not of profiteers but of dreamers.” May you have the courage, the will and the perseverance to translate your dreams into reality.

* * *

Amidst the din and dust of electioneering, I have this welcome opportunity of meeting young men and women. You are the bridge between today and tomorrow, between continuity and change, between tradition and modernity.

I am not a political person in the narrow sense in which politics is generally understood. It is the occupational hazard of politicians, and of administrators, to be obsessed with ‘now’. Yet the present moment and its problems can be understood only in the context of the flow and direction of history. The present is the road between the past and the future. To pinpoint this and to give a correct perspective should be one of the functions of universities.

All that is born must die and all that dies must be reborn. So we are told in our old philosophy. The world is constantly in the process of renewal. Yet each change encounters obstruction. Some people oppose change consciously; others resist it because they feel safer with the familiar, and all change implies the unfamiliar. Even more than other countries, India is undergoing a revolution at all levels of its

From convocation address at Bangalore University, January 8, 1967.
being—economic, technological and social, as well as intellectual, psychological and aesthetic. We are a society being forced into new dimensions of thought, perception and action by the pressures of new relationships, new tools and techniques and new avenues of communication.

Through the centuries a way of seeing and thinking, a way of living, has survived in this country. Invasions and wars have modified the traditional background and social patterns, but have not essentially altered the relationships between producer and consumer, between donor and recipient. This was because changes in tools and techniques were slow and gradual—so slow indeed that we had centuries of virtual stagnation.

The crisis which confronts India today is of an entirely different nature. The world has leapt into the nuclear age. The adventure and conquests of science have brought new challenges. It is of the utmost urgency now that the revolution in technology should be matched by an upsurge of intellectual and creative questioning. Without such effort we shall be condemned to mediocrity, and the hopes of new life will wilt. The conflict in India is not primarily one of ideology as such, but a clash between those who cling to old ways of thought and those who want India to understand the changes which are occurring all over the world and to adapt herself to the needs of the second half of the twentieth century.

The resistance offered by old modes of thought to the force of the new explains much that is happening around us. Change and modernity do not necessarily mean breaking with national experience. What is needed is correct understanding of the meaning of tradition. What we regard as tradition today is itself the product of a continuous evolution. In our religion we have had reformers and rebels challenging earlier beliefs and thus changing accepted values. This is an example of what I mean when I say that tradition involves movement. Tradition is not static, it does not mean being caught in the past. Tradition can also be movement. Only that society can be alive which absorbs new challenges and ideas and refuses to let old prejudices and the weight of the past inhibit its attitude and direction. And, to be creatively alive, society must mould the future out of its own experience. It must recognise the difference between mere imitation and assimilation. You cannot be a gardener if you collect only potted plants.

I should like to discuss some ideas which are not usually considered important enough to be discussed by politicians. I cannot help feeling somewhat concerned at some little changes coming about, each one so small, yet in their totality gradually transforming the face of our country and the nature of our lives. In the name of
modernity we are doing violence to our landscape and some of our towns. Hydro-electric works and mining projects choose their own sites. Many of them have necessarily to be located in places hitherto unopened. But our building zeal is not accompanied by a respect for the needs of conservation. We are recklessly cutting down our forests and destroying our wild life. We are constructing buildings which are neither functional nor attractive. Already we have thoughtlessly desecrated the environs of many archaeological monuments by putting up sheds and shelters which are out of harmony with the spirit and the landscape of the place. Many of the memorials we build for our great are no tribute to our taste or judgment. We are encroaching upon open spaces within and outside our cities. Architecture is the most public of all arts. Let us build well not merely because people dwell and work in these houses and offices, but because we commit the coming generations to what we build now.

Our design for development should avoid the more dehumanising effects which tend to accompany urban and industrial growth. Development does not mean imitation of the patterns of living of affluent societies. Our aim should be to provide the bulk of our people a minimum of material goods and services which are also aesthetically satisfying. Development cannot and should not neglect the spirit.

What level of goods and services should be provided and where the line of satisfaction should be drawn are matters requiring thought and definition. Or else we shall waste our resources and condemn our land to more years of suffering. Is it not strange that even as affluent societies are questioning the value system of their development, we in India seem to be happy to imitate what is being questioned? Must our towns become noisy, congested slums? Must we accept the inevitability of standards of living which are based on waste? These may seem distant problems for a developing country like ours, but actually they are not. Unless our thinking is clear on the perspectives before man, we shall repeat the mistakes of others, become bad imitators and waste-makers. Indeed, in certain fields and among certain sections of our people, we are already doing so. In the interest of the future, we must somehow halt this self-destructive trend.

Recently India has proposed a project for evolving a new concept of the standard of living, particularly for developing countries, to UNESCO. UNESCO has accepted it. The talent and experience of scientists, of artists and educationists, of thinkers, architects and designers, of technologists, are to be pooled together to study the needs and resources of different societies and to produce new and cheaper materials and blueprints for homes and for places to work and play. The objective is to indicate a way of life which is satisfying and graceful, but within our means. Social barriers need to be broken, new
sensitivity needs to be nurtured. What we have proposed to UNESCO we must start ourselves. Here is a challenge to our young people.

There is a special reason why I have chosen Bangalore for developing this theme. Bangalore is reputed as a garden city, which indeed it is. It is also a great centre of scientific research. It is the home of several modern industries and the cradle of engineers. Scientists and engineers determine so much of what we can attempt and achieve in the decades to come. I should like them to be specially conscious of the aesthetic element in life. In building a project, if you have to pull down a hundred trees, you must instinctively deem it your responsibility to plant two hundred. And this is also a practical need. We have today drought in parts of the country and I have no doubt that it is due to the fact that we have cut down many of our forests. You must design new kinds of articles of everyday use which even the supposedly poor can afford. No longer does rural India regard bicycles, sewing machines and radios as luxuries. It is only high prices which are preventing increased consumption. Here is a challenge to our would-be industrialists.

Long years of active life lie ahead of you. Live them creatively and strive for grace. Life has meaning only through dedication to great causes. There is today a great cause to unite us, whatever our calling or our faith—the liberation of our people from poverty. But with this dedication must go knowledge and judgment.

Discernment is not an inborn gift. It has to be cultivated. "Good taste grows slowly through the effort to understand what is beyond us, the endeavour to appreciate that we cannot yet understand." In this phase of conflict between continuity and change, continuity is desirable only if it learns not to obstruct change. Change is inevitable, but it is in us to control its content and direction. It is the challenge of your generation to fuse, in a creative way, the numerous movements set in motion by the thinkers and leaders of our nation in the last hundred and fifty years from Rammohun Roy to Jawaharlal Nehru. You can achieve integrity only when, as the architect Le Corbusier who made our city Chandigarh said, "Your work flows from your own conviction, and not from the desire to please, nor from the desire to shock."

It is not enough for taste to be confined to a few. It must spread throughout the society. This cannot be achieved through governmental action. Designers and architects can help the process by marketing goods of better aesthetic content and building better homes. But the people as a whole must learn to appreciate and insist on quality. They must resist encroachments on parks and places of natural beauty; they must resist indiscriminate felling of trees; they must not allow statues and memorials of poor standards to be put up. Simultaneously they
must rediscover the sense of colour and form that were instinctive to our people in the days before the appearance of foreign influence and rapid industrialisation. Much of this spirit still lingers amongst our rural people, but it is disappearing all too fast. What can we do to recover it? Let us seek out elements of colour and significance in the traditional apparel, observances and ways of living. This will enable us to regain our individuality and to escape some of the regimentation and drabness of the machine age.

With all the problems of India, you inherit a great heritage and a glorious vision. Nothing worthwhile is achieved without effort and hard work. It has been said that the builders of joy are the children of sorrow. It is for you to build a society free from want; a society which can bring about change through law and consent; a society which finds fulfilment in the happiness and equality of its citizens; a society which ensures a life of enlightenment and at the same time preserves its ancient values.

The Message of Visva-Bharati

It gives me a sense of fulfilment to be called upon to occupy a position of honour in the very place where my mind and spirit unfolded. As I wear the scarf of Acharya, my mind goes back thirty years when I first arrived here with my mother and came under the enchantment of the wonderful man who brought this institution into being and breathed life and purpose into it. How young we were and how we stood in awe of him, yet because of our lack of understanding of the world, we could not fully appreciate the magnificence of his thought and achievement. Now I can claim to have greater comprehension, and my sense of wonder grows at the radiance of Gurudev’s personality.

All seers mould men’s minds; Tagore moulded the mind of modern India in a special way. Gandhi called him the Great Sentinel. He was truly one of the sentinels of a united mankind. He has also rightly been compared with the rishis [sages] of ancient India. He was rishi, kavi [poet] and guru [teacher]. His thought was pertinent to the times, but it was also timeless. In praising his spiritual power and his poetry, let us not overlook his social philosophy. Let us appreciate his contribution to the evolution of our humanist and internationalist outlook. Gurudev lived at the height of our nationalist upsurge and was wholly in tune with it. With Nehru he shared the

Convocation address at Visva-Bharati University, Santiniketan, December 24, 1966
spirit of universality and like him used his creative influence to wean India away from narrow nationalism. Between the two men there was a great difference of age but this was no obstacle to a meeting of minds and to a bond of friendship and mutual respect.

What gives Visva-Bharati its distinctive character? It is based on the old idea of the ashram [hermitage] where there was far greater companionship between the teacher and the taught. It is situated in idyllic surroundings which make a difference, evoking a feeling of communion with nature. It attempts the integration of the different subjects of study, the humanities and the sciences combining so naturally with art and music. I do not know if it is still so, but when I was here we walked a great deal to the villages all around and thus felt ourselves truly a part of local life. Here, in Visva-Bharati, you have long experience of rural work. I hope we can extend the idea to our other universities. Experiments in Santiniketan and Sriniketan have yielded insights which we have not fully utilised in other parts of our country.

To Gurudev, Visva-Bharati was more than just a university. He envisaged it as a great meeting place for individuals from all countries. And indeed it attracted sensitive minds from many parts of the world. Gurudev contemplated a system of education which would synthesise the most cherished values of Indian life with the highest ideals of world culture. “We shall learn that we can reach the world of man not through the effacement but through the expansion of our individuality.” He designed the Visva-Bharati as an institution where the distinctive culture of Bharat would attain its fullness in the culture of the Visva [universe].

Today we feel the need for such a synthesis even more keenly and I think that this should be the most important task of all universities in the country. The world order which the United Nations is striving to secure demands a measure of world understanding which universities can promote more effectively than political bodies. For it is in the universities more than anywhere else that the disinterested pursuit of ideals, unaffected by tensions or pressures, is possible.

Gurudev was deeply concerned with the creative role of education in national life. How apt and precise is his definition when in founding this university, he said: “The educational institution which I have in mind has primarily for its object the constant pursuit of truth, from which the imparting of truth naturally follows. It must not be a dead cage in which living minds are fed with food artificially prepared. It should be an open house in which students and teachers are one. They must live their complete life together, dominated by a common aspiration for truth and a need of sharing all the delights of culture.”

A university is a fellowship of scholars who are engaged in the
pursuit of knowledge at the highest level. It is a corporation of students, of teachers, of specialists and research scholars. It may primarily concern itself with higher learning, but the fruits of its intellectual labours must have an impact on individual and social life. An educated society is a society of refined men and women who believe in the processes of a civilized and democratic life. It has no place for violence. It knows how to handle the instruments of public life for the largest measure of private happiness. The leaders of such a society must come from universities.

Universities also have an obligation to society as torch-bearers of social progress. The knowledge they impart has relevance to the great problem of living a purposive life in a changing world. Our universities must now ask themselves how far their work has given a new direction to the thought and action of the younger generation, how far they have shaped the higher intelligence of the nation or prepared it for the major tasks of our age. In the nineteen years since Independence, we have become acutely aware of the great need for an education which would contribute to national progress. Our educationists have given much thought to the aims and standards of our universities. Their findings and suggestions are set forth in the University Grants Commission's Report on Standards of University Education and more comprehensively in the Report of our Education Commission. The work of such committees and commissions is important as a basis for reorganising our educational system, but ultimately new life can come to our universities only through a new social awareness of our intellectual needs, a new concern for the proper utilisation of formal learning in a developing society.

Let us not measure the quality of our education by the statistics of pass, failure and wastage, however important these figures may be as official records. The quality of education must be reflected in the quality of life, in its value and grace, in the culture of the social and individual mind and not the least in our intellectual and technological competence to face and master the problems before us.

Education must provide the nation with good workers and good managers. More, it should provide thinkers and seekers of light. Education is much more than preparation for a career or a means of acquiring skills for particular professions. The best education is at once a means and a fulfilment. Teachers and students of universities should look upon their intellectual work as the function and expression of their whole being. The major task of our educationists is, therefore, to stress this creative aspect of university life.

This sense of common intellectual endeavour is conspicuously lacking in many of our seventy universities. Teachers and students do not regard themselves as a community of seekers of knowledge.
Crasser forces are at work. It is sometimes said that universities reflect the situation which exists in the rest of society. This may be partly true, but if it is true, it is unfortunate. For it is from universities that the higher values flow, and they are or should be the source of idealism. “If the salt hath lost its flavour, wherewith shall it be salted?”

I have talked of education and the university but education is not a compartment we enter in school or college. It is a continuing process from the minute we are born until we die. In fact I would say that when a person ceases to learn, he ceases to be fully alive. For everything we do and every person we meet make an impact. It is the sum total of our experience which makes us what we are. We must look at life as a whole and in all its completeness. No particular activity is separate. No group of people is isolated. Each reacts on the other. If things are wrong, let us not waste time apportioning blame but determine immediately to get on the right track. To indulge in pettiness, waste or destruction is soul-destroying and self-destructive. But to spend oneself in worthwhile tasks is to revitalise oneself and one’s surroundings.

I do not want our young people to accept the formulations of their elders too tamely. But I would counsel them against easy negativism. We are surrounded by difficulties. Each generation has its own share and each considers it the worst ever. We cannot escape from our responsibility to ourselves or to others. We cannot shape our environment, nor control events. But we can control our own behaviour and our own reaction to events. In that sense we shape our destiny. Gurudev wrote, “A block of stone is inflexible, insensitive, inert; it offers resistance to the creative idea of the artist. But for the sculptor its very obstacles are an adventure and he carves his image out of it.” This is a beautiful description of the creative process, it is equally true of our daily lives. How many challenges and obstacles do we meet out of which we could create beauty or joy or which we could transform into opportunity?

May I offer my congratulations and blessings to those who have got their degrees and who are about to exchange their carefree student days with the onerous responsibility of adulthood and the challenging task of finding a job and of holding it in a highly competitive society. Do not be afraid of the world. The world is neither good nor bad. It is what we ourselves make of it. It gives us what we ourselves are willing and capable of giving to it. My blessings also to the other students whose studies are not over. Let them make the most of their time here.

I have used many words of Gurudev, for although he belongs to the whole of India and indeed to the world, yet it is in Santiniketan,
the darling of his heart, that we feel closest to him. Here is the
amrakunj [mango grove] so full of memories where many generations
of young people have dreamt their dreams of the future and which
has inspired so much of Gurudev's work. I end with Gurudev's own
message to you. He said, "I have faith in you. One day you will
wipe off the shame of this country by your knowledge and your deed,
by your devotion and your achievement. Be steadfast in the pursuit
of knowledge; establish your right to your country by service and by
the work of welfare; do not by any means entertain the fanciful idea
in your mind that there is an easy way, a short cut, to the deliverance
of your country; that you can achieve it only by a spurt of foolhardy
behaviour. The long days' meditation and the discipline and vigil of
many sleepless nights are awaiting you."

You who are privileged to live and learn in the shadow of
Gurudev's greatness have a special responsibility to uphold his ideals.
It should be the endeavour of all those who are concerned with Visva
Bharati to ensure that while Visva-Bharati retains its unique character,
it does not merely rest on its past reputation but moves forward in
the spirit of science and keeps pace with our changing world.

* * *

When one comes to this quiet, enchanting place, one is tempted
to regard it as an escape, to forget the problems of the outside world
in remembrance of Gurudev and the beautiful cadence of his words.
Yet Gurudev himself was passionately concerned with these problems
and wrote about them with anger and with force.

It was my privilege in the last year to travel to many far countries.
Not only did these journeys help me to find out more about these
lands and their peoples, but I could view my own feelings with more
comprehension. Even as the astronauts from high see the world whole,
most of us can understand ourselves better from an occasional
perspective of distance. In Latin America, I found what great
impact Gurudev's visit of many years ago had made. I was enter-
tained in the house where he had stayed in Buenos Aires. I was
delighted to discover how much the educated people of these coun-
tries respect the representative figures of our culture—Gurudev Tagore,
Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru.

It was also my privilege, as Acharya of Visva-Bharati, to present
to Madam Victoria Ocampo the degree of Desikottama which you had
conferred on her in absentia here last year. It was a touching cer-
emony, representing the coming together of the East and the West,
in the spirit of Gurudev.

Convocation address at Visva-Bharati University, Santiniketan, February 15, 1969
Wherever I went and in all my conversations with the leaders of governments and of intellectual life, I discerned intense concern with the two major questions before mankind today—the question of disparity between the rich and the poor, and the question of violence and peace. The second is somewhat dependent on the first, for it is such disparities which create tension. Gurudev had spoken of the power of the weak. The great leap forward of science has put power in the hands of mankind and has produced weapons of such devastation that they might well destroy foe, friend and user alike. This knowledge as well as the refinement of systems of delivery, detection and instant retaliation have led to what is known as the balance of terror. The mighty are finding that the greater the power the more difficult it may be to use it.

Such a balance can never be stable. One rash decision can upset it, and the result will be disaster.

The powerful nations have also found that power has not brought contentment to their people or solved their basic domestic problems. The more affluent of the world’s nations continue to have unresolved the problems of poverty and frustration, of the decay of cities and souls.

The limitation of power has been dramatically demonstrated to India in another way. A small country, poor in arms and resources, has been able to withstand the might of the giant. The spirit of a free people cannot be scorched or trampled under. Power cannot command obedience, let alone friendship and love.

One sees in the international field that while competition, rivalry and cold war attitudes have again hardened, at the same time between these same countries, there is a conscious and deliberate attempt to have agreement and to build bridges. Thus, great powers work against each other and yet combine to exert pressure on others on a particular issue.

In many countries, there is a new vogue of praising violence. Some of these voices belong to young people who rebel against all over-organised societies, by whatever labels they may call themselves. In our country also, such forces are arising. Some people are chronic anarchists while others echo the catch-phrases of other lands. I was alarmed to see a recent survey made of the thinking of Calcutta students, some of whom are reported to have said that they believe in violence.

The argument of violence is not new to us. And our experience shows that the weeds of violence can never make for a field of promise and plenty.

A hundred years ago, this year, Mahatma Gandhi was born. He taught that only by overcoming the problem of violence could the
world hope for a future. Exactly fifty years ago he organised the first nationwide non-violent protest. It was the year of Jallianwala Bagh, the year when Gurudev discarded the chain which bound him to an imperial honour.

Gurudev wanted the individual personality to develop in close harmony with nature and with national traditions. But by tradition he did not mean that we should blindly accept all that was associated with the past. He fought and wrote against all that was becoming outmoded, all that had ceased to have relevance to our contemporary being. He felt that it was only when we work in harmony that we can learn to live with ourselves and with one’s environment. Each nation must mould its own destiny. It cannot live with a borrowed heart.

The development of any country is the product of its own distinctive history and developmental process. A Constitution, which is another word for the regulation of relationships among the people of a country, has to grow out of its own soil. Our own Constitution has grown out of our experience. In external form it may have incorporated features from other constitutions, but its breath is that of Mahatma Gandhi, of Gurudev, of Deshbandhu Das, of Jawaharlal Nehru, of Subhas Bose and of the people of India who aspired for equality and justice.

Whether we be socialists, communists, capitalists or followers of any one ism or of no ism, we have to solve the problems of India and face the challenges of our own distinctive and historical conditions of development by finding solutions to our problems.

So far we have proceeded on the assumption that we can gradually transform our society by preserving our democratic rights and liberties. The inarticulate major premise, which I should like to make articulate today, is that we just cannot do it unless compulsory self-sacrifice of our former generation is substituted by voluntary sacrifice. No society, whether capitalist or socialist, has developed without the back-breaking and heart-breaking work of pioneers who broke new ground, faced enormous risks, made mistakes and learnt from them—step by painful step.

Gurudev was a pioneer, a breaker of new ground, a seeker of new truth. Today India has need of such pioneers whose commitment to the welfare of the Indian people and to the development of the country will override all other considerations, who will be not only willing but able to turn to a new path harmonising our old values with contemporary thinking, not escaping from problems and difficulties but facing them with courage and humour. That was Gurudev’s message.

The problem for Santiniketan is to preserve its identity amidst a changing India. The problem for India is to preserve its own identity
in a fast-changing world, in a world where we want to be basically Indian and yet not be out of step with progress and forward movement. I should like to give my good wishes to this institution, to those who have got degrees and to those who are yet studying. May they be a beacon-light to the young of our country, may they be models of commitment to and involvement in the cause which must bind us together if we wish to create the India of Gurudev's dreams and works.

Call of the Mountains

Throughout the ages, India's thinkers have been inspired by the beauty and majesty of the Himalayas and by their sacred associations. But mountaineering as adventure and sport is of recent origin. In India specially it is a young calling, although one of the fastest growing and most exacting. Within a dozen years we have scaled many forbidding peaks of the world's greatest mountains. One of the most exclusive groups in the world must surely be of those who have stood on top of Everest. Nearly half of them are from our country. Is this not a tribute to the courage and capacity of our young people, and the aspiration for achievement which Independence has evoked?

Mountaineers need not be writers. But climbing is too intense an experience not to be described and shared. The effort of giving one's utmost and the magnificence of the spectacle all around transform the physical endeavour into a spiritual experience.

The record of Commander Kohli's expedition will find special mention in history. It was a masterpiece of planning, organisation, team-work, individual effort and leadership. It is heartening evidence that there is nothing beyond the reach of our young people.

I hope this book's appeal will stretch beyond the select band of mountaineering enthusiasts to the libraries of schools and colleges and to the homes of our bright, young people, enriching their discovery of India and giving them a glimpse of the sense of adventure and the grandeur of vision in mountaineering. I hope it will also help them to realise that it is where the effort is most exacting, that pleasure is keenest and success most rewarding.

* * *

Foreword to the book Nine Aton Everest, March 21, 1968
I am delighted to be here with you all to greet the Indian Mountaineering Foundation on its tenth anniversary. These ten years are important in the story of our mountaineering. I should like to offer my congratulations to the individual heroes who made them so by their attempt at successful scaling of famous and difficult peaks. Much depends on the leader of a team. But no less worthy of admiration are his team-mates, for it is the individual and special effort of each which brings success to the whole team. On this occasion our thoughts go out specially to Sonam Gytso, Nandu Jyal, John Diaz and others who are no longer with us. They were our mountaineering pioneers whose achievements and love of the mountains did so much to promote Indian mountaineering and to evoke enthusiasm for it all over the country.

The story of Indian mountaineering is a short though exciting one; but, in a sense, the tradition can be said to be older. For decades, the gallant Sherpas, through their invaluable skill and hardiness, have enabled others to scale the mountains. These fine and sturdy people, with their great love and awe of the Himalayas, have made their community known for their climbing skill, their spirit of comradeship and their love of life. Looking still further back to another kind of mountain activity, one recalls the stalwarts of the Survey of India, the Indian pundits, mullas and traders who were amongst the pioneers of the great trigonometrical survey in the second half of the last century. At that time Nepal and Tibet were closed to foreigners, but Indians were allowed to go as pilgrims. They maintained copious notes and returned with a fund of remarkably accurate information on the basis of which the maps of the Himalayan and trans-Himalayan regions were prepared. These men took tremendous risk and had to be away for months and even for years at a time. They were not mountaineers in the strict sense of the term, but we owe them much for they gave a scientific knowledge of the Himalayas which was rational though not as colourful as the description of the Himalayas in our legends. The story of men like Man Singh, Hari Ram, Kishan Singh and Mirza Shuja is a heroic saga and should be more widely known. I think it is fitting that we remember them also today when we commemorate the growth of Indian mountaineering.

The Himalayan Mountaineering Institute is one of which we can all be justly proud. It is now well established and has trained a large number of bright young men and women. Other such institutes have also come up. May they prosper and attract more and more young people to our mountains. Mountaineering evokes special quality and

From speech at the tenth anniversary celebration of the Indian Mountaineering Foundation, New Delhi, May 15, 1968
reveals hidden strength. It calls for adventure, courage and physical fitness. It builds stamina of mind and body. It heightens consciousness of beauty. We need mountaineering not only for recreation but as a science to widen the horizons of our knowledge. Satisfaction does not necessarily come from success in reaching the top. It comes from the effort, from straining one's faculties to the utmost in a struggle with something stronger than oneself.

My father often referred to India as a child of the Himalayas. The Himalayas have shaped our history; they have moulded our philosophy; they have inspired our saints and poets. They influence our weather. Once they defended us; now we must defend them. Our defence services are learning to know them and to love them. I share Justice Khoja's sentiment when he writes, "The Himalayas are something essential to my emotional existence. I want to be near them whether they smile or frown. I do not know if they will protect me or destroy me, but I do know that nothing moves me to the same extent and in the same manner as the Himalayas."

I hope that the next decade of the Indian Mountaineering Foundation will be even more eventful and full of achievement than the first. My congratulations to all those who are concerned with its work, particularly to its President who has done so much for mountaineering in India. Once again, I would like to wish success to our mountaineers. They will not only conquer the mountains and gain stature by doing so, but will also raise the image of India and will create the sort of qualities which will take our country forward towards the fulfilment of the dreams which my father and our other leaders have dreamt for us and for India. I hope that more and more people will be attracted to this fascinating sport.
Social Welfare
Tasks before Indian Women

It is indeed an honour and a pleasure, speaking personally and on behalf of the Government, to greet this university on its completion of half a century's service. I salute the university not only as a pioneering institution and a centre of enlightenment but as a gift from Dr Karve.

Dr Karve was rightly regarded as a maharshi [great sage]. As with our rishis [sages] of old, the light of faith and reason burned steadily in him. His achievements were won after long years of unrelenting quest and with toil and perseverance. This great man was with us until recently and I should like to quote what my father said to him on his hundredth birthday. He said: "We see the pomp and pageantry of kings and Presidents and the publicity attending Prime Ministers. All this seems rather small and petty in your presence because you have shown us in your life something which is more durable, almost timeless in its value—a man of courage and devotion and wisdom, persevering in spite of difficulties through long years of effort."

Such was the dedication which inspired your university. It is the first to think of the mother-tongue as a medium of instruction; the first to admit foreign students; and the first to have an all-India jurisdiction. It is little wonder that Rabindranath Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi hailed the idea of this university, and its early opponents became its staunchest votaries.

I recall also what the Maharshi said a few weeks before his passing away. When asked whether he who had given his lifetime for the cause of the women of India would like to be reborn as a woman, he said in that ringing voice of his, "Certainly not. I want to be reborn a man, so that I can continue my work of repaying men's debt to women."

We the women of India are indeed fortunate in having outstanding men such as Rammohun Roy, Vidyasagar, Mahatma Gandhi, my father and Maharshi Karve to espouse our cause. After Independence the great liberal mind of Nehru moulded and gave direction to social change, bringing women into the economic and cultural front. It is my belief that it was not out of mere sentimentality but as a recognition of the worth and work of Indian women. The women of India have not
indulged in any movements against menfolk. They have always stood 
shoulder to shoulder with them in support of common causes.
About women’s role in our freedom struggle, my father has this to say:
“Most of us menfolk were in prison. Then a remarkable thing hap-
pened. Our women came to the front and took charge of the struggle.
There was an avalanche of them which took not only the British
Government, but their own menfolk by surprise.”

It was my privilege to have witnessed and taken part in this up-
surge. I still recall my mother’s passionate desire and ceaseless work
for the liberation of Indian women, for giving them greater opportu-
nities of living fuller and more useful lives. It was no easy task at
that time and in those circumstances to storm the citadel of reaction.
From there to the Hindu Code was a logical development. My father
attached great importance to the adoption of the Hindu Code which,
in a way, was a real charter of emancipation. He regarded this work
as important as that of building up parliamentary institutions and of
building, through planning, an egalitarian society cured of acquisitive
tendencies.

Thus, the rights of Indian women were won not as a result of the
fight of a rebellious, assertive, suffragist womanhood against an en-
trenched male privilege, as it happened in the Western countries. In
India, the rights which the old oppressed groups, such as women, the
Scheduled Castes and Tribes, the illiterate and the landless, won under
that great charter of freedom and fraternity, our Constitution, were the
outcome of a century-and-a-half of social revolution which spanned
Rammohun Roy and Jawaharlal Nehru. Our political freedom itself
was a part of this great social revolution, the mainspring of which was
the urge towards social equality. Hence, our economic and social
battles have stressed not class conflict but reconciliation.

In few countries do women hold higher position in politics and
public life than in India. But this should not lead us to think that
the old inequalities and disabilities from which the women of India
suffered have all ended. Ours is a country in which oppositions and
contradictions thrive, and nowhere is this more so than as regards
women. If we have women who are among the most progressive in
the world, we also have women who are among the most backward.
In law, all discrimination between man and woman has been abolished.
Yet, we all know the social and economic hardships which our women
suffer in addition to the general hardships which any individual suffers
in a society so poor and still so largely mediaeval as ours.

In the countries where women had to fight for their rights, it had
been easier for men to finally accept the fact of women’s emancipation.
In India, in spite of the fact that the emancipation of women has re-
leased powerful social forces, non-acceptance of equality of women on
the part of men is a great hurdle. Another hurdle is the old ideal of a silently suffering Sita which remains at the back of the mind of even a liberated Indian woman.

Our laws have changed. This change has come about with tremendous speed. We have compressed several centuries of evolution into just a couple of generations. The danger here is that social laws are far ahead of social practice. There is a lag between the legislation for women's rights and the social sanctions required to make these rights a reality.

A major task for the educated Indian women today is to make reality catch up with the opportunity created by law. Indian women have won their political, economic and social rights. But what have we done to translate these rights into realities? The work in assemblies, in Parliament, in committees and commissions does not take us far. What is needed is proper organisation and door-to-door work, for bringing about a community of interest between the educated women and the not-so-educated women of India, so that they can act together in the national interest.

Women's education in India has made spectacular progress. Fifty years ago, Dr Karve started this university with just seven students. In 1916, there could not be more than a dozen women graduates in each of our States, except perhaps Bombay, Bengal or Madras. Last year, we had 300,000 girls in colleges. Until two decades ago, teaching, nursing and medicine were the only professions open to educated women. Today, women can be found among research scientists, engineers and district magistrates. I am told that one-fourth of the total research staff of the Tata Cancer Research Institute consists of women. The working girl has come into her own.

This is an appropriate occasion to talk about family planning not only because Maharshi Karve's son was one of the pioneers of the birth control movement in India, but because I think that educated women should regard family planning as their own problem. Women's organisations should take up the task of door-to-door and village-to-village canvassing for family planning. The movement now requires the same intense zeal and dedication that Vidyasagar, Deodhar and Karve brought to the upliftment of widows and the education of girls.

The idea of this university came to Dr Karve on reading a booklet on a Japanese women's university. There is another idea which we can usefully borrow from Japan. They have a nation-wide Housewives' Association which is an important force in maintaining price levels. This association was established soon after the war in times of acute scarcity and hardship. It now permeates all spheres of Japanese life, conducts negotiations with Government on behalf of consumers, keeps an eye on distribution channels and exercises the right of
inspection of commodities. The motto of this association is, “Good traders are brought up by intelligent consumers.” This can be applied to India also. In the wake of devaluation we have assigned a special role to co-operative and State-run shops in the matter of ensuring supplies and holding prices. Here is a field in which educated housewives can be and must be active. They will earn the country’s gratitude.

University women cannot ignore the big gap which exists between the educated women and others not so lucky. To share knowledge and skills with the less-privileged women, to explain new ideas to them, to combat superstition and to safeguard their interests should be the duty of the educated. As Dr Karve said, “We are a free nation today, but there is still a gap in our freedom. We have not yet found one thing without which we shall never be able to enjoy the sweetness of freedom. It is social equality.”

A WOMEN’S COLLEGE has very special importance. I think that, in a way, all women are teachers. Whether they are actually in the teaching profession or not, whether they have any particular job or whether they are merely homemakers, they are first, foremost and to the last, teachers and guides of society. What sort of society we will have lies very much in the hands of the women of this country. That is why we attach so much importance to the education of women.

I am sure you have all heard of the oft-repeated quotation from Gandhiji about a man’s education being the education of an individual, but a woman’s education being the education of the family. This is very true. So it is important at any time and in any country, what women do, what they think, how much understanding they have of problems at home and abroad, and how much involvement they feel with these problems. What we need amongst our people is understanding. Understanding is a part of maturity because there can be no maturity without understanding. But one can have understanding without maturity. Sometimes one finds even small children being very understanding and sensitive to a situation, and this sensitivity is lost as they grow up. In fact all children, when they are small, are without prejudices of any kind. They are not aware of the differences of religion, caste, colour or race. It is when they grow up that these notions creep in and colour their attitudes towards their neighbours and towards life. So it rests with the women of India and more specially with the women of the rising generation to see what sort of influence they want to cast on the nation.

Speech at the foundation day anniversary of Lady Irwin College, New Delhi, November 11, 1967
We talk often of emancipation of women, and with this college have been associated many women who have played a role in the emancipation of Indian women. But usually when we talk of emancipation, we mean only how many women are able to be educated or how many of them are able to get good positions. Actually, what is meant by the emancipation of women is not merely the number of women with education or influence, but the position and influence of the average woman. What we would like to see in India is that the average Indian woman has a status in life, and that she is able to exert her influence for the good of the community. We have known throughout our history, and perhaps in the history of all nations, that even at times when women were not emancipated there have been women of character who have left an impression on society and sometimes on an entire age. But such names have been few and far between. We would like the influence of women to be more deeply felt, and they have this opportunity more than any men can ever have. Because, as I said, they do the teacher’s work from the time a new life begins. They have in their care the moulding of a new mind, a new body, a future citizen. And the moulding does not take place, as we sometimes imagine, only by giving good advice.

I am very hesitant to come and speak at such functions because I find that one is normally expected to give good advice. And this is something I do not like doing, for the simple reason that when I was a young person I did not take anybody’s advice. And so I can well imagine that other young people feel the same way. But what does influence one, what moulds one and helps one to grow in a particular direction is what one sees around, how people are behaving, how they are thinking, how they are acting. This burden again falls on the parents and even more on the mother who spends more time with the child.

There are two main tasks for women. The first is to create the right sort of atmosphere. What do we want in our country? We want a better life for our people. But what is a better life? Is it merely living in better houses, having better clothes, getting better nutrition? All these things are important, and I must congratulate you on the work you are doing in this field. But even more important is another and subtler kind of atmosphere. Is the atmosphere one of friendship and goodwill or is it one of hatred? That is the question.

We live in a world which is highly competitive and which therefore encourages rivalries. There can be good rivalries, as they are in a college competition, as they are in the college examinations, where each person is trying to do her best without wanting to do anybody else down. These are good rivalries which help us to grow. But sometimes in life there are also bad rivalries. We feel that if we can
somehow diminish somebody else, we shall grow. But that is not the way of life. Nobody has grown by cutting down anybody else. You grow only by helping other people to grow. If you undertake one task, however small it is, and if you do it well, you will find that you are able to do another task as well. But if you sit back and say, "No, this job is not big enough for me," you will never find a satisfactory job nor will you be able to give satisfaction in any job which you do take up. Therefore, much depends on our mental attitude and the atmosphere and the attitudes we create around us. We know of people who have only to come into a room to change the atmosphere of the room. They can make the room gay and happy or they can make it dull and heavy. They can bring an atmosphere of love or an atmosphere of hatred and anger. It is up to mothers to see that we make a better world in this other sense. I am sure that if we create an atmosphere of peace and goodwill, it will become even easier for us to work for the other and more material benefits.

Today we are a free country. But how are we free? Only because there were several generations of Indians who decided that freedom was more important than anything else in the world. It was more important than education; it was more important than better living; it was more important than family life; it was more important than even life itself. And because they felt that way, today we are free.

This is the problem before us: Are we willing to do something today for our tomorrow? It may mean hardship. But that, again, is a question of how you look at things. Everything in life, whether it is happiness, whether it is entertainment, whether it is hardship, is a question of how you look at it in your mind. If you ask some of the people who were in the freedom struggle what their happiest time was, they would not say that it was the time when they were resting, or when they had gone to a hill station. They will say that it was the time when they were suffering the most, when they were in solitary confinement in prison. Those are the times that they remember as happy times, because at those times they were giving their best to something they believed in. And that is really what happiness is. Look at the mountaineer. What does he do? What does he not put up with to scale a mountain? Every step is agony, is hardship. It is difficult to breathe. There is danger of frost-bite. There is danger of pneumonia. And yet he does it for fun. He is not being paid to do it. Nobody is forcing him to do it. He enjoys doing it, because it calls into play the best of his mind and body, and that is enjoyment. Everybody needs not get enjoyment only through mountaineering. Some people get it through something else. No matter what we are doing, however small a thing it is, we should do it with all our heart and all our mind, and we should try to do more and more things which
are for other people and larger causes. My father used to say that India grew in stature because during the Independence struggle so many people were involved in something that was very much bigger than themselves. And because they were involved in this bigger thing, they themselves became bigger, they could not help being bigger. They were normal, average, small people, who suddenly grew to being people of stature, merely because they were involved in doing something which was great. If we really want happiness—not only for ourselves, that is personal happiness—but happiness for the country, then this is the attitude which we must develop.

We find that in times of difficulty, Indian women have always come out on top, have passed their ‘exams’, so to speak. They have made the biggest sacrifice in keeping what they considered the honour of the country or the community. Today, I think, the nation does look again to women to give this lead. Today it does not mean making the highest sacrifice, either in the literal sense of sacrificing one’s life or even in the other sense of giving all one’s time. But it means that no matter what one does, one looks at it from the point of view of the nation, the growth of the nation, the creation of better citizens, the creation of a better atmosphere.

I note that you have enlarged the scope of Home Science. Home Science is not limited to food or shelter or the design of the house. They are important. But it includes everything else. A house is not a home. A home needs a personality who creates conditions in which people want to live, which makes them the better for living in that particular house, and that is a very wide field. I do not think anything is outside Home Science, whether it is nutrition, whether it is designing, whether it is decoration, whether it is even being concerned with problems of the world. For, if the mother does not know what is happening in the country and the world, then she is not an interesting person. If she is not an interesting person, she cannot keep the interest of her family, and she cannot make the home an interesting place to live in. In this way Home Science covers the whole wide world.

Of course, I know that you cannot include all of it in your teaching. Nobody would expect you to. But I think your efforts must be to embrace as much of this as is possible, as funds permit, as teachers permit, as time permits. We must never think that the home is a narrow place. In fact a British philosopher has wondered how this saying has gone about that the home is dull. He says, ‘The home is the only place where I can do what I like. So how can it be dull? In every other place you have to live within very many rules made by other people. But your home is the one place where you can make your own rules. So if the home is dull then those people who have
made the rules or who live in the home, those people must be dull." A big artist, a sculptor with a piece of clay, can do what he likes with it. You have your homes. They can remain four walls, or they can become a place of charm and beauty which helps your personality and the personality of your children to grow and flower. Thus not only does the home become a better place, but through the home the entire community and the country become a better place. What is the country except a collection of many millions of families? So if we can get at the family and if we can improve family life, then the country itself benefits enormously.

Here you are all artists on the threshold of life. If you think that being adult means suddenly having a lot of privileges, you will be only half right. Because to be an adult suddenly means also the end of irresponsibility. It means that everything you do will bring more and more responsibility, and the more things you do, the more the responsibility, the heavier the burden. But I do not think anybody would want to say, "We would like to do the lowest job because that means less responsibility." Everybody will feel, "I want to get to the top." The only way to get to the top is to handle responsibility, to bear the burden, and not only to do it but to enjoy doing it.

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WE HAVE BEEN LUCKY that women in India for many years have organised themselves, all over the country and in many fields, for helping those who are distressed or in want. I wonder if some of you have read Stefan Zweig's wonderfully moving book Beware of Pity. Pity is certainly one step ahead of callous indifference, but pity by itself is not only pointless but it can even be harmful if not accompanied by compassion. It is compassion that drives one on to purposeful action for the amelioration of want or suffering. Social work organisations are formed by those who are moved by compassion which urges one to do something rather than just to sit back and say, "I am so sorry for these poor people."

Women in India have, in theory at least, always occupied an honoured position. You, Madam, talked of Gandhiji being deified and becoming a legend. We have a habit of doing this with everything. We have certainly done it with our women. We have thought—our society has thought—that if you call a woman a goddess, you have done everything necessary, even if she is suppressed and has no rights. Gandhiji wanted to keep women on a pedestal, but he tried to lift the reality

From inaugural address at the golden jubilee celebration of the Maharashtra State Women's Council, Bombay, November 9, 1968
up to that pedestal or ideal, so that the Indian woman could perhaps be able to get some of the attributes of a goddess. I would like our women to be treated like human beings. They do not want to be goddesses, but they must have every opportunity to develop their talent, their capabilities, and to use those talents and capabilities in the service of the community, in the service of the nation.

Everywhere in the world, this position was achieved by fighting. We know how women got the vote and the right to higher education in the West. They had to fight, they had to do things, sometimes even ridiculous things, in order to attract attention to their demands. We did not have to go to these lengths, largely because of the foresight and psychological insight of Mahatma Gandhi. He realised from the beginning that the nation could not go ahead, if women did not have an honoured place. During the Independence struggle, he asked for a great deal of sacrifice from our menfolk, and he knew that it would not be forthcoming without the support and sympathy of womenfolk. So he made a direct appeal to women to come out and take part in the satyagraha movement. He also knew that the participation of women in the freedom struggle was necessary not only for the success of the struggle, but was equally important from the long-term point of view, from the point of view of the future of the country. He wanted Indian women to have an understanding of the problems of the country, of how to solve these problems and share with men the privileges and the tasks that freedom would bring.

It was Gandhiji who emancipated our women. It was not that there were no organisations working for the education and emancipation of women before Gandhiji, but such organisations were few and were largely confined to big cities. Gandhiji for the first time did something for the women in the villages, women who were illiterate and backward. He gave them courage; he gave them honour and he gave them the ability to fight shoulder-to-shoulder with men. It is right, therefore, that you should observe the Gandhi Centenary Year by having a series of lectures on Mahatma Gandhi. I do not want to speak on him here except to point out some of the things which he held dear and which I think are quite relevant to the work we, as women, have to do for our community or even for our homes.

One of the things dear to Gandhiji was national integration. It is not enough to abolish untouchability, or to say that everybody should live together in peace. What is important is to correct mental and social attitudes, so that people are tolerant to the ideas and beliefs of others. It is your own attitude towards your neighbours which will govern the attitude of your children. A child is born full of friendship towards all. Here I may recount a story, which I read a long
time ago about an American family, who had moved to one of the
southern States. Somebody came and complained to the mother, "Do
you know that your child plays with a little Negro boy, and this is
not right!" So, when the boy came home from school, the mother said,
"John, is your friend Jack a coloured boy?" He said, "Mother, what
is coloured?" Mother said, "Well, is he dark to look at?" He said,
"I did not notice. I will look tomorrow and tell you!" This story is
typical of the child's attitude. He goes to the essential. He is not
bothered with the superficial look of things. But it is the parents'
attitude, the school's attitude, which gives him all the prejudices.
Therefore, as women, as mothers, it is we who can remove these pre-
judices and create an atmosphere in which all can live together at
peace.

The other great Gandhian idea is that of swadeshi. I do not think
we should shut off goods or ideas from other countries for ever. But
while we are building ourselves, we do have to see how we can strengthen
ourselves. And, therefore, during the period when we are building,
it is necessary that we buy only those things which will help our
own men and our own industry, although these things may not be very
glamorous to look at. It is the duty of women to encourage this
spirit of swadeshi among themselves and among their children.

The idea of non-violence was also basic to Gandhiji's thought.
Non-violence to Gandhiji did not mean only giving up force; it meant
the absence of hatred, the absence of fear and the spirit of tolerance
and friendship towards all. It does not, of course, mean tolerance
towards injustice, but tolerance for the ideas of others.

May I add one more point, which is also Gandhian in spirit?
Why cannot we do something about sanitation in Bombay? This
is one thing which was very dear to Gandhiji's heart. In fact he
spent a lot of time and effort teaching the people good sanitary
habits. This is something that the Government should certainly look
into. But I think we must take it up as a civic programme, as a
programme for all the citizens. I am sure it is not difficult if we
make up our mind. So, good luck to you in your work.
For Happier Families

It is indeed a pleasure for me to be here and to inaugurate this conference. It is an important conference. It will discuss subjects which generally receive less attention in India than politics and economics, but which are important to both politics and economy, since they deal with the well-being of our people.

In India, we lay as much stress on social as on economic development. We are vitally concerned with the problem of providing better opportunities and guidance to the young; with the problem of equal participation of women in all walks of life; with the problem of keeping the population under check in order to combat poverty and disparity; and with the problem of building happier homes. The basic objective of our Plans is a good life for the masses. But, what is a good life? Does it mean the use of as much chromium and glass per head as in the developed countries? Material abundance does not necessarily go with human happiness. So, we have been giving thought to evolving a new concept of standard of living for developing countries. Very recently, our delegation has persuaded UNESCO to take up a major project for fashioning 'a design for living' for the deprived three-fourths of the world. The problem in India is to liberate the individual, and yet foster all that holds individuals, groups and society together.

We have a very ancient tradition, and much of it is timeless and of continuing value. But any civilisation collects customs which become outmoded with changing conditions. We must now reform these outmoded and unjust customs. At the same time, we cannot discard the greater values of our national experience. In this task, the family has a crucial role. The family is the oldest social institution that man has devised. It is also the most enduring. Parental love is the basis of the family. The family fosters a sense of obligation which can be transformed into love of the land and love of mankind.

Under the stress of industrialisation, and urbanisation resulting from it, the idea of family is undergoing a change. In India, the joint family is on the decline, but separate roofs have not wholly wiped out the filial sense of belonging. No system is perfect, and the joint family has many failings. It has been blamed by sociologists for inhibiting ambition and enterprise. But, at the same time, it is not wholly bad. It does have many points which would recommend it. It provides a kind of social insurance, security to children, the

From inaugural address at the seventeenth conference of the International Union of Family Organisations, New Delhi, December 11, 1966
aged, the handicapped, and to those members who might become unemployed. In advanced societies, the State had tried to provide these facilities. The beautifully situated and attractively furnished homes for the old are bleak without the sound of youth. Nor do they replace the craving for personal attention. The old need the company of the young, so that they renew their contact with life. The sense of mortality is made endurable with the intimations of immortality of the race. The tension of several generations living together may be preferable to the loneliness that the aged experience. But, with changing times, it is not possible to hold on to these old systems, and the increasing social mobility is changing family life in India, too. But it is up to us to try and avoid the mistakes which we feel may come about with this change.

One of the questions to be discussed here is the role of the wife and the mother. Working women have special problems, but except when the children are very young, there need not be any conflict between work and family life. Men and women compliment one another and their equality is a natural, normal fact not requiring proof. India's recent history has, fortunately, avoided a conflict between men and women. Women in India won political rights without much difficulty because of the revolutionary social ideas of Gandhiji and Nehru. Women here fought side by side with men for a common goal, whereas in the West, they fought against men for their rights. So, in India, there was no question of a rivalry between the two sexes. And yet Indian women suffer many disabilities. Most of these are inherent in backwardness. That is why we emphasise, again and again, the duty of educated women towards their less fortunate sisters.

One of the urgent problems which you are going to discuss is that of 'family planning' which is a phrase I prefer to 'population control', because the aim of family planning is not merely to cut down population but to create conditions in which there can be happier families, in which the parents are able to give their families the care which is their due. By coincidence, your conference is taking place during our Family Planning Fortnight. Each day, India's population goes up by about 55,000; each month by over a million. This year, we have crossed the five hundred million mark; we are a 150 million more people now than when India became independent. It is time for us to think about its implications. A population can be a source of strength to the country, but when that country has limited resources, increase in population means less progress and more problems. In a way, it eats up the progress. You build more schools, more hospitals and other amenities, but the people are growing in such large numbers that all these become wholly inadequate. This year, we have had a very severe drought in some parts of our country, and these areas are
more thickly populated than the areas where we had drought last year. We have, therefore, to feed and look after more children, more aged and destitutes, and more mothers. We have to open more relief works. I think we should utilise this opportunity to get across a message to these people—a message of better organisation of their families, of their way of life, of their way of eating, of their way of working and living. If India is to get out of poverty within our generation, if we have to develop the strength to withstand one or two droughts, it will only be possible with a stable population. To plan when population growth is unchecked is like building a house where the ground is constantly flooded.

Family planning in our country is an essential part of our whole strategy of enlarging welfare. Greater welfare is in fact the only reason for family planning. We need it not because, as I said earlier, we are against more children, but because we want every child to have the best possible opportunity in life. We want our children to inherit a better world than our own. This is the aim of every father and mother and this is the objective of planned development.

I should like to welcome you, Mr President, and all the other distinguished guests who have come from far and near. We welcome you to our country. You will see here the many contradictions that go to make our land—the progress and the backwardness, the potential richness and the very real poverty, and many contradictions in our thinking. I do not know how many of you will have the occasion to travel outside Delhi. While Delhi is the Capital, it is very far from the real India. In fact, if you ask me which is the real India, it would be difficult to tell, because each part of India is different from the other; each State of India is like a country; and, within each State, there are differences of language, of food, of costume and of standard of living. All this diversity adds to our richness. Underlying this diversity, there is a basic thread of Indianness which joins us together, which has kept us together through countless centuries. Even today, in times of crisis, it manifests itself in many ways. So, I hope, you will have some opportunity of getting to know something of this vast and complicated country and you will go back from here as good friends of India, with a better understanding of what we are trying to do, how much we have achieved and how much more remains to be done. I hope your stay will be interesting as well as enjoyable and I wish your conference every success.
Priorities in Child Welfare Work

It is always a pleasure for me to come and attend any function connected with the Indian Council of Child Welfare. There is hardly any constructive activity which does not concern itself with the welfare of children. Therefore, the work which the Council should undertake is really endless. At the same time, I am constantly aware of the difficulties, lack of finances and lack of trained personnel, which stand in the way of starting new programmes and sometimes even of continuing old ones. Such difficulties are inevitable in a developing country like ours. The best way of overcoming difficulties like these is to concentrate on a few carefully chosen areas of work. Food, or provision of adequate nourishment to our children, should have the highest priority in child welfare work. Without food, without nourishment, no other programme is possible. In fact, the lack of it is a threat to life and health of the people. I should like to see school-feeding programmes all over the country. I had a hand in initiating this programme, and I am glad to see that today it covers over ten million children all over the country.

Then, there are schemes for scholarships and stipends for talented but needy children. What we should aim at is that those who have merit, should have the chance of making full use of their merit. Ability, and not class or community or wealth, should determine what education a child should have, what school he or she should go to. Here I would also like to make clear that ability is not always gauged by examinations. There are children who develop slowly, or who have qualities which may be good for them or for the nation, but which do not show up in the normal examination system. There are many examples, but the best known is that of Mr Winston Churchill. Perhaps you all know that, as a child, he did extremely badly in school, and yet he was one of the great men of the world and also a great leader of his country. There would be many names like this. Now it would be a pity if people with special types of talent are suppressed merely because our school system does not recognise or encourage such talent. There is, of course, the special problem of the backward and the handicapped children for which, I know, the Indian Council of Child Welfare has made special efforts.

Next to food and education, the important thing is discipline. Without discipline, one cannot make full use of education or of any other programme which may be initiated for children. There is some debate
on whether we should have moral instruction in schools. I think that what counts most with children is the example of their parents and teachers and even neighbours. It is how they see the grown-ups around them behaving which really moulds their moral or social ideas. And, therefore, to have discipline among children, it is necessary to have discipline among the whole population. When I use the word discipline, I do not mean any kind of regimentation. Discipline is something that grows out of right thinking and cannot be enforced. But we must all learn to look at our personal problems in the perspective of the problems of the community or the city; the community or the city must look at its problems in the perspective of the problems of the State; and the States must look at their problems in the perspective of the national problems. It is only when we have that kind of discipline, or the ability to look at the larger good, that we can solve our own problems and also help to build a better future.

One of the problems, which is really a problem for grown-ups, but which affects children very much, is the problem of slums in our cities. We are not doing enough for the children who grow up in the slums and who are handicapped from the beginning by bad sanitary conditions and other environmental influences which hamper their growth. It is really a surprise to me how many children manage to survive these conditions. But that does not mean that we should not do our utmost to remove these conditions. Another important problem is that of family planning. We should look at family planning not merely as a means of reducing our population or our birth rate, but as a means of having better families, healthier families, families where parents can really give full attention to the needs of their children.

Although in India we have had a long tradition of voluntary social work, I find that we are not making full use of our resources. There is a lot of talent and capacity and willingness for social work. We should so devise our programmes as to attract the people who are ready to help us with their money or talent or time. I would like to give my good wishes to the office-bearers and members and to the Indian Council of Child Welfare as a whole for the work which they are doing. It is an important national work, and I certainly hope that they will get the help they need and will continue to strengthen the foundations of the nation by providing its children with better opportunities to grow into good citizens.
New Deal for the Down-trodden

THE WELFARE of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes was one of the banners of our national movement, and it was Gandhiji's special injunction to us to serve the Harijans and the adivasis [tribal people]. As a small school girl, at the time when Gandhiji undertook his historic fast in the Yeravda prison, I went to a Harijan colony to work there. This was one of my very first activities in social work. At that time, this work was confined to very few people, and I remember that we were made fun of and ridiculed when we went to the Harijan colonies. It is a matter of some satisfaction that this objective is now common to all parties, and can be called a truly national objective. The Government yields to none in their resolve to work for this objective.

True uplift means, firstly that we end the traditional prejudices and discrimination, and secondly that we afford the fullest opportunity to Harijans and adivasis for education, employment and land-ownership. One of the basic problems of this country is that of the landless, the bulk of whom are Scheduled Castes. The unfortunate drought of the last two years has caused a great deal of suffering to many people, but it has specially hit the landless, particularly the Harijans. Now, many steps have been taken in the last twenty years towards the solution of this problem. Some results have been achieved, but we know that it is not enough. I hope that the new Planning Commission will give considerable time and thought to this problem; will suggest speedier solutions to the problem of the landless; and will step up economic programmes for our Scheduled Castes and Tribes.

I am greatly interested in the welfare of the Harijans, the hill people and the adivasis. The problem of the hill people, I feel, is not so much that of discrimination as that of isolation. Absence of proper communication facilities makes proper implementation of programmes for their development more difficult.

While I am fully conscious of the slowness of this work, I do not think we should belittle the progress which has been made in the last twenty years. There is, for example, remarkable achievement in the field of education. We have today a large number of doctors, engineers, administrators and professors, coming from these groups. Within a few years, some of them will be in the top rung of their professions. They have important positions in all the political parties, and I have no doubt that they will hold a much larger number of such positions.

From speech during debate in Raiva Sabha on the Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, August 12, 1967.
as time goes on. In fact, I think that it is their active role in the legislatures and in the Government which has done so much to wipe out many of the old prejudices. The growth of industries and urban communities is also helping in this process. Yet, we realise only too poignantly that much more needs to be done.

We should not subscribe to the feeling that only a person coming from a Scheduled Caste or a Scheduled Tribe can deal with their problems. I think it is a duty which we all share. Similarly, we expect them to help us in solving our other problems. We are all citizens of India. There have been inequalities between one section and another in this country. It should be the duty of all of us now to try and remove these inequalities by giving opportunities for growth and development to those sections of our society which were denied these opportunities in the past. It will certainly be my endeavour to ensure that more and more of our Harijan and tribal brothers and sisters are put in positions of authority and in positions where they can help to solve their own problems as well as others' problems.

As I mentioned earlier, I regard the question of the welfare of the Scheduled Castes, the tribal people, the people of the hill areas and other backward people as my very special concern and I have repeatedly pointed this out in Government and outside. I think that we must work especially hard now to be able to achieve something positive by 1969, when we will be celebrating the Gandhi Centenary. I think this would be one of the best ways of remembering Gandhi and of bringing at least one of his dreams nearer to reality. While we will make very genuine efforts in this direction, I am sure Hon. Members will realise that the full redress of ancient wrongs cannot be achieved so quickly, no matter how much we desire it; but we should certainly make every effort to see that the time, in which such redress takes place, is reduced to the minimum. I pledge my unceasing attention and effort to this cause.

The Mission of a Doctor

When we speak of a doctor's work, we naturally wonder what kind of society he will serve. The doctor does not live in a vacuum. He is pre-eminently a servant of society, and he is in touch with
only if educated people go to live there and take interest in the over-
all improvement of the place.

Hospitals and medical colleges must play a greater role in preven-
tive medicine. There should be a close relationship among teaching,
medical administration, public health services and research.

An example of a well-organised public health campaign is the anti-
malaria programme. Anti-smallpox campaign has also been under-
taken. There are other diseases such as tuberculosis, leprosy and filaria
which require our urgent attention. I am told that owing to complac-
ence at the third stage, malaria is coming back again. This is sad
news and the Government and the people need to bestir themselves. The battle for health is a continuous one; any slowing down will affect
the whole nation.

Two other determining factors pertaining to the nation's health and
well-being are family planning and nutrition. Many of our prob-
lems are the result of our success in the field of public health. Our
population problem is an example. As an eminent doctor has rightly
remarked, doctors themselves are the creators of the population ex-
plosion. They must also find a way out. Until now our major dif-
ficulty was to create motivation and the right psychological climate. Our campaign has been successful in certain pockets. It is not unlikely
that soon a nation-wide clamour for doctors and appliances for family
planning will build up.

Another important health problem is that of nutrition. Howsoever
good one harvest may be, let us not forget that a large part of our
people are chronically undernourished in terms of calories as well as
life-building proteins. If nothing is done about this protein scarcity,
these masses will remain condemned to an incomplete and lustreless
life. I have pleaded for close co-operation between medical scientists
and agricultural scientists in improving the nutritional value of our
diet. In your own Institute, notable research work has been done in
anaemia and nutritional deficiency. Work is also being done in the
Nutrition Research Laboratory and elsewhere. Guided by the results
of this research, we must evolve a programme to make up the vital
nutritional deficiencies of school-children and mothers.

Why have you chosen medicine as a career? Surely not merely
out of expectation of gain or fame. These come to the successful
in any profession. What must have influenced your own decision is
a special sympathy with other people and an urge to alleviate their
suffering. Guard and cherish that gift of sympathy. For it is given
to doctors, more than to all others, to appear in the people's prayers.
I wish each one of you the doctor's true reward—a life not of ease but
of work, and the great satisfaction that because of your effort, many
have found life and health. One gets from life what one gives to it. I
hope, therefore, that you will regard your work not just as a profession but will give to it your utmost in endeavour and interest.

Family Planning Must be a People’s Programme

It is a pleasure to be amongst people who are dedicated missionaries in the cause of the country’s future. Smt. Rama Rau and her colleagues do not need to be preached to on the virtues of family planning, for it is their pioneering work which has been largely responsible for the Government and the people of India recognising the vital connection between family planning and planning for the country’s prosperity.

Family planning is an accepted official policy in India. But our programme will not succeed if it remains only an official programme. There are some developmental plans which can be taken up and completed by a few for the many. There are programmes which can be completed by the Government. But family planning is truly a people’s programme. Its success rests on individual citizens. They have to be approached, persuaded, prompted and helped to practise family planning. The entire official machinery for family planning, whether at the Centre or in the States, is meant for this task of persuasion and assistance.

Recently, in agriculture, we have seen that the people’s willingness to adopt new methods has overtaken official effort. This might possibly happen in the family planning programme also. It should be proved to every village and to every family that a smaller, more compact family makes for better health and greater happiness for the family and hence for more prosperity for the village.

Since we took up family planning programmes three or four years ago with the urgency and earnestness they deserve, we have achieved impressive success in terms of numbers. But the success has been limited, as far as I can see, to certain pockets. The most affluent sections of our population and perhaps those groups which are driven by the desire to improve their standard of living—namely, the urban middle class and the skilled industrial workers—are the ones most forthcoming to take advantage of the facilities offered by the Government.

From speech at the inauguration of the Sixth All India Conference on Family Planning, Chandigarh, November 30, 1968.
Any new scheme or project, any programme which promises improvement in the living standards of the people is usually taken advantage of by those who are already slightly better off. Higher education helps the urban middle class more than the rural working class. The practice of intensive agricultural production is utilised by those who already have the advantage of irrigation rather than those who are dependent on the rain. Even something as uncontroversial as a library helps only the literate and leaves untouched those who cannot read. Thus, many of our development plans often leave the poorest and the weakest where they are, while the slightly better off become stronger. In the process, disparities increase. The official and the voluntary agencies, the latter more than the former, must strengthen their efforts to reach those who are in the greatest need. Official agencies will be in a hurry to fulfil their targets. Non-official agencies may be better able to appreciate the human side of the problem.

The theme of your conference is ‘Family Planning for Hundred Million Couples’. We cannot do without targets. But the danger of fixing targets is that in the quest for figures, the desirable is sometimes subordinated to the practicable. A second danger of the target approach is that too little attention is given to the stabilisation of gains through follow-up and maintenance checks.

In the advanced nations, family planning and economic development were practically unrelated. Therefore, they could offer us very little guidance. Their society, Church and State were all opposed to family planning, and yet the birth rates fell because married couples wanted smaller family. This is true of Protestant-Puritan countries, Catholic countries, as well as socialist countries, all of which frowned on family planning. Yet family planning was practised in all those countries. The compelling reason was that progress already made prompted them to ask for more progress. Our own country, with its mass poverty, cannot leave this task to individual motivation, because such motivation comes only after a certain level of education or economic betterment has already been reached.

It is because we cannot afford to wait until such consciousness becomes widespread that we in India require well-planned official programmes which are implemented with determination. We have several advantages. Unlike the countries of the West, there is no organised religious opposition. Also, the educated person, especially the doctor, enjoys high prestige and his or her judgement carries weight.

The biggest enemy of family planning in India is the lassitude of our people. Even when they are convinced of the benefits of a course
of action they make little attempt to exert themselves. Their enthusiasms are often short-lived. The high lapse ratio is a serious problem. This is the reason for our search for a device that has long-lasting effect.

A new danger to the family planning movement has been discernible for sometime, and it shows the link which politics has with all other problems of life. There is propaganda to the effect that the family planning programme will upset the relative population ratios of the various groups in our country and thus perhaps weaken their political power or bargaining position. This pernicious doctrine may well convince people because of its fallacy. History shows ample proof of the spread and influence of false beliefs. Workers in the field and all those interested in the family planning programme must strive to the utmost to combat this sort of propaganda and to allay these imaginary fears. The control of one's family gives greater opportunities for education and medical care and is, therefore, equally important for all groups, minority or otherwise.

Simultaneous progress in programmes of intensive agriculture and family planning can give us the chance of conquering rural poverty. The one cannot be thought of as a substitute for the other. In the agricultural programme, the combined effort of extension agencies and scientists produced good results. In the family planning programme also, the field programmes must be strengthened by training workers, by setting up more teams, by better production and distribution of family planning appliances, by a more forceful and imaginative use of mass media to impart information and to create the right social climate.

Equally important is biological research. For the last hundred years or so, medical research has concentrated its energies on combating death and alleviating pain. In the last few decades, science has also turned its attention to improving agricultural production. Science must now concentrate on the mysteries of birth, so that individual families can regulate their size, nations can regulate their population, and this planet can decide how many people it should support and at what levels of happiness. Grotesque pictures are being painted of a world in which by A.D. 2000, which is not too far away from us now, the bulk of the people will be dying of starvation. This is a great challenge to science not only in our own country but all over the world.
Mass Media and the Arts
The Power of Films

We all are fully aware of the importance of the cinema. It is the largest single medium of entertainment in our country, larger than sports or music or art or travel. In the present economic condition of our people, it is the medium to which the largest number have easy access. The cinema plays a great role in education; but I am not one of those who value it only for its educational potentialities. I believe that entertainment is in itself a legitimate purpose. The cinema, like other forms of entertainment, provides pleasure and aesthetic satisfaction. It can also educate and elevate the audience, and enlarge their sympathy.

Besides being the largest source of entertainment for the masses, the cinema is also the single most potent cultural influence in the country. Our films seem to be all-pervasive. They are bringing village and town closer. They are bringing province and province together. The other day, on another occasion, I pointed out how much the spread of Hindi owed to films. In numerous other ways, also, films have contributed to fostering a sense of oneness in our country. I should like to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the part played by the cinema in the emotional integration of our country.

Having said this, I turn to the question of the standard of our films. Standard is rather an omnibus word. We know what it means in the case of everyday goods we use. We want these goods to be long-lasting. We want them to look good. We are prepared to pay higher prices for those things which work well, last longer and look better. In machinery again, certain standards and specifications are prescribed. We have a standards institution which does this job. But we cannot have a standards institution for films or for literature or for painting. A film has the quality of a work of art. It depends on the vision of its creator, and on the technical mastery with which he communicates this vision in words or sound or colours or images. Quality does not come merely from a didactic purpose. Quality comes from intellect, technical mastery and the determination to be honest. Above all, quality comes from courage, courage to be different, to be non-conformist. The beaten track does not lead to new pastures or fresh woods. The discoverer aims at making people think, and he

Speech at the presentation of State Awards for Films, New Delhi, May 25, 1966
cannot be content merely to please. A great work of art may prove popular. Its power and beauty may conquer the people. But, unfortunately, this is not always so. The most important books are not those which automatically sell best. Popularity is not a guarantee of quality. This is one of the problems faced by committees and juries who make awards. Sometimes, their choice meets with approval and acclaim. At other times, people and even critics are puzzled, and there are serious controversies. The decisions of a jury cannot invariably be right, but their reasons must be sound.

I have no doubt that awards and recognition are a spur to better effort. They have contributed directly to an improvement in quality. In our own country, in earlier years, film awards were looked upon with some reservations by those producers and directors of films who thought only of the box-office. But even they have begun to have respect for the awards now. This year’s gold medal has gone to a Malayalam film based on a famous book. I read the book in a beautiful English translation, and I must say, I enjoyed it immensely.

I am very glad that much more interest is now being taken in films in the regional languages, because this is the way to reach the people. I hope that the standard of our films will continue to rise, and in so doing it will create a better appreciation of films and a real demand for better films.

Appreciation of Music

The academies of music and drama have a very special role to play in this country. I do not think that they have been playing this role as energetically or as enthusiastically as they should. We have very old traditions of music, and, fortunately, we have been able to keep them alive and creative. I am keenly interested in the preservation of our folk music and dances. Already, we find that these are changing. I am not against change; often change is inevitable. But it would be a pity to lose what we have. We should try and preserve, at least for the sake of record, our old folk songs, our old dance forms, and even our old costumes. Naturally, there will always be new creations and improvisations, but we must preserve some record of our costumes, music and dance.

From speech at a conference of chairmen of the State academies of music and drama, Pachmarhi, June 11, 1960.
Equally important is to maintain a certain standard of taste and appreciation. I think that we have groups of people, in every city of India, who have good taste and who can appreciate good music. But appreciation of good music should spread to a larger number of our people. Our academies of music and dance should take a greater interest in these matters, and try and promote better appreciation of music and dance. It is my experience that when a person is exposed to the best, he begins to like it. An Englishman, C.E.M. Joad, has said that you have to be bored with the best for sometime before you know that it is the best. Once you come to recognise it, you will not be satisfied with anything less.

Perhaps you know that England was known as the most unmusical country in the world before the last war. During the war, when there was so much tension, the Government arranged for lunch-hour concerts. This meant that musicians would give their services, sometimes free and sometimes at a fee, and play during the lunch break. It was highly classical music from the best pianists, violinists and others. By making good music available to ordinary people, like office and factory workers, Britain became one of the most music-minded countries of Europe. There is a great deal of appreciation among ordinary people of even highly classical music, as also of highly modern music which is even more difficult to understand. I have given a very ordinary example, just to show that it is quite easy to bring about appreciation of good music among the wider public. It does not need a lot of money or a lot of effort, but a little imaginative thinking and a little team-work.

Advertising Can Serve National Goals

Advertising is an ancient and yet a very new industry. It now ranks in the category of 'big business' and is steadily expanding. In India, too, there has been a rapid growth of advertising. I do not know if there is any agreed estimate of the amount of money spent on advertising but, I believe, your Society places this at about Rs. 30 crore a year—about Rs. 15 crore in newspapers, Rs. 10 crore in cinemas and Rs. 5 crore on posters and other media.

Essentially, advertising sets out to sell something—goods or services. It brings together the buyer and the seller through a process

Speech at the third conference on advertising, New Delhi, September 28, 1966
of information and communication. Advertising also plays a part in competition, as for example in the sales of rival products. Some may well ask whether a developing country like India needs to spend Rs. 30 crore or more on this business? I do not think there is any simple answer, but I do have a few thoughts, which I would like to share with you.

Advertising can help to sell not only products but also ideas. In a developing society this can be a very important factor since attitudes to work, saving, effort and aspiration are shaped by ideas which create or alter motivation. Advertising of a certain kind, therefore, has an extremely important educative role. We must educate our people to invest in national savings, to buy life insurance, to practise family planning, and so on. So advertising can certainly help here.

In some traditional societies it is difficult to get people to work harder, because beyond a certain point incomes have little value once traditional needs are met. One comes across this in some of our States where workers—tribal and others—work intermittently and stay at the job only long enough to earn a certain minimum amount of money. The creation of new wants can, in this case, stimulate and enlarge the motivation to work and to earn more. When I visit villages these days, I am glad to find people using more cycles, shoes, flashlights, watches and even transistor radios. Not only does this reflect higher living standards, but is also evidence of a new motivation, a new incentive to work and enterprise.

It might be argued that all this has little to do with the essential priorities of development. I am not sure whether such a statement would be wholly true. Marketing is certainly an essential economic factor, not only of production but also of research and development. It is obvious that what is produced—whether it is toothpaste or a sophisticated piece of machinery—must be sold, if the manufacturer is not to lose money.

The other day Prof. Mahalanobis told us of the very interesting paper read by Prof. Blackett at the last Indian Science Congress. Prof. Blackett pointed out that the formula can no longer be limited to R&D or O&D as it is called. R&D is becoming increasingly expensive on account of the mounting cost of qualified scientists and engineers. R&D can pay its way only if it leads on to design, production and marketing. The marketing factor is most important because, unless a sufficiently large volume of the final products can be marketed, the earlier investment on research and development as well as on design and production will not pay.

The moment we talk of marketing, we enter into the domain of advertising. Advertising necessarily involves market research and
ADVERTISING CAN SERVE NATIONAL GOALS

consumer analysis. Looked at this way, advertising is a factor of production and, therefore, of technological development.

There is certainly a good deal of ordinary glossy advertising for pushing rival brand names, which is of lesser economic consequence. However, it is for us to try and determine how Indian advertising should develop. I hope it will develop along positive lines and will always keep in mind the larger economic, social and cultural goals before the country.

The theme of this conference is more specifically the role of advertising in radio and television. We have so far had no advertising over All India Radio. The Chanda Committee on Broadcasting and Information Media has, however, recommended commercial advertising over radio and television within certain limits. The Report of the Committee is still under consideration and I am sure that this particular recommendation will receive careful consideration.

It is obvious, as the Chairman has pointed out, that advertising can bring in revenue, and revenue is certainly very greatly needed. However, the question is slightly wider than merely having the necessary revenue. One can make money in a variety of ways, but not all of them are always desirable. The question here is whether such advertising will support our national policies and whether it will keep in mind the larger economic, social and cultural goals. I hope that when you discuss this question, you will look at it from a wider angle. I am not expressing any definite views on this subject here.

I am convinced of the importance of information and mass communication in India. It is only in this way that we can communicate ideas to the general mass of the people and induce them or rather direct them in directions which are for their own good. I have mentioned certain matters, but equally important are things like better farming methods and other information which is relevant to the farmer who lives in remote areas and to the many who are illiterate or anyhow are not in the habit of reading newspapers. As a part of this does. And when television is developed, it will go several steps further in giving education and information and in encouraging national integration.

There has been a reference to the UNESCO discussion on satellite communication. This has reminded me of the very first meeting of UNESCO which I attended in 1961 as a member of the Indian delegation. At that time, our delegation very warmly supported a resolution brought up by the French delegation, which said that the satellite should be used for education all over the world and more specially in the so-called under-developed countries. It was pointed out that a satellite could help in, for example, a lecture given in any
part of the world, say the United States, being simultaneously translated into any number of languages and being beamed back from the satellite into many countries of the world. Therefore, people living even in far off areas would have the benefit of listening in to distinguished professors and having a first class education made available to them.

I do not at all want to minimise the importance of television for education, specially in the conditions which we have in our country. It is not only important for us that radio and television should grow rapidly, but that they should do so on the right lines. I have no doubt that in your conference here, you will have a fruitful and useful discussion and come up with practical suggestions.

Journalism in a Developing Society

Journalism today is no longer confined to the printed word but embraces words and pictures transmitted over the ether. These are times of the mass-media. Each of these media is a vast industry with complicated equipment run by large armies of men. Much of the time these media are concerned with entertainment. But information remains the first purpose of the media. The Press is a public service rather than an industry. It exists to gather, print and broadcast information. It should do so as fully, accurately and with as little bias as possible. It should aim at helping people to know more and so to judge better and decide better.

Inevitably, the journalist moves in the realm of public affairs and power. His path is strewn with hazards and temptations. If he seeks truth and is determined to serve the one master worth serving, namely the good of the people, he has to brave the hazards and resist the temptations. Perhaps the most difficult temptation to resist is the Faust complex—that is the complex about one's supposedly superior knowledge and mysterious power over the minds of men.

Our Press has been built up by men of courage and high ideals, men who sought truth and made no alliance with authority. It is not a coincidence that some of the great figures in the history of our journalism were also those who moulded and led the freedom move-

Speech while laying the foundation-stone of the new building of the Press Trust of India, New Delhi, February 1, 1968
ment and shaped the new India. May I refer to only two of them, Lokmanya Tilak and Mahatma Gandhi. To Tilak the purpose of his newspaper was 'to work for the awakening of the people, to teach them sincerity and the sense of unity'. He said, "We write in order that the readers might imbibe our spirit and understand our thoughts, our urges and our indignation." Gandhiji, who called the pen 'the foundry of the nation', once wrote, "To be true to my faith, I may not write in anger or malice, I may not write idly, I may not write merely to excite passion. The reader can have no idea of the restraint I have to exercise from week to week in the choice of topics and vocabulary. It enables me to peep into myself and to make discoveries of my weaknesses. Often my vanity dictates a smart expression or my anger a harsh adjective. It is a terrible ordeal but a fine exercise to remove these words.'

Our Press and our democracy will be safe if newspapermen observe the self-examining ordinance. The threat to a free Press comes not only from authority but from within itself. If journalists become too respectful towards power, whether economic or political, or if they chase popularity and circulation to the neglect of professional integrity, then the liberty of the Press will be in trouble. The old newspaper adage that 'news is sacred and comment free' underlines the need to keep news-columns unprejudiced. With the ascendancy of interpretative reporting, this old-world distinction is disappearing. Special editorial pleading is understandable in a newspaper, but a news agency cannot afford to do so. The word 'objectivity' is used loosely. Modern philosophy tells us that there cannot be absolute objectivity, for, the eye of the beholder changes what it sees. But when a newspaperman remembers that considerations of nation, party, class, or personal gain can contaminate the flow of news, then he is likely to exert himself to keep the channel clear. A news agency serving journals of varying views and news, will certainly be sensitive to this need.

The Press Trust of India is our premier news agency. The chairman has told us something of its history. During the Independence struggle, our nationalist newspapers dreamt of a national news agency. Their efforts were thwarted by the lack of resources and the unhelpful attitude of the authorities. Ultimately the Associated Press itself became a national agency and, significantly, the Press Trust of India was incorporated within twelve days of the country becoming free. In the past, we have experienced the disadvantages of seeing the world through the lenses of some other country. Such filtered news and a one-sided view of the world will not do for a free country. Along with the Press Trust of India other national agencies have also come up which operate throughout the country. We have given all these
agencies the fullest facilities to grow and to develop. We have helped
them to acquire modern equipment, which is essential in these days
of instant communication. All that we expect of them is that they
should be owned by the newspapers which subscribe to their services
and should not be run on monopolistic lines. We should like the
news agencies to play an active part in encouraging small newspapers
especially in district towns and in the regional languages. These
newspapers could be a countervailing force to the big metropolitan
newspapers and the Press chains.

Even a casual visitor to India notices the freedom and vitality of
our Press. We should always defend this freedom because a free
Press is a basic guarantee of democracy and a vigilant guardian of
every right that free men prize. At the same time, it is for the Press
to realise that freedom cannot exist without responsibility. It is for
the more responsible sections of the Press to educate the erratic and
adventurous section in the true functions of journalism. By ‘responsible’, I do not suggest opinions convenient to authority. Let the Press
do its duty as it sees it. I do not ask it to be impartial, for that would
itself be a limitation to freedom of opinion, but let it not be too obsessed
with the ephemeral and trivial but take a longer and larger view of
events. The Press has a right as well as a duty to point out faults and
to attack pettiness and hypocrisy. But let it not undermine the confi-
dence and spirit of the people by speaking only of the failures and not
of the victories of the people as a whole.

In the days of our freedom struggle, the Press was a great weapon
for our just fight. Today it must continue the unfinished battle of
freedom by fighting sectarianism, provincialism, fanatism and super-
tition, and, above all, by fighting violence. Freedom has often meant
freedom for the big against the small. We have not solved the prob-
lem of how to secure the freedom for the small. This is true of our
entire economy. It is true also of our Press. This is a problem
which needs to be given greater thought.

The Government owns some mass media, notably the radio. In
recent years, the number of listeners has grown immensely. We have
encouraged frank and sturdy public debate over the radio. This trend
of liberalisation can also be seen in Government newsreels and docu-
mentary films. I certainly hope that this trend will continue.

With the development of communications through satellite, the
inventions of Morse, Graham Bell and Marconi appear ancient history.
Today, we can hear and see news as it is made. Television converts
everywhere into here. There is no doubt that in our system it will be
a powerful aid to democracy. Moreover, it can play a decisive role in
the modernisation of our countryside. To the farmers, seeing is
believing. Our limited experience with television in and around Delhi has shown what a tremendous change it brings to the education of the farmers with regard to new agricultural practices. We intend to promote television not only as a means of entertainment but as a means of education for development.

Education for development is also a responsibility of newspapers and news agencies. News agencies reach the public at a secondary move but they are channels to the mind. It is important that these channels should not be subject to political and economic control which could constrain or taint the flow of information.

One World of Art

THIS TRIENNALE is the most ambitious art exhibition so far undertaken in India; to have organised it is an achievement, and I think officials of the Lalit Kala Akademi deserve our congratulations. We are glad that the artists and art organisations of so many countries responded so enthusiastically to our invitation, and I am also glad to know that twenty thousand people have visited the exhibition.

There is, as the Chairman pointed out, a vast gulf between the world of politics and the world of art. But I do not think that either can be divorced from the other. If the politician is divorced from the world of art, he is deprived of much pleasure and knowledge of a very important section of the people. But if the artist is completely divorced not from politics as such, but from the issues that concern the politicians, then he is divorced from life itself. So there is a need for exchanges, and for each to know something about the work of the other. I entirely agree with the Chairman when he mentioned the need for art education and the need for teaching art appreciation.

We know that India is what she is because art was alive here as a part of the very life of the people. When we see old houses, when we see old materials, when we see folk art and folk dances, or hear folk music, we know that the richness of India was contained in the very life of the people. We would be losing a great deal of our unique personality if we were to lose that instinctive feel for sound and colour which so many of our people have had over the centuries.

The value of an exhibition such as this one is not merely in the

From speech at the presentation of awards in connection with the First Triennale India Exhibition, New Delhi, April 10, 1968.
numbers who come to see it, but in what types of people come to see it. I am glad to know that some of our younger people came, and I am sure that this will be an education in art for them and will influence their thinking, their working and, perhaps, their taste also.

A thing that astonishes people when they go to art exhibitions nowadays is to see the similarities in the works coming from countries with vastly different cultural backgrounds. There does seem to be in the world of art today a heightened consciousness of the unity of man. It is very obvious in the work of these eminent and articulate artists. There is far greater mutual knowledge than ever before amongst the people of the world and also the awareness of the terrible possibilities of science and technology. In the works of some artists we found that the human situation seems to have driven them to fear, and even to frenzy if I may call it so, whereas others want to seek beauty and ineffable peace. Yet others try to dissect the outer form and to discover the symmetry of the bones within. A few were content to sing simple songs in colour and forms.

Many people in our country and elsewhere are frankly bewildered by contemporary art. They miss in it the comfort of familiarity and convention. Everywhere young people and creative people are discarding the old formulations; they are challenging old beliefs and driving themselves to search for a new form and method of personal expression. This has happened in music, in literature—in fact, in all the arts. Sometimes the artist's quest results in wild excess, and sometimes in a private vision inaccessible to others. But ours is not an age of certainties. It is not an age of obviousness. The obvious is left to the everyday world of advertising, of journalism and of radio.

To me naturally the Indian section of the exhibition has a special interest. I could see the influence of many forces, of our own numerous traditions as well as the old and new movements of other lands. At present both in the sciences and some of the arts, an international human being is developing, who seems to reject a local habitation and name. But most of our artists represent a blend, in different degrees of success, of the Indian and the international sensibility. I personally do not think that there is anything wrong in such blending. No man and no nation can be an island. I am not prepared to join the lament of some people that Indian art is becoming un-Indian. Indian art cannot retreat into its own shell, it has to jostle in the open with the art of other lands. This is not only good for us but also for the other countries. It is quite possible that Indian painting might do to painting elsewhere what, perhaps, Japanese painting did to Europe many decades ago, or Indian music is doing to some extent now. The United Nations of Art must have both universality and
particularity. I recall those very well-known words of Mahatma Gandhi, wherein he said that he wanted the doors and windows of his house to allow the air of all cultures to blow and yet he did not want to be blown off his own feet. These words, I think, should be our guide-line.

I have sometimes heard it said that, contrary to expectation, freedom has not brought about a release of the creative energies of our people. But the Indian section in this exhibition certainly gives the lie to this charge. We see in it clearly that our artists are bursting with self-confidence. The days when they felt apologetic or inferior about their work have gone. Our creative young people now aim high. I am reminded of Robert Browning's line that low aim and not failure is the crime. The international acclaim which now greets our musicians and dancers and our artists is well known. The talent which one sees around is the seed-bed of our greatness. I am full of hope for our artists and I know that they, in turn, will be able to create hope and new horizons for all our people.
Remembering the Great
Shri Basaveswara

Our country has produced great philosophers and men of religion from the time of the Upanishads down to the present day, and Shri Basaveswara is one of the greatest of these. He was a great thinker and devotee and at the same time a great social reformer.

I find that at the core of Shri Basaveswara's thinking were two outstanding ideas. The idea that caste divisions are harmful and the idea that work is the only true worship. These truths are as relevant today as when he preached them nearly 800 years ago. Today we have to realise anew that narrow divisions into caste or creed, into province and language, can only hurt and weaken our society.

A modern materialist sage has said that labour is the basis of all wealth. Shri Basaveswara made an even more profound comment, that labour is the foundation of the whole spiritual life. Those of us who delight in dissecting ideological subtleties and those of us who think that an intellectual is one who does not soil his hands, must rediscover the truth taught by Shri Basaveswara that without work there is neither life nor salvation. This eminent thinker and reformer had an electric effect in his time. He attracted a large number of disciples and I am told that whoever came in contact with him also became something of a poet and philosopher. Disciples came to him from various parts of the country.

It has been to me a constant source of amazement that, through the centuries, we have had these great men who have reminded us of the eternal truth and of the values which have kept us united, given us strength, and have rejuvenated our society whenever it tended to become weak through superstition and misinterpretation of tradition. In those ancient days when communication was so much more difficult, people and ideas still travelled and travelled to the farthest corners of the land. Shankara was born in Kerala but founded four seats of learning in four corners of the country. Ramanuja was born in Tamil Nadu but his followers existed in Bengal and Gujarat. Shri Basaveswara attracted disciples even from Kashmir. Later-day saints, such as Kabir and Guru Nanak, regarded the whole of India as their field of work.

From speech at the eighth centenary celebration of Shri Basaveswara, New Delhi, February 17, 1968
Besides promoting a religious movement of unusual fervour, Shri Basaveswara was also a great literary figure and was one of the makers of Kannada literature. His sayings are now part of the everyday speech even of the villagers and the common man of that State. I shall quote a very short one in English: "This mortal world is the workshop of the Creator. Those who are tested here belong there." What a refreshing affirmation of this-worldliness of our religion, if I may call it so. Many people are trying to stress the point, specially outside India, that our religion or our thinking is not concerned with the material things, with the well-being of people, that we are concerned only with the so-called ethereal things. But when you read the sayings and the teachings of all our great religious men, you find that they are very much concerned with the common man and his welfare and with what would be known as the material aspect of life. We could not have survived as a people had our faith been entirely other-worldly.

Most of our great thinkers have been rebels. Indeed every religious leader of true significance has to be a rebel. He has to reject the constraint of conformity. Yet, despite the efforts of men of such force of character, social evils are still with us and we have not been able to wipe them out. What then is the remedy? Not merely to look towards great men to be born to solve our problems, but for each one to work for himself or herself to bring about the required change. Shri Basaveswara taught that each person is in direct relationship with God or with destiny and needs no one's mediation. In our own times the same truth was taught to us by Gandhiji. So at this function, I can only pray that we shall all be guided by the teachings of these great men, and that we shall be worthy of these great figures of history.

Guru Gobind Singh

Three hundred years ago on this day was born in Patna a child who grew up into a great figure of history. Guru Gobind Singh's achievements were many-sided. He was gifted with unusual spiritual power. He was a teacher and poet of God-given inspiration, who preached the equality of men and the unity of religions. His faith made him a great exponent of spiritual liberty. He was an equally

Broadcast over All India Radio on the 300th birth anniversary of Guru Gobind Singh, January 18, 1987
great exemplar of political liberty. He opposed imperial tyranny and became the focal point of the spirit of resistance. The Guru was not only a man of prayer but a man of action. His feats on the field of battle were marvels of valour.

He was only eight when his father became a martyr to Aurangzab's wrath. Hearing this, the young Gobind Rai declared, "He gave his life but not his honour". That day he became the Guru. His own life was cut short when he was only forty-two. And it was a life of untold sacrifice. He lost four sons and disciples as dear as sons in opposing the might of an empire. The intrigue and persecution he had to endure made no difference to his love of God's creatures. Even as he fought political tyranny, he fought religious intolerance, caste and superstition. "The temple and the mosque are the same," he taught. "Men quarrel over diet, dress and rituals, and over caste, community and creed, and these have torn man from man. My mission is to restore mankind to a single brotherhood. So how can I love one and hate another?" He was the very heart of forgiveness. When people who had played false came back to him he forgave them saying, "In our house we do not store up the past."

Each age understands great men in its own way and draws strength from their teachings to solve its own problems. Guru Gobind Singh's courage and his repudiation of caste and superstition should be an example to us. Yet another lesson in his life is of special significance. When asked who would be Guru after him, he declared that there would be no Guru after him, and bade each person find the truth directly in the holy Granth. This act has few parallels in history.

This was a glorious proclamation of spiritual self-reliance. In a stage of our history when self-reliance is our greatest need, let us draw inspiration from Guru Gobind Singh.

Like all great leaders Guru Gobind Singh belongs to each one of us, whatever our religion. His teaching is perennial. On this day specially sacred to them, I greet my brothers and sisters of the Sikh faith. \textit{Jai Hind.}
The Greatness of Gokhale

We have gathered here today to pay grateful homage to a man to whom our country owes a great debt. Gopal Krishna Gokhale was a great son of India—one of the moulders of the Indian mind; a leader of great intellect and unsurpassed purity; the guru of Gandhiji and a whole host of servants of India. What is it that made Gandhiji claim Gokhale as his guru? It was the fact that Gokhale not only believed that public life must be spiritualised, but also showed in his own life how it can be done.

What is meant by spiritualising of public life? Certainly not the import of religion into politics. Gokhale was not a religious fanatic. His personal religion, he kept to himself. He was one of the most cosmopolitan men of his time—utterly free of dogma and narrow loyalty. He wanted an India in which all religions could flourish. By demanding that public life be spiritualised, what Gokhale meant was that public life should be approached with the greatest sense of sanctity and responsibility and with the utmost selflessness of which one is capable. The rewards of public life should not be material but spiritual. Gokhale taught that public life too should be regarded as a sadhana [spiritual discipline].

He laid stress on study and preparation. The vows he prescribed for people joining the Servants of India Society bring this out clearly. The vows were: that the country will always be first in his hope; that in serving the country he will seek no personal advantage; that he will regard all Indians as brothers without distinction of caste and creed; that he will lead a pure personal life; that he will engage in no personal quarrel with anyone. These guides to action are as appropriate today as they were sixty years ago. Gokhale showed, as Gandhi did after him, that these rules are not impossible to live up to, but are eminently practicable. Situated as we are today in the midst of many quarrels, this is one aspect which stands out in its importance. If only a certain percentage of our people in public could keep this vow, politics would be very different—not only in our country but in other countries also. Years ago, Lincoln uttered those famous words, “Charity for all and malice towards none”. Whether in personal or in national life, that is the only true road to nobility and greatness. Tolerance is especially necessary in a democracy, because without tolerance there can be no real democracy—tolerance not only of what you like but as my father often remarked, “tolerance even of what you do not like”. Gokhale wanted reason to guide public life. I recall again my father's
words that "planning itself is the application of reason to our problems".

Mr. Mayor mentinoed Gokhale's moderate stand and the Chief Minister of Maharashtra mentioned the many programmes which he initiated. This goes to show what a modern and forward-looking mind Gokhale had. He was not concerned with the past and with moulding the present. He was looking towards the future—towards the future generations and the future of the country.

Gokhale's remarkable influence and authority were a result of tireless study. It is said of him that he knew everything worth knowing about Indian economics and administration and that no one was ever able to challenge a single statement of his. His mastery of facts and the lucidity with which he put forth his arguments made him a great parliamentarian, even in those days, when the Supreme Legislative Council had so little power. He was a great son of India and one whose mark and impress has lasted throughout our national life. Gandhiji took a lot from Gokhale's thought and applied it to Indian politics and in different ways we have tried to enshrine those thoughts in our national life. I do not, for a minute, suggest that we have always been able to live up to those high ideals. But the very fact that we hold them aloft and that we attempt to live up to them, can help us to mould a better national life and to take our country along the path which Gokhale would have wanted it to go.

The Universalism of Tagore

Nothing in the world is entirely new and nothing in the world is changeless. Life is a continuous process of adjustment. This is evident at Santiniketan. It is certainly growing and changing, and yet it retains a quality of gentleness, as if the beneficent spirit of Gurudev Tagore was still present. Gurudev was himself part of all time. He conversed with the sages of the dawn of our civilisation, yet he walked in the modern age. He combined the eternal and the immediate. He reconciled the universal with the local. That is why he gave the name Visva-Bharati to this great school. He wanted every student of this university to become a visva-manava, a universal individual, who knew no narrowness and who could say, "The world is my home and all men are my brothers."

From convocation address at Visva-Bharati University, Santiniketan, December 24, 1967
But even the universal has to find an identity of place and nationality, to find a local form and name. That is why the Poet was proud of being an Indian while aspiring to be a universal man. My father expressed the same idea in a different way when he declared that no one could be truly international unless he also was intensely national. This was true of both Gurudev and my father. For, neither of them could think of realising the universal by escaping from his Indian identity. The Poet spoke once of finding freedom in a thousand bonds of delight. A thousand bonds of delight linked him to his motherland. His creed was one of affirmation. His greatest dreams were dreamt for his country and for his fellowmen. We must try to draw strength from the Poet who symbolised the greatest in contemplation and in achievement. We must study anew his message and learn to rise above all meanness of spirit as he would wish us to do.

* * *

Shri Samar Guha talked of Gurudev Tagore being a mahakavi [great poet]. He was certainly a mahakavi. But he was something much bigger than that. Poetry was only one part of him. He was a very great human being and it was our great privilege to have him as a fellow Indian. But I do not think it would be right for us to claim that he belonged only to India. He had great influence all over the world. He was a symbol of what we regard as Indian culture and of the values which have come down to us through the ages. In fact, I think, although many other great Indians have also supported these values and have put them into modern language to make them more comprehensible to the ordinary man, it was Gurudev who was able to give the clearest articulation and the greatest cohesion to them.

All of Gurudev's ideas, poems and prayers were concerned not with any narrow culture but with, for instance, freedom—freedom not merely in the political sense but freedom from ignorance, freedom from superstition, freedom from bigotry and narrowness. All his ideas and attempts were to lift the human being to a higher level. A fact to remember is that nobody has ever been able to suppress for long the ideals of freedom and justice and the ideals for which Gurudev stood.

I do not think that Gurudev needs tribute or homage from us, because that homage exists in the hearts of the people, it is something which is not just for a few generations but will remain with us for all time to come. Tagore is now a part of our culture, a part of our rich heritage; not only of our own heritage but, if I may say so, of the heritage of the world. He is one of those Indians who established

From speech in Lok Sabha, July 31, 1966
links with the rest of the world. He stood for the widening of the human vision and, if I may use a rather unpoetic word, the cross-fertilisation of cultures and ideas. Along with that he was deeply conscious of the condition of the Indian people. He always identified himself with what he, in one of his beautiful poems, calls the "lowliest and the lost". He talked of high ideals and beauty, and yet he was ever conscious of the need to work for the poorest and those who had been oppressed in our country and elsewhere.

The Message of the Mahatma

Each person's understanding of Gandhiji is a measure of his own change and growth. Whilst Gandhiji was alive, many of my age group found it difficult to understand him. Some of us were impatient with what we considered to be his fads, and we found some of his formulations obscure. We took his Mahatma-hood for granted, but quarrelled with him for bringing mysticism into politics.

This applied not only to my generation. In his Autobiography, my father describes the difficulty which he and others of his generation felt in integrating Gandhian ideas into their own thought structure. But little by little, the experience of the ebb and flow of our national movement enabled my father to arrive at a fuller understanding of Gandhiji and to weave the essential elements of Gandhiji's thinking into his own. He called him a 'magician' and devotedly attempted to translate Gandhian thought into contemporary terms, to make it more comprehensive and to extend its influence to young people and intellectuals.

Gandhiji himself did not demand unquestioning obedience. He did not want acceptance of his ends and means without a full examination. He encouraged discussion. How many times have I not argued with him, even when a mere girl? He regarded no honest opinion as trivial and always found time for those who dissented from him—a quality rare in teachers in our country or in prophets anywhere. He was an un-typical prophet also in that he did not lay claim to revelation. He held forth neither blandishment of reward nor fear of punishment. Nor was he weighed down by the burden of his mission. He was a saint who quipped and had use for laughter.

Article in Mahatma Gandhi : 100 Years, published under the auspices of the National Committee for the Gandhi Centenary, 1968
The centenary year of Gandhiji’s birth also marks the fiftieth anniversary of the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy. Those who confuse rigidity or harshness with strength would do well to ponder over the effect of this so-called strong-handed action on the future of the British Empire. Seldom has a single event so moved an entire nation, shocking it into a reappraisal of values and aims. It made a powerful impact on men like Motilal Nehru and the poet Rabindranath Tagore. Tagore gave up his knighthood and wrote passionately and understandingly on the problems of colonialism. My grandfather was drawn, along with the entire family, into Gandhiji’s circle. Our lives changed. The mood of the entire country changed. It was the year which brought Gandhiji to the helm of our political movement. Looking back on this half century, we are better able to realise the full impact of his personality and of his teaching, though a total assessment is still beyond us. We are too near to him and are still in a state of transition. Not for decades will we be able to wholly measure the extent of his work for India and for all mankind. Even so, one cannot but marvel at the turn Gandhiji gave to our history in that one year. It was as though with his two thin hands he lifted up a whole people. What changes he brought about in the personal lives of such a vast number of people, eminent and humble alike! To be the prime mover of politics is not a greater achievement than to influence so profoundly the inner lives of people. Gandhiji differs from his fore-runners on the national scene in that he rejected the politics of the elite and found the key to mass action. He was a leader closely in tune with the mass mind, interpreting it and at the same time moulding it. He was the crest of the wave but they, the people, were the wave itself.

Gandhiji freed us from fear. The political liberation of the country was not the culmination but a mere by-product of this liberation of the spirit. Even more far-reaching was the alteration he brought about in the social climate of India. Gandhiji set us free also from the walls and fetters of our social tradition. It was his axiomatic assumption of the equality of women and men, of the supposedly low-born and high-born, the urban and the rural, that inducted the masses into the Gandhian movement. In the long history of India, every reformer has fought against the hierarchy of caste and the debasement of women but no one succeeded in breaking down discrimination to the extent that Gandhiji did. The women of India owe him a special debt of gratitude. And so do all other groups who suffered from age-old handicaps.

Mahatma Gandhi once wrote, “Let no one say that he is a follower of Gandhi. It is enough that I should be my own follower. I know what an inadequate follower I am of myself, for I cannot live up to the convictions I stand for.”
The Gandhians would have us believe that Gandhiji evolved a universal philosophy, analysing everything, reconciling everything and prescribing for every contingency. How unfair this would be to a man who never assumed omniscience and never stopped his experiments with truth and understanding. He was an integrated being but he did not deal in absolutes. Few men were greater idealists than he, but few more practical. He propounded fundamental truths, but in every plan of action that he drew up, he proceeded on the basis of "One step is enough for me".

The policy of planned industrial development which we have adopted in the last two decades has sometimes been criticised as a calculated abandonment of Gandhism. Those who level this charge and advocate cottage industries do not themselves refrain from using the products of large industry such as aircraft, automobiles and telephones. Gandhiji did not shun the railways, and was a punctilious user of watches. And if we use railways and watches, does it make sense not to manufacture them ourselves? Gandhiji's advocacy of cottage industries should, therefore, be understood in the correct context. He was intensely concerned with poverty. He abhorred waste. He wanted to use the latent energies of the vast army of rural unemployed to produce more goods for the nation and some wealth for themselves. Then again, like other sensitive men before him, he was reacting to the brutal effects of the first phase of industrialisation. As a seer concerned with the ultimate condition of man, he wanted to caution us against becoming prisoners of our own devices. In his copious writings on the place of the machine, there are many passages which show that Gandhiji's outlook was broader and more humanely practical than some literalist interpreters would have us believe.

To me, Gandhiji is not a collection of dry thoughts and dicta but a living man who reminds one of the highest level to which a human being can evolve. Containing the best from the past, he lived in the present, yet for the future. Hence the timelessness of his highest thoughts. Much that he said and wrote was for the solution of immediate problems; some was for the inner guidance of individuals. His intellect did not feed on derived information. He fashioned his ideas as tools in the course of his experiments in the laboratory of his own life.

Speaking of Gandhiji's work in South Africa, Gopal Krishna Gokhale said that he made heroes out of clay. Sometimes I wonder whether we have not become clay again. The exaltation which a truly great teacher produces in his time cannot last very long. But the teaching and thought of such people have a reach farther than their own time and country. We who were born in Gandhiji's own time
and country have a special obligation to cherish his image. More than his words, his life was his message.

It is not despite but through his time and place that a man achieves true universality. Gandhiji identified himself totally with the common people of India. For this he even changed his mode of dress. Yet he was receptive to the best thought from other parts of the world. The impact on him of his days in England and South Africa as a student and practitioner of law was evident in his insistence on sanitation and in his habit of examining all that he heard by strictly applying the evidence test. But he assimilated everything he adopted and evolved Indian solutions to Indian problems.

I hesitate to speak of the other great teaching left us by Gandhiji, namely, non-violence. I hesitate not because I find any justification for violence. Mankind has accumulated such a fearful store of weapons of destruction that I sometimes wonder whether we have any right to hope. Wars still erupt here and there but even more distressing and alarming is the growth in all parts of the world of hatred in thought and violence in action, and the reckless recourse to the agitational approach. Gandhiji said, "In the midst of darkness, light persists", We must have faith. The ultimate justification of Gandhiji is that he showed how armed strength could be matched without arms. If this could happen once, can it not happen again?

Life means struggle, and the higher you aim, the more you wish to achieve, the greater is the work and sacrifice demanded of you. Men of all religions have evoked the eternal truths. It is the great good fortune of India that she has given birth to great sons who have again and again revitalised her ancient thought to make it a part of the lives of the people. In our own lives, we were guided through perilous times by Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru who merged themselves in the general good. Each complemented the other. Each taught that every decision should be put to the acid test of its relevance to the welfare of the multitude. More than any ism, this guiding principle will save us from error. As Jawaharlal Nehru said, "The greatest prayer that we can offer is to take a pledge to dedicate ourselves to the truth, and to the cause for which this great countryman of ours lived and for which he has died."

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"In the history of India, there have been occasions when a cloud, no bigger than a man's hand, has soon covered the whole sky", so wrote Mahatma Gandhi in 1921. He himself poured life-giving water on a land thirsting for freedom.

Broadcast over All India Radio, October 1, 1968
In just four weeks in 1919, he changed the outlook of this subcontinent. He transformed the cowed and the weak into a nation which fearlessly asserted its right to be free. He gave his people a new weapon, which ultimately delivered them from colonial rule. This weapon was satyagraha, civil disobedience or non-violent non-cooperation. Literally, the word means 'insistence on truth'. It was a weapon that did not need physical strength. But to be effective it did need the greatest self-discipline.

After Mahatma Gandhi conducted his first satyagraha campaigns in the country, it took India thirty long years to wrest freedom. During this time we learnt the full meaning of freedom. He taught us that a people who permitted injustice and inequality in their own society did not deserve freedom and could not preserve it. Thus equality of opportunity, irrespective of birth, sex, or religion, became the objectives of our struggle for freedom.

These ideals have come down to us through the ages, from the Buddha, Ashoka and Akbar, to name only three of the many wise and great men who have moulded our history. Mahatma Gandhi re-interpreted these old truths and applied them to our daily lives, and so made them comprehensible to the humblest of us. He forged them as instruments for a mass struggle for a peaceful political and social revolution. His stress was on reconciliation, whether amongst classes or amongst nations.

Mahatma Gandhi interpreted the yearnings of the inarticulate masses and spoke the words that they themselves were struggling to express. Wearing the loin cloth, which was then all that the vast majority of our peasants could afford, he identified himself with the downtrodden and the poor. To those whom Indian society had regarded as untouchables, he gave the name 'men of God', and to the last days of his life he worked ceaselessly for their uplift and emancipation. During the communal riots, this frail and aged man walked amongst the people and, through sheer faith and force of spirit, achieved miracles of reconciliation, which peace-keeping armies could not have wrought. He met his martyrdom because he refused to compromise with hatred and intolerance.

Mahatma Gandhi relied on spiritual strength. He believed in limiting one's wants and in working with one's hands. He modelled his life according to the ancient Hindu book, the Bhagavad Gita or 'the Lord's Song', but he drew inspiration also from Christianity and Islam. Indeed he thought that no man could follow his own religion truly unless he equally honoured other religions. Long before him, in the third century B.C., the Emperor Ashoka had written, "In reverencing the faith of others, you will exalt your own faith and will get your own faith honoured by others."
Mahatma Gandhi called his life-story 'My Experiments with Truth'. His truth was neither exclusive nor dogmatic. As he once wrote, "There are many ways to truth, and each of us sees truth in fragment." Thus, tolerance is essential to truth; violence is incompatible with it. Nor can peace come from violence. To him, ends and means were equally important. He believed that no worthy objective could be achieved through an unworthy instrument.

Mahatma Gandhi will be remembered as a prophet and a revolutionary. He stood for resistance—non-violent resistance—to tyranny and social injustice. He asked us to apply a test, which I quote, "Whenever you are in doubt, or when the self becomes too much with you, recall the case of the poorest and weakest man who you may have seen, and ask yourself if the step you contemplate is going to be any use to him. Will he gain anything by it? Will it restore him control over his own life and destiny? Will it lead to swaraj, that is self-government, for the hungry and spiritually-starving millions? Then, you will find your doubts and self melting away." This test is valid for our times, indeed for all times. It is valid for India and for the world.

As long as there is oppression and degradation of the human spirit, people will seek guidance from him to assert their dignity. The weapon of non-violent resistance which he has given mankind, is today used in other lands and other climes. The world rightly regards Gandhi as the greatest Indian since the Buddha. Like the Buddha, he will continue to inspire mankind in its progress to a higher level of civilization. In India, it is our endeavour to build a future which is worthy of him.

Nehru the Humanist

My father, as you all know, was the staunchest of nationalists with a deep and abiding love for India, for her traditions, and for her culture. But he projected, in international assemblies and wherever he went, a new and dynamic image of India. To the downtrodden and underprivileged and the oppressed all over the world, he became the very personification of freedom, not merely freedom as the opposite of enslavement but freedom in its wider sense, that is, a liberation of

From speech on the occasion of the First Nehru Memorial Lecture, New Delhi, November 13, 1967
the spirit. He realised fully that political freedom would always, be endangered if it were not accompanied by economic regeneration and self-reliance. A perceptive historian, he was deeply conscious of the weaknesses in our society and strove relentlessly to cut asunder the old rusty chains of superstition and narrowness of mind which had isolated us from the growth of science and technology. He knew that the spirit could be liberated and free only when there was rational thinking and rational living. He felt that India could be vibrantly alive only if it could liberate its spirit. But he thought also, as indeed did Gandhiji, that no one can attain it unless certain basic needs of the body are also met. This is why he laid so much stress on the utilisation of science and technology for improving the conditions of living of our people, for widening their horizon in every way.

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All true cultures are integrative. Our great men have interpreted the ancient thought of our sages and have made it comprehensible to the common man. We in India do have a philosophical outlook on life. But it is only half the truth. We could not have built up a magnificent civilization if we had not had a well-organised material base. But it is true that Indian culture has had a great capacity to assimilate ideas and make them its own. We have learnt to create unity out of diversity.

It has been our good fortune that in time of need India has produced many great men. One such was Jawaharlal Nehru. He loved the Indian people and worked for India. Once he wrote, "If any people choose to think of me then I should like them to say: this was a man who with all his mind and heart loved India and the Indian people and they in turn were indulgent to him and gave him all their love most abundantly and extravagantly."

Yet, he was universal in spirit, and his mind and heart encompassed the whole world. One Prime Minister of Britain called Jawaharlal Nehru the first citizen of the modern world and another, Sir Winston Churchill, described him as a man who had conquered hatred and fear. Amongst his personal friends, he counted some of the best minds of his time—in science and arts and literature no less than in politics. Yet he was completely at home with the simplest peasant. I am glad to see the honour and affection in which he is held here.

From speech at a function arranged by the Uruguayan Ministry of Culture and National Commission for UNESCO to release the publication Hommage to Nehru, Montevideo, September 28, 1968
Netaji Bose: a Great Patriot

Many of us assembled here today knew Netaji well, and on this occasion we are overwhelmed by the memory of one who gave us the slogan 'Delhi Chalo'. He is not with us. But his sword—which we have the privilege to receive here today—reminds us of his powerful and beautiful presence. Netaji was truly a symbol of India's bravery. I still remember how thrilled we used to get as children by just looking into his fiery eyes. It was this fire, this patriotic fervour in him that led him to create the Indian National Army which brought many brave fighters for freedom, men and women alike, together, and which gave a new impetus to our struggle for independence.

The struggle for India's independence was a long struggle; it was sustained by the sacrifices of millions of Indians. Among those who sacrificed their all in this struggle, the name of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose takes a high place. He will always retain a place of affection and honour in every Indian heart.

Netaji's entry into political life gave a new turn to India's struggle. A new wave of enthusiasm swept the country. His restless and dynamic spirit led him to a path that was somewhat different from our own. Gandhiji used to say that the only wrong path is the path of cowardice. The path of courage can never be wrong. Netaji's was a path of courage, and it did bring the goal of independence nearer.

Bankim Chandra gave us Bande Mataram, which became the marching song of the freedom struggle. On becoming free, we adopted Rabindranath Tagore's Jana Gana Mana as the national anthem. But today our biggest national slogan is Jai Hind. This slogan can be heard from NEFA, Nagaland and Kashmir in the north right down to the deep south. This slogan was given us by Netaji. It reminds us of him, and also of the ideals which he placed before us.

The President and the Vice-President, in their addresses, referred to the need for national unity. Equally important is the need in every Indian heart of an intense love of the country. This was the love that inspired Netaji. This sword here is as much a symbol of Netaji's courage as of his intense love for his country. This intensity, this passion and fire, is something lacking in us today. We fritter away our passion in petty disputes and in the pursuit of narrow personal or group gains. We do not put this passion into the service of the nation. If we do this, we will have the courage to face every difficulty. Netaji had this courage. He was ever prepared for sacrifice. This

Free translation of speech in Hindi at a meeting to welcome the relics of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, Delhi, December 17, 1967
courage, this spirit of sacrifice, is his message. We need this message in our struggle to give economic and social content to our freedom. This struggle is still with us. To carry on this struggle we have to cultivate in us the courage, the fire, the passion of which Netaji's sword is a perfect symbol.

The Mind of Maulana Azad

At present there may be very few persons in the country who, from their childhood, had the privilege of knowing our big leaders. I remember Maulana Azad from the days of my early childhood. He was a pillar of strength to us during our struggle for freedom and, afterwards, when we laid the foundation of our democracy. I know how much regard and affection Jawaharlal Nehru had for him and how he sought his advice and followed it. Whenever Panditji had a problem he would think of Maulana Sahib and seek his advice. Often his advice turned out to be correct and both the Congress and the country followed it.

Like any other nation, we also had to face a number of initial difficulties after freedom. But the presence of a man like Maulana Azad amongst us gave us great strength and made our task easier. He was blessed with a rare intellect. Even when he was very young, he was known for his high thinking and his method of working. His association with India raised the stature of our country. If today we have learnt to live up to high ideals, Maulana Azad had a big hand in making this possible.

Maulana Sahib played an important role in propagating and strengthening unity in the country. He represented the diverse people and thought-processes of our country and varied influences of other countries on us.

Maulana Azad combined in himself the best of all the thought-processes and imbibed good things from the West, the Arabs and India's past. That is why he was a good and true representative of India. So long as we proceed on the path shown to us by him, we will progress on the right lines and our ideas will influence peoples of distant lands. If ever we turn back from that path and fall prey to

Free translation of Speech in Hindi at the mausoleum of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Delhi, February 22, 1966
narrow ideas, our country will be weakened, we will fight amongst ourselves and will fail to lead a good life and improve our country.

On my behalf and on behalf of the Government and people of India, I pay homage to the memory of Maulana Azad. I hope that we will always remember his ideas. His memory will ever remain green in our hearts, and will give us strength to move forward on the path shown by him.

Tribute to Lal Bahadur Shastri

Today is a day of poignant memories for us and for the entire nation. We meet here to pay homage to the memory of our late Prime Minister, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, who a year ago laid down his life in the service of the country. Shastriji was a man of quiet greatness, who lived for India and for peace and who died for India and for peace. He was identified with the Indian people. He was imbued with the spirit of service, and he thought always of the welfare of the people. He led our country at a time of severe trial, and he helped India to demonstrate both unity and determination.

Shastriji was a great product of the Gandhian era. The basic teaching of Gandhiji was that all men are brothers and differences among them should be settled non-violently. Non-violence to Gandhiji did not mean the mere absence of violence. It was not a negative concept; it was a positive quality of always seeking friendship and reconciliation, of believing that people can evolve towards a higher level of living only in and through peace. This was how we fought the British, eschewing violence and believing completely in reconciliation and negotiation. This was also Shastriji's belief and, as I said, he not only lived for it but he also gave his life for it.

We have tried in nineteen-and-a-half years of freedom to reflect this profound belief in our internal and international policies. In our foreign policy, we have always pleaded for the settlement of disputes without resort to arms. Our opposition to military blocs, the doctrine of Panch Sheel, our initiative in Korea and Indo-China and numerous other assignments on behalf of world peace—all these have sprung from our belief in the peaceful settlement of disputes. The Tashkent Declaration is a reaffirmation of this policy. What Shastriji talked there and signed there was nothing new for India. But the most

From tribute to the late Prime Minister, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, at an all-party memorial meeting, New Delhi, January 11, 1967
worthy fact about Tashkent was that through fruitful exchanges between our leader, Chairman Kosygin and President Ayub, Pakistan also subscribed to the importance of eschewing the use of arms to settle differences.

On this first anniversary of the Tashkent Declaration, I repeat anew our dedication to the principles enunciated in Tashkent. They are the principles bequeathed to us by Gandhiji and by Shastriji. And they are linked with Shastriji’s life and work. We shall gain nothing by trying to analyse whether the Declaration has achieved as much as it was hoped it would, and if it has not, who is at fault. What is more to the purpose is to tell ourselves and show to the world that India stands by it.

Shastriji left us the slogan Jai Jawan, Jai Kisan. This new slogan is, in a way of speaking, an extension of our old slogan Jai Hind. India can have victory only through jawans [soldiers] and kisans [farmers]. The freedom of our country is guarded by the jawans as well as by all those who work and produce. In the trying days of Kutch and later in the northern conflict, Shastriji wanted the nation clearly to realise that the defence of the country required the strengthening not only of the defence forces, but of the economic base. At present there is no fighting, but the military threat has not receded. The jawan has to be alert. But we have had another invader, namely, drought, and this invader cannot be fought by the jawan but by the kisan. Unless we achieve food self-sufficiency our security and existence will be in peril. This we should do in the minimum time, four or five years. The only way we can see that no one pushes us around is by becoming self-reliant. I think this is what Shastriji had in mind when he gave us this meaningful slogan.

Many voices will join us today in paying tribute to his memory. We miss him because we were close to him and we were accustomed to his advice and guidance. The nation misses his solicitude for its problems and his gentle presence.

Bhabha : the Ideal Scientist

This is an occasion for both pride and sorrow. The pride is for the fine achievements of the Atomic Energy Establishment and of the scientists and engineers who work here. The quality of their research, their design and production activities, have won international recog-
rition and, in this particular field, have placed us in the forefront of world science. I should like to congratulate them on the work they have done and the work they are doing. I assure them of the Government's continuing support.

It is right that we should dedicate this Establishment to the memory of Dr. Homi Bhabha, its founder and builder. We are filled with sadness because he is not with us. This loss is personal and national, and to the entire world of science. Dr. Bhabha was a rare being, an all-rounder and a man of many-sided personality. So should all scientists be; for, what is science if not the thirst for truth and beauty? Artist and musician, of sensitive eye and ear, well-read and well-travelled, Dr. Bhabha was a man of ideas, who had the ability and the opportunity to translate his ideas into reality. His youthful dynamism and ceaseless energy enabled him to bring into being Trombay, Tarapur, Jaduguda and Rana Pratap Sagar nuclear power stations. His work had only begun; had he remained with us a little longer, he would have seen the first generation of nuclear power stations become operational, the younger one in this family completely indigenously designed and fuelled.

Dr. Bhabha's vision conceived of this Establishment and the enormous potentialities of nuclear science in his famous minute written in the early part of 1944, before the first atom bomb exploded on Hiroshima. In other words, he was fully committed to the peaceful uses of atomic energy which, he said, India should lose no time in exploiting, well before its destructive uses were manifested. Thereafter, Dr. Bhabha worked ceaselessly to create the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, the Atomic Energy Establishment and its production units in many parts of the country and also launched the Indian Space Programme. His most recent interest concerned the development of the Indian electronics industry and he headed a committee whose final report bears the stamp of his mind, although it was signed and submitted to the Government only after his death.

One of Dr. Bhabha's earlier reports was a review of the work of our three academies. Today, when in the name of progress, we are desecrating much of our landscape and forgetting our old art, one cannot help appreciating Homi Bhabha's aesthetic sense. The beautiful gardens, the layout and architecture of Trombay bear testimony to this.

Science and aesthetics must go hand in hand, if our urge is to retain and embellish beauty and make this world a better place to live in. Beauty is associated with creativity and not with destruction. Modern science gives us the power to create and also the power to destroy. We aspire to have science tempered with that aesthetic sense which Homi Bhabha so happily possessed.
What makes Trombay distinctive is not the fine buildings or the size of the investment, but the quality of the people who work here. As nuclear scientists and technologists, they are working on one of the frontiers of knowledge, and the results of their work will have a significant bearing on our economic development and the quality of our people’s lives.

We have dedicated ourselves to the use of nuclear power for peaceful purposes. These peaceful uses are many and are of growing importance to us. The isotopes produced here are finding more and more use in industry, in medicine and in various engineering studies. Experiments in plant breeding and irradiation for pest control and food preservation are of the greatest interest. We have the raw materials and skills for a completely indigenous nuclear programme and I am glad that new production facilities are being developed. The Trombay Establishment itself has always been envisaged as a purely research and developing facility. It will continue to grow in this capacity, but commercial production must be taken up elsewhere.

My father often remarked on the significance of the situation of Trombay—that it was situated opposite the Elephanta Cave. He said that this was symbolic—the old India and the new emerging India, both looking at each other. It was his desire that India should follow this path, that it should retain the beauty and many of the timeless values of its old tradition and yet make the fullest use of science and technology to bring a better life to its people and take the country forward.

I hope that the development of science in this country and the progress we make will not take us away from these old moorings, that it will not remain merely something for the educated, the city folks but will, with rapidity, spread to all parts of the country, into the remotest villages, the highest mountain regions. It is only then that we will be able to say that we have truly benefited from the discoveries of other nations and from our own work. May the work of scientists here help to fulfil this dream which was shared by my father and Dr. Bhabha.

Trombay has grown greatly in the last ten years. Its growth in the next decade will be even more rapid. We recall Dr. Bhabha with gratitude and respect. May this establishment and all that is associated with it develop in a manner which would have satisfied the high expectations of its founder, Dr. Homi Bhabha, after whom I now name this institution.
Martin Luther King

This is a poignant moment for all of us. We remember vividly your last visit to our country. We had hoped that on this occasion, Dr. King and you would be standing side by side on this platform. That was not to be. He is not with us but we feel his spirit. We admired Dr. King. We felt his loss as our own. The tragedy rekindled memories of the great martyrs of all time who gave their lives so that man might live and grow. We thought of the great men in your own country who fell to the assassin’s bullet and of Mahatma Gandhi’s martyrdom here in this city, this very month, twenty-one years ago. Such events remain as wounds in the human consciousness, reminding us of battles yet to be fought and tasks still to be accomplished. We should not mourn for men of high ideals. Rather we should rejoice that we had the privilege of having had them with us, to inspire us by their radiant personalities. So today we are gathered not to offer you grief, but to salute a man who achieved so much in so short a time. It is befitting, Madam, that you whom he called the “courage by my side”, you who gave him strength and encouragement in his historic mission, should be with us to receive this award.

You and your husband both had foreseen that death might come to him violently. It was perhaps inherent in the situation. Dr. King chose death for the theme of a sermon, remarking that he would like to be remembered as a drum major for justice, for peace and for righteousness. When you were once asked what you would do if your husband were assassinated, you were courage personified, replying that you might weep but the work would go on. Your face of sorrow, so beautiful in its dignity coupled with infinite compassion, will forever be engraved in our hearts.

Mahatma Gandhi also had foreseen his end and had prepared himself for it. Just as training for violence included learning to kill, the training for non-violence, he said, included learning how to die. The true badge of the satyagrahi is to be unafraid.

As if he too had envisaged the martyrdoms of Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King, Rabindranath Tagore once sang:

In anger we slew him,
With love let us embrace him now,
For in death he lives again amongst us,
The mighty conqueror of death.

Speech at the presentation of Jawaharlal Nehru Award for International Understanding to Mrs. Martin Luther King, New Delhi, January 24, 1969
This award, Madam, is the highest tribute our nation can bestow on work for understanding and brotherhood among men. It is named after a man who himself was a peace-maker and who all his life laboured passionately for freedom, justice and peace in India and throughout the world. Dr. Martin Luther King's struggle was for these same values. He paid for his ideals with his blood, forging a new bond among the brave and the conscientious of all races and all nations.

Dr. King's dream embraced the poor and the oppressed of all lands. His work ennobled us. He spoke of the right of man to survive and recognized three threats to the survival of man—racial injustice, poverty and war. He realised that even under the lamp of affluence which was held aloft by science, lay the shadow of poverty, compelling two-thirds of the peoples of the world to exist in hunger and want. He proclaimed that mankind could be saved from war only if we cared enough for peace to sacrifice for it.

Dr. Martin Luther King drew his inspiration from Christ, and his method of action from Mahatma Gandhi. Only through truth can untruth be vanquished. Only through love can hatred be quenched. This is the path of the Buddha and of Christ, and in our own times, that of Mahatma Gandhi and of Martin Luther King.

They believed in the equality of all men. No more false doctrine has been spread than that of the superiority of one race over another. It is ironical that there should still be people in this world who judge men not by their moral worth and intellectual merit but by the pigment of their skin or other physical characteristics.

Some governments still rest on the theory of racist superiority—such as the governments of South Africa and the lawless regime in Rhodesia. Unregenerate groups in other countries consider one colour superior to another. Our own battle is not yet over. Caste and other prejudices still survive, but most of us are ashamed of them and recognise them as evils to be combated. We are trying hard to eradicate them.

While there is bondage anywhere, we ourselves cannot be fully free. While there is oppression anywhere, we ourselves cannot soar high. Martin Luther King was convinced that one day the misguided people who believed in racial superiority would realise the error of their ways. His dream was that white and black, brown and yellow would live and grow together as flowers in a garden with their faces turned towards the sun. As you yourself said, "All of us who believe in what Martin Luther King stood for, must see to it that his spirit never dies". That spirit can never die. There may be setbacks in our fight for the equality of all men. There may be moments of gloom. But victory must and will be ours. Let us not rest until the equality of all races and religions becomes a living fact. That is the most effective and lasting tribute that we can pay to Dr. King.
Annadurai : a Tribute

We are gathered here to pay tribute to Shri Annadurai and to mourn the untimely passing away of a figure of national eminence. Until two years ago he was known only within the limit of Tamil Nadu, but in this short time he has earned the respect of people throughout the country. This is a tribute to his own outstanding qualities, and also to our national democracy in which leaders of stature of any one part of the country can command the respect of other parts.

Death has taken him away at the height of his popularity, when he had still very much to contribute to Tamil Nadu and to the nation. He was a great man whose goodness reached out into the hearts of the people of Tamil Nadu. I had the occasion to meet him several times in Madras, in Delhi and the last time in New York and every time I was impressed by his statesmanship, his wisdom, and his capacity to see things and matters in wider perspective.

After the fourth general elections, great misgivings were expressed about the relations between the Centre and the States. Many people openly said that the Constitution was incapable of bearing the strain. In reality it is the people and the leaders of people who make constitutions work. Shri Annadurai made a notable contribution to the evolution of harmonious relationships between the States and the Centre. In our talks he was always friendly, cordial, and most considerate. Naturally there were things on which we did not agree, but I know that he was actuated by a sincere desire to solve problems with reason and with patience and with the good of the people as his guide. I think that what matters most is not identity of views but a shared willingness to solve differences peacefully and without bitterness.

Many qualities of Shri Annadurai have been mentioned here, but what impressed me most, and I think what will be missed, is his deep commitment to the cause of the poor and the downtrodden. I share the sorrow of the people of Tamil Nadu and offer my sincere condolences to the bereaved family and all the people.

Speech at public meeting to condole the death of Chief Minister Annadurai of Tamil Nadu, Madras, February 8, 1969.
Homage to Zakir Husain

I speak to you at a moment of deep grief for the Indian nation. Two years ago, in electing Dr. Zakir Husain as President of the Republic, the people of India honoured themselves. During his short tenure, he added lustre to this high office. Perhaps, more than any single individual he stood for the unity of this country in every sphere of life. Combining in his person the richness of the composite culture of India, he raised the standard of our public life by his words and his action. The values he cherished, the constructive work he did as educationist and social worker, the distinction he brought to every position he held in national and international fields, will guide generations to come.

Dr. Zakir Husain was the last of a generation which grew to greatness not merely because of involvement in the struggle for freedom but because of the high sense of mission which inspired it. He was not just a follower but a pioneer, imbued with new and creative ideas. In response to Gandhiji’s call he dedicated almost four decades of his life in nurturing the educational institution which he founded in Delhi. It was his belief that we are the inheritors of the best in our own tradition and also of all that is finest in the achievements of man.

Dr. Zakir Husain never lost interest in people, especially the young and the creative. He was keenly sensitive to their thinking and their problems. He retained a remarkable capacity of communication with them and encouraged their attempts at self-expression. Love of beauty in all its forms permeated his life. Nothing was too small for his care. He took special delight in painting, old as well as contemporary, trees and flowers, rocks and stones.

On behalf of the Government and the people of India and my own behalf, I express our profound sorrow to the members of the President’s family. Their sorrow is shared by millions of people of every caste and community and faith in this country. On becoming President in May 1967, Dr. Zakir Husain said in memorable words: "The whole of India is my home and its people my family". Today that family and that India mourn his passing away.

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Broadcast over All India Radio, May 3, 1969
I rise to speak with a heavy heart. The country has suffered a grievous loss, and the world has lost a man of vision and compassion. Dr. Zakir Husain was a wise guide to our people. He reflected the best in the heritage of civilized man. He was an unusual amalgam of steadfastness and gentleness, representing finest flowering of the composite culture of our country.

It is rare to find so integrated a personality as Dr. Zakir Husain's. His life was rich and varied. Every visit to him, every conversation with him, was enriching experience. That was the feeling of most people who met him. He was a learned scholar, thinker and writer of distinction. Interested in people and Nature, he was a connoisseur of the creative arts and had a deep and abiding interest in the finer things of life. With his wealth of knowledge and experience, he had a disarming simplicity. And although he rose to the highest positions in the land, he retained the humility of true greatness and was proud to describe himself as a mere teacher. He was so little attracted to pomp and power, that the high offices which he held had to be thrust upon him. He set the highest standards of conduct for himself, and every act and gesture of his was living proof of this high integrity, ennobling all around him. To the end of his days, he remained an elder statesman whose soft words of wisdom were heard in defence of all that is of enduring value in public life.

Many influences moulded his personality—the teaching of Islam and other great religions of our country and the world, the inspiration of Mahatma Gandhi and other great seekers of freedom and light, the liberal and humane philosophies of the West, and the writings of the great poets and authors of all lands. He had an inquiring mind, not an accepting one. He was free from dogma or narrowness of any kind and bent his fastidious intellect to a search for harmony and in the interest of a larger purpose.

It is two years ago since the nation elected him to this high office. I recall the controversy which was generated at that time. But I am sure that today everyone in the country without distinction of party, region or religion, would agree that Dr. Zakir Husain adorned the office of the President with dignity, distinction and unblemished integrity. We did not elect him because he was a Muslim by birth and faith. We elected him because he was the most eminent Indian we could think of as the First Citizen of our Republic. And in the manner in which he conducted himself as President, and earlier as Vice-President and Chairman of the Rajya Sabha, he vindicated India's basic commitment to democracy and secularism.

As President and representative of India, he made a deep impres-
sion on the statesmen and people of other countries, and earned
greater esteem and friendship for India.

This evening we shall lay to rest a great Indian who belongs to the
long line of sages and wise rulers of our ancient land. It is fitting that
he should be laid to rest in an important centre of learning which he
himself had built through his dedication and where practically every
brick, every book, and every tree he had chosen. He will be one
with the soil, the flowers and the plants of the land he loved so much.
Dr. Zakir Husain was a man who wanted our country to become a
garden and a school. His gracious presence is no more but his gentle
words of deep conviction and his example of dedication, compassion
and tolerance will remain in our memory and become part of our
conscience.

Mr. Speaker, as Head of the Government, I naturally mourn the
death of the President. In the many difficult crises through which the
country has passed during his brief tenure, he was a source of strength
to my Government. But I remember him from the olden days of our
freedom struggle. I remember also his long-standing comradeship
with my father and other eminent leaders. This was partnership which
bound together all classes and castes, the old and the young in a com-
mon cause—the unity, the freedom and the welfare of our people. In
paying homage to Dr. Zakir Husain, let us re-dedicate ourselves to our
cherished values and to our unfinished tasks.

May I, Sir, on behalf of the Government and also on behalf of the
whole House, request you to be good enough to convey to Dr. Zakir
Husain's family, our sincerest condolences as also the assurance that
we share their sorrow.
India and the World
Common Tasks

Most of us have come from countries which have ancient bonds of religion and art, of culture and of commerce. These links were obscured in the dark age of colonial subjection. Now we have rediscovered our kinship. In the last twenty years, not only have we re-established bilateral relations, we have also achieved some degree of regional co-operation.

We value regional co-operation not because Asia or the ECAFE is in opposition to any other part of the world, but because we have common tasks and common dreams. Asia which was once the centre of many a civilization is now lagging behind economically and technologically. Poverty is the common lot of most Asian countries. The people’s diet is deficient in proteins and other protective foods, medical and health facilities are poor, housing is insufficient and illiteracy is widespread. The pressure of population on land is great. More than half the total population of the world lives in this region, which has only one-seventh of the land surface of the earth. With the coming of political freedom, there is a great upsurge among the people of Asian countries, as of other parts of the developing world, for a better and fuller life. They are no longer content. There is a certain feeling of impatience among them. They want to make up for the time lost in the race for a higher standard of living.

How can there be a stable peace with more than half of humanity left in poverty and ignorance? The United Nations Charter clearly recognises the need for individual and collective action on the part of member countries to promote economic development. Various international agencies, such as the World Bank, the International Development Association, the U.N. Trade and Development Conference, the F.A.O., to mention only a few, are devoted to the task of bettering the living conditions of the peoples of the world, particularly those inhabiting the less developed areas. As we all know, the U.N. General Assembly has declared the current decade as the United Nations Development Decade. By so doing, the world body has recognised that the most crucial task before humanity today is that of

Inaugural address at the twenty-second session of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, New Delhi, March 22, 1966.
helping the developing countries to banish from the world hunger, disease and ignorance which are our common enemies. My Government greatly appreciates the excellent work that your organisation, the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, has been doing in focusing world attention on the pressing problems of this region and in promoting international economic co-operation for their solution both on a regional and on a global basis.

Ours is an inter-dependent world. Can any society today be wholly self-sufficient, whether a country is large or small, whether a country is developed or developing, whether it has an agricultural or an industrial economy? The world is one. It is one in hope, it is one in prosperity, and it is one in difficulty. The United Nations and its specialised agencies symbolise the oneness of the world. We are glad, therefore, that the ECAFE is holding its annual session in India for the fourth time.

You come to our country at a time of crisis when we are facing a challenge from Nature. The monsoon this year has been the worst in living memory. Some areas in India have not had even a quarter of the annual rain. There has been a widespread failure of crops. This is a big set-back for us, for we were on the way to a break-through in agriculture. By timely action and with the help of many friendly countries, we have been able to avert calamity. In the years before freedom, a drought of this magnitude would have spelt ruin. Now there is no famine, no starvation in the sense that we understood these words in pre-Independence days. But it is a time of considerable difficulty.

We are facing this crisis with determination. In seven of the sixteen States of India, extensive rural work has been taken up to provide both wages and food to people. These are on a much vaster scale than traditional relief work. In the scarcity areas, we are also distributing milk to mothers and children, for we realise that it is not enough to avert death. Malnutrition is a serious danger, especially to the younger generation.

The year's drought is likely to depress our food production by 10 to 14 million tonnes. However, even this poor harvest is larger than the levels of food production ten years ago or even six years ago. This is evidence of the benefit of planned development. The effort made under our Five Year Plans to reclaim land and to extend irrigation has laid a foundation, though regrettably the rate of growth of agricultural output has not been adequate to meet the growing demand for food and raw materials. We are fully conscious that only through much higher agricultural production can there be prosperity. We attach great importance to the transformation of agriculture by the use of modern science and technology. We must carry to farms and
farmers the results of modern scientific research and persuade them of the usefulness of applying these new techniques in their farming operations. We must ensure that the necessary inputs for modern agriculture—the fertilisers and the pesticides, the improved seeds and better implements—are available in adequate quantities and at the right time for the farmer to use them, in a manner in which each reinforces the other. The farmer has also to be assured of a reasonable price, so that he can invest more in his land and do so with confidence. We are determined to achieve higher farm outputs soon, to be able to do without aid in the form of grain.

We are equally determined to check population growth. How can we improve the standards of living of our people if each month a million new children are born? The other day a visitor brought this vividly home to me by saying that each year we add a Sweden and Switzerland to our population! We have established 10,000 family planning clinics and recruited a large and dedicated army of medical workers. The latest device—the I.U.C.D.—is most suited to Indian conditions, and holds hope of better times. I am confident that in the next five or six years we will have made some impact on our population explosion.

Progress in agriculture, important as it is, cannot by itself solve the problem of poverty. The only way to relieve pressure on land and to bring about significant improvement in the standard of living of the people is to develop industry, which indeed is vital for providing certain essential inputs for the progress of agriculture itself.

We in India can look back with some satisfaction over what we have been able to achieve in the course of the last decade. The national income in real terms has gone up by about 40 per cent. Since 1956 industrial production has nearly doubled; and even more important, there has been a very considerable diversification of industry. The transport network has been greatly augmented and strengthened. Many of our industries, which formerly depended mainly on imported components, are now nearing self-sufficiency. Our steel production, for example, has increased more than four times to about 6 million tonnes. Production of engineering and chemical industries has been rising in the past few years at rates close to 15 to 20 per cent. Electricity generation has been increased at more than 10 per cent per annum. The country is able to produce a number of articles for which only a few years ago we depended on imports. We cannot but be heartened at the kind of advance we have made at several growth points—for instance, machine building. Today we build the most complicated machine tools and equipment. A considerable part of the machinery needed for our fourth new steel plant, to be set up at Bokaro, will come from within the country. While increase in steel
production is important, the capacity to fabricate steel plants is even more important.

Then there is design talent, development of which can bring about true self-reliance. Our third atomic power plant will be of our own design.

Technical education is important to progress. In the training of engineers and technicians, there has been a seven-fold increase in the last fifteen years. We now admit 25,000 young men and women to our engineering colleges every year, and twice as many to polytechnics.

Electricity is the fourth growth point. We are able to add as much new capacity every year now as had been built up in the first fifty years of this century. We make most of the electrical equipment we need.

With all this, I am deeply conscious of our many difficulties, especially in the implementation of our Plans. I must confess to my dissatisfaction with the pace of progress. We are making a tremendous effort to overcome all obstacles but we must strive even harder.

We get aid from abroad but it has been far less than that received by other countries and wholly inadequate to our needs. It is sometimes forgotten that even including PL 480, aid forms only a part of our total effort. The major portion of the aid is in the form of loans which we are repaying. We in India look at foreign aid as a temporary expedient to help us over a certain period until we can stand on our feet.

We need to pursue a vigorous policy to create exportable surpluses and to find markets for such surpluses. Market research, imagination, hard-sell, quality control, better design and packaging, all these are necessary. But they will not be enough unless the industrially advanced countries are willing to open their doors, unless the world community is willing and able to provide growing markets for the products of the developing countries. The problems relating to trade have been receiving attention at different U.N. forums and, more particularly, in the meetings of the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development. I am glad to find that the ECAFE’s work programme also gives due importance to the problems of trade and the need for liberalisation of trade. The Government of India will endeavour to take all possible steps to augment trade between the countries of the ECAFE region as also with other developing countries.

This meeting includes on its agenda the establishment of the Asian Development Bank. My Government has supported the concept and the formation of an Asian Development Bank. It has been our view that such an institution will be a useful addition to the tools of development available to countries in the region of the ECAFE. It will
naturally be most useful if the participating members of the region contribute substantially not only to capital as they have already undertaken to do, but also in the fullest measure to the management and operation of the Bank.

The establishment of the Asian Development Bank is an encouraging augury for the growth of economic co-operation amongst the countries of this region. Asian economic co-operation has been a theme which has been particularly close to the work of the ECAFE. For many years now, it has sought to identify areas and fields in which co-operation can be developed on a continuing basis. The ECAFE Secretariat has undertaken several studies, and discussions have taken place amongst Working Groups of Experts on the possibilities of further economic co-operation between Asian countries. For various reasons—historical, political and even economic—there have been, in the past, obstacles or difficulties in the way of Asian economic cooperation. A great deal can be done, if not immediately, at least over a period, by keeping the possibilities of co-operation in view in drawing up national plans or in evolving long-term national policies. ECAFE is devoting considerable attention to these matters. May I wish strength to these efforts to bring the nations of Asia closer together for mutual benefit.

You have a full agenda. Goodwill and the spirit of accommodation have marked the work of the Commission in the past. May they help you once again to reach constructive solutions.

May you take back with you pleasant and interesting memories of achievement and work well done. I hope that your busy schedule will allow you time to glimpse something of the many-faceted personality of India—the great diversity, the underlying unity, where the past and present exist side by side and where we are attempting an experiment, more difficult and more rare than has ever been tried before, to weld together the benefits of modern techniques and knowledge and the old, traditional and timeless values which have strengthened our people through the generations.

The Quest for Peace

In a few hours from now, I shall be on my way to meet three very good friends of ours: President Nasser in Cairo, President Tito in Brioni and Chairman Kosygin in Moscow. I said I am visiting friends.

Broadcast over All India Radio, July 7, 1966
This is true. But my journey means more than that. It symbolises the close and cordial relations between our countries and peoples—a growing friendship—which is a far bigger and far more important thing.

The world looks different from different places. This is but natural—though it is easily forgotten. Yet, a broadly similar outlook narrows these differences. India, the United Arab Republic and Yugoslavia share such a common outlook. This is shaped by our adherence to the guiding principle of non-alignment. India and the Soviet Union, too, share a common ideal—a belief in peaceful co-existence.

In a fast-changing world, peaceful co-existence is now more important than ever. And non-alignment has a positive role to play despite the breakdown of old alignments and the emergence of newer patterns of poly-centric power. Non-alignment can harmonise the tensions which grow out of changing alignments. Its existence permits and eases departures from the conformity of ideological power-groups. It lends support to independent nationalisms against external pressures. Its practice is consistent with friendship for all.

We are greatly concerned with the last-ditch struggle of racialism and colonialism in parts of Africa. We are no less concerned with the tensions between the rich and poorer nations of the earth.

We are certainly deeply concerned over the continuing nuclear arms race and the proliferation and testing of nuclear weapons. The latest series of tests have greatly disturbed us. I remember visiting Hiroshima years ago. And I was reminded of the awful horror of nuclear weapons by a British documentary, "The War Game", which I happened to see only a few days ago. Let us have no war games.

There is at present raging in Vietnam a bitter and bloody war. This war must end, and I believe that it is incumbent on all nations, singly and collectively, to give thought to how a cessation of hostilities can be brought about. Recent events have regrettably added to the grave danger of escalation that might embroil the world in a larger conflict. There can be no military solution in Vietnam. There is no alternative to a peaceful settlement. The parties must be brought to the negotiating table within the framework of the Geneva Agreement.

Instead of debating how this might be done, the two co-chairman, Britain and the Soviet Union, should immediately convene a meeting of the Geneva Conference. We would appeal for an Immediate ending of the bombing in North Vietnam. This should be closely followed by a cessation of hostilities as well as of hostile movements and actions on all sides throughout Vietnam, in full observance of the Geneva Agreement.

It is quite possible that any new round of Geneva Conference talks
will be prolonged and many weeks of tortuous negotiations might ensue before a generally acceptable formula is patiently hammered out. Meanwhile, it would be necessary for the International Control Commission to safeguard the stand-still arrangements. India, as a member and the chairman of the Commission, would be willing to accept whatever additional responsibility this might entail.

It is necessary to secure the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Vietnam and to insulate that unhappy country from every foreign interference so that the people of Vietnam determine their own future free of external pressures. Looking further ahead, it might be desirable for the Geneva Conference to guarantee the integrity and independence of a neutral Vietnam and, indeed, of the neighbouring States of Laos and Cambodia—as envisaged by the Geneva Agreement. The Geneva powers could also underwrite a rehabilitation and development plan for all three States to repair the grim ravages of war. Such a settlement would be a victory for all and, more so, for the brave and long-suffering people of Vietnam.

I offer these proposals as no more than an idea. India is committed to a peaceful solution and not any particular solution. We would be willing to support any alternative proposal that offers hope of success. But of one thing I am certain, there must be an early, an immediate turning away from war in Vietnam.

Though the Soviet Union and India have long been friends, any reference to that country today instinctively recalls Tashkent. I know it was Shastriji's hope that the Tashkent Declaration would herald a new era in our relations with Pakistan. This certainly has been my desire. I see no purpose nor any good in the present strained relationship between India and Pakistan. It cheered me sometime back to read of an Indo-Pakistan mushaira [poetry symposium] informally arranged in Cairo—a small event in itself perhaps, but so full of meaning in terms of our common heritage. There have once again been severe floods in Assam. As in previous years, the angry waters have swept down into East Pakistan leaving a similar trail of havoc there. Neither India nor Pakistan can escape geography. We have one common enemy—poverty.

There was an Indo-Pakistan conference in Rawalpindi some months ago. Unfortunately, it did not carry us very far towards normalisation of relations. We have since expressed our desire to resume discussions at any level to consider the further and fuller implementation of the Tashkent Declaration and the restoration of the Tashkent spirit. Let there be greater and freer movement of people and flow of information across our borders. Let us find and extend areas of economic co-operation. Let us speedily resolve such boundary issues as are outstanding. Let us see if we cannot sort out
the human problem of migration in the eastern region. If we can get these issues out of the way, I am sure that a just, fair and lasting settlement of all our differences will become possible.

Even while abroad, my thoughts will be with you. The drought has brought great suffering. But out of that suffering, something of value has emerged: the construction of an impressive number of land improvement works and other permanent rural assets which will strengthen our agriculture; a rural works organisation on which we can build; and a new sense of urgency about bettering our agriculture and growing two crops where only one grew before.

With the recently announced liberalisation of imports, industrial production will register a steady increase in the months ahead. The power supply position will greatly ease with the monsoon replenishment of the hydro-electric reservoirs. Employment should be augmented and industrial plants—small and large—will soon be working to fuller capacity. In some months from now, this should have a visible impact on both the cost and availability of a large range of items.

The intervening period is going to be difficult. We have been promised an additional supply of rice from another friend, Burma, for which I should like to thank President Ne Win. This will help. We will have to exercise great care and discipline in ensuring fair distribution of essential commodities at fair prices. The enlarged network of consumer stores and departmental stores which we have programmed is being set up. At the present moment, these might only influence a limited market. We plan to build these up so that they lead and steady the market within a reasonably short period of time.

We face several other problems. I should like to take quick decisions on them. But these decisions should be taken on the basis of the widest possible consultation and consent. We have tackled the question of Punjab. The period of cessation of hostilities in Nagaland is being extended by three months in response to a suggestion put forward by underground Naga leaders who incidentally are likely to meet me again in Delhi early in August. Recently I had some discussions with Mizo Union leaders. The Pataskar Commission has made certain recommendations regarding the reorganisation of the administrative structure of the hill districts of Assam. A Cabinet committee is looking into this report and will formulate proposals for Government's consideration after ascertaining the views of all concerned, including the hill people. I am myself most anxious that the lot of all our hill people and adivasis is improved. This is a national problem and we do propose special measures to accelerate the development of the hill and tribal areas.

Whether in the hills or in the plains, there is no substitute for rapid
development. In this lies prosperity and, ultimately, security. Brave plans are not enough. We must implement them. There is no excuse for administrative apathy and failure. When I spoke to you last month, I said that seniority should yield to merit. Since then, a number of senior Secretariat appointments have been reviewed and certain changes are being effected. This is a beginning.

I shall be away for the next ten days. I shall carry your greetings to the leaders and peoples of the countries I am visiting. I shall tell them of our urge for peace and progress. Meanwhile, I want you to proceed with the unfinished tasks. Every day matters.

The Importance of W.H.O.

The aim of World Health Organisation is a healthy world. W.H.O. is a symbol of the growing co-operation among nations in matters of public health and medical research.

We speak of the world being one, but the implications of this idea are not fully appreciated. The unity of the world means that this globe cannot be half poor and half rich, half healthy and half diseased. An epidemic or an endemic disease in any part of the world should rightly be regarded as a potential danger to all mankind and a challenge to the skill of science.

Most diseases are the product of poverty. It is only economic development which can create a social administration which is capable of harnessing science to the task of conquering diseases. Malnutrition is the mother of much illness. The food battle of India is not only one of quantity but one of quality as well. Our Government attaches the greatest importance to programmes which give protective food to the needy—in particular to children and to mothers. All who are engaged in development planning cannot, therefore, afford to lose sight of investment in health, for it pays dividends both in the greater well-being of man, which is the ultimate aim of all development; and in greater vitality and efficiency, which are indispensable qualities of human resources in creating a reasonable standard of living for all. Both high dependence rate and short life-expectancy militate against economic progress. It has been estimated that during the span of one

From speech at the nineteenth session of the Regional Committee for South-East Asia of the World Health Organisation, New Delhi, September 27, 1966.
generation some Asian countries lose no less than 32 per cent of their potential total productive capacity as a result of premature death.

Every child has a right to health, to education, to congenial employment. But his share of the sun and air, of water and sustaining food, is limited by the economic status of his parents. We feel that it is the duty of the State to correct this injustice. All children do not come with the same natural endowments, but every government should be able to give to every child the best opportunity to develop its potentialities to the fullest. Among the principles of W.H.O.'s Constitution, one seems particularly valuable to me. It says, "Healthy development of the child is of basic importance; the ability to live harmoniously in a changing total environment is essential to such development." How can this ability be inculcated in the young? A very important task is precisely to induce every young person to go outside the narrow framework of his own personality, to go beyond the present, and to think in terms of the community and of those who will come after him. It is necessary to inculcate a regard for every life, which implies respecting everything which maintains health and life, respecting the vital elements of air, water and earth. The more rapidly the world population increases, the more widespread industrialisation becomes and the more towns grow, the more essential it becomes, in this rapidly changing total environment, to do everything possible to promote the harmonious development of the child in trying to teach a sense of true value.

The Constitution of the World Health Organisation states clearly in its preamble that success does not depend solely on the work of specialists but to a very great extent on informed public opinion. As my father said when he inaugurated this building, people must be convinced of the cause to be furthered. Informed opinion and active cooperation on the part of the public are of the utmost importance in the improvement of their health. This informed public opinion can no longer confine itself to matters concerned merely with individual hygiene. The individual must be taught above all to respect and set true value upon the common good, for which we are accountable not only to ourselves but to the world of tomorrow. International co-operation has a great role to play in enabling developing countries to improve their public health and medical aid programmes. Not all our countries have the means to carry out the basic research from which come life-saving discoveries. Therefore, we all owe a lot to the discoverers. But the benefit of these discoveries must be available for all mankind at the lowest possible cost. Modern research needs large investments, but it is well known that, in the name of research, some firms charge exorbitant prices for drugs. There is urgent need for arousing the conscience of the world in the matter of reducing the prices of the basic tools of birth control and death control.
An essential precondition is the provision of health facilities and medical aid today. Even amongst advanced countries, not all can provide prompt and adequate medical aid to their people. The public health programme is a programme of saving lives and conquering disease. It means fewer deaths and longer lives. Thus we are confronted with a dilemma: the conflict between the rate at which population is growing and the rate at which food supplies and job opportunities grow. This is why most nations of Asia and Africa have undertaken programmes of family planning.

It forms part of our Fourth Five Year Plan, the most important feature of which is our determination to provide 3 oz. more of food per head and to be relatively independent of foreign imports of food. The family planning programme, we hope, will bring down the birth rate from 40 per 1,000 to 25 in the next ten years.

This is no small undertaking. It requires a large army of qualified medical people who can provide advice and guidance; it demands efficient organisation of supplies of contraceptive materials; and it depends on the involvement and co-operation of millions of married couples in India’s 5,60,000 villages—calling for individual approach and persuasion. I have every confidence that we shall achieve the goal we have set out for ourselves.

Besides the big expansion in medical education, we have also planned for a big expansion of public education in matters of health. Expansion of general education brings about increasing health awareness and by 1971 we shall have nearly 100 million children at school. But we have the large mass of grown-up people, three-fourths of them illiterate, in whom we must create a consciousness of environmental hygiene.

I said earlier that malnutrition is the mother of many illnesses. The food battle of India is one of changing diet habits and persuading people to eat not only what they like but what is good for them and for their growing children. Our Government attaches the greatest importance to programmes which give protective food to our poorer people. We had to undertake many such large-scale programmes during the recent food shortage in many States of India. I hope that it will be possible to continue some of these programmes, specially those which relate to school-going children.

I am grateful for the opportunity which W.H.O. has given me to meet so many distinguished representatives of the countries of South East Asia. I have great pleasure in welcoming you all to India and in inaugurating your Conference.
Aspects of India's Foreign Policy

YOUR EXCELLENCIES, distinguished guests, in welcoming you today, my Government and the people of India are conscious of a sense of historic fulfilment. You have both been with us before. But this is the first time we meet together in Delhi to give new meaning and purpose to our friendship and co-operation which has helped to sustain the dialogue of peace in a sharply divided world.

Tito and Nasser are names of world statesmen and respected leaders of dynamic nations. More than that, they are symbols and represent landmarks in modern history. Your Excellencies, you are path-finders and innovators who have inspired revolutionary transformations in your own countries and have given expression to wide urgent and aspirations. You have led great liberation movements with courage and daring, and have, each in your own way and in accordance with the needs and circumstances of your country, pioneered new paths of socialist development. We are privileged to welcome you here today as partisans of peace and architects of a new and better world.

This is the third such tripartite meeting between three friendly countries. It reflects the desires, the interests, the common aspirations of our peoples. It is the continuation of a tradition. It is not only the similarity of approach to international events that brings our three nations together. What binds us is our vision of the kind of society we wish to create, a society in which old injustices are eradicated and a new socialist order is established, in which there is opportunity for the full unfolding of the human personality.

We belong to three different continents and have different systems of government and different historical backgrounds. Yet our three countries have drawn close to one another and our friendship has stood the test of time. This proclaims and bears witness to the continuing validity of the concept of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence. Non-alignment has raised a voice of reconciliation and human conscience above the harsh din of armaments, cold war polemics and angry clash of alliances. It is a means towards the larger end of peaceful co-existence.

The world has changed a great deal since the last tripartite meeting in 1961 and even more since the first meeting in 1956. New trends, new forces and new problems are emerging. They demand continuing assessment.

In 1956, colonialism and racialism and the intensity of the cold war were explosive factors in the international situation. There have

Speech at the inauguration of the Tripartite Meeting between India, U.A.R. and Yugoslavia, New Delhi, October 21, 1966
been some positive developments since that time. Colonialism has receded. There were signs of thaw in the cold war, though later these have dimmed again. Reciaism persists and, in alliance with the remnants of entrenched colonialism, notably in the southern part of Africa, is hurling defiance in flagrant violation of world opinion and human rights.

A brutal and tragic conflict is raging in Vietnam. It must be ended before it destroys the entire country and spreads and engulfs the world. It has revived cold war postures and tensions. There is only one real solution: a peaceful political settlement in keeping with the wishes of the people of Vietnam and free from all outside interference, as envisaged under the Geneva Agreement of 1954.

The peace around us, if it can be called peace, is an embattled one. We are confronted with the competitive build-up of nuclear armaments which threaten human survival. We hope that our dedication to tangible and realistic steps towards general and complete disarmament will help to create conditions for a lasting peace. This then is not a moment when we can confine ourselves to narrow national grooves. Indeed, we must raise the voice of humanity to assert that war is not inevitable, that there is no alternative to peaceful co-existence which can gain added meaning through active international co-operation.

The threats to newly independent nations are subtle and varied. There are economic and political pressures. There is a combination of social conservatism and revivalism which, with external encouragement, strains to preserve an unreal status quo. There are overt and covert efforts to undermine the integrity of composite societies. There is, above all, the stark fact of poverty and hunger, aggravated by the population explosion. In a shrinking world, prosperity and progress, like peace and freedom, are indivisible. It is in the interest of all nations that these threats be met.

It is incumbent on industrially advanced nations to help correct the imbalance created by the wide disparity between rich and poor countries and to implement the many suggestions made to prevent this gap from growing. On our part, the non-aligned nations, the developing nations, must make a tremendous effort to become self-reliant in order to give fuller meaning and content to our independence. Only by mutual cooperation in the economic, political, and cultural spheres can this objective be furthered.

The United Nations is the hope of the world, more especially of the smaller powers and developing nations, for it is the symbol of world community. We shall do everything in our power to strengthen the United Nations and to make it an effective instrument for international peace and co-operation.

We have gathered here not to speak to others or for others, nor
indeed to forge a new alliance, but to exchange views and to share our grave concern over common problems. Our attempt is not to shut others out but rather to find ways to bring them in. The purpose of non-alignment is not to build new barriers but to weaken existing ones. So accustomed is the world to thinking in terms of compartments that this new concept has often been misunderstood and erroneously described as a third bloc.

Man today has the power not only to destroy the world but to build it anew. He has the tools of science and technology. He is reaching out to the stars. So I do not despair. For peace and justice cannot elude the collective will of ordinary people the world over. By some strange coincidence we meet here at a time when in India we are celebrating the eternal festival of Dussehra which symbolises the ultimate triumph of good.

President Nasser and President Tito, I offer to you and the members of your delegation and, through you, to the people of the U.A.R. and Yugoslavia, the salutations and the good wishes of my Government and of the Indian people. I am confident that our meeting will bring us even closer, in friendship and understanding, to promote the ideas we share. May they endure.

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From October 21 to 24, a meeting between President Abdel Gamal Nasser and President Josip Broz Tito and the Prime Minister of India was held in New Delhi and we were privileged to play host to President Nasser and President Tito.

The meeting served a useful purpose in enabling the Heads of Governments of the three countries to exchange views about international developments and other matters of common interest. Although the meeting was of three countries only, some of the matters discussed are of great importance and will, no doubt, be of wider interest to the non-aligned and other developing countries, with whom we propose to share the results of our deliberations.

In our review of recent developments and the present international situation, the two Presidents and I were fully reassured in our belief in the continuing validity of the policy of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence and their importance in fostering peace. We discussed and condemned every form of domination of one country by another, the attempts to divide the world and the use of force in the settlement of disputes. We noted with satisfaction that the principles of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence were gaining greater acceptance.

Statement in Lok Sabha on the Tripartite Meeting, November 2, 1966
and in this context considered the Tashkent Declaration as a positive contribution towards finding peaceful solutions.

Our analysis of current international trends helped identify several threats to non-alignment and peaceful co-existence. In brief, these stem largely from attempts to exercise pressures on or interference in the affairs of some nations by others; the blocks to progress created by forces of social reaction, sometimes with external support; the continuing existence of remnants of colonialism as well as of entrenched racialism, especially in southern Africa; the failure to take more determined action to resolve the oppressive problem of poverty with its attendant tensions; and the increasing resort to force.

The statement on Vietnam included in our Joint Communiqué restates the basic elements that should go into a peaceful solution of the problem necessary for the well-being of the Vietnamese people and world peace.

The meeting reiterated its faith in the vital role of the United Nations. We are glad that the efforts of the non-aligned nations and other progressive opinion found concrete expression in the latest resolution on South West Africa, which reflects the conscience of the world. The implementation of this resolution will be a challenge which we must meet unitedly.

The three Heads of Government expressed their anxiety over the intensification of the arms race and called for the early conclusion of a treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons in accordance with the principles approved by the 20th Session of the U.N. General Assembly which clearly stipulate a balance of responsibilities between the nuclear and non-nuclear nations.

Perhaps the most outstanding result of the meeting was our collective approach to the economic challenges to non-alignment and peaceful co-existence. The newly independent and developing nations will be liable to strains and pressures until they attain a minimum level of development and enter a stage of self-sustaining growth. The major effort in this regard must be their own. But the developed nations cannot evade their responsibility to accept and adopt fair trade practices as expressed in the Final Act of the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development and to fulfil their obligation to transfer at least a net one per cent of their gross national product to the developing nations on terms and conditions that do not themselves constitute a crippling liability of debt repayment.

The unity of the 77 developing nations was one of the most notable achievements of the first U.N. Conference on Trade and Development. A second conference in this series is to be held in New Delhi next autumn. We discussed the steps which the U.A.R., Yugoslavia and India might take, in co-operation with other developing countries, to
ensure the success of the second World Trade Conference. As a first step we agreed that our Economic Ministers might meet in December not only to consider this issue but also to examine the possibilities of co-operation between our three countries in the commercial, technical, industrial and other fields. For our part, we attach the highest importance to this decision. There is wide scope for mutual, regional, inter-regional and international co-operation. The conditions for this exist in some cases and can be created in others.

The positive reaction to the Tripartite Meeting on the part of several non-aligned and developing nations as well as of some developed countries is indicative of the extent of active interest in our deliberations and the growing desire on the part of the non-aligned and developing nations to ameliorate their common economic problems.

We are happy that at the end of the Tripartite Meeting, President Nasser was able to stay on for a brief State visit which gave us an opportunity to further discuss matters of interest to our two countries.

In concluding, I should like to say how much we appreciated the opportunity of welcoming in our midst the distinguished Presidents of the U.A.R. and Yugoslavia with whose Governments and peoples we have such close ties. I am sure that warm friendship and co-operation between our countries will continue to grow and strengthen the forces of non-alignment, international peace and co-operation.

* * *

Mr. Speaker Sir, there have been many interesting speeches in this debate. There are over a hundred cut motions but the main points which have concerned Hon. Members are Vietnam and the Non-proliferation Treaty.

I was glad that the speeches this time were more pointed and did not attempt to range over the whole of human history. I am glad also to see that the induction of Hon. Member Shri Sondhi into the Jana Sangh Parliamentary Party has brought a new awareness of foreign policy in that party. Before that, they were constantly blaming us for paying far too much attention to international affairs.

The Hon. Members of the Congress Party have lightened my task by dealing very ably with most of the points which have been raised by the Opposition. The Hon. Member who initiated the debate, Shri Masani, seemed to have made a speech in defence of America, pleading for U.S. policies at a time when U.S. itself is re-examining them and trying to change them.

From reply to debate in Lok Sabha on the budget demands of the Ministry of External Affairs, April 6, 1968
At a banquet in honour of U Thant during the U.N. Secretary-General’s visit, April 1967

With Tun Tun Abdul Rehman during her visit to Malaysia, May 1968

With the Prime Minister of Singapore during her South-East Asia tour, May 1968
With the Prime Minister of New Zealand during her visit, May 1968

With the Prime Minister of Australia at a reception in Canberra, May 1968
With Chancellor George Kellinger of the Federal Republic of Germany during his visit, November 1967

With Prime Minister Jozef Cyrankiewicz of Poland during her visit to that country, October 1967
With President Nasser of the U.A.R. at a banquet in Cairo, July 3, 1966

With President Tito of Yugoslavia on arrival at Belgrade, October 11, 1967
With President Nasser of the U. A. R. and President Tito of Yugoslavia at the Tripartite Meeting between India, U.A.R. and Yugoslavia in New Delhi, October 1966
The timing of the debate is such that it is natural that our attention should be specially focused on Vietnam. On the 31st March, President Johnson made a speech of historic significance. It was a courageous initiative and I am glad it has evoked a positive response from Hanoi. Shri Masani used a rather strange word. I believe, he said that the United States Government had done what we, that is, the Government, had been 'clamouring' for. I do not know with what significance Shri Masani meant to clothe that word 'clamour'. Was there a certain disappointment that the United States should have taken a step which approximates 90 per cent to what we had been advocating for some considerable time, and that our stand, so long maligning, so long criticised, now stood vindicated? When faced with such moments in human history, it is not enough to come out with statements and to rush to the Press. It is important to examine the issues posed, to initiate processes and consultations. This we have been doing. We have been in touch with a number of friendly countries both through their Ambassadors and through our Missions there. I sent personal messages both to President Johnson and to President Ho Chi Minh, and I am sure that we would all like to see that these processes which have been set afoot will reach ultimate fruition in bringing peace to that tortured land of Vietnam.

Our effort has always been directed towards the narrowing of whatever differences still exist and in overcoming whatever difficulties remain. We hope that the two sides will meet and we hope that, as a result of this meeting, conditions will be created for an uninterrupted dialogue. We have always felt that the Geneva Agreement of 1954 provides the framework within which the Vietnam problem could be resolved.

If I may refer once more to my distinguished friend, Shri Masani, he presumed that our stand in favour of the cessation of bombing of North Vietnam was based on our advocacy of North Vietnam's cause. I may say that the question of the cessation of bombing of North Vietnam has been advocated by a very large number of countries and by the distinguished Secretary-General of the United Nations, because all these people realise that the issues in Vietnam are susceptible only to political solutions and that there could be no military solution to the problem. We believe also that these issues are far too serious to be made a subject of partisan propaganda. We have assured all the parties concerned that both as a peace-loving country and as Member-Chairman of the International Control Commission, we would always be willing to shoulder whatever responsibilities devolved upon us.

We are glad that we are not alone in this. We have the support of many countries and the vast majority of mankind. We should like to share with them the task of bringing peace to Vietnam. It is
understandable that there is still considerable mutual suspicion and questioning of motives. Statements by one side are not taken at their face value by the other. It is our task to bridge this gap of suspicion and distrust which divides the two sides. Hence our effort to contact all the concerned parties and to bring them closer together, in the hope and belief that direct contacts may perhaps pave the way towards sincere and genuine contacts which would lead to a solution.

References were made by many Members to the question of security of the South-East Asian region. My colleague, Minister of State Shri Bhagat dealt with this in his speech yesterday. Some Members accused us of not playing an effective role in developing a regional security arrangement for the defence of South and South-East Asian countries from Chinese expansionism. Hon. Member Shri Sondhi also spoke of this. I am glad that he has recently discovered Cambodia. We have had long-standing and friendly relations with that country and, in particular, with its distinguished Head of State, Prince Sihanouk. These relations are purposeful and are based on mutual understanding, trust and confidence. Some parties expressed the view that we should enter into agreements or arrangements with different nations of this region. Now, when we look back into recent history, the post-war era, we find it littered with the remains of dead and dying security arrangements. I believe that this is bound to happen when international relations are subordinated to opportunist considerations. Our concept is different from that the Swatantra Party and the Jana Sangh; our policies are not governed by conditioned reflexes but by deeper considerations. The security of South and South-East Asia will not be made more secure by alliances or treaties. We believe that this security will grow out of mutual co-operation and identity of interest. On our part, we have been doing everything possible to explore all avenues of mutual co-operation in economic and other fields. We hope that, when peace comes to Vietnam, the real security needs of the area will be seen more clearly. Security lies in strengthening these countries, and I do not believe that they can be strengthened by any kind of foreign interference.

Let us take a broad look at our external relations over the past year or so. Any objective observer will admit—and the overall impression that we got from the speeches of even those Hon. Members who seem to oppose our policies is—that we have not been so badly off after all. With our two immediate and difficult neighbours, there has been no deterioration of relations. With Pakistan we are straining every nerve to effect some improvement and I have no doubt that we can succeed. Of course, it is not possible to have any spectacular or dramatic development. But we must work, we must make an attempt to work together. Hon. Member, Shri Hem Barua, said something
about our having a blind faith in the Tashkent Agreement. The Tashkent Agreement is not merely a matter of principle. It is also an instrument through which the two countries could normalise their relations. We have had many difficulties in its implementation. We are far from implementing it perfectly or even in a large degree. Nevertheless, I can say that we have proceeded a little bit in that direction. Some small steps have been taken, and I personally feel that the atmosphere is better. But here again the responsibility lies on all of us. Because, being such close neighbours, having the type of contact which we have had, having also the history of bitterness which we have had between us, any stray remark made by anybody can be exaggerated, misconstrued and can lead to straining of relations. Therefore, in this matter we must all endeavour to try to improve these relations.

Voices have been raised here on this occasion and on other occasions demanding that we should quit the Commonwealth. I am not insensitive to the feelings which impel such demands. As I have said on previous occasions, leaving the Commonwealth cannot be considered as a mere subjective response to any given situation. Historically speaking, we joined the Commonwealth at a time when the world was divided into two hostile and opposing camps. And it made sense that some countries which were not involved with either of these camps should get together and explore their common interests. Subsequently, with the rising tide of liberation, more countries became free and they became members of the Commonwealth. Today there are 22 Member States drawn from the areas extending from the Caribbean Sea to the Pacific and embracing all continents of this earth. It is true that the festering of the Rhodesian sore is poisoning the Commonwealth relations and the longer it is allowed to do so, the more corrosive will be its influence on the health of the Commonwealth. We are aware of this and feel deeply concerned. So are other members of the Commonwealth. We hope, however, that the collective wisdom of members of the Commonwealth will help to solve this problem and to retain the multi-racial character of this association.

With the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. our contacts are increasing and our relations are developing very favourably in all fields. With the sister nations of Africa and Asia there is, by and large, a record of progress.

One Hon. Member referred to black racialism. Racialism, whether it be black or white, is anathema to the civilized world. We here in India have a proud record of fighting racialism in all its forms. We have done this not because of any sense of duty but because we realise that the world cannot be stable if the political and economic conflicts are made more complex by a new dimension of racial conflicts. We shall continue to strive against racialism in all its mani-
festations. We have the friendliest of feelings for our brethren in Africa. We understand their difficulties, many of which are due to the remnants of the old colonialism. We have to fight against this and we shall do so.

With the socialist countries of Europe, friendly ties continue to strengthen, especially in the fields of economic and commercial exchanges. Western European countries have also shown friendship towards us in many ways which we have tried to reciprocate. Both with France and the Federal Republic of Germany our relations are advancing steadily.

The countries of Latin America, though geographically distant, share many ideals with us and we hope to do more to know each other better and co-operate in various fields. But I realise that much more needs to be done, and that in the past we had been a little aloof.

I should add that with the two neighbours on our western flank we are establishing new relationships of mutual confidence and understanding. We were happy to welcome to Delhi, even though briefly, His Majesty the Shah of Iran, with whom we had a useful exchange of views which, we are confident, will lead to the strengthening of our relations in the future. With the Foreign Minister of Turkey also a wide spectrum of problems was discussed, and I feel that we understand each other a little better now. Economic exchanges are developing very satisfactorily with both these countries and this will provide a sound framework for building up a relationship based on mutual confidence and respect.

In foreign affairs there are no set positions. Even if some countries have not always been very friendly to us in the past, I believe that where there is friendship we must enlarge it; where there is indifference, we must remove it; and where there is hostility, we should try to blunt it. Only certain values and interests are permanent and set; on these we cannot compromise.

Now I come to China. Some Hon. Members have spoken of cutting off relations with China altogether. On the other hand, some have talked of raising them to ambassadorial level. We have diplomatic relations with a large number of countries. In fashioning these relations, we do not look into the political and social composition of the Governments concerned. We believe that that is the responsibility of the people of the country concerned. What happens internally in other countries cannot be a subject-matter of public comment.

Our differences with China arose mainly from the fact that China is not prepared to accept this elementary code of international conduct. The day they accept it, we would have gone a long way towards normalising our relations. I have no doubt that through a process of trial and error the Chinese Government will one day realise that the world
is much too complex to be reduced to some uniform pattern, however shining and bright that pattern might appear in the eyes of the hot gospellers of our present-day world.

Hon. Member Shri Umanath should understand a very simple and elementary proposition. It is that India’s social transformation can only be effected by the people of India themselves, in the light of their own history, tradition and experience. It will not be effected by Mao’s thoughts and little red books.

A hardy annual, which comes up with monotonous regularity, concerns the functioning of our diplomatic missions abroad. The work of our missions must, of necessity, be performed quietly, without any fanfare of publicity. That is the very nature of diplomacy, involving a careful survey of the ground, meticulous preparation and discreet contacts and discussions. The fact that our relations with countries all over the globe have been advancing is due in no small measure to the silent efforts of our missions. Our Foreign Service had to be created from scratch and we had no precedents or previous experience to go by. Yet, our diplomats have established great reputation abroad and in all international gatherings their voices, raised on behalf of the country, are heard with attention. And some have been singled out for service on important international missions.

The critics of our missions sometimes tend to judge their performance by impressions casually gathered during fleeting visits. Such judgments are far neither to the critics themselves nor to our missions. Of course, I must admit that there is always room for improvement and we are constantly trying to improve the performance of our missions.

When we talk of publicity abroad or of the image of India which our missions are projecting, let us remember that we are dealing with sovereign independent States who have their own assessments of their national interests. They are not concerned with our national interests; they are concerned with a picture that suits them. Our task, therefore, is to seek co-operation in matters where interests converge and to seek adjustment and accommodation wherever there are divergences. This process is a continuing one. Our image abroad will inevitably be a reflection of our situation at home. We hope that the country will now present a picture of unity and not division, of progress and not stagnation, of purposeful activity and not meaningless dissension. All this will condition and influence our external relations and what others think of us.

I come now to the question with which not only Members of Parliament but the entire country seems to be deeply concerned. Almost everybody who spoke has spoken of the Non-proliferation Treaty. I made a statement on that subject in this House on March 14,
That statement stands. I would like to assure the House that we shall be guided entirely by our enlightened self-interest and the considerations of national security and, of course, adherence to our values. We have already made it clear that the draft treaty in its present form does not fully conform to the principles enunciated in the General Assembly Resolution No. 2028 of the 20th Session.

Mankind today is at the crossroads of nuclear peace and nuclear war. There can be no doubt that we should take the road to nuclear peace. But the first step in this direction is not yet in sight. It is vitally important, therefore, for the nuclear weapon powers to undertake as soon as possible meaningful negotiations on a series of measures leading to nuclear disarmament. The present draft treaty acknowledges the need for such negotiations but, unfortunately, the non-participation by some nuclear weapon powers will make it only partially effective. What is more, the other nuclear weapon powers insist on their right to continue to manufacture more nuclear weapons. This is a situation which cannot be viewed with equanimity by non-nuclear countries, especially as they are called upon to undertake not to manufacture or acquire nuclear weapons for their own defence.

At the same time, we have stated that the Government of India does not propose to manufacture nuclear weapons. This is a decision taken many years ago and is unrelated to the Treaty on Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. We shall continue our efforts for nuclear disarmament because it is only through nuclear disarmament that discrimination would be eliminated and equality between nations re-established.

The draft Treaty on Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons will now be discussed by the resumed session of the General Assembly towards the end of April this year. Several amendments have already been proposed by some non-nuclear countries and there may be more to come. These amendments will receive our careful consideration, and we shall continue to impress upon the nuclear powers the need for a balanced and non-discriminatory treaty.

The issue before us is essentially a political one. And it also has serious implications as regards security matters. The Treaty and all its implications are under continuous study and the Government will give careful thought to the views of Members as expressed in this House.

All parties, with the exception of Hon. Member Shri M. R. Masani, have generally supported the stand taken by the Government of India in not signing the Treaty in its present form. Government are fully aware of the serious issues involved. I would again assure the House that in any decision taken, the best interest of the country and of world peace will guide and inform our deliberations.

At the same time, I should also like to warn the House and the
country that not signing the Treaty may bring the nation many difficulties. It may mean the stoppage of aid and the stoppage of help. But I personally think that although it may involve sacrifice and hardship, it will be the first step towards building the real strength of this country and we will be able to go ahead on the road to self-sufficiency.

Hon. Member Shri V. Krishnamoorthi’s speech showed a recognition that foreign policy concerns and touches our national interests and should not, therefore, be viewed in terms of party politics. I earnestly hope that this trend will gain wider acceptance and will govern our attitude towards our foreign policy.

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THE PRIME MINISTER: We are meeting after a very long time. Good wishes for 1969. I hope it will be a year of better reporting. 1968 has been a year of ups and downs as, I suppose, all years are. But I think it ended for us on a happy note. There are very tangible signs of recovery on the economic front and, in spite of many difficulties, there is a general spirit of buoyancy in the country as a whole.

I do not want to start off by saying something about reporting, but I have seen headlines in some of the newspapers which, I must say, came as a complete surprise to me. I saw a headline saying that I was booed by hostile crowds. Now, I have been touring for about thirty years and I can say that I have never had a friendlier crowd than the one I had in Jamshedpur. They pressed on to the car because it was dark and they could not see, and the only complaint was with the security staff, because they (the people) wanted to see me and the security staff were not allowing them to see me. This is what happened.

There was some impatience because we were delayed by about two hours. But it is not at all unusual at election meetings. I have myself gone five to six hours late in some other areas. In fact, I remember a meeting in Belgaum which was scheduled for 5 p.m. We reached there at 3 a.m. I said to the crowd, “You have waited too long. You must be tired. I will give a short speech.” They said, “What do you think we were waiting here for? Not for hearing a short speech.” These things do happen and people who are not accustomed to large crowds are not able to appreciate it.

Now, shall we proceed with the press conference?

QUESTION: In a recent speech you have said that India is prepared to quit the Commonwealth. What is the hitch? How long should the black man bear the burden of the white man?

From replies to questions at a Press Conference, New Delhi, January 1, 1969
THE PRIME MINISTER: I do not think I made that remark anywhere. I said that if we feel like quitting, there was nothing to stop us. I do not think it is a question of anybody bearing a burden. I do not know the exact figure at this moment but the majority of the members of the Commonwealth are from Asia, Africa and the Caribbean. Certainly, if we feel that we should get out, there is nothing to stop us. But at the moment it provides us a forum where one can express one's views; it also provides a forum for joint action. How successful it will be, I cannot say. But, certainly, it is not the British Commonwealth now.

QUESTION: You are going to attend the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference. What are the reasons that led you to change the earlier decision not to attend the Conference?

THE PRIME MINISTER: There was no earlier decision not to attend the Conference. The decision was that I would try to go unless there were circumstances which prevented me from doing so. This is where it stands today. I have no special expectation. As I said, I am looking forward to meeting some old friends. Much has happened in Africa and in other parts of the world. I think, it is very important that we should keep in touch with the thinking of other people and also we should give our own point of view and tell them what is happening in India.

QUESTION: Mr Arshad Hussain is going to attend the Commonwealth Prime Minister's Conference. He says he will raise Kashmir and Farakka questions there. Is it possible for him to do so?

THE PRIME MINISTER: It is, strictly, not done, that is, to raise bilateral issues.

QUESTION: Do you think something positive will come out of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference on the question of Rhodesia?

THE PRIME MINISTER: It will be one of the most important items on the agenda. But it is very difficult to say what will come out of it.

QUESTION: Would you care to give an assessment of the state of relations with countries like the U.S.A. after Mr Nixon's election, the U.K. after Mr Stewart's visit and after the Soviet Union's decision to supply military hardware to Pakistan?

THE PRIME MINISTER: When I was a very young student at Oxford, I was invited to sit at the high table—it is rather a nerve-racking experience for any fresh student. The first question I was asked was, "What are your views on music, art and literature?" There is no
reason why anything should change between us and the United States because of Mr. Nixon’s election. Whoever takes charge of the Government in any country has to view other countries from a standpoint of mutual interest and, I think, it is in our interest that the U.S.A. and India should be friendly. Of course, we do not agree on all matters. That holds true of any relationship, whether individual or national. The same holds true of Mr Stewart’s visit. It was a sort of get-to-know-each-other visit, and I think that the talks that he had here were useful, and we were able to put forward our own views on a number of subjects.

I do not know what you asked about the U.S.S.R., is it about our relations?

QUESTION: I wanted to know the state of relations after the Soviet Union’s decision to supply military hardware to Pakistan.

THE PRIME MINISTER: The relations remain the same. If there are certain actions by any nation which, we think, may not be in our interest or in the interest of peace in the area, I do not think that it should affect the overall relations we have in other spheres.

QUESTION: What conditions would have to prevail for India to leave the Commonwealth?

THE PRIME MINISTER: I do not think that it is a question of ‘conditions’. That is a decision which, I think, one should take in consultation with other Asian and African nations. If we feel that this get-together is not serving any purpose at all, that would be the time to get out of it.

QUESTION: You have already dealt with American and other countries. What is your view of the Sino-Indian problem? Do you think that the dispute is limited merely to the border question, or the confrontation is much more basic—political and economic? In this context, is a dialogue possible?

THE PRIME MINISTER: I will start with the last part. I think that however difficult the situation may seem, it is always possible in the world to find a way out. The confrontation is not easy of definition because of the changing world situation and it is bound to be affected by what happens in the rest of the world. As you know, there is the anti-Indian propaganda campaign. I do not know whether I should use the word ‘confrontation’. But certainly our attitude towards the world and our own development is entirely different. But, as I said, even though it may seem impossible at the moment, I think, all things are possible if one tries hard enough. A solution can only be found keeping the national interest and national honour in mind.
QUESTION: Are you in a position to comment on President Ayub Khan's recent proposal of a no-war pact?

THE PRIME MINISTER: In a way I did comment on it in Parliament. We ourselves have been anxious for a no-war pact for a very long time, since my father's time. Obviously the no-war pact can have no meaning if you say that other things must be solved first. But what could take place is that you evolve some kind of machinery, a bilateral machinery, to go into these matters simultaneously.

QUESTION: Would you like to comment on the Brezhnev doctrine that the Soviet Union has a right to intercede in the other socialist countries if they are deflecting from the socialist path?

THE PRIME MINISTER: Our views on interference are very well known. We believe in non-interference by any country in the affairs of another country.

QUESTION: Coming back to the China question, since the Chinese occupied Indian territory before and during 1962, the only difference that is made is the time lag. We had taken a certain position in 1962 and 1963. Have you any particular reason why this recent change has come about in the Government at any rate about having a dialogue with China, or the desire of some kind to forget the past?

THE PRIME MINISTER: I do not think you can forget the past. You cannot ignore it. But how do you solve the question? You do not solve the question by saying, "Here I stand and here I shall remain". You have to find out how it can be solved.

QUESTION: Will India take the initiative in that respect?

THE PRIME MINISTER: Well I do not know. What do you mean by initiative?

QUESTION: They attacked India in 1962 for the purpose of grabbing the territory. Has any analysis been done of the reasons for the attack?

THE PRIME MINISTER: There are various analyses on the subject.

QUESTION: Would not India insist on the Chinese acceptance of Colombo proposals now?

THE PRIME MINISTER: That is not what I meant. What I mean is that we are stuck up in a particular position. That does not solve our problem with China. We should try to find a way of solving this problem. What that way is, I do not know at the moment.

QUESTION: You still insist on the Colombo proposals or not? We want a straight answer.
THE PRIME MINISTER: Unfortunately straight answers are not possible. They come from the wrong ones.

QUESTION: The point is that there is a certain situation created by the Chinese. Do we accept that any initiative or softness on our part is going to soften the Chinese, or that they have a certain design from which we have to seek redress elsewhere?

THE PRIME MINISTER: What do you mean by seeking redress elsewhere?

QUESTION: You strengthen yourself and align with the natural or potential enemies of China.

THE PRIME MINISTER: How can you say as to who are the potential enemies of China. Will the world situation remain for ever like that? I do not think you can take any relationship for granted, so far as China or any other country is concerned. I do not mean just between us, but among themselves.

QUESTION: From the Chinese response to some of our gesture, one gets the impression that they except us to capitulate fully.

THE PRIME MINISTER: We have made no gestures so far. I do not know what response you are referring to.

QUESTION: I refer to the broadcasts about our Government, our Prime Minister, about everything.

THE PRIME MINISTER: That is their language. It is not our language. I think we should ignore it.

QUESTION: The other day when some Tibetans protested against harassment of one of our editors in Nepal by the Chinese, the External Affairs Ministry called them ‘miscreants’. Is it not a fact that this protest followed the arrest of one of our editors? The External Affairs Ministry also said that the ‘severest’ action will be taken against them. The case is before the court. It is for the judge to take the severest action.

THE PRIME MINISTER: Obviously, all these embassies are in our territory and we are responsible for their protection.

QUESTION: Are the Tibetan refugees permitted to take part in political activities?

THE PRIME MINISTER: They are not of course.

QUESTION: Coming to the China dialogue again, although the language in their broadcasts remains belligerent, there have been
some occasions when the Chinese diplomats have appeared in our parties. The Chinese were also present at Kathmandu when the President visited Nepal. Is that a straw in the wind? Have there been any indications of these straws on the part of China?

**THE PRIME MINISTER:** Only the future can say which way the straw is leaning.

**QUESTION:** Against this background, how do you view the assistance which China is giving to the Nagas and the Mizos? Is it not more important than the presence of diplomats in our parties?

**THE PRIME MINISTER:** That is part of the present situation and the problem which confronts us. That is what I said. The whole thing has to be viewed in its totality and some effort at least should be made to find a way out.

**QUESTION:** Are the Government of India considering some kind of a space programme?

**THE PRIME MINISTER:** I think rockets at least, though small, are going up.

**QUESTION:** Can we come a little nearer home? Would you like to comment on Rajaji's latest proposals on Kashmir?

**THE PRIME MINISTER:** I think the less said about it, the better.

**QUESTION:** Twenty-one years ago, your father said, “We shall not rest until the last raider is driven out of the soil of Kashmir”. I spent one year in prison in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir. Your father had promised to liberate the remaining areas from Kashmir under Pakistani occupation. Have you any plans to liberate those areas?

**THE PRIME MINISTER:** We certainly consider that these areas have been occupied as a result of aggression. But all this, as I said with regard to China, is part of a bigger problem, and one has to see how that problem is to be tackled. I do not think there is only one way of tackling it. There may be other ways. One does not know whether those ways will succeed or not. But all ways, all methods, should be explored.

**QUESTION:** Are you trying any alternative way to solve the problems of China and Pakistan, because you spoke just now about the occupied-Kashmir and about the Colombo proposals. From your answer, it appears that you are not insisting on the Colombo proposals.

**THE PRIME MINISTER:** That was not a correct assumption. The point is that if we want to solve something, there is no point in stating very categorical views. Our views are known to those people, and we shall certainly not let them get any wrong impression of our stand.
But this kind of discussion or constantly saying “so and so is the greatest enemy” and so on does not, I think, improve the situation.

**Question:** How do you see the near future in the Middle East crisis? Considering Israeli aggression against the Arabs, do you see any probability of a peaceful political settlement?

**The Prime Minister:** It is true that the recent unprovoked and deplorable bombing incident seems to have dashed whatever hopes there were. The situation is very much worse than it was even a short time ago.

**Question:** Lord Mountbatten is reported to have sent a communication on privy purses. Can you say what your view is about it?

**The Prime Minister:** On his communication or privy purses?

**Question:** On privy purses.

**The Prime Minister:** Then why bring in Mountbatten. Government’s views are very well known. They have been stated in Parliament, in the All India Congress Committee, and I am fully committed to them. It is not a question of a personal view on it.

**Question:** Has not Lord Mountbatten written to you about it?

**The Prime Minister:** He did, I think, some time ago, some considerable time ago.

**Question:** Are you likely to bring in a Bill in Parliament in the next session to abolish these privy purses? It has already been delayed.

**The Prime Minister:** As far as we are concerned, a decision has been taken. At what stage it is, I do not know.

**Question:** What business has Lord Mountbatten to interfere in our affairs?

**The Prime Minister:** If somebody writes a personal letter giving his views, I do not think it is interference. A lot of people write to me from this country and other countries giving their views on everything.

**Question:** It is said that you are likely to meet Lord Mountbatten in London.

**The Prime Minister:** Yes.

**Question:** Will you be discussing this matter?

**The Prime Minister:** How do I know?

**Question:** Going back to the Israel-Arab conflict, you said that the situation is worse than it was a few days ago. Have you any idea
of persuading the two parties through the United Nations or otherwise to come to some arrangement?

The Prime Minister: You know that a resolution has been passed and they have rejected the resolution. With this atmosphere, I do not know what India can do at this stage.

Question: What are your reactions to the recent happenings inside Pakistan? Do you think that it will bring about some change in foreign policy?

The Prime Minister: I do not think it would be at all proper for me to comment on the internal affairs of any country.

Question: Shri Jayaprakash Narayan said recently that Shri Jawaharlal Nehru himself had at one time stated that there should be smaller States; that for instance, U.P. could be split up. It was at the time of the States Reorganisation Commission's report. What are your opinions on it?

The Prime Minister: I do not remember my father ever saying it. This was said, I think, by Mr Pannikar in the States Reorganisation Commission's report. I do not think my father ever said so, or Shastriji said it. I do not know.

Question: He said that the main opposition came from the late Pandit Pant and that, otherwise, probably it would have been agreed to. What are your views about U.P. being split up?

The Prime Minister: I think already one reorganisation has created enough problems.

Question: Are you worried about the Congress organisation, or are you leaving it totally to the Congress President?

The Prime Minister: The Congress organisation has proved much stronger than what anybody gave it credit for last year. We have heard of these prophecies by Press Lords and others for some time.

Question: Are you considering the reconstitution or expansion of the Union Cabinet, especially when some vacancies are there now?

The Prime Minister: As I said, the Press Conference will be the last place where I will announce it.

Question: Coming back to China, would it not facilitate reasonable negotiations with China if we have an atom bomb?

The Prime Minister: Well, we have stated our views on the atom bomb. I do not know whether we want to have a long discussion on
it on this occasion. The reasons for not manufacturing an atom bomb are many and I think they are the valid ones.

**Question:** You are reported to have told the South-East Asian envoys that the non-alignment policy is flexible. Can you elaborate on it?

**The Prime Minister:** I do not know whether I used that word. In a sense, as I said in answer to previous questions, all policies are flexible because in a changing situation, you have to meet those changes. You cannot say that other things are changing but we will remain in a particular spot. In fact, that is what non-alignment means; it means not belonging to a military bloc. This by itself gives you a much more flexible position than if you were a member of any bloc. We have also seen in recent times that belonging to a bloc does not help much.

**Question:** On what basis do you hope that 1969 will be a brighter year for India? Will it be economically brighter or brighter from the point of view of agricultural production or stability in prices? What are the factors?

**The Prime Minister:** Agricultural production certainly has a very important role to play. Our exports are going up and we hope that production will also go up. As the economy recovers in this way, it will have an effect on prices also. But in a developing economy, prices do go up. This is one of the facts which we have to face.

**Question:** 1968 has been described in our country as a year of indecision as far as the Government is concerned. Why is it so? Is it because of differences in the Cabinet, or the delicate power balance?

**The Prime Minister:** Let us be clear as to who describes it like this. I think one or two people; they are the people again who do not know how the country is working or what is happening in the country. They look at the world and at the Government from some high pedestal of their own, thinking that they have all the answers. There is no indecision at all. On two projects, a decision was not taken for very good reasons. It will be taken when we think it is the right time to take it. On some questions decisions may have been taken and we may not decide to announce them.

**Question:** There is so much violence in the country. There are the Naxalbari movements, communal riots and other things. What do these things indicate? Do they indicate that something is wrong with our democracy?
THE PRIME MINISTER: If anything is wrong with our democracy, then it must be wrong with other countries also, including non-democratic countries. Can you mention any country following a democratic path or any other path, where these things are not happening? It is unfortunate that violence has gone up in the world, but whether it has actually grown or whether it is more publicised now is also a factor to be considered.

QUESTION: In regard to the Naxalbari activities in Kerala, are you satisfied with the steps taken by Mr Namboodiripad to curb these activities?

THE PRIME MINISTER: I view these activities with great concern because I think it is very wrong for people to take the law in their hands even if they feel something is wrong. In most of these cases, of course, it is not even that excuse. I think they have to be dealt with very strongly. I have spoken to Mr Namboodiripad myself and the Central Government is in touch with him.

QUESTION: Do you propose to discuss this question of Naxalbari activities with the Opposition leaders?

THE PRIME MINISTER: I am willing to discuss anything with them.

QUESTION: Political pundits say that mid-term election results are going to affect the Centre. Do you think so?

THE PRIME MINISTER: No, I do not.

QUESTION: What are your views about the activities of the 'Young Turks' who attack the Ministers and sometimes even the whole Government and who, at the same time, swear their loyalty to you?

THE PRIME MINISTER: I think this is for you to judge.

QUESTION: They attacked the Government on the question of Inquiry Commission against Birlas—on Friday they did so. I think they are still Congressmen and with the Congress Government. What is your view of the whole problem?

THE PRIME MINISTER: We have always given considerable latitude to our party. This is not something that is happening for the first time. If you look into the Parliamentary records you will find that this has happened in the last twenty years several times.

QUESTION: I would like to know when it happened except when you came to power. It did not happen when Shastriji was here, much less when your father was in power.

THE PRIME MINISTER: I am sorry, he is not well informed. It happened many a time when my father was in office.
QUESTION: Could you give one instance?

THE PRIME MINISTER: This is not a cross-examination. The Parliament records are there for anybody to see. This is not something new. I resent the tone of the question. I am not going to be spoken to like that.

CORRESPONDENT: I am sorry.

QUESTION: How long would you continue as Prime Minister of India?

THE PRIME MINISTER: I do not think there is any commission sitting on it yet.

QUESTION: The Hindustan Times last Sunday had printed some sort of a charge that there has been no Plan for the last few years. Would you put before the country a time-bound economic programme?

THE PRIME MINISTER: Our economic programme is more or less time-bound. It is planning. Otherwise, why do we plan?

QUESTION: Did you, in your moments of detached thinking, ever visualise a constitutional future for India after the mid-term election? Did you ever realise that the Congress may not be returned as the single majority party in all those States? In that eventuality, would you swing to the Right or to the Left?

THE PRIME MINISTER: This is one thing on which I have made myself clear in all my speeches. I stick to my policy which I believe to be right, whether it costs me my life or anything else. I think nobody should have any doubt on that. The Prime Ministership is a very small thing in comparison.

QUESTION: Could you kindly give your views on student unrest? Do you think it is spiritual or moral or economic or Leftist or R.S.S. inspired?

THE PRIME MINISTER: I would not call it spiritual, certainly. But as far as other things are concerned, many factors are involved in it. There are genuine difficulties, some of which are unavoidable because they are due to the quick expansion of education and various other changes taking place in society and family. Some are avoidable, such as absence of certain facilities which could, perhaps, be offered. In a sense the student unrest here is a part of the youth unrest in the world. The gap between the generations is much wider now than it has ever been before. Again, there are some students who are exploited by political parties and there are some students who think they are exploiting political parties. It is not possible to generalise on this
issue because the situation differs from university to university, from area to area, as it does from country to country to some extent. Some cases are common and others are specific.

**QUESTION:** Since you have expressed optimism about the New Year, can we hope that we will be nearer the small car this year?

**THE PRIME MINISTER:** This is for the Ministry of Industrial Development to decide.

**QUESTION:** The Japanese married couples have supported the right of the Japanese Prime Minister, Mr Sato, to beat his wife. May I know what your views are on husbands beating their wives?

**THE PRIME MINISTER:** I am against beating, no matter who beats whom.

**QUESTION:** What are the New Year Resolutions?

**THE PRIME MINISTER:** We are still trying to implement the original New Year resolution which was taken in 1936 which is to make our freedom real to all our people. We know that it cannot be done in one year, but we can take a decisive step in that direction if we keep unity and stability and function together.

**QUESTION:** What are your views about the achievement towards the landing on the Moon?

**THE PRIME MINISTER:** I am very greatly excited by it. I felt very much like Wordsworth when he saw the rainbow. I think, it has lifted up our hearts in a way. It is a very remarkable achievement. Of course, we talk of the courage of the astronauts. It is very courageous of them. The work that has gone behind it to make this possible shows how much, when men do get together, they can achieve. The lesson it teaches us is that of team-work and of aiming high. We sometimes feel that we are aiming too high; and there is a lot of controversy about it. But it is very necessary for the human spirit, along with dealing with the more mundane details, to aim high.

That is all. Once more good luck, and very good wishes for this year and the years to come.
India and the United Nations

May I welcome you, U Thant, as a dedicated champion of a united and peaceful world. The United Nations represents mankind's hope to evolve something higher, something better, and much of what the United Nations is and can become depends on the Secretary-General, on his own personal faith and the conception of the duties of his office. May I congratulate the Nehru Award Committee on choosing U Thant. No choice could have been more apt. May I thank you, Sir, for accepting the honour. It is a vivid proof of your regard for Nehru and India. It binds India and Burma, India and the United Nations, even closer.

Distinction and achievement come from within, not only from extraneous factors but from what a person does to develop his potentiality. I should like to draw attention to a true instance in U Thant's life and personality. He is a Buddhist. All great religions are records of man's attempt to refine himself. But Buddhism is a religion which speaks not so much of the majesty of a Godhead as of the supremacy of compassion, of peace, of right thought, right attitude, and right action.

U Thant began his life as a teacher. He has a teacher's faith in the possibility of improving minds and hearts. He has a teacher's infinite patience. He has a teacher's gift of pouring out all he has, so that others may grow. The teacher's quality has stood him in good stead in his work as Secretary-General. He has been a fighter for freedom. He played a notable part in Burma's emergence as a free nation. There can be no peace without freedom and equality. Love of freedom and of peace connected U Thant with Jawaharlal Nehru.

Nehru believed and proclaimed that freedom was the first condition of peace. There could be no peace so long as one nation rules over another or claims superiority by virtue of military might or of race. To Nehru, the end of colonialism and racialism was essential for an enduring peace amongst nations. Years ago, Gandhiji drew attention to a remarkable feature of Nehru's thought, that his nationalism was matched by his internationalism. Neither Gandhiji nor Jawaharlal Nehru ever said, "my country, right or wrong." Through the study of history, Jawaharlal Nehru was fully aware of the limitations of nationalism and the danger of a chauvinistic outlook. He was particularly suspicious of any alliance between nationalism and religious fanaticism or of militarism and nationalism. He often said that it was an irony that new nations have to come into being at a time when

Speech at the presentation to U Thant of the first Nehru Award for International Understanding, New Delhi, April 12, 1967.
nationalism itself has been rendered obsolete by the march of science and technology. It was imperialism which was the cause of this anomaly. Jawaharlal Nehru had wanted nations to rise above circumstances and to look ahead. Mr Attlee called Nehru "the first statesman of the new world to be". Nehru was conscious of the conflicts between nationalism and internationalism. But his efforts were all directed towards resolving that conflict. Through his well-thought-out foreign policy, he proved that India's national interest lay in working ceaselessly for international peace. Ashoka has been described as the greatest king in the world. He proclaimed that the only true conquests were those of peace. Nehru, conditioned by Gandhiji's stress on truth and non-violence and by his own study of history, had a repugnance of militarism and he spoke with his whole being when he endorsed UNESCO's declaration that the defences of peace are to be created in the minds of men or when he quoted Euripides to disapprove of "the hand uplifted in hate".

As to Gandhiji and Nehru, it will be our effort to work for the fulfilment of their ideals. Nehru had great faith in the United Nations which he thought was a notable effort towards achieving the unity of man and of upholding the destiny of man. In the presence of the United Nations Secretary-General, I reaffirm India's full support to the United Nations in its work for world peace. We shall always be active in the furtherance of these objectives of the United Nations. We stand for peace and for the settlement of disputes through negotiations, for the gradual reduction of the burden of armament, old and new. We stand for freedom from colonialism and racialism, for closer co-operation between countries, especially between continents of want and affluence.

The Nehru Award is a commemoration of a votary of peace and a great believer in the destiny of man. The first award has gone to a remarkable person, one whose prayer, passion and daily endeavour is peace. I thank him for the honour he has done us in travelling all the way from the headquarters of the United Nations to accept the award. I give my own and India's best wishes for the success of his mission.

I AM GRATEFUL to you for according me the high honour of addressing this great Assembly. May I take this opportunity to congratulate you, Sir, on your election to the distinguished office of the President of the General Assembly of the United Nations. It is a fitting tribute to Guatemala and to your own personal qualities. I wish you success.

Address to the General Assembly of the United Nations, New York, October 14, 1968
I have just come from an instructive and stimulating visit to a number of countries in Latin America and the Caribbean. This enabled me to see the earnest strivings of the peoples of that great continent for social progress and better standards of living.

I should like to pay a special tribute to the Secretary-General. Where others might have been overwhelmed by heart-break, U Thant has persevered, undaunted, in his great work with rare faith, devotion and detachment. It is up to all of us to give him our fullest support.

The United Nations is the trustee of the world's peace and represents the hopes of mankind. Its very existence gives a feeling of assurance that the justice of true causes can be brought fearlessly before the world. This Assembly and the agencies of the United Nations should, in all that they do, sustain those hopes and promote the causes of peace.

Seven years ago, 'India's first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, addressed this Assembly. He was a believer in seeking areas of agreement and co-operation, and in enlarging them. He advocated before this Assembly a 'new approach to co-operation and the furtherance of the co-operative effort'. The Assembly accepted his suggestion of an International Co-operation Year. The United Nations also launched a Development Decade to promote greater economic co-operation between the rich and the poor nations. Two major international conferences on trade and development were held.

The interest shown by member States in these moves aroused great expectations among the developing countries. We did not seek to share the power of the big powers. We did not ask that they deny any of their own people their needs in order to fulfil ours. We, who have had twenty years or less of freedom to work for our progress, did not expect miracles of sudden transformation. Only too well do we know how long and hard is the path of development. What we do expect is understanding of the intangible yearnings of peoples who have long been under foreign domination.

Unfortunately, economic co-operation has little progress to show. Nor has there been any notable advance in international co-operation in the political sphere. The reasons for this failure are obvious and many. Economic and military power continue to dominate politics. The carving out of spheres of influence still motivates policies and actions. The desire to mould other nations in the image of one's own inspires propaganda, sowing seeds of mistrust. Nations continue to place narrow national ends above the larger purpose of peace and universal security.

In India we have been powerfully conditioned by Mahatma Gandhi. We believe that the evolution of individuals and societies depends on the extent to which they exercise self-restraint and abjure the use of
force. Jawaharlal Nehru, who combined in himself modern political thought and the basic teaching of Mahatma Gandhi, strove to bring about a new system of relations amongst nations. He was tireless in advocating peaceful co-existence. He believed that in a world rent by conflict, freedom not fear, faith not doubt, confidence not suspicion would lead to friendship amongst nations.

The concept was evoking some response among statesmen and nations, and there was a growing recognition that, however difficult it might seem, peaceful co-existence alone could enable the post-war world to solve its disputes rationally. But this trend has received severe jolts.

Every now and then violence erupts. Sheer power seemingly prevails over principles, seeking obedience and demanding respect instead of commanding it. Indeed, those who have attempted to eschew the use of force have had to pay the price of restraint. And yet, the world is changing. Implicit faith in the efficacy of and unquestioning dependence on military alliances, as well as the rigidities of the bipolar world, are in a state of flux. Every nation, regardless of its size, is endeavouring to establish its own identity. This encourages the hope that despite obstacles the United Nations will be able to help all nations to live in peace and independence.

While there is search for a more equitable and humane world order, force continues to be used to attain political ends and to promote national or global interests. It is not my intention to deal with specific issues. Our views have been stated in this Assembly and elsewhere. But there are some which cannot be ignored. The continuance of the tragic conflict in Vietnam is a source of constant anxiety. We fervently hope that conditions will be created to enable the discussions to become more purposeful. The Vietnamese people must be assured of their inherent right to shape their destiny peacefully and without outside interference. We believe that the key to the next step still lies in the total cessation of the bombing of North Vietnam. In advocating this we are not actuated by a partisan spirit but by our sincere desire for peace and stability.

Another source of anxiety—the West Asian crisis—also needs to be resolved by political means. There is every opportunity for doing so, if it is recognised that the security, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the States in this part of the world cannot be based on the redrawing of State frontiers by force or on the basis of permanent hostility.

Essential for a peaceful settlement is the withdrawal of foreign forces from all Arab territories occupied in June last year. The process of the restoration of peace can begin and Ambassador Jarring's mission be fruitful only with the clear affirmation of this.
Equally explosive is the continued denial of basic human rights on grounds of race. The consciousness of the world community must be aroused not only against South Africa where racial discrimination has been elevated to the level of State policy, but against the emergence of racialism in any form in other areas. We must also firmly resist the last vestiges of colonialism. Our freedom and independence will not be complete so long as the people of South West Africa, Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea are denied theirs.

Recent events in Czechoslovakia have cast yet another shadow on the fragile structure for a new world order. The principles of non-interference by one State in the internal affairs of another, of scrupulous respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of all States are essential to the principle of peaceful co-existence. It is of the utmost importance that normal conditions should be restored without delay in Czechoslovakia.

If the use of force in international affairs is not renounced, and the rights of nations and the equality of races are not respected, how can tensions be reduced or the dangers of conflicts avoided? The world is caught in a vicious circle, because of which any viable international machinery to regulate relations between States is being progressively undermined and faces the danger of eventual collapse.

Nuclear weapons today represent the ultimate in force. Thus any attempt to eliminate force as the determining factor in international relations must begin with practical steps towards disarmament. But the nuclear menace has become an accepted fact of life and the world has developed a certain insensitivity to the nature of the threat. Despite every solemn resolution adopted by this Assembly, States continue to enlarge their capacity for nuclear war. The arms race and the search for more sophisticated weapons have rendered meaningless the concept of balance of power. Yet, every advance in military technology is accompanied by an effort to maintain a balance of terror. This encourages local wars and undermines the established political authority in States which are struggling to protect their freedom.

It is by restricting, reducing and eventually eliminating the growing nuclear menace that firm foundations of peace can be laid. The limited achievement of the partial test ban treaty has been off-set by the refusal of States to halt the testing of nuclear weapons. The problems of insecurity cannot be solved by imposing arbitrary restrictions on those who do not possess nuclear weapons, without any corresponding steps to deal with the basic problem of limiting stockpiles in the hands of a few powers. How can the urge to acquire nuclear status be controlled so long as this imbalance persists? Unless the powers which possess these weapons are prepared to exercise some
self-restraint, collective efforts to rid the world of the nuclear menace cannot bear fruit.

We yearn for peace, not merely because it is good in itself, but because without peace there can be no improvement in the lives of the vast majority of the world's peoples. Development must receive the first priority and must be based on self-reliance. Our peoples expect their governments to build, in a generation, the apparatus of production and distribution which took the present advanced nations many centuries to install. Progress in technology and the acceleration of the processes of history will certainly help the developing nations to telescope the stages of their economic growth. But this acceleration works even more dramatically in favour of the affluent. The chasm between the rich and the poor nations, which is already a source of tension and bitterness in the world, is not decreasing but growing.

This situation is fraught with danger for the future well-being of our world. It is natural that we in the developing countries should be more aware of the peril than those who live in the affluent countries. The peril is on our doorstep, but it is not too far from theirs.

The world has changed, the membership of the United Nations has changed, but attitudes of mind have not. The representatives who are gathered here come from countries with distinct personalities. They have had great civilisations in the past—some known and some yet to be discovered. In the old colonial days, history, geography, culture and civilisation were all viewed from a particular perspective. Even today to be civilised is held to be synonymous with being Westernised. Advanced countries devote large resources to formulating and spreading ideas and doctrines and they tend to impose on the developing nations their own norms and methods. The pattern of the classical acquisitive society with its deliberate multiplication of wants not only is unsuited to conditions in our countries but is positively harmful.

Developing nations have their special problems, and there is much scope for co-operation amongst themselves. Some problems are common, but the conditions in each country differ, and the same remedy cannot be prescribed for all. Those who seek to advise us seldom realise that we need new and different answers to our problems. We need solutions which are suited to our conditions, not imitative theories or techniques grafted from outside. We must make our own analysis of developments and how to deal with them. International forums such as this Assembly and the specialised agencies of the United Nations give us the opportunity to place our views before the world. But of what avail is this if we cannot forge the solidarity which would command attention?

Our problems are such as did not confront the advanced nations
when they were at a similar stage of economic development. Freedom awakens hope. It generates consciousness of economic, social and political rights. As literacy spreads, as modern communications and close contacts grow with affluent countries, new expectations and tensions are created.

In India, our effort has been to build democracy and to develop a technologically mature society. Each in itself is a formidable endeavour in a country of our size. Demands grow much faster than the means to fulfil them, but changes do not come about easily. Every step forward meets with impediments created by the forces of the status quo. Every step forward, even though intended to end inequality, leads to a phase where inequality becomes more obvious or new inequalities come into existence. Let me give an example. We have introduced universal primary education and expanded higher education. We have done so because education is the key to the ending of existing disparities; because it is the greatest influence for modernisation and because it gives full scope to the flowering of the human personality. However, certain groups and regions which are already comparatively better off are able to take greater advantage of the new facilities: for example, the urban areas more than the rural, the rich farmers more than the poor peasants.

The affluence of the industrialised nations itself attracts and exerts a certain pull on the more fortunate sections in the developing countries, further sharpening the difference between aspirations and their fulfilment. This in turn leads to the alienation of the elite from the rest of society, because they are attracted by the glamour of catching up with their opposites in the advanced countries while their own society cries out for bread.

We are not unaware of the important developments taking shape within the affluent countries themselves, where increasing numbers have begun to question the purpose of their lives. Poverty and want must be eradicated, for they degrade the human personality. On the other hand, the affluent society, as it has emerged, seems to have become entangled in its instruments. Dazzled by its own glitter, it has lost sight of the goals it set out to achieve. It is natural, therefore, that societies which have stressed the importance of material possessions should anxiously seek a balance between spiritual and material values. This is still an intellectual groping which lacks articulation, but one can sense it in the restlessness of younger people and students, in the various forms of protest against traditional or established authority. There is a desire to assert individuality in technological societies which are becoming more uniform and more impersonal. Abundance without commitment to ideals will sow the seeds of discontent and invite its own disruption. Prosperity must be integrated with a higher pur-
pose, and it should be the endeavour of all nations—it certainly is ours in India—to achieve harmony between progress and the time-
less values of the spirit. We are human and do not always succeed;
but, as Mahatma Gandhi said, "Satisfaction lies in the effort, not in
the attainment".

The individual is no longer content to entrust to others the shaping
of his destiny; he wants to be the master of his fate. So also with
nations, which, while co-operating with others, wish to develop and
progress according to their own genius and tradition. The question
is vital for developing nations, which still have time to chart their
course. The method they use and the directions they take will
determine their goals.

We welcome any genuine form of international co-operation for
the development of underdeveloped areas. At its best, foreign aid
represents such an endeavour. But can it not also be legitimately
described as a form of enlightened self-interest on the part of aid-
giving countries, especially when it is tied with the purchase of equip-
ment and of know-how from donor countries? In India, aid accounts
for only a fifth of our total investment in development. Economic
progress is not possible without investment. Not all the investment
for Europe's progress came from the sweat of European
workers and farmers. It came also from the peoples of Asia, Africa
and South America who were denied a fair return for their work and
their produce. Empires have ended, but the colonial pattern of eco-
nomics remains with us in one form or another. As exporters of pri-
mary agricultural produce and minerals, we know to our cost how the
terms of trade have steadily gone against us. Aid is only partial re-
compense for what the superior economic power of the advanced
countries denies us through trade. Trade has the further advantage
of placing greater responsibility on the developing nations, leading
them towards self-reliance. I urge the nations assembled here to give
their fullest support to the work initiated by the two United Nations
Conferences on Trade and Development and to persuade the strong
to dismantle the economic walls which they have built to defend them-
selves from the weak. In so doing they will be fortifying the defences
of peace before it is too late.

These are the factors which cause tensions and bitterness, which
divide society and lead it away from co-operation and the paths of
peace. Fear grips large parts of the world. Sages in my land ex-
horted us to be free from that which made us afraid, anticipating by
thirty centuries those famous words of our own times, that there is
nothing to fear but fear itself. No people were so cowed down as
my countrymen before Mahatma Gandhi came on the scene. India
was able to wrest freedom because he taught us to overcome fear and
hatred and to be absorbed in a cause which was greater than ourselves.

We in India are attuned to the idea that the paths to truth are many and various. An attempt to remake the world in any one image will not be countenanced by the majority of mankind. Our age has been called the space age, but I would call it the age of the people. Revolutionaries, liberators and political leaders have always talked of the people, but for the first time now, “we, the people” does not mean a few representing the many, but the masses themselves, each of whom is poignantly conscious of his individuality, each one of whom is seeking to assert his rights and to voice his demands.

Through the ages, man has struggled against vastly superior forces. The one constant has been his indomitable spirit. He has pitted his puny frame against Nature. He has fought against tremendous odds for freedom, for his beliefs, for an idea or an ideal. Endowed with such a spirit, will man abdicate in favour of the machine or bow to the dominance of tyranny in new garbs? Men have been tortured, men have been killed, but the idea has prevailed.

Two years hence, in 1970, the United Nations will complete twenty-five years. Can we make it a Year of Peace, a starting point of a united endeavour to give mankind the blessings of a durable peace? To this end, let us devote ourselves.

One of our ancient prayers says:

Common be your prayer
Common be your end
Common be your purpose
Common be your deliberation
Common be your desires
Unified be your hearts
United be your intentions
Perfect be the union among you.

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The West Asian Crisis

Nearly two weeks ago, my colleague, the Minister of External Affairs, made a statement in this House giving the Government’s assessment of the explosive situation in West Asia and expressing our deep concern at the developments that were taking place there.

Statement in Lok Sabha, June 6, 1967
Since then, our efforts in the Security Council as well as outside have been concentrated on counselling moderation and lessening of tension and preservation of peace in that area. Our representative in the Security Council, in consultation with the non-permanent members of the Council and others, made earnest endeavours to formulate a resolution which might be acceptable to the Council. The resolution aimed at supporting the Secretary-General’s recommendations contained in his reports to the Council and earnestly appealing to all parties concerned to exercise restraint in order to avoid actions which might aggravate tension. Our representative met with favourable response and it was hoped that in the next meeting of the Security Council, significant progress would be made in this regard.

While these efforts were still continuing, news came yesterday morning of an outbreak of hostilities between Israel and the U.A.R. and other Arab countries.

The Secretary-General of the United Nations made a report to the Emergency Meeting of the Security Council yesterday, in which he gave an account of various reports, by the UNEF Commander and the U.N. Observers on the U.N. Truce Supervision Organisation and Mixed Armistice Commissions, of attacks by Israeli aircraft on U.A.R. and Syrian territory.

I do not wish to utter harsh words or use strong language. But on the basis of information available there can be no doubt that Israel has escalated the situation into an armed conflict, which has now acquired the proportions of a full-scale war.

The world today faces a disastrous war in West Asia. The armed forces of Israel and those of U.A.R. and other Arab countries are locked in combat, and the situation becomes graver by the hour. If not stopped, this war is likely to expand into a much wider one, drawing into its vortex other countries and developing perhaps into a world war. World peace is in peril. Our own national interests are bound up with peace and stability in West Asia. I do not need to expand on this or to describe the horrors and consequences of such a war in West Asia. It is our solemn duty as a Government as also that of the Hon. Members of Parliament to help in the restoration of peace in the present perilous situation. It is the bounden duty of all countries, large and small, to work towards this end.

In the Security Council we are making earnest efforts for a cease-fire and withdrawal of all armed forces to the positions they occupied on June 4. We shall persevere in these efforts.

Hon. Members have no doubt learnt with deep resentment of the wanton Israeli artillery attack and subsequent strafings by Israeli aircraft resulting in the death and injury of a number of personnel of the Indian UNEF contingent in Gaza. These attacks were deliberate
and without provocation in spite of clear and unmistakable U.N. markings and identification of our contingent.

I have addressed a message to the Secretary-General of the United Nations on this subject, expressing our grief and indignation at these incidents and I have asked for effective steps to be taken to ensure their safety and early evacuation from the area of hostilities. Five of our soldiers have died and several have been wounded. There can be no justification for Israeli armed forces to have attacked our forces, whose whereabouts, identification markings and intention to withdraw were clearly known to the Israeli authorities.

The Government will naturally give adequate compensation to the families of the five soldiers who have lost their lives and we shall make sure that the amount is not less than what they would have received had these men lost their lives in active combat. Meanwhile, I am sending a sum of Rs. 25,000, that is Rs. 5,000 per family, by way of immediate assistance to the bereaved families from the Prime Minister's National Relief Fund.

I am sure the House will unreservedly condemn this cowardly attack on our men, who have been sentinels of peace in West Asia. The Secretary-General has lodged a strong protest with the Israeli Government. I should like, on behalf of the whole House, to convey our deep sympathies and condolences to the bereaved families of our soldiers who have gallantly laid down their lives in the service of humanity and in the cause of peace.

A Global Strategy for Development

MR. CHAIRMAN and distinguished delegates to this Conference, may I extend a warm welcome to all of you who have come from many countries to take part in this great assembly of nations in a joint endeavour to build a better world. We had greatly looked forward to the distinguished presence of Secretary-General U Thant who more than any one else has helped us in our moments of despondency and urged us to remain true to the ideals embodied in the Charter of the United Nations over which he presides with such distinction. It is a matter of deep regret to us all that he is not here with us today to launch this truly historic conference which is no less important for the peace of the world and the well-being of the vast majority of its people than any other issue confronting us today.

From inaugural address at the Second United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, New Delhi, February 1, 1968
I am glad you have chosen this country for your deliberations. Here you will find the problems which all struggling nations face, and you will see them, if I may say so, projected on a giant screen. You will see them not as statistics but in the expectant glances of our bright-eyed young people and in the anxious faces of their elders. We are conscious that we bear the mark of the storms we have weathered. I hope you will also recognise the spirit of the country, a spirit which has seen our people through countless difficulties, natural calamities, man-made complexities. It is this spirit which has inspired our great men through the ages. Some of our problems are centuries old, and some are very new—parched land and bursting cities, illiteracy and brain-drain.

For more than a hundred years, the most sensitive and perceptive minds in our country have been obsessed with poverty and have striven to remove its causes. Our fight for freedom was itself part of the greater fight to liberate our people from the grip of poverty and the fear of economic insecurity. The vastness of our country makes the challenge so much the greater. Whatever we do, must be done for 560,000 villages. In the last fifteen years, we have almost doubled agricultural production, created 30 million jobs, put 45 million more children in schools, added 20 years to the life-span, and established a base of heavy industries; but we cannot even take time off to think of this as an achievement. We must go on with our work, for what is unfinished is so much larger than what is done.

In our unending labour, our consolation is that we are not alone. Through the long hard struggle for political independence, we were keenly aware of other nations and of people who also were oppressed by their fellow-men. We shared with them the indignities and humiliations of discrimination and exploitation,—of this was forged a kinship. It has been our hope and constant endeavour that India should work not only for herself but for the larger world community. At the greatest moment of our lives, when we became free and sovereign, my father pledged us to the service of India. He said, "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..... 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 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 prosperity now, and so also is disaster in this One World that can no longer be split into isolated fragments."

The United Nations was established twenty-three years ago to keep world peace and promote human prosperity. The juxtaposition
of peace and prosperity is not a contrivance for stating moral precepts. The two are indissolubly linked together. Without peace there can be no prosperity for any people, rich or poor. And yet, there can be no peace without erasing the harshness of the growing contrast between the rich and the poor. Unless we sense this urgency and use our energy to eradicate the economic causes which make for conflict, men and women will be impelled to revolt, and to use violent means to bring about change.

Wherever a wide gulf has divided the small section of the rich from the vast masses of the poor, the State has either imposed a forced peace on the opposing camps or faced instability from within. What has been true within a nation is equally valid for the international community. Apart from reducing the inequalities within their social structures, the developing nations must adopt modern technology to create a new balance of benefit to all their citizens. In this endeavour, can we not apply to the problems of the world community the accumulated experience of some of the Member States of the United Nations who are now in the vanguard of progress? Can we not cooperate to give meaning and substance to the very concept of a world community? These are the questions before this Conference.

This is not the first occasion for the United Nations to address itself to the problems of world poverty and hunger. The Charter of this great organisation calls upon it to work for the removal of want. To achieve this objective, a number of international organisations were set up. In December 1961, the General Assembly declared the Sixties to be the Decade of Development. In June 1964, the first U.N. Conference on Trade and Development adopted its Final Act, a blueprint drawn up to achieve a better balance in international economic relationships. But we find that concrete action has fallen far short of its declaration. In the meantime, year by year, the needs of the developing nations are becoming more acute, more urgent.

Some success has of course been achieved. Funds raised by diverse methods have been invested in the process of development. Difficulties have been studied in depth, and the continuing machinery of this Conference has been engaged in a search for solutions. Under the able guidance of its distinguished Secretary-General, the Secretariat has produced valuable documents which I am sure you will find useful. The Group of '77' has even prepared a modest though practical programme of action. Naturally, hope is reawakened by the presence of so many distinguished statesmen from different parts of the world. But we are also haunted by the fear that a historic opportunity to set the world community firmly on the road to peace and prosperity might again be missed.

Are these fears altogether groundless? The Development Decade
is drawing to a close. During the last years, most Member States have laboured, individually or collectively, to promote economic advancement in underdeveloped countries. An average growth rate of 4.6 per cent per annum has been achieved, but it dwindles to a mere 2 per cent, if we take into account the increases in population. Anyhow, the average growth rate is at best an imperfect measure of social and economic development. A much surer guide is the per capita income, on which the efforts so far made have had little impact. It is the human aspect—the opportunity for men and women everywhere to lead a fuller life—which is of the utmost importance. So long as the fundamental rights of millions of people in regard to employment, food, shelter and other needs remain unsatisfied, so long will their urge to rise to their full stature and serve their fellow men remain unfulfilled.

This situation is a source of anxiety. The goal is distant. But impatience and dissatisfaction sap our will to persevere. Those who look upon development assistance as repayable charity will inevitably miss the expected gratitude from its beneficiaries. Those who view it as investment to earn political support or to collect dividends or to promote trade will be disappointed with the meagre returns. At the same time, growing numbers in the developing countries are beginning to look upon external capital and know-how, not as aids to their own strength and achievement of economic freedom, but as bonds which increase their dependence on dominant economies. We must all plead guilty to being tempted by the illusion that small efforts can yield big results. This is why we become disenchanted, and international economic co-operation is the first casualty. Thus, domestic pressures mount. Our affluent friends seek to curtail their contribution to development. In turn the recipients of aid retreat inwards.

Sovereign nations are gathered here. But in some cases the structure of their mutual economic relationship has been inherited from their colonial past. We are all familiar with the part colonialism has played in the exploitation of dependant countries. The dominant powers introduced modern science as industry to agricultural lands. But they developed only those segments of dependent economies which met metropolitan needs. They did not build the economic base for the development of material and human resources and self-generating growth.

Today the rich nations find it more rewarding to invest their savings in their own security, in the advance of their technology, or even in establishing contacts with distant planets. They find it more interesting to trade amongst themselves than with the developing nations. Their markets and profit patterns are protected by tariff and non-tariff barriers. The efforts of the less developed countries to process their
natural products and increase their share of international trade in manufactured and processed goods are thus frustrated. The continuous onslaught of synthetics and substitutes further deprives poor nations of the resources they could derive from the use of their products.

Thus, the gap keeps growing. The technological and scientific advances achieved by industrial nations accelerate this process. While industrial nations naturally use their resources to improve their technology, developing nations do not have even the means to borrow it. Even so, modern technology offers to the developing nations the possibility of avoiding the earlier stages of development and thus overcoming the challenge of poverty.

How can this possibility be realised? How can nations, now embarking on the difficult task of modernising their economies, be helped to telescope their industrial effort—spread over two to three generations in most advanced countries—into a decade or two? How can they mobilise the immense capital needed for investment in developmental projects, while making at least some provision for social welfare? How long can the hope of a minimum improvement in the standard of personal consumption be postponed, when the people are so conscious of their rights as well as of the grim realities of their comparative situation? How can economic activities meet the requirements of efficiency and be geared to the achievement of rapid advance, while ensuring the dignity of the human being and guaranteeing to the individual full enjoyment of his fundamental rights?

These conflicts cannot be resolved in a day or even in a decade. Their solution demands patience, understanding, right motivation, and above all, a far greater effort and bigger sacrifice than we have so far volunteered. Poverty corrodes the spirit of the poor and weakens their will to overcome it. The wealth of the prosperous grows in isolation and does not provide support to those who need it. The world economy has no built-in corrective. Economic processes must, therefore, be guided by a moral purpose and directed towards desirable ends by the political will of the international community. Otherwise only those nations which have inherited economic advantage from historical accidents can hope to achieve the maximum gains within the area of their political control.

Responsibility for development must primarily be shouldered by the developing nations themselves. Political domination over the process of development by nations which wield economic power is inconsistent with the provisions of the Charter to which we all subscribe. What we need is a global strategy of development, an integrated programme of international co-operation, which outlines convergent measures to be undertaken by every Member State. The elimination
of poverty and the development of impoverished regions are now widely accepted as international obligations. In order to discharge them, it is imperative that the international community finds ways and means to intervene effectively in defining the responsibility of economic power, in matching resources to needs, and in guiding economic forces towards progress and peace.

The distinguished delegates assembled here have the experience of the last seven years of the Development Decade to guide them in their deliberations. Seven years is too short a period for mankind to tire or despair in this unprecedented endeavour. On the contrary, any shortcomings and inadequacies should spur us to a bigger and bolder effort. Remember, millions of people hopefully await on your decisions—the growers of jute, copra and cocoa, the miners of manganese and tin, the spinners and the weavers, to mention only a few. Their future is at stake—their own livelihood and the lives of their children, as also the capacity of their governments to provide the base for development.

The consequences of failure are too terrible to contemplate. Years ago Rabindranath Tagore wrote, “Power has to be made secure not only against power but also against weakness; for there lies the peril of its losing balance. The weaks are as great a danger for the strong as quicksand for an elephant. They do not assist progress because they do not resist, they only drag down. The people who grow accustomed to wield absolute power over others are apt to forget that by so doing they generate an unseen force which some day rends that power into pieces.” The question before the advanced nations is not whether they can afford to help the developing nations, but whether they can afford not to do so.

Poverty cannot be the destiny of the majority of mankind. I believe we have the power and the wisdom to give all these people new hope. With this faith I inaugurate the Second Conference of the United Nations on Trade and Development.

Nuclear Non-proliferation

On the 7th March, 1968, the U.S.A., the Soviet Union and the U.K. presented to the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee, Geneva a draft resolution on security assurances which they are prepared to sponsor in the Security Council. The text of this draft is

laid on the table. The sponsors are willing to back this draft with unilateral declarations, to the effect that they will seek immediate Security Council action to provide assistance, in accordance with the U.N. Charter, if a non-nuclear State which is party to the Treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons becomes the victim of an act of aggression or an object of the threat of aggression in which nuclear weapons are used. They will also reaffirm the right which is recognised under Article 51 of the U.N. Charter, of individual and collective self-defence until the Security Council takes action.

The E.N.D.C. will shortly send a report on its work concerning the draft treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons to the General Assembly. The two sponsors, viz., the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., have further revised the draft Treaty in one or two minor respects of a procedural character. This draft Treaty, together with the draft resolution on security assurances, will now be forwarded to the General Assembly of the U.N. for further consideration. It is understood that the General Assembly is likely to reconvene some time next month to consider this matter.

I should like to place before the Hon. Members certain broad considerations governing our position. Naturally, we welcome the steps taken by nuclear weapon States, in consort with non-nuclear weapon States, to make more effective the role of the United Nations for peacekeeping and for providing effective security. The hopes of mankind rest on this. The obligation cast by the Charter on Member States, and more particularly on the permanent members of the Security Council, makes it necessary for them to discharge their obligations to ensure peace in the world. This should not be contingent on the conclusion of the Non-proliferation Treaty. Such an atmosphere of conscientious and conscious effort in the interests of peace would, we sincerely feel, be an effective factor in inhibiting the wider dissemination of nuclear weapons. From this point of view, a security guarantee cannot be made a quid pro quo for signing the Non-proliferation Treaty in its present form.

We believe in the validity of a step-by-step approach and do realise that it is not possible for a perfect Treaty to emerge immediately. However, it is reasonable to expect the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee, which was designed to devise measures for disarmament, to come forward with some concrete steps, even though small, in this direction. The present draft Treaty does not promote disarmament. And as long as the elaboration of nuclear weapons by nuclear weapon powers continues unchecked, it does not advance the security of the world. Measures which do not involve an element of self-restraint on the part of all States—nuclear weapons States as well as non-nuclear weapons States—cannot form the basis for a meaningful
international agreement to promote disarmament. India has repeatedly announced that it is not making an atom bomb and that she is developing her atomic energy programme exclusively for peaceful purposes. This position is based on a national evaluation of all aspects of the problem, including that of security.

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One hon. Member urged an alteration of our policy to utilise atomic energy for peaceful purposes. I would like to assure the Hon. Member opposite that whatever policy the Government follows, it has nothing to do with whether the particular scientist believes in non-violence or not. That is his private business. If he is in charge of a programme like this, he has to follow whatever is the policy of the Government. That policy is framed after due consideration of the national interest, specifically with regard to national security. I can assure the House that the Government regards this as of paramount importance and this policy, as well as all policies bearing on security, are kept under constant review. But we do feel that the events of the last twenty years clearly show that the possession of nuclear weapons has not given any military advantage in situations of bitter armed conflict which have sometimes taken place between nations possessing nuclear weapons and those who do not possess them.

We think that nuclear weapons are no substitute for military preparedness involving conventional weapons. The choice before us involves not only the question of making a few atom bombs but of engaging in an arms race with sophisticated nuclear warheads and an effective missile delivery system. I do not think that such a course would strengthen national security. On the other hand, it may well endanger our internal security by imposing a very heavy economic burden which would be in addition to the present expenditure on defence. Nothing will better serve the interests of those who are hostile to us than for us to lose our sense of perspective and to undertake measures which would undermine the basic progress of the country. We believe that to be militarily strong, it is necessary to be economically and industrially strong. Our programme of atomic energy development for peaceful purposes is related to the real needs of our economy and would be effectively geared to this end. In the pursuit of this programme, our brilliant scientists are getting the opportunity to acquire the latest know-how and technical skills in the entire field of atomic energy. I feel that we can be rightly proud that in atomic energy matters, as the Hon. Member opposite has mentioned, this nation is regarded as one of the advanced nations.

From speech in Lok Sabha during debate on budget demands of the Department of Atomic Energy, April 24, 1968
The attainment of self-sufficiency is one of the central themes in our programme. Uranium mining and the processing of ore at Jaduguda in Bihar, the exploitation of the sands of Kerala to produce atomic minerals, the fuel complex that is coming up at Hyderabad, the heavy water plant at Nangal and the new larger unit which will come up at Rana Pratap Sagar, the Electronics Factory at Hyderabad, the Fuel Re-processing Plant at Tarapur, the Atomic Power Stations at Tarapur and in Rajasthan, the establishment of the Power Project Engineering Division of the Atomic Energy Commission to undertake design and construction of atomic power projects, the construction which has begun at Kalpakkam of a power station which is based on our own efforts and the prototype fast breeder reactor, which will come by its side, are all helping us to lay a solid foundation for the application of atomic energy for national development.

The breakthrough which has occurred in the cost of generating electric power by using atomic energy on a large scale is reflected in the current forecast that more than 50 per cent of the new generating capacity, which will be added in the world during the 70s, will be based on atomic energy. Moreover, large agro-industrial complexes established around low cost energy centres can permit developing areas to utilise these advantages even though the capacity of their grids is small. Atomic energy power stations would play a very valuable role in the future not only in areas where other sources of energy are expensive but as base load stations working alongside large hydro-electric installations. The significance of all this to our economy which is so heavily dependent on agriculture is tremendous.

Hon. Members would be glad to know that the production of a wide range of isotopes and their use for various purposes in medicine, industry and in research is being actively promoted in this country and is also earning us foreign exchange. The benefits of atomic energy can now come to the common man to give him a better life.

No less basic are the efforts which we are making to attain self-sufficiency in the area of space research in relation to sounding rockets and a modest satellite launching capability, even though we entered this field ten years later. The Rohini rockets, which have so pleased our Hon. friend, Professor Sharma, are only the fore-runners of a whole series of more advanced rockets. The Department of Atomic Energy will also bear the responsibility for the construction of the new commercial Satellite Communication Station for the Overseas Communications Service. And what is more significant is that a fully steerable large dish antenna of high precision will be fabricated in India. We shall also build a Variable Energy Cyclotron at Calcutta to provide a valuable tool for research.

There was mention why we were exporting thorium. The exports
of thorium mineral are banned but thorium nitrate, which is used in the manufacture of gas mantles, has been and is being exported from this country. India has very large deposits of this material and they are far in excess of what we are likely to require for a very long time; in fact, I am told, that known deposits will suffice for the next few hundred years. So, it would be a pity if we were not to use this natural resource for obtaining foreign exchange which we so vitally require for use in other areas.

Another Member referred to the point that we had failed to provide technical means to detect nuclear explosions undertaken by China. I think, this matter was taken up in the House. We have detected all Chinese nuclear explosions; our own scientists have detected them.

All these projects to which I have referred will provide real returns for the investment which we have made in the field in the last twenty years. Government is determined and committed to pursue the atomic energy and space research projects with all possible speed. We fully realise their great importance to the development and progress of our country towards a self-reliant future.

Events in Czechoslovakia

As the House is aware, a new leadership assumed office in Czechoslovakia some months ago. They made known their desire to make certain changes in the internal structure and policies of their country. This apparently created certain misapprehensions amongst some of the fellow members of the Warsaw Pact Organisation. There was an exchange of correspondence between the five countries of the Warsaw Pact after their recent meeting in Warsaw, and the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. The Press has carried detailed reports of this correspondence. Following these exchanges, a meeting between the representatives of the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia was arranged, and the leaders of these two parties are at present engaged in talks in Czechoslovakia. The outcome of these bilateral discussions is yet to be known. The Government of India do not consider it desirable to express views on the merits of the issues currently being discussed. In view of the sensitivity of the situation, any comment may accentuate the difficulties rather than make a useful contribution. Bearing these considerations in mind, most Governments have exercised restraint.

Statement in Lok Sabha, August 1, 1968
It is our earnest hope that matters pertaining to the policies of Czechoslovakia and her relations with her neighbours will be resolved amicably. We also hope that the processes of detente in Europe will continue.

* * *

IT IS WITH a heavy heart and with a profound sense of concern that I have to report to this House certain events which are currently taking place in Czechoslovakia.

We have always been deeply committed to the cause of freedom everywhere. We have stood for certain principles as guiding and informing our attitude to international events. The principle of non-interference by one country in the internal affairs of another constitutes the very basis of peaceful co-existence. We have always believed that international relations should be governed by respect for the sovereignty and independence of nations, big or small. We have always stood for the right of every country to develop its personality according to its own traditions, aptitudes and genius. India has always raised her voice whenever these principles have been violated.

The House is aware of the reports which have come through the world Press and radio as to the nature of the developments which have taken place in Czechoslovakia. We have also made enquiries from the diplomatic missions of the countries concerned as well as others, and continue to be in close touch with them. The armed forces of the Soviet Union and four of its Warsaw Pact allies began crossing the Czechoslovak borders at about 0330 hrs. I.S.T. They are now reported to be in Prague and other towns of Czechoslovakia.

In the early hours of this morning, the Soviet Government, through their Charge d' Affaires in New Delhi, informed us that the Governments of the Soviet Union and four of its allied countries of the Warsaw Pact had decided to send their armed forces into Czechoslovakia. Hon. Members have presumably seen the statement which has since been put out by the Soviet news agency, Tass, stating the viewpoint of the Soviet Government.

Although it was only after our own Independence that we were able to establish diplomatic relations with the Republic of Czechoslovakia, we have a long history of friendship towards Czechoslovakia and its valiant people. I recall, as I am sure many of my colleagues on both sides of the House will remember, the tragic and fateful events of 1938 and 1939. Even then our sympathies were with the people of Czechoslovakia in their travail and my father gave poignant expression to them. I am sure that the House will join me in conveying to the people of Czechoslovakia the profound concern at the turn

Statement in Lok Sabha, August 21, 1968
which events have taken so soon after what appeared to be a peaceful resolution of problems and differences between Czechoslovakia and its allies.

Our relations with the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary and Bulgaria are close and many-sided. We value these friendships and wish to preserve and extend them. However, we cannot but give expression to our anguish at the events in Czechoslovakia. This House will no doubt wish to convey to them our view that they should carefully consider all aspects of the situation which has arisen as a result of the action by their armed forces and its possible consequences.

We are deeply aware of the fears which have gripped Europe, and the conflicts which have raged there leading to two world wars. These fears still haunt the minds of the European people.

I am sure I reflect the opinion of the House when I express the hope that the forces which have entered Czechoslovakia will be withdrawn at the earliest possible moment and the Czech people will be able to determine their future according to their own wishes and interests, and that whatever mutual problems there may be between Czechoslovakia and its allies, will be settled peacefully. The right of nations to live peacefully and without outside interference should not be denied in the name of religion or ideology.

Hon. Members are rightly exercised over what has happened in the United Nations. They are seeking to prove that I have gone back on what I stated in this House or the other House. I would beg to submit that this is not so. Of all the comments made the world over ours was the very first which pointed to certain principles involved in the tragedy which has taken place. We mentioned these principles in very clear terms in the first day's statement and equally clearly in yesterday's statement in the other House. Most of those principles have been included in the resolution which came up before the United Nations.

What is our objective? Is our objective to gain some kind of a propaganda point? Is it just to condemn or use words like that, or is it to state our positive support for the people of Czechoslovakia?

The Hon. Shri Dahyabhai Patel read out some of the paragraphs from the resolution. Now, the first paragraph of the resolution is, "Recalling that the United Nations is based on the principles of the sovereign equality of all its members." We fully support this. The second is, "Considering that the action taken by the Government of the U.S.S.R. and other members of the Warsaw Pact in invading the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is violation of the United Nations.

Statement during debate in Rajya Sabha, August 23, 1968
Charter, and in particular, of the principle that all members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat and from the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State." This also we fully support. The next paragraph says, "Gravely concerned that, as announced by the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, troops of the Soviet Union and other members of Warsaw Pact have entered their country without the knowledge and against the wishes of the Czechoslovakian Government." This also we support. Then, the next para says, "Affirms that the people of the Sovereign State of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic have the right, in accordance with the Charter, freely to exercise their own self-determination and to arrange their own affairs without external intervention." This also we fully support. Now, "Affirms that the sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic must be fully respected." This also we support.

Now, in the third paragraph, there is the sentence: "Condemns the armed intervention of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic and other members of the Warsaw Pact in the internal affairs of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and calls upon them forthwith to withdraw their forces, and to cease all other forms of intervention in Czechoslovakia's internal affairs."

With regard to this paragraph, we said that the word 'condemns' should be changed, but we support the rest of the paragraph that calls upon them forthwith to withdraw, because we felt that it does not serve any useful purpose. It does not strengthen the rest of the case. But leaving that out and replacing it with a word such as 'deplores' would have served the purpose.

As I was trying to say earlier, we have, on many previous occasions, spoken very strongly about various matters. We have spoken about them also in strong and unequivocal terms; yet we have not used the word 'condemn', except, I think, on the question of South Africa.

Only in the case of Israel the word 'condemnation' was used in a certain context though not in the original resolution asking for the withdrawal. Anyway, our point was that we have to think very carefully at this moment. When we were meeting the leaders of the Opposition, one of them, not a member of either of the Communist Parties, had drawn our attention to one fact; while we should take a strong stand on the principles involved, we should think very carefully of the words, because India has followed a particular policy. I think that we should not take any stand which would make it more difficult for us to help the Czechoslovak people.

May I add one or two words? When we got the news that this resolution was being put to vote almost immediately, we naturally
wanted to have time to consider the matter fully before giving our advice. I believe that Algeria also asked for time to consult its Government and get its Government’s view. There is another point. Quite often when these resolutions come up for voting, they are voted upon para by para. Now that we have made our stand very clear, we could have voted for all the other paragraphs. Unfortunately para by para voting was not allowed and our slight amendment or change of one word was also not allowed and when a little time was sought to consult the Government, that was also not given.

We had told our representative that he should make our view very clear on all these points: that we strongly supported the Charter rights of Czechoslovakia, that we supported the point about withdrawal of foreign forces, and of Czechoslovakia being enabled to form its own Government and follow its own system and deal with its internal affairs as it thinks best without any interference from outside. I did not suggest that our instructions were that he should clarify our views on all these points, but our instructions were not to accept the word ‘condemns’.

During the last three days, in one form or another in this House and in the other House, and indeed all over the country and in large parts of the world, people have followed the tragic happenings in Czechoslovakia with profound concern, and I think I used the word ‘anguish’. The House has followed the reports which have come through the world Press and the radio. There have been reports of violence, of bloodshed, of loss of precious lives and property. There have been reports and rumours about Czechoslovak leaders. All these reports have, naturally, heightened our concern. We have been in close, anxious and constant touch with our embassies abroad and with the ambassadors of other countries here. We have in particular kept contact with our ambassador in Czechoslovakia and with the Charge d’Affaires of Czechoslovakia here in Delhi. Even today, he continues to function on behalf of the legally constituted Government of Czechoslovakia. All the countries in the world today seem to have joined together in the expression of distress, concern and anxiety. I think, and I have said this before, that the developments of these three days seem to have set the clock back by fifteen years and dragged the world back to the old atmosphere of the cold war.

When this motion was moved by Hon. Member Shri Dahyabhai Patel, he spoke at some length on co-existence and made the point that perhaps we had now discovered the perfidy of the Soviet Union and this would open our eyes. We have explained non-alignment, and the basis of our friendships with other countries so many times; and it is surprising to still hear arguments like this.

We are friendly with a country not because we agree with its
system of Government. We are friendly with countries not because we approve of what they do. We believe in co-existence because countries have to live together in peace. And that is why we evolved this policy that we must learn to live together. We must learn to find areas of agreement; we must learn to enlarge those areas. It is not as if we did not disapprove, when disapproval was called for, irrespective of whether friendship was at its highest or whether it was at its lowest, whether it was the Soviet Union or whether it was the United States or some other country that did it. As far as our policy is concerned, we did draw attention to wrong acts when they took place; friendship was besides the point. But it has at no time affected our friendship with a particular nation. Our friendship is based, firstly, on the principle that in this world we have to live together and, secondly, on what we consider after very careful consideration to be in the national interest. I do not think that we should at this moment be swept off our feet by emotion.

I have said in the other House and I would like to repeat here, that perhaps there is nobody in this House who has had such close contacts with Czechoslovakia for so many years as I have had personally, not as a member of the Government, but ever since I was a small girl. I have known the people of the country fairly well and I have known large sections of the people in the universities and in other spheres of activity; I do not often agree with Hon. Shri Bhupesh Gupta but today I must say that this new-found friendship for Czechoslovakia amongst some of the parties which have earlier spoken against our friendship with those countries, does seem to me to be a little astonishing. However, I welcome it. For that reason I do not want to say that it has no value, because today Czechoslovakia does need all the voices which can be raised in her support.

Some things have been said about our voting. I should like to refer briefly to the Rules of Procedure. Rule 32 says, “Principal motions and draft resolutions shall have precedence in the order of their submission.”

Therefore, even if we wanted to have an amendment or to have another motion, the substantive one would still have been voted upon first. The rule goes on to say, “Parts of a motion or a draft resolution shall be voted on separately at the request of any representative, unless the original mover objects.” We did take up this point and we wanted to have the voting taken up paragraph by paragraph but we were not allowed to do so. Similarly, our representative asked for a little time so that we would have more opportunity of considering the matter and giving a full reply. But that also was not allowed. I took the matter to the Cabinet and whatever decision was taken was taken by the whole Cabinet.
As I have explained earlier, in this particular case we have supported practically the entire resolution, all the clauses but one sub-part of a single paragraph, that is, one paragraph out of nine paragraphs including the preamble. We wanted to record our vote on the resolution accordingly. But, as I said, it was not possible to do so.

Much has been made of why we did not add one word, 'condemn'. Is that word so important? We did consider its importance in this context. By all that follows in the resolution and all that I have said in my speech, it is obvious what our attitude is. We are blamed for being weak or halting or afraid; these are rather strange terms. What is the courage needed in this case? Is it in support of the Czechoslovak people, or is it for something else? It is easy enough to condemn, but to condemn or not to condemn is not the point. What is more important and indeed, what is vital for Czechoslovakia, is the withdrawal of all foreign troops, the restoration of the legitimate government to power and restoration of the sovereignty to the people of Czechoslovakia. We are all in favour of these objectives and we do not think that these objectives can be furthered by beginning with condemnation.

The main objective which we have to pursue as a mature and responsible people, as a member of the Security Council, is to do everything possible to stop the process of setback to the forces of peace in Europe and in the world generally, to try and reverse the trend which has struck such a sharp blow to the welcome processes of peaceful coexistence. This will serve the long-term and lasting interest of Europe and the world and will also ensure the sovereignty and independence of Czechoslovakia. This is the only way in which an atmosphere can be created which is necessary for the full observance of the U.N. Charter.

Therefore, we have expressed our sympathies with the people and leaders of Czechoslovakia, and I am glad that many members have referred to the valiant history of the Czechoslovak people and also to the manner in which the Czechoslovak people are meeting this particular crisis. They are meeting it in the light of the guidance which we ourselves were given by our great leader Mahatma Gandhi. The Czechoslovak people have a long history of fighting for freedom and in this they command the admiration of the world. There has been some concern expressed for the safety of the Czechoslovak leaders. I am sure the House will join me in expressing our concern and also our hope that they are safe and will soon return to their country. We are second to none in our sympathy for the people of Czechoslovakia, and in our admiration for the people of Czechoslovakia. We also feel deeply moved at what has happened. But a Government cannot be swept away by emotions. We have to see the facts in the world, we have to see
how they have to be met. I do not know whether the decision we have taken can be more helpful; only the future can tell.

As Hon. Member Shri Anup Singh said, in the past we have taken such decisions and we have been criticised even then. We have been accused of cowardice, of following one bloc or another. Yet we have stood our ground; and, if I may say so in all humility, I do not think that had we been afraid, we could have stood our ground with these powerful nations trying to pull us one way or another. Would it not have been easier for me today to vote with the majority of nations? Is it not easier for me to say that since so many people are shouting, let me say, all right, I agree with you? It would be certainly easier for me to say this. But I have taken a particular decision. I have not taken it because I am afraid of the Soviet Union. I have not taken it because I am afraid of being called the stooge, or whatever word they may like to use, of the U.S.A. I have taken it because I consider it to be the only path along which we can work towards the lessening of tensions and towards helping Czechoslovakia in the longer run.

Let us use all our strength today to pull the world back into the path of sanity. Those who are breathing fire and brimstone today will not be able to do much because their motives are sometimes suspect. Centuries ago the Buddha said, "The victories of war are hollow, for the vanquished sleep in sorrow." Let this reminder go out from this House.

Tasks before Asian Scientists

This is an important conference. Its discussions are aimed at the removal of poverty, so that the vast millions of Asia are enabled to lead the kind of life which, in our times, is regarded as man's basic right. Asia today means the dispossessed millions, whether they live in the desert, the jungle or the crowded deltas. But Asia did not always suggest want and penury. It is the home of many civilisations and all the great religions. Could these civilisations have grown if they had not been held together by adequate technological mastery? The early Indians, the early Chinese, the Arabs—to name only a few of the great peoples of this continent—made notable discoveries in medicine and mathematics, in astronomy and architecture, in metallurgy and agronomy. In my own country, a great surgeon who lived 2,200

From inaugural address at the Conference on the Application of Science and Technology to the Development of Asia, New Delhi, August 9, 1968
years ago, is said to have used 500 different instruments and accomplished miracles in plastic surgery. On the periphery of this city you can see an iron pillar which has defied the elements for fifteen hundred years and still stands without rust or blemish.

Asia had its fair share of scientific discoveries. But a time came when its people, weighed down by the opulence of their rulers, lost the art of innovation and self-renewal. They fell prey to the more vigorous and dynamic societies which possessed newer technologies. It is no wonder that the Industrial Revolution created new empires.

With the passage of time, the innovation cycle began to grow shorter. At first, any new invention might hold the field for several centuries, then perhaps no more than a century, then only a few decades. The Industrial Revolution gave this innovative process a completely new thrust. The pace of change quickened. In contemporary technology, obsolescence is seldom far behind invention.

Technology represents the end-application of science. It calls for a certain social climate and economic potential for speedy and widespread application. Modern science and technology often require large investments, specially in highly trained personnel in numerous categories all along the innovation chain. Asia has regained its freedom. But the gap in technology remains. In some ways, the extraordinary proliferation in new technology has even widened it. This is one of the sharpest causes of tension in the world creating situations which are explosive and exploitable.

The developing countries might be backward in science but they have one advantage. They can sometimes telescope centuries into a few years, take advantage of the experience of others and perhaps even alter the sequence of change. People know about penicillin in our remote villages, and aeroplanes have penetrated some parts of India which did not know motor vehicles, bullock-carts or even wheel-barrows.

How does change come about? Often enough it is brought about not only by individual entrepreneurs but by the initiative of determined groups, or by whole nations. Japan provides an example of the social transformation induced by a ruler and his advisers. In India and few other countries, the powerful nationalist movements were deeply imbued with the urge for social and economic change.

Asia is at several stages of economic development. Japan presents a spectacle of modern amenities expanding far and wide. Elsewhere there are villages, some in my country, which do not look very different from what they were in the time of the Buddha. Their timelessness attracts refugees from the advanced nations, for progress as it has evolved in the advanced countries has so separated man from Nature that he is not at peace either with his environment or with himself.

There are many theories on the induction and forward movement
of economic development and technological change. Amidst a host of others, I should like to indicate some factors which play an important part in this process.

First is science itself. We are apt to think of it merely as an aid—a means of helping industry or of bringing greater comfort in our lives. But science does not merely better the old. Often enough it upsets the old. It creates something that is new to the world and to human consciousness.

Then there is education, not just for a favoured few but for the masses; unfolding knowledge, opening up new worlds and arousing new desires. But much of today's frustration and restlessness is because our educational systems are too narrow and inflexible to promote the spirit of understanding and tolerance and the vision which is essential to meet the challenges of our changing world.

Visible benefit makes the most immediate impact. When individuals or groups are convinced that the adoption of modern science and technology will increase their income or strength, they jettison old beliefs for new ideas and methods. The Indian farmer has often been accused of resisting change. This charge is somewhat unjust. Did he not in the last century take to growing crops which were strange to our country, such as tobacco and groundnuts? The cultivation of these imported crops was taken up even by small farmers because it meant more and readier money. A similar change is again taking place with the introduction of high-yielding crop varieties. So, while tradition and superstition do block progress, we should not underrate the strong pull of modernity and of self-interest.

Another important factor is the motivation andendeavour of governments. Ambition is the spur. But the experience in Asia is that unless governments themselves are committed to economic growth, such growth is slow to come. The hundred years before we won our independence provide an example of how slow such growth can be. Our first railways and textile mills were opened in the 1850s. Yet until the late 1940s we did not make any locomotives in our country and hardly any textile machinery. What was lacking was governmental will—for the government was alien and indifferent. Over the same period, Japan came to the forefront of technology because it had its own government and one that was committed to technological change. National temperaments might have played some role, but history has many instances where nations have undergone changes of personality under the influence of determined leadership. The role of the State in bringing about change is well-understood in Asia. Hence national planning has been adopted by many countries, whatever their political theory.

It is obvious that there can be no economic development without
technological change. My father's life-work was to free India from all the shackles which prevented her full flowering, whether they were political, economic or the dead weight of outmoded thought. He once said, "What is planning if not the application of science to our problems?"

In India we have all the problems peculiar to a developing country and some of our own. Our size magnifies every problem and programme. If a pilot experiment in agriculture succeeds, at once there is a clamour to apply it to 550,000 villages. Planning on this scale, in a completely democratic set-up and in conditions where each decision is publicly debated and accepted, adds complications. With all our progress, we still can claim only a partial transformation of our society. We have today 300,000 engineers—a more than five-fold increase since Independence. Our machine-tool output has risen 100 times. We are now exporters of locomotives, of steel products, of electronic instruments and of radio-isotopes for medicines. In a few months, we hope to commission the first of three nuclear power stations at Tarapur near Bombay. But the vast majority of our people still depend on dry twigs or cattle dung for their home-fires.

We still live in many layers, in many ages. Indeed the early stages of development have accentuated disparities. It is only through perseverance and the steady application of science that these disparities can be bridged and the backward areas enabled to catch up with the more advanced ones.

We have regarded science as the means to higher production, to self-reliance, as well as to reduction of disparities within society. In our view, the country cannot break out of backwardness only by establishing basic and consumer industries but by applying modern technology to agriculture. We have given every encouragement to agricultural research and to the extension of research to the field.

Ten years ago, our Government adopted a Scientific Policy Resolution which stressed the importance of scientific training and research. In working out this policy we have encountered several problems. We train young and able scientists. But it is natural that the advanced countries should provide more and better opportunities for work and satisfaction. It seems that our investment serves as technical aid in reverse—from a developing country to an advanced country.

There is also a debate regarding foreign technology versus indigenous technology. Science may not know national barriers but patent laws do. Along with foreign aid we receive foreign technology. When we do something for the first time, the import of technological know-how becomes inescapable. Yet many aid agreements are such that we are compelled to buy machinery abroad even when we can make it in
India, and to accept foreign technicians when they do exist in India. The time factor and the need to avoid risks force these package deals upon us.

We are conscious that growth cannot be sustained on borrowed or even adapted technology. True self-reliance can come only as we develop the ability to solve our technological problems. Some are small but on a big scale. How can our villages develop unless a wide range of tools can be placed at their disposal and modern fuel brought to them at nominal prices. We often hear the term 'intermediate technology'. In this our scientists and technologists have much to do.

General and technical education has expanded considerably over the past twenty years in India and we have developed a significant scientific and technological capability in several directions. It is now our endeavour to rationalise the structure of Indian science and to relate it more closely with the processes of planning and development. We must have a 'policy for science' and equally 'science in policy'.

The field for scientific and technological co-operation is a promising one. There are already some regional exchanges and regional institutions such as the International Rice Institute in Manila and the Thumba Equatorial Rocket Launching Station in Kerala. We have accepted a number of Asian and other trainees in many of our technological and training institutions and scientific establishments such as the Bhabha Atomic Research Centre in Bombay. The countries of Asia have much to learn from one another and much to share. We invite such co-operation in a spirit of partnership and friendship. Inter-dependence can be meaningful and mutually beneficial only if it arises out of independence.

I have great pleasure in inaugurating this Conference on the Application of Science and Technology in Asia. I hope it will illuminate new areas of endeavour and of co-operation, and will help the nations of Asia, individually and collectively, to carry forward the tremendous work that lies ahead. I wish you every success in your deliberations.

**Foundations of Peace**

India has always been in the forefront of the battle for peace. This is not a new thing for us; it is something that goes way back into our history and tradition.

From speech at the Conference on War Dangers, New Delhi, November 13, 1968
Ever since Independence, we have made it the cornerstone of our policy. We believe in peace because we think it is the highest ideal worth achieving; we believe in peace especially because we are still involved in the struggle for freedom.

We have achieved political freedom. We are today in the midst of the struggle for development and progress, so that our political freedom has meaning for all our people. Freedom is not a question of who forms the government. It means giving full opportunity to all people—full opportunity for education, employment, and the bare necessities of life such as food, housing and so on. This is the big struggle in which we are involved. We realise that this development cannot take place without peace.

We knew that until all people were free, our own freedom would not be secure. That is why after achieving freedom we have given our full support, in international forums and in all other ways and wherever we could, to the movement for peace, to the movement against war. We have been able to play some small part in different parts of the world to bring about peace. Now that we are a new member of the Security Council, we shall use this membership to work for peace and peaceful co-existence.

We believe firmly in the ideals of the United Nations. We are with the smaller countries which are struggling to get on with the task of improving the lot of their people. We want to be in a position to help the other people who are in similar difficulties. Conflicts arise in the world because of the power concept, because there are the haves and have-nots, because there is economic disparity. These are some of the seeds of conflict. We have to create conditions in which peace can exist and can be strengthened.

At all times in the world there have been wars over something or the other. As we have evolved, the human race has found greater knowledge of and power over Nature. Instead of using this knowledge and power for doing away with war, we find that man has made wars more cruel, more efficient in inflicting cruelties and atrocities on people. Wars are so out of place in a world which has so many problems to solve. The task therefore is to find ways to remove the basic causes of war.

I talked earlier of our tradition of peace. The foremost of the leaders of modern India, Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, believed in the importance of means as much as the importance of ends. We have found that wars has been won but they have solved nothing, because of the kind of peace arrived at. Therefore, it is important that the settlement of disputes should be in a peaceful manner. This has been accepted by all nations in regard to their internal affairs. Previously there were wars of religion; there were
wars on many other similar matters. But people have come to realise that fighting is not the best way to resolve internal disputes.

This same concept should today be enlarged and applied to the international sphere. War can only be made obsolete when an acceptable alternative is found. We solemnly support all those who stand for peace and we believe that without peace, without fighting against the horrors of war and all that war leads to, we cannot survive.

There have always been discrepancies and disparities among nations, but the gap is increasing. Greater knowledge has been acquired, but it is not being used to solve the problems of the world. Instead of that, it is being used for purposes which increase the disparities.

When people are faced with hunger, even peace and freedom can have no meaning for them. Until we win this other war against hunger we cannot secure our freedom. Before the individual in the remote village and hill can feel the need for freedom, the war on poverty must be won. The war against poverty cannot be won when there is threat of military war. For military war uses up the world's resources, uses up the industry and the knowledge of natural forces. It thus hinders the human race from securing all that it wants. A better world, a more progressive world, gets pushed into the background when the atmosphere is surcharged with hatred. Therefore, there is urgent need to create an atmosphere of peace.

The major question before the world today is how to create this atmosphere in every country of the world, an atmosphere which will enable people to reject war and which will strengthen the movement for freedom, for development, and for the removal of poverty and backwardness.

It might be asked how nations which are themselves lacking in strength can hope to strengthen the cause of progress and peace. This is a question which cannot be easily answered. But I do believe that the unity and united effort of the nations of Africa and Asia can help the world. We have to urge people to try and move forward to a peaceful solution of the world's problems. We are willing to work with any nation in the endeavour to prohibit the use of force.

Somehow the voice of peace today is not as strong as it was, say, fifteen years ago. We have to bring it back to that strength. I am sure that you and your colleagues all over the world can really take a major step forward in this direction. I think that once we move in this direction, we would find that some other problems would also be solved since all these problems are closely linked together.

Peace, like freedom and progress, is indivisible. Together we can fight for peace; separately we may be too weak to do so. So let us work for unity, peace, progress, freedom and the end of all exploitation.
B. OUR NEIGHBOURS

Friendship with Afghanistan

When the citizens of Delhi are according you a welcome, it will be appropriate that I should welcome you on behalf of the other citizens of this country also. You come from a friendly neighbouring country. You had the occasion of visiting our country earlier some time back. During your present visit you will have an opportunity of seeing how much progress our country has made in recent years. Yours is also a developing country and the difficulties and problems faced by it are almost similar to those faced by us. You are, therefore, in a better position to appreciate our difficulties, and the vast effort being made and hard work being put in by the people to get over these difficulties.

After we became independent, our countries followed the same path—the path of peace and friendship with all. All our efforts were directed towards the establishment of peace in our countries and in the world at large because we knew that peace was essential for our progress.

Friendship is of many types. Since ours is not a rich country, we are at best able to express our friendship by making symbolic gestures. We are very happy that we have decided to set up a children’s hospital in Afghanistan. The hospital will also be a training centre. It will be a lasting symbol of friendship between India and Afghanistan. I hope that this children’s hospital will be able to serve your people.

We have similar policies on international matters and we have been working in the United Nations in close co-operation with each other. We were very happy that one of your representatives had been elected President of the 21st General Assembly. We hope that your country will progress like this in every direction. We know that your leadership has given great strength to your country, which has progressed at a very fast pace. I remember that some time back the women of Afghanistan never came out of the four walls of their houses. Now, on account of the lead given by you, they have got an opportunity to participate in the affairs of their country. Many such achievements have been possible because of your farsightedness. We hope that

Free translation of speech in Hindi at civic reception in honour of the King of Afghanistan, Delhi, January 31, 1967.
your country will make further progress at a faster pace. We will be ever ready to extend whatever little help we can in this effort.

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TEN YEARS AGO, I came to Kabul with my father. I remember his delight in the visit. He had a special feeling for the Afghan people. Even within the high walls of prison, his mind had travelled in time and distance to give me a glimpse of the story of the valiant people of Afghanistan. Coming here was a pilgrimage to the source of some of the influences which have shaped the composite culture of India. It was an opportunity to create new bonds of understanding and friendship, so vital to us both in these times of tension.

Years ago, the division between peoples was of another dimension. There was then little thought of the creation of wealth and the eyes of the adventurous wandered to what seemed to be greener pastures. There was conflict between India and Afghanistan also. Perhaps it was inherent in the situation of those times. But today the question is not one of the redistribution of a limited amount of familiar resources but of the tapping of vast quantities of known and unknown resources which our countries possess in our people and in our land. We know now that there is enough to go around, to enable all to have a better life. But this can be possible only if the energies and the resources of the world are used constructively to help the developing nations to stand on their feet. That is what makes co-operation so urgent—working together for a common goal not against any country but for the good of the entire world community. We in India are against any step which divides the world, but we support those forces which strive to unite mankind.

Economic co-operation between advanced and developing nations has generally taken the form of credit assistance in capital equipment, technology and commodities. Had the nations pursued more constructive trade policies and shown a deeper understanding of the role of trade in development, the need for assistance could be considerably diminished. The debtor-creditor relationship generates psychological complexes and political temptations. We have to strive hard to delink aid from pressure. Our two countries have resisted pressure. We have also worked closely together in our effort to persuade the advanced countries to adopt new trade policies which could promote development. It is my sincere hope that we shall continue to work together in various international forums.

Developing countries can improve their economies through increas-

Speech at banquet given by Prime Minister of Afghanistan, Kabul, June 5, 1969
ed exchange of agricultural and industrial goods and technological skills among themselves. Our two countries want to do so, but the absence of direct means of communication has hampered the expansion of trade between us. There is hardly a home in India which does not consume or want to consume your produce. Afghan fruits and essences are much sought after. With the development of both nations, this traditional pattern of demand and supply could be greatly diversified. We shall be glad to place at your disposal the skills and facilities in education and in plant training which we have acquired and which your people might want to avail themselves of.

Much has happened in both our countries in the decade between my two visits. I am glad to see the spectacular progress which you have made. The process of modernisation is making visible advance under the dedicated guidance of His Majesty the King.

Our countries have chosen the path of planned development and we know from experience that the first stages of development, however high the growth rate, generate more expectations and demands than the means to fulfil them. He who accepts a challenge has always a less peaceful existence than he who is resigned to stay put. Our two countries were amongst the earliest of the world’s people to explore the realms of thought, art and science. Yet in this race for modernisation, we are late-comers and the struggle ahead of us is long and hard. We have pledged ourselves not to rest until we have achieved the true goal of development, which is that there should be just distribution of the fruits of the nation’s toil and that they should benefit the people as a whole and not merely a small section of the privileged.

Afghanistan and India have consciously avoided the military blocs and alliances which have dominated the world in the last two or three decades. Our non-alignment is not a sign of indifference to world problems. On the contrary, it is our concern for peace and progress that has convinced us of the dangers of military blocs. Our national interest and sense of priorities urge friendship and co-operation with all. We have struggled and sacrificed to be free to choose and to forge our destiny. How could we possibly become the followers of one camp or another? We are opposed to the doctrine that any nation has a right to impose its will or way of life on other nations. We believe it is each nation’s inalienable right to evolve its own pattern of self-government. Of our free will, we may, and indeed should, learn from the experience of others, but no one can force this experience on us. We may be underdeveloped in terms of worldly goods and possessions but not in terms of pride or independence of spirit.

Just as there have been changes in Afghanistan and India, so also
interesting developments have taken place on the international scene. It is a vindication of the policy of non-alignment that the rigidities of blocs have become somewhat blurred. The super powers and their respective allies are anxious to establish different kinds of contacts across the old ideological and military forces. We have welcomed and encouraged the process of détente between the super powers. Yet we are keenly alive to the dangers of the present situation. We cannot say that the threat of a clash has receded; only that the reluctance to use the most potent weapons has given occasion for smaller wars. Two such wars have been dragging on, causing untold human suffering, sucking enormous resources and increasing our economic difficulties. When international understanding is based on narrow national considerations, it can also revive the old theory of spheres of influence which poses a threat to the less powerful.

Thus friendship and co-operation are not merely idealistic or sentimental desires but also practical means of strengthening ourselves.

I should like to thank His Majesty the King and you, Your Excellency, for the invitation which has enabled me to renew and enlarge my acquaintance with this beautiful country and its people, who are known the world over for their courage and determination. I bring to you, Mr Prime Minister, and to the people of Afghanistan, the greetings and good wishes of the people and Government of India.

India-Burma Friendship

YOUR EXCELLENCY General Ne Win, Madam Ne Win, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, I should like to say first of all how happy I am to be here this evening. You were kind enough to invite me sometime ago, and ever since then, it was at the back of my mind how to find time to come here, to meet you once again and to renew our friendship, which is a friendship not only between individuals but between two countries.

We are neighbours. We are neighbours who have had close relations for a very long time and who have been friends for a very long time. Today, I bring to you the greetings and the good wishes of the Indian people. We both, in our countries, are trying to solve problems

Speech at banquet given by General Ne Win, Chairman of the Revolutionary Council of Burma, Rangoon, March 27, 1969
which crop up from day to day. We are trying to do so in a way which safeguards the basic and eternal values in which we believe. This, I think, is perhaps the most difficult of all tasks.

We know that it is easy to throw up the old and to take to something new. Perhaps, it is easier still to stick to the old and disregard the new. But we know that neither of these paths can bring progress to our countries. Therefore, we are trying to find this third path which is the most difficult but which, in the long run, will be the most satisfying.

Chairman and Madam Ne Win, I remember the visits which you have paid us. You have come for very short visits but you have brought warmth. Wherever you have been, you have created friends for yourself and for Burma. Our friendship has been enhanced by the understanding which you have shown of our problems and by the help which you have given. We have passed through some extremely difficult years; in those trying days and inspite of your own difficulties, you came to our rescue with increased quantities of rice. And as you yourself mentioned, we have been able to curb some of the misguided and hostile elements on our eastern border because of your vigilance. For this we are grateful.

I also remember my very first visit to Rangoon. It was thirty years ago. It was the time when you and your illustrious comrades were laying the foundations of Burma’s independence. We were involved in our own struggle for freedom and that is why we admired the idealism, courage and tenacity of the young leaders of your nationalist movement.

How much the world has changed. Many of us who were in bondage are today free. Yet we find that many of the old attitudes persist, though some masquerade in new garbs. We value our freedom and that is why we feel we must be prepared to defend our frontiers. But freedom can be threatened in other ways also—through outside interference and subversion, through ideas of spheres of influence, through belief in violence and the use of force to change established frontiers.

We believe, as you do, that problems must be solved by peaceful means, by discussions and negotiations. We believe in the individuality of nations. Every country must choose its own form of development and progress. It must choose whatever system it thinks is the best for its forward march. This means that we live side by side peacefully. How can this happen unless we agree not to interfere in one another’s internal matters? But, apart from this, freedom must also be safeguarded by internal strength, by economic progress, and by social justice. It is only in this manner that a country can
have a firm foundation and can face the many challenges of today's changing world.

India is making a tremendous effort to try and achieve these things. We thought when we became free that problems could be solved by the very fact of being independent. At each stage we thought that the next stage would be an easier one, and that somehow, as difficulties were removed and problems solved, life would be easier and better. But we find through experience that each stage brings a new set of difficulties. No sooner is one problem solved, ten new problems take its place. But we also found that as we go along we have the strength to face these problems and to find solutions for them. We have had difficulties created by Nature and we have had difficulties created by men, but we have been able to face them—I think we have faced them with confidence—and in so doing a feeling has developed in the Indian people that they can be self-reliant and that they should all work together, inspite of differences in politics and economic methods, for self-reliance.

We know that under your leadership, the people of Burma are engaged in a similar effort. We know from our own experience that it cannot be easy to raise the standards of living of the people and to change the attitudes of a whole nation. To create new attitudes and evolve new methods is only one of the challenges we face. But we know that you are progressing, and as you march ahead your capacity to go faster will also increase.

We are glad that though we may not agree on every single point, we have similar responses to many problems, especially to some of the international problems. We value the support which this common purpose has given us. As the world shrinks with the growth of technology and science, it is important for us to remember that more and more stress has to be placed on co-operation and understanding between peoples and nations. We feel that you are working towards this.

I should like once more to thank you for giving me this opportunity of coming here and of exchanging views with you and your colleagues. It is necessary to renew this acquaintance and to share each other's knowledge and experience so that we are in a better position to understand what is happening in different parts of the world. We have co-operated in the past, but there is need for still closer co-operation.

May I, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, request you to join me in a toast wishing the Chairman long life, good health, happiness and success. I should like also to give my good wishes and the good wishes of the women of India to Madam Ne Win. We know how she supports and helps the Chairman; I don't know whether he admits it
or not. And to this toast may I add my good wishes to the people of Burma, for their progress, their prosperity and friendship with India.

* * *

The House is aware that at the invitation of His Excellency General Ne Win, Chairman of the Revolutionary Council, and the Government of Burma I paid an official visit to Burma from March 27 to March 30, 1969.

The relationship between India and Burma is closer than merely that of neighbours. Through the ages it has been sustained by the abiding values which have been cherished and shared by our two peoples. This long tradition of friendship was reinforced during our common struggle for freedom.

My visit was brief but I was glad to have the opportunity of exchanging views with the Chairman and his colleagues on a wide range of subjects of mutual interest to our countries. I venture to think that these exchanges and the visit strengthened the relations between our two countries and helped in promoting understanding and co-operation between our Governments and peoples.

Chairman Ne Win and I had occasion to review the world scene in the light of political and economic issues of importance to the world today and more especially to us in the developing countries. As the House is aware, Burma and India stand for the promotion of international peace and understanding, based on respect for the sovereignty and independence of all countries. Our two countries attach the highest importance to the principle of non-interference in one another's internal affairs. In our discussions, we agreed that the principal task of economic reconstruction which confronts our respective countries could be expedited by economic co-operation among the developing countries and more especially between neighbouring countries.

During my talks with Chairman Ne Win, as also in the discussions which our officials had with Burmese officials, we naturally discussed matters of bilateral interest. These included problems concerning Indian citizens in Burma and those of Indian origin awaiting registration as Burmese citizens. Chairman Ne Win and his Government have agreed to look into those problems sympathetically and expeditiously. We also discussed measures to promote greater economic co-operation between our two countries. I hope that in the light of these discussions, closer bonds of economic co-operation will be established between Burma and India.

Statement in Lok Sabha. April 3, 1969
I took the opportunity to thank Chairman Ne Win and his Government for their vigilance along the Indo-Burmese border which, as the House is aware, has helped us to take more effective measures against some of the misguided elements on our eastern border. I hope that the House has noted the observations made by Chairman Ne Win at the banquet he was good enough to hold in my honour, that his Government would not countenance the use of Burmese territory by nationals or organisations of another State as a base for hostile activity against their home State or against a third State. Chairman Ne Win went on to say that it was in conformity with this basic stand that Burma had taken necessary measure against those nationals of India who sought to use Burmese territory for hostile activities against India.

I also thanked the Chairman for the co-operation and understanding which has been shown by Burma in the demarcation of our border, the first phase of which has been completed ahead of schedule.

Chairman and Madam Ne Win are always welcome in our country. I extended an invitation to them to visit India any time at their convenience and this they have accepted.

Special Links with Ceylon

When one surveys the history of the human race, it is not easy to draw a balance-sheet in terms of contributions made and received. My father saw history not as a series of events in one country or another but as the universal story of man. In that perspective, the world is certainly indebted to Ceylon for preserving and propagating the Buddha’s message through the ages. It is not mere coincidence that the founder of the Maha Bodhi Society of India and Ceylon, Anagarika Dharmapala, was a son of Lanka. Ananda Coomaraswamy, another distinguished son of Lanka, has made valuable contribution to our common heritage. He ranks with Shri Aurobindo and Rabindranath Tagore in his impact on Indian scholars and thinkers in the early decades of this century, helping a whole generation to rediscover their culture.

Our two countries have been creators of culture. We are both inheritors and the creators of the modern idea that the salvation of our world lies in promoting tolerance of different religions, different
social systems and political philosophies—all mutually helpful and strengthening—in a spirit of peace. In his rock-edict twelve, the Emperor Ashoka proclaimed, "The faiths of others, all deserve to be honoured. By honouring them, one exalts one's own faith and at the same time performs a service to the faith of others."

In the past, our two countries have not merely influenced each other in religion, art and literature, but have shared common beliefs, institutions, and social and political systems. While we work together, neither of us desires exclusiveness in our relationship. As this is my first speech during this visit, I should like to acknowledge publicly our gratitude to the Government and people of Ceylon for their generous gesture in diverting to our shores two ships carrying 18,000 tonnes of rice. This was of help to us at a very difficult moment.

It is well known that our country has been passing through extremely difficult times during the last two years. However, it is not realised what tremendous effort, resources and organisation have gone in averting what might have been a tragedy of immense proportions. Our people rallied magnificently. Millions of people have been fed in drought-affected areas. Thousands of people have worked together voluntarily to serve their afflicted brethren.

And in the midst of it all, we had our fourth general election. Your country, Mr Chairman, is a mature parliamentary democracy. You can well appreciate the significance of the fact that in your neighbouring country, which is inhabited by such a large segment of humanity, the democratic process should continue to be the sole instrument for bringing about social and political changes.

Even in the best circumstances, democratic processes are slow-moving and fragile. And yet in India, during the last twenty years, a vast revolution has taken place in the field of economic, social, cultural and educational development. I am confident that the difficulties which confront us at present will be surmounted and that we shall go ahead with the transformation of our society. I am equally confident that with its talented people, your country will succeed in enriching the life of the common man. These changes are not hidden, I notice the progress made by Ceylon during the last five years, as any visitor to India can see the changes there.

There is a vast field for co-operation in the existing task of building our respective countries. We have much to learn from each other and we cannot but gain by co-operating with each other.

I know there are one or two problems in our relations which have at times caused us some anxiety. The presence in Ceylon of a large number of people of Indian origin has sometimes been an irritating factor in our relations. Fortunately, the 1964 agreement between the Prime Ministers of the two countries has provided a framework within
which the problem can be solved. On our part, we are taking all
the necessary steps and shall continue to do so to fulfil our obligations
under this agreement. I am glad similar action is being pursued by
the Government of Ceylon.

Our relations are too close for either of us to allow minor matters
to interfere with our traditional friendship. I hope that any such
problem which might arise in the future will be solved with goodwill.
I sincerely hope that my visit and talks with your distinguished Prime
Minister and other leaders will enlarge the area of understanding and
co-operation between our two countries.

When our countries emerged from their long bondage, we shared
many dreams. We had the vision of a free Asia. The events of the
last few years have tended to dim that vision. But we in India remain
hopeful. I do believe that we can recreate that vision by determination
and earnest endeavour to keep to our path and by basing our policies
realistically on friendly co-operation, peaceful relations and non-
interference in each other’s affairs. Therein lies the key to the future
growth of mutual trust and confidence and to the establishment of peace
where today conflict reigns.

I would urge those of you who are of Indian origin and have
already become citizens of Ceylon and those who are yet to acquire
Ceylon citizenship, to identify yourselves with Ceylon and to give it
your full loyalty. I am sure that the Government of Ceylon on its
part is anxious to create an environment which will give you confidence,
justice and a sense of belonging and that opportunities will be pro-
vided for you to participate in Ceylon’s development.

Those of you who are Indian nationals and are working here in
various capacities should also think and act in the interest of Ceylon’s
development and welfare. Ceylon is a respected sister nation for
which we have great affection, regard and friendship. Ceylon and
India share a heritage in the evolution of which both countries have
made significant contribution. Indians in Ceylon, be they citizens of
Ceylon or India, should help to further this contribution.

How can I adequately express the feelings you have evoked in
me by the warmth and friendliness of your reception? It reflects in
many ways the intimacy of the relationship between our two peoples
and our two countries. I have visited Colombo several times and
each time your country has made a fresh impact on me. I am happy
to have the opportunity of renewing my acquaintance with your lovely

From speech at civic reception by the Colombo Municipal Council, September 19, 1967
city and your friendly people and am glad to see how well Colombo has grown without losing its special charm.

The other day I was told by a journalist that the very size of India may be a cause for concern to her neighbours. But we look at our size in a different light. We are certainly a large country of five hundred million people. But precisely because of this, as my father used to say, we have five hundred million problems! A democratic society must be based on concern for every individual. Those who accuse us of our size will also, I hope, sympathise with the magnitude of our problems.

We should like our relations with you to be many-sided. Like us, Ceylon is engaged in the great task of development and I have no doubt that our two countries can work together to our mutual advantage. We must explore all possibilities of co-operation. It is equally necessary to co-operate with all other nations who are similarly situated in pressing for a more liberal and forward-looking concept of world trade in which the developing nations can enjoy a fair and growing share in international commerce with the richer and more advanced industrial nations. Only thus can the gap separating the rich and the poor be narrowed. Only thus can the foundations of peace in the world be made less unstable.

As one surveys this wide world and especially Asia, it is pleasant and satisfying to see the harmony of relations between our two countries. Here and there difficulties do arise but we have met and talked and succeeded in overcoming them. One sees the entire picture of the relationship between Ceylon and India, dating back to several centuries, as a relationship unmarred by conflict and enriched by mutual trust and confidence.

In more recent years, your city, Colombo, became associated with ideas of creative co-operation through the Colombo Plan. On another occasion again certain proposals were formulated in your city. Their acceptance by both sides would have provided a basis for the settlement of a conflict. Unfortunately, that conflict continues and erupts every now and then in ugly forms.

These twenty years, we have constantly endeavoured to fashion our relations with our neighbours and with all countries on the basis of mutual respect, non-interference in one another's affairs and respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of every State. Whatever little influence we possess we try to use on the side of peace and towards the peaceful solution of problems. The young men of our armed forces have gone abroad as messengers of peace and often sacrificed their lives in defence of peace.

In the world of today the great powers appear slightly relaxed in their relationship. It is due in a large measure to the influence exercised
by countries such as our two countries and others of similar persuasion. One cannot help thinking a great deal about the causes of the contemporary turmoil. In an age of tremendous scientific advance when man has the power to bend so many of Nature's forces to his will, in an age of vast accumulation of wealth, we find that disparities between the rich and the poor nations are growing. Millions of people in Asia and Africa and other parts of the world live a life of penury and want. Their awakened consciousness naturally makes them more poignantly aware of this conflict. The attempt to infuse ideological divisions of one kind or another, or to impose a particular way of life, further aggravates the situation. Peace and stability can come only with tolerance of political and social differences. We believe that every country should be free to develop in its own tradition and historical circumstances. At the same time, the people of different nations should be conscious of what they have in common. Peace does not mean merely the absence of strife. It means goodwill for others and understanding of those who are different from ourselves. Even from the point of view of limited self-interest, it is necessary for countries to co-operate for the betterment of humanity. In the past, this might have been regarded as idealistic, but yesterday's morality and idealism is today a matter of practical necessity.

There is great scope for purposeful co-operation between our two countries in many fields. This will benefit our two societies and will help them to attain a fuller and more gracious life and to contribute to the stability and progress of our region and of the world. It is our earnest desire to join you in this co-operative endeavour, to profit from your experience and help, and to place at your disposal our experience in any form you may wish to have. Indeed, this will be nothing new. Some twelve hundred years ago, technical experts from your great country went as far as Kashmir in the north of India to advise the local king on irrigation projects.

Economic development is an urgent necessity for us both, but the tradition and heritage which we share enshrine a wider and nobler concept. The traditional patterns of our lives contain much that is of lasting value as well as of current validity—values of mind and spirit—which should be harmonised with the requirements of modern life in this scientific age. We, who have the high privilege of shoulder ing responsibilities in our countries also have the opportunity of serving our respective peoples in a new and challenging endeavour, an endeavour to strengthen the basic foundations of our ancient traditions by incorporating with them the new truths of science and technology. This process of synthesis between the vital elements of our traditions and the vibrant forces of current knowledge requires not only a climate of peace but also a temper of peace in the region. Our peoples,
who through the ages have acquired great experience in tempering power with the restraint of wisdom, will not be unequal to the present task of evolving harmony between science and spirituality.

Relations with China

A question that may be asked is, if China threatened India, then what is India doing to combat Peking’s designs in South-East Asia? China is taking great care to avoid direct military involvement in Vietnam. But China’s shadow does fall across South-East Asia. The real threat from China, however, is less military than political and economic. The Chinese influence will be diminished if its neighbours in Asia and the nations of the developing world can build up popular and forward-looking nationalist Governments dedicated to fulfilling the aspirations of their people. They would also be greatly strengthened in this purpose, were they to see a strong and viable alternative model. It is precisely by a successful effort to develop democracy, that India can answer the Chinese challenge.

India is part of that rural countryside that the Chinese leaders would win and use in their revolutionary approach on the advanced industrialised cities of the West. It is in this large and populous rural countryside that the Chinese influence can and must be stemmed. India is fighting this battle through its devotion to the democratic ideals, through perseverance in planned development and its struggle against poverty. India is militarily holding a two thousand miles long Himalayan frontier against China. India is also fighting this battle in the crucial forum of Afro-Asia which China has sought to use as a political launching pad and as a revolutionary substitute for the United Nations. India’s contribution in this regard has earned little notice or thanks. But, I venture to suggest that this is a contribution of high significance, since it has the unique distinction of meeting China’s challenge on the ground and plane of Peking’s own choosing.

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China continues to maintain an attitude of hostility towards us and, as Hon. Members know, spares no opportunity to malign us and to carry on anti-Indian propaganda not only against the Indian Govern-

From Speech at a reception in New York, April 1, 1966; and from speech in Lok Sabha, December 22, 1967.
ment but against the whole way of our democratic functioning and even our national integrity. But I would like to say that we do not harbour any evil intention towards the Chinese people, and we do hope that a day will come when they will also realise that it is in the interest of all the countries of South-East Asia that we should be friends and that each country should be able to devote its strength to solving the very major problem of combating poverty and backwardness.

India-Nepal Kinship

I am grateful to Your Majesty for your kind words of welcome and for your gracious invitation to me and my colleagues to visit Nepal. I have been overwhelmed by your hospitality and the warmth of affection that has surrounded us in Kathmandu.

I have come here not for reasons of protocol nor on account of any particular problem between our two countries. I have come here because of the age-old friendship between Nepal and India.

We are not strangers to one another. The eternal peaks of the Himalayas have given us spiritual sustenance since time immemorial. They are the scene of our epics and our folklore. They also nourish the great rivers which water our fields. Ours is a common heritage.

The newspapers sometimes refer to 'problems' between Nepal and India. Of course, there are problems. It would be surprising if there were not any between such close neighbours. But I venture to suggest that these problems are basically small and incidental to the much larger fact of Indo-Nepalese friendship.

I am convinced that the friendship between Nepal and India is firm and unshakable. Our people wish it. Our Governments are working for it. History, geography and our common interests demand it.

We agree that every nation has the right to lead its own life and shape its own destiny in accordance with its need and circumstance and the genius of its people. Our common heritage and our common interests and outlook on so many matters, are, therefore, fully compatible with diversity in other areas. We do not regard this as strange. On a larger plane, this belief is translated into our common dedication to the right of every nation to preserve its own identity and per-

Speech at banquet given by King Mahendra of Nepal, Kathmandu, October 4, 1966.
sonality. This is the basis of our commitment to peaceful co-existence.

Nepal has chosen its own path. Under the wise guidance of Your Majesty, a new, modern Nepal is in the making. You have adopted planning as an instrument of orderly development and have completed many plans. Apart from the material progress this has brought, it has set in motion a process of social change.

We are greatly privileged to have been able to assist your plans of development in the same spirit of international economic co-operation in which we ourselves have received assistance from others. Economic and cultural co-operation between Nepal and India constitutes yet another symbol of friendship based on the principles of equality and mutual benefit. These principles of peaceful co-existence are universal principles: They offer the only sane and safe road along which the nations of the world can travel today.

This is an age of science and technology. Science, however, can be both a blessing and a curse to mankind. We are heirs to an ancient culture. We must combine the best of the old with the best of what is new. As my father said, "It is essential that science and spirituality should combine if the modern world should survive and progress. Without science you perish; without spirituality you perish."

Man's knowledge has increased greatly. But do we have the wisdom and the maturity to use this knowledge wisely? We cannot determine events but we can influence reactions to events and thus shape history and environment.

Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, I request you to join me in a toast to the good health and welfare of Their Majesties, to the progress and prosperity of Nepal, and to the unbreakable bonds of Indo-Nepalese friendship.

*   *   *

I am grateful to you for your very warm and gracious words of welcome. It is a pleasure for me to have this opportunity to meet the citizens of Kathmandu. I bring to you the greetings and good wishes of the people of India.

I first visited Kathmandu thirteen years ago. All around me I see a great many changes since my last visit to Kathmandu. Your country is blessed with great natural beauty. The fascination of Kathmandu lies in its wonderful temples, monuments and wood-carvings and in its rich heritage of arts and crafts as much as in its lovely setting. I hope progress will preserve and enhance their aesthetic value and that the growth of the new Kathmandu will blend and harmonise with the old city.

Friendship and co-operation between Nepal and India is not only

From speech at civic reception, Kathmandu, October, 1966
based on cultural affinities and sentiment but on present-day realities. The trade and commerce between our countries is of benefit to both. There is a growing cultural exchange and we are jointly exploiting some of our shared natural resources. This is only a beginning.

Both countries face immense problems of development and change. So much has to be done to give our people a better life, and many programmes can be undertaken together in friendly co-operation to our mutual benefit. Nepal has just launched its Third Five Year Plan and is engaged in the task of national reconstruction. Considerable progress has been made. We are following your efforts with sympathy and admiration.

We are glad to be able to assist Nepal in some measure in the execution of its development plans. India is also a recipient of foreign assistance, which we regard as a necessary and useful form of international economic co-operation. We finance the major part of our development programmes from out of our own resources—by the sweat and toil, the saving and investment of our people. During the past decade, the very process of development has served to widen the pool of resources and open up new possibilities for advance. This is the law of growth. I know this is equally true of Nepal. The building of the Tribhuvan Rajipath, the Sonauli-Pokhare road and the yet more ambitious East-West Highway—in all of which India is proud to be associated—provides a network of communications which will hasten the tempo of progress and development. We shall also be assisting you suitably in the realisation of your next Five Year Plan.

The doors of our universities and technical institutes have long been open to students from Nepal. Many of our universities are indeed proud to claim distinguished Nepalese citizens as students. I hope this flow of scholars and intellectuals and other human and cultural contacts will increase.

It is for each country and each people to choose their own path in accordance with its circumstances, aspirations and genius. Nepal has chosen the path of Panchayat democracy under the leadership of Maharajadhiraj. We are watching the evolution of Panchayati system in your country with deep interest. We hope you will make progress.

Both Nepal and India need peace in order to devote attention to the crying needs of development. I am glad that our countries share a common outlook in international relations. We both believe in non-alignment and peaceful co-existence. There is no alternative to these policies if the world is to be made safe from the madness of another war which could lead to nuclear destruction. Our two countries have co-operated to this end in the United Nations, in the councils of the non-aligned nations, and in the Afro-Asian group.
Unfortunately, some countries do not accept peaceful co-existence. They see the world as a stereotype moulded in their own image. This is a false and dangerous doctrine which we repudiate. Countries with different social and economic systems can and should be able to live side by side in peace and friendship. We have abjured the use of force in the settlement of international differences. But we will resist force.

India does not covet others' territory. Nor does it seek to impose its ways or will on any nation. We accept the freedom of nations to choose their own destiny; we do not seek to interfere in the affairs of others. Our belief in peaceful co-existence is not a matter of expediency. It is rooted in our tradition and way of life. It is among the gifts of the Buddha, Ashoka, Gandhiji and Nehru.

We in India are, like you, striving to build a new society. We have launched our Fourth Five Year Plan. Early next year some 250 million men and women will cast their votes in our fourth general elections. We are confident that these elections and the implementation of the Fourth Plan will help strengthen the foundation of the ‘New India’ that we are engaged in building.

We are determined to succeed. For, only development and the creation of a self-reliant economy will enable us to ensure our people a better life and give real and abiding content to our ideals of democracy and socialism.

Nepal too, I know, will succeed in its endeavours to banish poverty, ignorance and disease—those common enemies of developing nations.

It has been a privilege and pleasure to return to Nepal, to have enjoyed the unbounded hospitality of Their Majesties the King and Queen and the people of Nepal, and to have seen something of the many-sided progress that you have made. I wish you well and every success.

Relations with Pakistan

As the House is aware, at the initiative of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., Mr. Kosygin, there was a meeting between Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri and President Ayub Khan of Pakistan in Tashkent. The Prime Minister and the
President met in a plenary session in the presence of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. on January 4, 1966. Thereafter, there were a series of informal talks between the Prime Minister and the President. The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. remained in close touch with both the Heads of Government. On January 10, 1966, the Prime Minister and the President signed the Tashkent Declaration.

The greater part of the discussions in Tashkent centered round the basic question of renunciation of force. Prime Minister Shastri made it clear that the main point was whether or not the two countries wanted to live in peace and settle their disputes without resort to force. The President of Pakistan raised the question of Kashmir as the basic issue which had to be settled before the two countries could live peacefully and as good neighbours. Prime Minister Shastri, in his talks with President Ayub Khan, made it clear that it was not possible for India to deviate from its position that Kashmir was an integral part of India and that India’s sovereignty over Jammu and Kashmir was not negotiable. Eventually, there was agreement as embodied in Article I of the Declaration.

For many years in the past, India had emphasised the importance of the two countries agreeing that all disputes and differences between them should be settled peacefully, without resort to arms. Unfortunately, no agreement could be reached on such a declaration between the two countries. The success of the Tashkent Declaration consists in the fact that both countries have now agreed not to have recourse to force and to settle their disputes through peaceful means. This has been done by a categorical reaffirmation in the Declaration of the obligations under the Charter of the United Nations to refrain from the use of force in settling international disputes. In the Tashkent Declaration, India and Pakistan have chosen to turn away from mutual conflict and have resolved to base their relations on peace, friendship and good neighbourliness.

Article II of the Declaration provides for the withdrawal of all armed personnel of the two countries, not later than February 25, 1966, to the pre-August 5 positions, as required in U.N. Resolutions. The fullest consideration was given to all aspects of the question of withdrawals before agreeing to this clause. In his letter of September 14, 1965, to the U.N. Secretary-General, Prime Minister Shastri had stated, “That when consequent upon the cease-fire becoming effective further details are considered, we shall not agree to any disposition which will leave the door open to further infiltrations or prevent us from dealing with infiltrations that have taken place.”

Under the Declaration, Pakistan has not only agreed to withdraw all armed personnel, but has also undertaken not to resort to force for
the settlement of any dispute and to respect the cease-fire terms on
the cease-fire line. There is the further provision of non-interference
by either country in the other's internal affairs. Armed infiltrations
across the cease-fire line would be wholly contrary to the Tashkent
Declaration. The conditions laid down in the late Prime Minister's
letter to the Secretary-General of the United Nations have thus been
met.

The discouragement of hostile propaganda and encouragement of
propaganda which promotes the development of friendly relations,
will be a positive factor for the promotion of good-neighbourly rela-
tions. It is hoped that propaganda of the kind which caused resentment
in India and marred relations between the two countries will be
a thing of the past.

The Declaration provides for the normalisation of relations be-
tween the two countries and for bilateral discussions, in a friendly
atmosphere, to resolve various problems between the two countries.

Steps have already been taken towards the implementation of the
Declaration. Agreement has been reached between the Chiefs of
Armed Forces in both countries in regard to the withdrawal of forces
on the west and for the avoidance of tensions. It has also been agreed
that armed forces of both sides along the eastern borders will with-
draw from forward positions and will not in any circumstances resort
to firing. The High Commissioners of both countries have returned
to their respective posts and normal diplomatic relations have been
resumed. Over-flights of scheduled air services of both countries
across each other's territory have been resumed. Exchange of pris-
oners taken by either side has been completed to a large extent. The
Government of India have proposed a Ministers' level meeting at which
various other matters concerning the normalisation of relations and
further steps towards the implementation of the Declaration could be
discussed. Restoration of posts and telegraphs and telecommuni-
cations between the two countries is being arranged.

India and Pakistan have now the opportunity of living in peace
and friendly co-operation. The Tashkent Declaration, sincerely
observed and implemented, will, it is hoped, contribute to the pros-
perity and progress of the 600 million people of the Indo-Pakistan
sub-continent.

In conclusion, I would express the deep appreciation of the Gov-
ernment of India of the initiative and good offices of Mr. Kosygin,
Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., which made the
Tashkent meeting a success.
A year ago, through the goodwill of the Soviet Union, a historic agreement was signed in Tashkent. Today, we pledge ourselves anew to the Tashkent Declaration and to the message of peace which it proclaims, almost the last act of a leader sadly departed from our midst.

At this moment the nation remembers Shastriji with special poignancy. We recall the tidings of death which shocked us at dead of night only a few hours after the news of peace from Tashkent.

Inspired by Lajpat Rai, Gandhiji and Jawaharlal Nehru, Shastriji's life was spent in the cause of the people, and in the manner of his death he reaffirmed India's total dedication to peace. He has left us an example to cherish.

Shastriji's beginnings were humble. His life illustrates the kind of society we have, a democratic society in which opportunity is not necessarily synonymous with wealth or social status. He rose to high position through his qualities and single-minded service to the nation. He was of the people, and in everything he did he thought of their interests and aspirations.

Tashkent. The name of this great Soviet city, like Shastriji's own name, has now become a symbol of reconciliation. It may be that events of the year since gone-by have not matched the expectations raised in Tashkent. But it should be our effort to mould reality to measure up to our hopes.

Our independence movement was based on non-violence and on the repudiation of methods of violence. In demanding an approach of peace and persuasion, I doubt if Gandhiji thought that we in India were more peaceful by nature. It was his belief that violent methods would greatly injure a nation so diverse as ours, confronted with such massive problems of poverty and ignorance. He believed also that for its survival mankind must eschew violence. Our outlook towards international affairs was well defined even before Independence.

On this anniversary of the Tashkent Declaration, I should like to reaffirm India's commitment to peace and peaceful methods of settling international differences. Despite the irreversible events of history, the future of the peoples of India and Pakistan demands co-operation. We share so many affinities. Our task is to build a better life for our peoples. Discord will weaken us both and retard our progress. We can prosper only if we live in amity.

This is the true meaning of the Tashkent Declaration. It is a pledge on the part of both countries to resolve their differences peacefully, in an atmosphere of friendliness, co-operation and trust.
paying tribute to Shastriji, a man of quiet greatness, let us this day reaffirm this resolve.

I have already publicly expressed my own and the Government's concern at the Soviet intention to supply arms to Pakistan. This concern has been voiced throughout the country. We have also conveyed our feelings and reactions to the Soviet Government.

Before I refer to the exchanges which have taken place between the Soviet Union and ourselves on this subject, I should like the House to bear in mind that international relations, as a whole, are in a particularly fluid state at the present time. The old landmarks, the rigid divisions between rival blocs, appear to be in the process of disintegration, although they have by no means disappeared. Every nation, whether member of a bloc or not, is trying to assert its own individuality in the conduct of its policies. The U.S.A. and the Soviet Union, conscious of the need to reduce the danger of a direct clash between them, are evidently reshaping their policies in accordance with the changing conditions. In these circumstances, our policy of peace and friendship with all, and of freedom to assess every issue on its merits while firmly upholding our own national independence and dignity, which is the essence of non-alignment, has been fully vindicated.

About three weeks ago, we received an indication from the Soviet Government of their intention to supply some military equipment to Pakistan. I wrote to Chairman Kosygin expressing our concern and pointing out the possible consequences and dangers of such a move.

We had explained to the Soviet Union that Pakistan had no reasonable justification to seek the augmentation of its armed strength. We also pointed out that Pakistan had received, by way of gift, vast quantities of arms and equipment between the years 1954 and 1955 as a member of military alliances. And, as we had apprehended, Pakistan did eventually use these against us.

The attention of the Soviet Government was also drawn to the fact that Pakistan was getting arms not only from her allies, but also from China, in large quantities. Inevitably, this accretion of strength had the effect of encouraging Pakistan in its intransigent and aggressive attitude towards India.

We further pointed out to the Soviet Union that Pakistan does not, in fact, face, external threat. During the last twenty years, Pakistan had committed aggression against us on three occasions. Pakistan is accumulating arms only for use against India. We also pointed to

Statement in Lok Sabha on the supply of Soviet arms to Pakistan, July 22, 1968
our successive offers of a no-war pact which Pakistan had repeatedly rejected. As for Pakistan's protestations of peaceful intentions, we have pointed out to the Soviet Union that in spite of the assurances given to us by the U.S.A., Pakistan was not inhibited in using American arms against India in the Kutch conflict, and subsequently in August 1965. The U.S.A. could not prevent it from so doing.

In these circumstances, we cannot but view with concern this further accretion of armed strength to Pakistan. The unavoidable consequence would be to accentuate tension in the sub-continent and to add to our responsibilities in regard to the defence and security of our country. It will make Pakistan even more intransigent than she has been. Indeed, some recent pronouncements made by leaders of the Pakistan Government confirm this.

The Soviet Union, like any other country, is entitled to form her own judgement as to where her interests lie and how to promote them. But we are bound to express our misgivings and apprehensions to the Soviet leaders in all frankness. We do not question either the motives or the good faith of the Soviet Union, but we are convinced that this development cannot promote the cause of peace and stability in the sub-continent.

The Soviet Union have reassured us regarding the firm foundations on which their friendship for our country is based. They have further assured us that they would not do anything to weaken friendship with our country or to injure our interests. They have also informed us that they have told the authorities in Pakistan that they will stand by their agreements with India and fulfil all their commitments to us.

The relations between India and the Soviet Union are many-sided. They embrace many fields of our national endeavour. The new development should therefore be seen in the context of the totality of these relations.

We have to face this development as it presents itself. We do not know whether the Soviet Union has yet formalised an agreement with Pakistan for the supply of arms, nor do we have indications of the quantum or character of these arms or the terms and conditions of their delivery.

As I have earlier said, we view this development with concern. I have no doubt that Parliament and the nation will react to the situation with composure and dignity. As always, the defence and security of the country will remain our paramount concern. We are confident that we can ensure this with the full support of a united people.
India and Argentina

May I thank you for the invitation which has given me the opportunity of meeting you and your colleagues and for the cordial welcome which I have received? This is an expression of the regard which the leaders and people of Argentina have for my country. We know of your great industrial progress and cultural attainments. Buenos Aires is not only the economic and industrial hub of this country but one of the great cultural capitals of the world, artistically astir and deeply interested in ideas.

India’s history stretches into several millennia. We have an old civilisation about which I am pleased to find there is knowledge and even some understanding in Latin America. The question before us is how the lessons of this old past can be made meaningful to the contemporary India, to the large number of young people who are being buffeted by the winds of change from many lands.

We are in several stages of transition—from feudalism to democracy, from a stagnating society to a modern, rational and scientific society. We believe colonialism to be evil, for it impoverishes and stunts growth. Both it did open the doors to a totally different culture. This gave stimulus to our yearning for freedom, to our desire to regain our dignity and to take our nation forward on the road to prosperity.

Mahatma Gandhi was a religious man even in the formal sense of the word, but he recognised that “the hungry man sees God in a piece of bread”. After wrestling independence in 1947, we took up the task of making freedom an economic reality for the common people of our country. We drew up a co-ordinated plan to fight poverty and to moderate our economy. But achievements lead to new problems. In life, it is unrealistic to think that a time can ever come when there will be no problems. Tagore prayed, “Let me not be sheltered from dangers but give me the strength to face them fearlessly.” We know that each new challenge will strengthen our will and determination.

We are engaged in rebuilding India, and in so doing, we are dedicated to the doctrine of change through consent. The counterpart

From speech at lunch given by President Juan Carlos Ongania of Argentina, Buenos Aires, September 30, 1968.
of consent within is goodwill abroad. The makers of modern India, Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, evolved a philosophy in which the home and the world are not in conflict, in which nationalism and internationalism complement each other. We have always regarded our own struggle as part of the larger human struggle to end suffering.

Freedom for us meant the ability to develop our resources for the welfare of our people. It also meant that we would be heard with respect in international politics and contribute to human progress.

In spite of our constant efforts to promote peace and develop friendly relations with all countries, we have had problems with two of our neighbours. We have been subjected to unprovoked aggression four times since Independence. China continues to follow a policy of hostility towards us and tries to subvert some of our people. We are confident in the strength and solidarity of our people, and we shall repel all such attempts. Our own objective is to devote all available resources to the development of our economy and to assure a better life to our people, but we cannot ignore the threat to our security and we need, therefore, to maintain adequate military preparedness to defend ourselves.

We share common problems with other developing countries. I believe that the people of South America, Asia and Africa have a common stake in the defence of our common interests. Argentina and India differ in many ways but in certain areas there is similarity of views. We appreciate your decision to work for the narrowing of the gap between the developed and developing countries. You have much to give to others. Until we can conquer new worlds we must learn to live together in this one, and co-existence can be meaningful only with co-operation. Co-operation cannot limit itself or be parcelled in neat packets.

Our policy has been to promote friendships to blunt hostilities. We do believe that all nations, whatever their beliefs, should pledge non-interference in others' internal affairs, and refrain from the use of force to settle disputes. I should like to express the warm gratitude of our people for the support which you gave us in our hour of trouble.

To use a stock phrase in diplomatic vocabulary, there are no issues between Argentina and India. We are united in a common endeavour of reducing the tensions and inequalities in the world. I am sure this visit gives us an opportunity to forge greater co-operation between us in this endeavour.

There is room and need for greater economic and technical co-operation between us in many areas of economic activity in which the experience gathered by each will help the other.

In the realm of the mind there can be no self-sufficiency. This
morning I was glad to pay homage to the founder of your own nation, the illustrious San Martin. A great contemporary of his was Ram- Mohun Roy. This unusual man was the promulgator of the Indian renaissance. He wrote to the Government of France in 1825, "All mankind is one great family, of which numerous nations and tribes existing are only various branches." Mankind can progress only if all barriers to the meeting of minds and the flow of ideas are removed, and every country can contribute to the progress of the whole human race.

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ONLY A SEER could think of asking the world to make a home in a single nest. That was Tagore's motto for Visva-Bharati. He gave Visva-Bharati life and purpose. He envisaged it not merely as a university but as a meeting place for individuals from all countries.

It was indeed a privilege to visit your stately house yesterday. It is a place of beauty and of great warmth of spirit. It bore the mark of your personality. As we saw the tokens of your friendships with some of the great minds of our times, we felt that we were brushing shoulders with history. You have done much to bring India to Argentina.

Madam Ocampo, you are a citizen of the world. But we always feel that you belong to us, specially to Visva-Bharati. Last year the University formally conferred a degree on you so that it could have the privilege of counting you amongst its valued alumni. The staff and students were disappointed at not having you amongst them at the traditional ceremony in Tagore's beloved mango-grove. Visva-Bharati has come to your door, Madam, as the Poet came to your house forty years ago. The degree presented to you in Santiniketan is not merely in memory of the treasure island you offered to the Poet when he came here, but in appreciation of your great love for India and your great service to the life and literature of Argentina.

In recognition of her great qualities and achievements, I, as the Acharya of Visva-Bharati, confer on Shrimati Victoria Ocampo the degree of Desikottama (Doctor of Literature).

From remarks at the presentation of the honorary degree of Doctor of Literature on behalf of Visva-Bharati to Madam Victoria Ocampo, Buenos Aires, September 30, 1968.
Indo-Australian Co-operation

I wonder if any two countries could be as different as Australia and India. More than the distance in miles of ocean, what separates them is their history and their culture and the entirely different problems which they have had to face. The Australians came as pioneers. They had nowhere to look but ahead. It was no wonder then that they put all their energy in opening up the land and worked hard towards prosperity. India, with her burden of tradition, poverty and colonial rule, had no option but to struggle for independence. We realised only too well that political freedom was but the first stage, and that it could not be preserved or have meaning for the vast mass of our people unless it was backed by economic self-reliance.

But now modern technology has telescoped distances and made us next-door neighbours. Australia has kept up the pioneering spirit and India's endeavour to skip many stages of development and enter the age of modernity has made her young again. We can say that we are both vibrant democracies. The changing pattern of the Asian scene has created a situation in which there is room and need for co-operation between us in our mutual interest and for the welfare of the region. In 1947, while welcoming the observers from Australia to the Asian Relations Conference, my father said, "We have many problems in common especially in the Pacific and the South-East region of Asia and we have to co-operate together to find solutions." The most promising and positive initiative we can take is by assisting nations in South-East Asia through free dissemination of the advanced knowledge of science and technologies which we have acquired. We would welcome Indo-Australian collaboration in such programmes.

We are engaged in a tremendous country-wide endeavour to make our economy self-sustaining. Of the total investment made since Independence, only 20 per cent has come from external sources. Most of it is tied assistance. The major burden has been and must be shouldered by the Indian people themselves. While we need and we have been receiving assistance, we have also been donors and have given help to friendly countries.

It is no longer possible for a nation to remain part rich and part poor. Even the most advanced countries are making this discovery. The problem is a national as well as an international one. Those who have been underprivileged are impatient to change their condition and to have a better life, which they know that science and technology can bring within their reach. The question before the advanced

From speech at lunch given by Prime Minister J. G. Gorton of Australia, Canberra, May 22, 1968
nations is not whether they can afford to help the developing nations but whether they can afford not to do so. Many years ago our poet Tagore wrote, "The weak are as great a danger for the strong as quicksand is for the elephant."

We are glad that Australia has given a lead to other developed countries in extending preferences to some items of export goods of the developing countries. We hope that other developed countries will follow this example.

Development in trade can best be promoted in conditions of international stability and peace. India seeks peace and friendship with all countries, especially her neighbours. It has distressed us greatly that our relations with two of our neighbours have not been good. External aggressions have compelled us to divert valuable resources to defence. We remain committed to peace but shall not submit to pressure from any quarter. At the same time, we shall always keep open the door for reconciliation which is honourable to both sides.

Australia looks out on the world in two directions. On the one side lies the Indian Ocean and the developing monsoon lands of Asia. On the other lies the Pacific and the affluent 'new world'. Australia does not have to choose between these two worlds. It can act as a bridge between them. We are glad that it is doing so.

South-East Asia is underdeveloped but has enormous potential. The quality and pace of the progress of each nation will depend on its own effort. The solution of one set of problems invariably poses new ones. The world situation is changing; new forces are at work, posing new challenges and offering new opportunities. There is already a new drive towards regional co-operation. We welcome this.

It is our conviction that the best safeguard for the independence, integrity and stability of the area lies in nationalism, nationalism not in the narrow chauvinistic sense but in its true spirit of patriotism, that is the establishment of popular governments which are able to meet the urges and aspirations of their peoples. Progressive nationalism and economic development are the best guarantees against subversive pressures from outside. Some countries are understandably concerned about security. It should be possible to allay their anxiety by providing international guarantees for the neutrality and independence of this troubled area.

May I clarify India's attitude to the draft Non-proliferation Treaty. We are glad that in spite of other difficulties the United States and the U.S.S.R. have reached some agreement on the Non-proliferation Treaty. We have no desire to come in the way of those who wish to sign the Treaty. However, we do note that the Treaty will not bind all nuclear powers. Among the non-signatories is a neighbour which is not subjected to the United Nations. We also find that the Treaty
does not restrict or prevent the vertical proliferation of nuclear weapons. Nor does it take any real steps towards disarmament. We feel that it does not add to our security. In fact, the Non-proliferation Treaty creates one more division in the world, that between the nuclear weapon powers and the non-nuclear weapon powers. We ourselves seek to use nuclear energy only for peaceful purposes.

I am charmed and impressed by what I have seen here in Canberra. I am looking forward to seeing more. Australia is a living symbol of the endurance and perseverance of man and his indomitable spirit. It is a land of achievement as well as of promise and hope, May I end with a favourite prayer from one of our oldest scriptures—the Rig Veda:

May I be able to look upon all beings with the eye of a friend.
May we look upon one another with the eye of a friend.

* * *

What a wonderful opportunity I have been given to reach out to you in your homes. Many of you, individually and collectively, have written to welcome me to Australia. I wish I could have met all of you during my brief and exciting visit to your beautiful country where I have been surrounded by so much friendship.

My first visit to this continent has been something of a voyage of discovery. I shall return with pleasant memories of a young, forward-looking country. It is easy to understand why your sportsmen have won international fame. But now I see that Australia is going ahead in other fields also, such as music, the fine arts, literature, commerce and industry.

May I in return tell you something about India. It is a land of vast dimensions and the home of many races, religions and languages. There are varying levels of development. In fact almost every century of human civilisation is represented. Yet, underlying all this is a fundamental unity.

The story of modern India really begins with her struggle for independence. We had no quarrel with the British people but only with foreign rule. It was rather a unique struggle, for it was fought without weapons by peaceful methods. Mahatma Gandhi led us to freedom. My father consolidated that freedom and laid firm foundations for our democracy and development on a planned basis. His extensive tours were undertaken to educate our people and to put them in touch with rational thinking and with political, economic and social developments all over the world. It was he who insisted, in spite of opposition, on

retaining our link with Commonwealth, thus giving it a wider significance.

After Independence there was a debate whether it was possible to have adult franchise in so vast a country, especially since the population was largely illiterate. But our four general elections have been held in peaceful conditions and 66 per cent of our men and women have voted. This proves the political maturity of our voters and the fact that democracy has real meaning for them. Democracy in India does not stop in Parliament or the State Assemblies but goes down to our elected village, inter-village and district councils.

We are a secular State which is not identified with, or controlled by, any one religion. This does not mean that we are indifferent to religion. We are pledged to protect the teachings of all the great religions which have made India their home. Although the majority community is Hindu, we have 60 million Muslims, 12 million Christians, 10 million Sikhs, besides Jews, Buddhists and others. Tolerance and respect for all religions is an ancient tradition. Today it is more than ever necessary for our unity and stability.

Socialism is a much misunderstood word. A people steeped in poverty are naturally impatient for an ending of disparities and for the opportunity of a better life. Many projects have to be taken in hand. Development cannot be left to the mercy of market forces. Nor is it feasible for the private individual or group to finance the vast investments involved. State intervention is, therefore, necessary. And we must fulfil our pledge to give social and economic justice to our people.

When we talk of India today, with what shall we compare her? Surely not with the advanced nations of the world or some of the countries that have received such large measures of per capita aid from them. The India of 1947 was very poor—industrially backward and still using the same antiquated agricultural methods that had been practised for a thousand years. But today she is pulsating with new life.

We launched our first Five Year Plan in 1951. We have now completed three successive Five Year Plans. These formulated co-ordinated schemes of development. To give a few examples: since 1947 we have increased agricultural production by 73 per cent and industrial production by 162 per cent. Steel production has increased from 1.4 million tonnes to 7 million tonnes. India today produces and exports steel rails, railway wagons and locomotives, computer parts, radio-isotopes, heavy machinery, machine-tools and other sophisticated products. We produce motor-cars, heavy trucks, jet planes, ocean-going vessels. We have also raised life expectancy from 30 years to 52 years. Malaria, which took a toll of a million lives every
With President de Gaulle during her visit to France, March 1966

With the British Prime Minister in London, April 1966
At the Lenin Mausoleum during her visit to the Soviet Union, July 1966.
With President Johnson during her visit to the U.S.A., March 1966
Receiving the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws at Waseda University, Tokyo, June 27, 1969
With Madam Victoria Ocampo after presenting her the honorary degree of Doctor of Literature on behalf of Visva-Bharati University at Buenos Aires, September 30, 1968

At a state banquet, Brazilia, September 24, 1968
(Above) During her visit to Venezuela, October 1968.

(Above) During her visit to Colombia, October 1968.

(Left) During her visit to Uruguay, September 1968.

With the President of Italy during her visit to that country, October 1968.
Addressing a public meeting in Georgetown during a visit to Guyana, October 1968

At a reception during her visit to Trinidad and Tobago, October 1968
year, has been almost completely eradicated. We realise that we have still a long way to go. But our people are determined and they will not rest until they have fulfilled their goals. It is a continuing effort and a test of our ability to make good under a peaceful and democratic system. We have three targets: to become self-sufficient in food by 1971, to halve foreign assistance by 1973, to reduce the birth-rate by 40 per cent within a decade.

We believe that a stable and self-reliant India will add to the peace and prosperity of this region. Similarly, a prosperous and stable Asia would strengthen our own peace and progress. This is the aim of our policy of peaceful co-existence and non-alignment. Non-alignment is not a policy of weakness or of sitting on the fence. Non-alignment means the assessment of each issue on its merits in our national interest and in the larger interest of world peace. When India became free, the world was divided into two hostile blocs. Today, we find that alignments are dissolving or changing and an increasing number of countries can be said to be non-aligned.

Some countries may fear that the withdrawal of the military presence of the big powers may threaten their security. This apprehension is understandable. But we think that the best safeguard against such threats is to strengthen the economic independence and political stability of each country of this region. We feel that the doctrine of 'spheres of influence' and 'balance of power' are no longer valid.

The forces of nationalism are strong in Asia and should be further strengthened. It is thus in the interest of these countries as well as of the big powers to help them to build their economies and to decide what form of government and what social system they want.

My talks with your Prime Minister and his colleagues have been fruitful. I have been privileged to meet leading personalities in other parts of Australia. I have been deeply touched by the warmth and cordiality which has surrounded me. The Government and the people of Australia believe in peace and peaceful co-operation. Yours is a great country. By working together with each other and with the other countries of this region, regardless of their social, political or economic ideologies, Australia and India can help to bring peace, prosperity and stability to this important area.

We are glad that our relations are becoming closer and that our collaboration in various fields—agriculture, industry, trade, science and technology—is increasing. Our bilateral co-operation is to mutual advantage.

There is vast scope for the development of our trade, for joint ventures and for pooling our knowledge and experience. India has already undertaken more than forty joint ventures in the past few years in various countries of Asia and Africa.
The world has become a small place and ours is a common neighbourhood. About a year ago, I saw some pictures of the earth taken from a satellite 23,000 miles out in space. The oceans appeared to join the continents, not to separate them. My visit to Australia has confirmed this impression.

The main purpose of my visit was to learn about Australia and to get to know the Australian people. Knowledge leads to understanding and understanding leads to friendship. Hardly any two persons can agree on all points. My father used to talk about seeking out areas of agreement and enlarging them.

I have talked of serious matters, but I hope the picture of India in your mind is one of promise and confidence. It is a country which has colour and gaiety and much that is beautiful and interesting.

As I leave your country, I take pleasant memories of the friendship and warmth which you have extended to me, my people and my country, and I welcome you to India. There you will find equal friendship and warmth in the hearts of my people. May I say goodbye and hope to see you soon.

Visit to Brazil

Although direct political relations between us were established only after we attained freedom, we have had indirect contacts for four centuries. The Portuguese, who were the first Europeans to reach these shores, were also the first Europeans to find the sea-route to India. They had a small colony in our land, and they and other Europeans transformed the economic map of my country by introducing many plants from the new world—groundnuts, maize, chillies, tobacco, cinchona and rubber. In turn, I think, they brought to you some plants from our part of the world.

Today we have an opportunity to bring about similar mutual enrichment in other areas. Even though we might be classified as developing countries, our two people have many skills and insights to offer each other. We have both grown through our gift of finding concord and harmony amongst diverse elements. Co-operation between us should therefore be easier. We welcome visits and exchanges of artists, intellectuals, engineers, industrial leaders and agricultural scientists between our two countries.

Speech at lunch given by President Artur da Costa e Silva of Brazil, Brazilia, September 24, 1968.
In Madam Costa e Silva I have found a kindred soul, for, we have a common interest and that is the welfare of children. These young people are the builders of tomorrow and it is in the measure that we can help them to be good citizens that we will secure our future.

My discussions here have been stimulating. you are engaged in a great endeavour—the building of a resplendent Brazil worthy of its natural endowment and worthy of the genius of its people. In India we are similarly engaged. India is changing, but we are determined to maintain our Indianess. We believe that development should mean an unfolding and not alteration of personality. But what indeed is development? Making a country strong, making it economically self-reliant, taking gold out of the earth and minerals more priced than gold, manufacturing automobiles or even spacecraft? It is all this and something far more vital and important, and that something is maturity and dignity and the ability to live at peace with oneself. A country cannot be truly at peace or truly develop when any section of its people are denied the opportunity to evolve to their full potentiality and make their contribution to the progress of their nation and the world.

Here in Brazilia, city of the future, one cannot but think on a grand scale. This city has fascinated me. Here one is intensely conscious of man's faith in his destiny. The future does not come on its own. Man wills it and he dares and he builds. We who have built new industries, when there were many who doubted our capacity, know how much courage this requires. Confidence in the future is another quality which Brazil and India share.

In the olden days, travellers from the East took silk, pearls and incense with them to the countries they visited. Today, I bring something which I think is more valuable—the friendship of a whole nation and their ardent wish to strengthen that friendship. I invite you Mr. President to open a bridge today, a bridge of goodwill and friendship which has been built across two mighty oceans. May I propose a toast to your health and happiness, Mr. President, to the fulfilment of your visions and to the flowering of Indo-Brazilian friendship?

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Your invitation has made possible the fulfilment of a long-cherished wish to come to this fascinating country. I am touched by the warmth of the hospitality which you, your Government and your people, have so generously extended to me.

This is my first visit, but I was not unacquainted with Brazil, for

From speech at banquet given by President Artur da Costa e Silva of Brazil. Brazilia, September 24, 1968
it has made a mark in many spheres of activity. I have admired the wide tolerance and quality of your society and the creativeness of your people. But the knowledge we have of countries through newspapers, books or ambassadors' reports does not give the fullness of understanding which personal visits and discussions can provide.

Mr. President, I have come a long way in search of understanding and to exchange ideas with you and your distinguished colleagues. I have come to express to you, and through you, to your people, our sincere desire to strengthen and extend the friendly relations which already exist between our two countries.

The warmth of the sentiments which Your Excellency has expressed in your gracious speech tonight assures me that we can look forward to co-operation in many areas of our respective national endeavour and in the larger interest of peace and stability in the world.

May I take this opportunity, Mr. President, of telling you something about my own country and sharing our hopes and aspirations with you?

Nations, like individuals, live in the light of their experience. India has an unbroken continuity with a past which stretches to several millennia. Our political and social systems, the values which sustain us and the ideals which inspire us are rooted in our heritage and tradition. We are fortunate that, as Tagore says, "India has saved through tumultuous ages the living words that have issued from the illuminated consciousness of her great sons."

It is significant that the years before Independence were the darkest in our history, yet they produced a galaxy of great and good men, vastly different in birth, upbringing and interest. They were religious and social reformers, men of science, literature and public affairs. They were bound together only by their passionate love for India and by their smouldering anger at her subjugation and humiliation. Each was appalled by the contrast of this poverty with the richness of resources and the creativeness of the people. The rebirth of India is due to the men who rediscovered and re-interpreted our sources of strength. All were passionately concerned with the full flowering of the genius of our people.

The basic elements of our world outlook are derived as much from the ethos of our civilisation as from the understanding of our interests today. Democracy was not new to India, for we have long had elected village councils. But now we imbued it with a wider social purpose and it has endured, despite the enormous complexities of our situation. Peace too has been a way of life for us not only because it is good in itself but because it is the base for all advancement and achievement. In the ideological confusion of our age, we
have made constant effort to find a middle path. We are deeply con-
vinced that the realities of the world today dictate the need for peace-
ful co-existence.

The lack of adequate resources is a malady from which we all suf-
fier. This inhibits our capacity to implement even top priority projec-
t. International forums concern themselves with co-operation be-
tween and help from the developed to the developing countries. We
looked for help to achieve true economic freedom. But our people
are now asking questions. Is the present pattern of aid being re-
garded as repayable charity or, perhaps, an investment for political
support? We are chary of these new bonds which might increase
our dependence on dominant economies. Widening disparities be-
tween the developed and developing countries are giving rise to dis-
satisfaction, frustration and bitterness in large parts of the world.
We are convinced that there is urgent need for a global strategy of
development and an integral programme of international co-opera-
tion.

Mr, President, we should like to enter into sincere and friendly
co-operation with Brazil. Significant beginnings have been made.
Your Minister of External Affairs signed the first ever trade agreement
between our two countries when he visited India earlier this year. I
know that he has been giving personal attention to further steps to
enhance commercial exchanges.

In the cultural field also, there are many possibilities for us to draw
closer together. We have many cultural affinities. Brazil has a
symbiosis of widely divergent ethnic elements. From time immemo-
rial India has been a haven for refugees. All the great religions of
the world are found in India and are widely practised, and people wonder
at the spirit of religious tolerance. Romain Rolland thought that his
was possible because of the cosmic nature of our religion and the com-
posite nature of our civilisation. Christianity came to India not long
after Crucifixion. Of our 12 million Christians, some claim descent
from those baptised by the Apostle, St. Thomas. We take pride in
this unity amidst diversity. In creating one people out of several races,
we have included the concept of a secular State in which there is
seem to have done in this great country; we have also tried to promote
an organic unity of different races on the basis of an egalitarian
society, free from any discrimination or privilege. In our Constitution
we have included the concept of a secular State in which there is
respect for all religions and all citizens are equal before the law. This
is why we are resolutely opposed to self-determination for parts of
sovereign independent countries and to the exploitation of religious
groups for political expediency.

I am convinced that the realities of the changing world political
situation will compel us all to think beyond the narrow confines of our national pre-occupations. That is the only hope of orderly and peaceful progress.

Having so recently fought for our own freedom, we stand consistently for the principle of the independence of nations. We believe that no country should interfere in the internal affairs of another; nor should force or duress be used in deciding territorial and other disputes between nations. Whenever we have seen these principles violated or the Charter rights of small nations denied, we have not hesitated to raise our voice in protest. We have done so in the recent past. We hope that departures from these principles will not lead to more serious consequences and that the processes of detente and the relaxation of tension will not be reversed. The detente we seek is based not on the acceptance of spheres of influence but on a just world order.

We hope that the new and massive measures for rearmament now afoot will not overwhelm the few faltering and tentative steps which have been taken towards disarmament. We are against the proliferation of nuclear weapons. But we do insist that a Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty should not inhibit the development of nuclear technology for peaceful purposes. The vast resources and expanding knowledge at our command could wipe out hunger and want. Instead, they are being dissipated. The position of Brazil and India on this question is close. We trust that our co-operation in this field, as in others, will continue.

In the meantime we struggle against poverty and superstition, for we know that they stunt the growth of the country and create tensions in society. The adventure of building a new India is an exciting one. We seek new ways, new patterns capable of absorbing the tensions of development and yet flexible enough to take us towards enlightened living, discarding any mistaken values of acquisitive societies; discarding also that in our past which is no longer relevant, yet preserving our abiding values and imbuing them with the modern scientific and humanist temper.

All the world over there is crisis and questioning. For all his progress, man, and especially the young, are restless. It is the old search for harmony between the inner man and his ever-changing outer environment. We are partners in this search.

May I conclude with a prayer which our ancient sages composed 3,000 years ago:

Let us have concord with our own people,
And concord with the people who are strangers to us.
May we unite in our minds, unite in our purpose,
And not fight against the divine spirit within.
Mr. Chairman, we are happy to have you in our midst. Your visit marks one more important stage in the growing friendship between our two peoples. When I visited your beautiful country a little more than a year ago, I gained a fuller appreciation of the spirit of your great people, of your own dynamic and purposeful leadership, and of the need for strengthening the relations between our two nations. I was impressed by the rapid progress made by Bulgaria in industry in agriculture, in promotion of tourism and in social services.

Much has happened since we last met and the world picture is fast changing. The recent remarkable achievements in space travel have evoked world-wide admiration and wonder. A greater knowledge of the universe will enable man to know his world better. We hope that the knowledge so gained will be used for the welfare of humanity as a whole, and for the betterment of the vast numbers of those who are still underprivileged.

Compared to these achievements, we are far behind in the scientific field. However, in a few months we shall be commissioning the first of our atomic power stations. We believe in utilising atomic energy only for peaceful purposes and to improve the lot of our people. We are striving hard to increase our production and to strengthen our industrial base.

Your tour of our country will take you to some of our new industrial cities and centres of technology. Little by little great changes are being brought about. Yet, such is the size of our population and the magnitude of our problems of development that we can only claim to have laid the basis for modernisation and progress. My father once spoke of ours as a generation sentenced to hard labour. The term of the sentence has still to run out. We must continue to work hard so that we can achieve deliverance from poverty, as twenty-two years ago we achieved freedom from colonial bondage.

Knowledge should lead to greater understanding and tolerance, but, unfortunately, we find that out-dated ideas of racial superiority and of spheres of influence still persist and economic disparities continue to widen.

The two major problems which confront the world and which we discussed previously still remain unsolved. They are Vietnam and West Asia. We are glad that some progress has been made in Paris and we hope that serious negotiations will now begin for peaceful settle-
ment of the tragic conflict in Vietnam within the broad framework of the Geneva Agreements of 1954.

We must register our regret at the distress and aggressiveness which continue to plague the situation in West Asia. The battle of peace cannot be waged by one side making all the concessions. We hope that reason will prevail and that another outbreak of hostilities will be avoided. Our two countries are one in supporting the efforts of the United Nations to find an amicable solution of the problems arising out of the conflict of June 1967. The U.S.S.R. and France have taken some initiative. We trust that this initiative will broaden the idea of co-operation in support of the Jarring Mission.

In these circumstances, the relevance of the policies of co-existence and non-alignment needs to be re-stated. We believe in peaceful co-existence with other countries, irrespective of their social and ideological systems. We do not covet the territory of others. We believe that non-interference in the affairs of other countries is one of the corner-stones of the policy of peaceful co-existence and that force should not be used as a means for settling disputes. We are ceaselessly striving for meaningful international co-operation. Without such co-operation, the world will plunge into old and new divisions; suspicions and rivalries will increase; and power politics, which is basically out of date will have a new lease of life. We are also deeply committed to the policy of non-alignment because we believe that it serves the cause of peace and economic development.

For the family of developing nations to which we belong, a peaceful world is a necessity. But peace does not merely mean the absence of conflict. Peace stands for economic co-operation between countries and bilateral assistance programmes, so that people can achieve the economic prosperity and social justice which is their due. Bulgaria and India already have a number of bilateral agreements on trade, cultural exchange and technical and scientific co-operation and we hope this co-operation will grow and get stronger.

India and Chile

I have come to your beautiful country from half-a-world away to cement the bonds between Chile and India. We have known of Chile as a distant land, mothered by the Andes, engaged, like ourselves, in

Speech at banquet given by President Don Eduardo Frei Montalva of Chile, Santiago, October 2, 1968.
the task of building a modern, democratic and egalitarian society. Chile and the Americas have known a great past.

My visit is intended to acquire a personal understanding of your country and its people, of your endeavour and aspirations and, if I may, to tell you something about India and our own dreams for the future.

The 2nd of October is a special day for us. Ninety-nine years ago on this day was born a man who, like a gust of wind, swept off the dust of apathy and acceptance of injustice, transformed fear into courage and humiliation into determination. He shook the very foundations of a mighty empire. We call Mahatma Gandhi the Father of our Nation. The message he gave us was as old as the Indian philosophy. It was the message of non-violence, of religious tolerance and unity. My father called him a magician. His magic lay in his complete identification with the Indian people, the vast majority of whom were peasants. He anticipated and gave voice to their innermost feelings and at the same time guided and disciplined them. As has been said of another great man, he was the crest of the wave but the people themselves were the wave. A master of strategy, his very simplicity baffled his opponents.

Mahatma Gandhi's ideas emanated from our ancient tradition. His methods and strategy were evolved to meet the situation pertaining in pre-Independence India. Death has not brought his work to an end. On the contrary, it is only now that people in different parts of the world are beginning to evaluate and comprehend his life and the relevance of his message to their own lives and times. His ideas and his mission live on. At the time of his assassination, our great poetess, Sarojini Naidu, called out in anguish—asking his soul not to rest but to spur us on to greater effort in our struggle to give reality to his dreams for India. We salute him. We know that the light he gave us will continue to illumine our path.

Twenty years have passed, twenty years of extraordinary difficulties and of unimaginable crises. The age-old problems of poverty and economic backwardness remain. Added to them are the new problems of development and change. We were indeed fortunate that during our most difficult formative years we were privileged to have the leadership of a man of phenomenal popularity, stature and wide vision of Jawaharlal Nehru, a man passionately devoted to India, her civilisation and her freedom; a man deeply dedicated to the ideals preached by Mahatma Gandhi, but equally determined to take India forward to modernity, so that she could strengthen and give meaning to her freedom and hold her own amongst nations. He channelled, the independence movement into fields of national construction and welfare and international co-operation. He laid firm foundations
of our democracy, initiated social change and guided our steps towards industrial development. He built institutions for scientific research and for the renaissance of our arts and literature. And all the time he travelled widely the length and breadth of our vast country, explaining his ideas, bringing the modern world of change, of science and rationalism to our people.

In Europe and the United States, the industrial revolution added to the economic capacity of the countries before ideas of the common people's right to welfare gained momentum. Thus, when these demands were made, the means to satisfy them were available. In India, the process was reversed. Political awakening came first, then democracy and then the struggle for economic development. We must balance the needs of growth with the needs of social justice.

In free India, laws and customs which discriminated against persons on grounds of sex, race or religion, have been abolished. Special facilities and incentives are offered to help the under-privileged sections and tribal people. Disparities within a country create intolerance and violence. Disparities between nations also lead to tensions and crises. The growing technological disparity between the developed and the developing countries causes grave concern. The time has come for nations to work together to free mankind from hunger, disease and ignorance. We believe in the need of a global strategy for development. Foreign aid tries to meet the needs of the developing countries to some extent. But because it is used for political influence, it creates problems. Co-operation amongst developing countries can strengthen them and enable them to withstand these pressures.

There is similarity between Chile and India in their domestic policies and their international outlook. They have worked closely together in the United Nations and other international forums. I hope this co-operation will endure and grow.

Visit to Colombia

My short stay in Bogota has been full of varied experiences. To all lovers of freedom, particularly to those who have had the privilege of participating in the liberation struggle of their people, the name of Simon Bolivar is known. He is a hero to us no less than to

From speech at banquet given by President Carlos Lleras Restrepo of Colombia, Bogota, October 9, 1968
you. So, visiting his house had a special meaning for me. I remem-
ber his words that "to hesitate is to perish". On another occasion,
he remarked, "A people who love freedom will in the end be free."
This same sentiment was uttered in another age by Mahatma Gandhi
who told us that if we considered ourselves free men and women, we
would be free from alien domination.

Another visit, that to the Museum of Gold, brought vividly alive
to me the history of this land in the pre-Columbian period. In your
speech, Sir, you have referred to Indian history and civilisation.
We value our philosophy and ancient thought and I am pleased to
learn of the interest it has evoked here. We are known here as a
spiritual people. Actually we are no more spiritual and no less mate-
rialistic than others. Indeed we could not have advanced in the ancient
times had there not been good organisation and technological base.
It is true however that our great religious and other leaders have
upheld the values of tolerance and goodness towards all and we have
tried to embody these in our policies, both at home and abroad.

My father once remarked, "Nothing is more advantageous and
credible than a rich heritage. But nothing is more dangerous
for a nation than to sit back and live on that heritage. A nation can-
not progress if it merely imitates its ancestors. What builds a nation
is creative incentive and vital activity."

The past is a source of
strength to us but it is important for people to know the present-day
India, her vast problems and the tremendous effort she is making to
solve them. Kinship and friendship can only be built out of ties with
the present-day India.

Colombia has just played host to the Eucharistic Congress which
was attended by His Holiness the Pope. The last Eucharistic Cong-
ress was held in Bombay, where His Holiness the Pope was received
and revered equally by Christians and by people of other religions as
well. Equal respect for all religions is an old tradition in India and
our secularism enshrines this tradition.

Mr. President, you have been kind enough to refer to my words
about the need for unity. Unity is the base of a nation's independence
and progress. In a country as diverse as India we must constantly
work for concord amongst different groups, classes and regions by
approaching the problems with sympathy.

The eradication of poverty, the mitigation of disparities, and the
achievement of economic self-reliance have been our principal objec-
tives. We must increase production, strengthen the strategic sectors
of our economy and effect structural changes so that economic power
is wielded by the community as a whole. We have undertaken a plan-

ned programme of economic and social development. Four-fifth of the
investment required for this gigantic endeavour has come from all
sections of our own people. The other fifth has come as aid from the advanced countries. This one-fifth is crucial because it represents the transfer of technology which is essential for development.

This foreign aid is in a sense a system of financial credits for the purchase of equipment and know-how, but the aid-giving countries do not always see aid in the larger historical perspective. The terms of trade for the primary products exported by the developing countries have steadily worsened. That is why the developing countries would like to see development financed more and more through equitable trade policies than through aid as such.

Colombia and other Latin American countries have similar views in this regard and we have worked closely in the U.N. Conferences on Trade and Development. I believe that there is scope for developing countries to improve economic exchange among themselves, complementing one another's economies through bilateral and multilateral arrangements. Such co-operation will enable them to resist pressures from outside.

Happily, the relations between Colombia and India are friendly and are not marred by any problems. In our times no country is distant and in a way we have all become one world and are close neighbours. The countries of Latin America are trying to raise the living standards of their peoples. In India, we have been following these efforts with great interest. In this endeavour, India is one with you and we should like to exchange our experience with yours.

Mr. President, under your far-sighted leadership, Colombia is endeavouring to strengthen her democratic structure and bring prosperity to the common people, which is no easy task in today's rapidly changing world. I appreciate and value the understanding which you have shown of our problems. The bonds of friendship between us can be made more meaningful and purposeful with increased exchange in the educational, scientific, technical and cultural fields. We can and should work closer together in international forums. There is also considerable scope for the development of commerce and trade. I hope that in the coming years, our contacts will be further developed and will strengthen the friendship and co-operation between our two countries.

I have had the privilege of addressing the two Houses of your Parliament and of having long and frank talks with you, Mr. President, and your colleagues. These conversations have enabled me to understand Colombia's problems and achievements. We have also come to have high respect for your knowledge, wisdom, humanity and dedication.
Welcome to the German Chancellor

IT IS A PRIVILEGE and pleasure to have with us this evening our distinguished guests from the Federal Republic of Germany, Chancellor Keisinger and Frau Keisinger. I welcome you on behalf of the Government and people of India. We appreciate your coming to visit our country from half a world away.

We welcome you not merely as the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany but as a person who has always evinced interest in our country. We have followed your career with interest from the day you arrived in Bonn after giving up your distinguished career in the legal profession in Tubingen. We are sure that the Federal Republic will make continued progress under your leadership and that this visit will further strengthen the relations between our two countries.

The Germany of Goethe and Schiller, of Immanuel Kant and Beethoven has inspired our intellectuals, as it has millions of people in all parts of the world. Baden-Wurttemberg, from where you come, Sir, has a special association for us. It was at Stuttgart, the capital of Baden-Wurttemberg, that the Indian tricolour was first unfurled in 1912. For me, personally, that part of Germany has cherished and poignant memories, as it was not far from there in Badenweiler that my mother spent her last months in 1935.

Although it was only after we achieved independence that we developed political and economic ties, for decade before that we had profound cultural interaction. It would not be an exaggeration to say that no European nation made a greater attempt to discover and understand the ancient wisdom of India than Germany did. The reason is obvious. Philosophical inquiry is the fundamental basis of the genius of your people, which those famous last words of Goethe, "Light, more light", sum up so completely. Goethe's sensitive spirit responded instinctively to Sanskrit literature. It was the work of German scholars, notably Max Mueller, that enabled us in our turn to rediscover ourselves.

During the last twenty years, our relations have been diversified. There is a great deal of mobility not merely in trade and commerce but also in men and ideas. Like the rest of the world, India is changing and undergoing a series of transformations as it moves from one stage to another in her journey from traditionalism to modernity. There is a fascinating and sometimes frustrating interplay between the chang-

Speech at dinner in honour of Chancellor George Keisinger of the Federal Republic of Germany, New Delhi, November 20, 1967
ing and the unchanging, the dynamic and the static. But the pace of this change is not fast enough. The work that remains is immeasurably greater than anything we have yet achieved. Development is more complex than the subtlest economist had imagined even a generation ago. I take this opportunity of acknowledging the great sympathy and assistance we have received from the people of Germany in our efforts to create a new India.

A wide gulf of poverty separates us from the richer and industrially advanced nations. Poverty is both an absolute and a relative concept. Either way, it is painful and disturbing and the world will not be free of trouble until this gulf is narrowed. Over the last decade, disparities have actually widened and continue to do so. This is perhaps the most difficult of the problems which statesmen must recognise and solve. I sincerely hope that the forthcoming United Nations Conference on Trade and Development will find practical solutions to the problem.

We recognise that material prosperity cannot be an end in itself, for it solves only one-half of man's problems. Power has to be tempered by restraint as mere affluence will corrode unless it is allied with culture. I have no doubt that, in this quest also, the people of India and Germany can and will co-operate.

In India, we remain totally committed not merely to the democratic framework within which we are trying to work out our destiny, but also to giving the highest priority in the allocation of resources to the development of our economy, in particular of agriculture. Without being unduly optimistic, I think I would be right in saying that we have got some measure of our problems and the manner in which these can be solved.

Concerned as we are with the problem of providing liberty, national dignity and bread to our people, we cannot but sense a growing disquiet at the present international situation. Our own commitment to peace and peaceful co-existence remains firm.

Mr. Chancellor, this afternoon we met and had useful discussions on many matters of mutual interest and current concern. I have spoken here of less tangible matters because these are the warp and woof of existence from which we might weave the patterns we desire. They are the fundamentals which matter.

We are glad to have Your Excellency in our midst, and I am delighted that your gracious lady is also here and will have some little time to see something of Delhi and Agra.
To the People of Guyana

HONOURABLE PRIME MINISTER and distinguished guests, I had long looked forward to coming to this part of the world and making acquaintance with the various peoples who live here.

In India also we have a rich tapestry, as you call it, of many races, languages and religions, and all of them join together to make up the fabric of one nation. It has been our policy to live together, to tolerate different points of view, different religious beliefs. It is part of our ancient heritage. From time immemorial India has opened her doors to peoples from outside—of course some have come without any invitation—but somehow we have absorbed all those cultures and made them Indian. We would like to continue the policy of living together in our domestic affairs and also in our international relations. We all, big and small nations, have our own way of life, our own ideology, and the only way that we can live together is to decide to tolerate one another. It is only if we make this decision consciously and try to implement it that there can be peace in the world. We are interested in peace, because it is a high ideal and also because it is the first essential for development, progress, prosperity and happiness.

Somehow a picture of India has gone abroad as that of a country with immense poverty, immense difficulties. Now, it is true that we have poverty. But I would not say that your country or mine is a poor country. I think they are rich countries, although the people are poor. But even the people are rich because of the richness of the earth, a richness which has not been fully developed yet. Once it is developed and used for the benefit of all the people, then they would really come into their own.

India has poverty, but it is not a country that is weighed down by its poverty. It is a country which is facing the problem of poverty with courage and determination, even with cheerfulness and gaiety, if I may say so. Even in the worst of the droughts we found that our people did not lose heart. We found that students from far-off States gave up their holidays to go and help to dig wells. People from all the professions gather together to help whenever there is difficulty in any part of the country. This is something that strengthens the unity of the entire country and helps us to go ahead.

Your own country is far away, half a world away, from us. As you pointed out, Mr. Prime Minister, we have many links, cultural and other links. Perhaps the greatest link that binds us with your

From speech at a public meeting, Georgetown, October 12, 1968
country and with other newly independent countries is our passion to be free and to make that freedom real for all sections of our people.

I was happy to learn that the women of Guyana are playing an important part in this country's development. I was also very happy to meet the Minister of Education and to learn more about this from her. I do not know whether my women friends would like it or not, but I am not a feminist. I believe that the people who form part of the human race, whether they are men or women, should be allowed to use their experiences, their talents and their capabilities for the good of their country. If we ignore half the population, then it is difficult for any work to be done. So in India we have tried to get everybody to work together. And to apply this principle to relations between nations, we fight against racism and we do not allow religion or race or any such consideration influence our policies.

We believe in equality. Sometimes one has to give greater attention to a part of the people because they have been more suppressed than the others. In our country we have special programmes, scholarships and other types of help, for those sections who have so far not had the privilege of education. It is not an act of charity. Firstly, we believe they are equal; secondly, we believe that if there is a weaker section it will always pull down the others. And that is our concern for the world community also. So long as the world is divided into poor nations and rich nations, I do not think that the rich nations are as safe as they think they are.

Some months ago we had the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in Delhi. In my opening speech there, I had said that it is for the richer nations to consider not whether they can afford to help the developing nations, but whether they can afford not to help them. You know the conditions in your part of the world better than I do, but I can tell you that in our part of the world the situation is quite explosive. When there are vast masses of people who see a better life on the horizon, who know that they have the talent to attain it and also that the world has the resources to help them; and when such help is not forthcoming then you can imagine how they feel about it.

We believe in peace and we are going to work peacefully to try and persuade the people of the world, through international conferences, through whatever groups there may be, to see how the situation can be changed, how the existing inequalities and disparities can be lessened.

We believe that when one is on the right path one has to go along even if one is absolutely alone. This is what we learnt during our freedom struggle. The path which Mahatma Gandhi followed was a
very new path. Many people, in the world and in India, felt that no nation could win independence through non-violent means, particularly against a superior armed force. But we said it was the right way for us; we faced the ridicule, the abuse, the firing, the prisons, everything that came; and in the end it was proved that we were right.

In the same way, we are convinced today that the path we are following is the right one. And we will follow it even if we are absolutely alone. But I do not think we are alone. I think that there are many millions all over the world who think like us, and I think it is for those of us who have seen the light to find what we can do to help others. When we talk of non-violence in India, we do not mean merely the rejection of weapons of violence. Non-violence means the absence of hatred and fear, not merely the absence of arms. And that is the path which we would like to follow. We do not want to combine against anybody, but we want to combine as far as possible for everybody. We believe that the improvement of conditions in the developing countries will help even those countries which are today developed and affluent. Today there is no country which does not have troubles. The richest and the most advanced of them has troubles. One of the causes of these troubles is the persistence of inequality and injustice.

I have come a long way to be able to say something about India and to be able to learn something about the many different countries I have visited. When one lives far away, one tends to lump countries together. One thinks of Latin America or the Caribbean in over-simplified terms. But when you visit them, you find that each country has its own distinct personality and is very different from its neighbours. This gives one a much better understanding of their difficulties as well as achievements. I have been here only a few hours but I can say that in these few hours there has been a tremendous change in me, because during that period I have learnt of your friendship.

You here in Guyana and we in India have an ancient past. Much of that past has been obscured, but we have to keep our roots in it. Much of that past is a burden. We have to see how we can remove that part of our past which is a burden, which is not of real value, which has become out of date, which has no relevance to modern life, and which is merely superstition. And we should keep that part which is timeless. Unfortunately, today a certain way of life is considered civilised and another is not. But with whose spectacles do you want to look at life? We have to inspect our life with our own eyes. We must do what we consider the best for us, not what other people think is the best for us. And we think that what is best for us in India is our own civilisation, but naturally with the benefits of science, modern technology and, above all, rational scientific thinking.
And this is the path we are trying to follow. This path we think will help us remould our society and rejuvenate our ancient country into a modern nation. Thus, modern India is anxious for friendship with the world and especially for friendship with your country.

India and Indonesia

I AM INDEED delighted to be in Indonesia once again, especially as I see so many changes that have come about. Even in the short drive to the palace I could see how the city has grown.

I am grateful for the welcome to me and my party and for your kind words and your invitation. It has given me an opportunity to renew my acquaintance and deepen my friendship with your beautiful country and your talented people.

Our relationship does not rest on the past alone. It was renewed during our struggle for freedom and it continues now when we are engaged in the consolidation of freedom.

In today's world when communications are so developed, all are neighbours. Both our countries have come out of darkness of foreign domination. We believe that for freedom to be meaningful it must have social and economic content.

The basis of real strength is economic stability. Therefore, to make the less developed countries economically strong should be the primary concern of all nations. The developing countries must put in the same energy and the same enthusiasm into development that they put in their struggles for freedom. The developed and affluent countries must help the poorer countries. For the first time the human race has power and knowledge not only to use resources of land and sea but to create new resources. There is plenty for all and there is no need to compete for resources. But it is most necessary that these resources should be distributed equitably. Such all-round development would not only help people of our countries but would bring about a new and wonderful atmosphere of peace and friendship.

Our countries have had to grapple with economic difficulties, but are now overcoming them. I was very glad to learn from the President, while we were talking during the banquet, about the very great progress made by Indonesia in agriculture. In India also we have made big advances not only in agriculture but in other fields also.

Speech at State banquet, Jakarta, June 28, 1969
The long-term challenge of development demands our very best efforts. And just as the affluent and backward countries should co-operate, developing countries must also co-operate among themselves and help each other in trade and other ways. It should be possible for us to share our resources and skills to our mutual benefit. Such bilateral co-operation would lead towards multilateral arrangements for regional economic co-operation.

To realise social objectives, it is of the utmost importance to have internal unity and freedom from external threats. Out of the seven largest countries of the world, five are in Asia and among these five are Indonesia and India. We hope our whole region will be an area of peace and co-operation without domination by any power and free of tension and antagonism.

Tensions arise when one country interferes with another. That is why we have always been opposed to interference and have believed in all countries living in peace and co-existence.

One of the principles on which our foreign policy is based is non-alignment. We have kept out of military alliances, for we believe that military alliances create an illusory sense of security and do not confer enduring strength.

There is much talk of power vacuum and I am asked questions on the vacuum that might come about when various nations withdraw their forces from one region. I do not like to prophesy what will happen. But it could have been said that when the British left India and the Dutch left Indonesia a vacuum was created but each of our nations filled it. I have no doubt that the countries of our region can themselves fill the vacuum.

Two wars have raged in Asia. In Vietnam, a ray of hope seems to have emerged. Any settlement will in turn throw up new challenges and problems. It should be the endeavour of all to help in solving such problems.

The situation in West Asia is explosive and must be resolved by early implementation of the Security Council resolution. Fruits of military aggression cannot be allowed to be retained. Unless the sovereignty of borders and States is respected nobody can be safe.

Mr. President, you have been able to bring back political stability and economic recovery to your country and, thereby, great stability in this region. We wish you every success.

Ladies and gentlemen, may I invite you to join me in wishing a long life and happiness to President Suharto and Madam Suharto, to the prosperity of Indonesia and the success of her plans, and to friendship between our two countries?
Indo-Japanese Co-operation

It is always a delight to come to Japan. So much is happening here and so fast that it is important to come again and again to renew one's acquaintance with the people and the country.

In India, there is much admiration for Japan and its progress. Your recovery after the war and your more recent economic achievements have been remarkable. But no less significant is the manner in which you have transformed your political and social systems and built the institutions of democracy. Your technological advance and political reconstruction have been remarkable. I should like to pay tribute to the spirit of the new Japan. In India, we watch your achievements with interest and seek in your experience that which might help us in our own efforts. Nothing can be borrowed in its entirety. It has to be adapted and assimilated. The laws of science are universal, but technology must fit into the social milieu of a people.

It is difficult for those not living in India to understand the country or to envisage the magnitude of our effort. We began much later than you did. When we achieved freedom, there were more than 500 political fragments. Our teeming population, the multiplicity of languages and religions, the different levels of development not only between the States but within each State, made our task the more challenging. This is specially so because we chose the democratic path. Many political parties have emerged and after our last general election one State is ruled by a non-Congress party and in five States other parties have come into power by forming coalition governments. We have taken this development in our stride as a phase of our political evolution. There are parties with extremist tendencies. But however greatly they may differ in their aims and attitudes, we must so mould their opinion that they too will agree to work within the Constitution and for the unity and strength of the country.

Our long history has endowed us with a sense of oneness but has also fostered strong local traditions. Unity does not necessarily imply uniformity. There must be scope for the expression of smaller loyalties in the framework of the wider national integrity. The nature of our Federal Union and our institutions of participatory local government serve to consolidate our unity through a decentralised exercise of power. Sometimes, there is strain and disagreement, but these can hardly be avoided at our stage of development, specially as our resources are far too insufficient to satisfy everybody. Even in smaller countries, regional stresses are making themselves felt.

Speech at banquet given by Prime Minister Eisaku Sato of Japan, Tokyo, June 24, 1969
It is in these circumstances that we have undertaken our programme of national reconstruction. In our Five Year Plans the State takes the initiative in extending social services, in building the infrastructure and also in establishing the basic industries which are beyond the means of private enterprise. At the same time there is a great scope for private industry which indeed has prospered beyond recognition since Independence.

Growth will eventually help all sections, yet in the earlier stages it seems to accentuate inequalities. We must be alert to correct these imbalances, and in our discussions, social factors must be considered along with the economic ones. This situation sometimes slows our momentum, but in spite of war, natural calamity and many other difficulties we have steadily been going ahead. We have strengthened our democracy. We have 75 million children at school and nearly two million students in our colleges.

We have 80 million farming families. Agriculture is our first concern. In two decades, the infrastructure of agricultural development has been built and 30 million acres have been newly brought under irrigation. Our farmers have taken to new farming practices and by providing them with the inputs they need, by calling in scientists to solve their problems, we are today within sight of self-sufficiency in food-grains.

We need industry for the improvement of agriculture, to give employment and to help us to be self-reliant. We have achieved a threefold expansion in industry accompanied by a diversification of output. Several industries such as railway rolling stock, aircraft, machine tools, electronics and nuclear power have been built from scratch.

Two months ago, we launched our Fourth Five Year Plan. It aims at self-sufficiency in food-grains, at improving the overall efficiency of our trained manpower and at a better use of installed capacity in numerous fields, so that we can increasingly rely on our own skills in design and fabrication. It also aims at augmenting our exports.

In terms of per capita aid, India has been at the bottom of the receiving line. The Indian people themselves have shouldered four-fifths of the burden of development. Now a stage has been reached when the component of credits and assistance from abroad in the total investment for development has begun to decline. By the end of the current Plan, the net external assistance is expected to go down to nearly half the present level.

All this we have achieved in the face of the gravest handicaps. Our population has grown by about 170 million in the last two decades, not due to unusual increase in the birth-rate but because of better health measures resulting in a sharp fall in infant mortality and an increase in life expectation. Attacks on our borders have compelled
us to divert some of our limited resources to strengthen our defences. In the last years, there had been an unprecedented, prolonged and severe drought resulting in acute shortage of food-grains and what is worse, in lack of drinking water.

Our family planning programme is extensive. We view it not from the limited point of view of population control but as a means for better health for mothers and children. We plan to reduce the birth-rate from 39 per thousand to 25 within a decade. What has been achieved touches only the fringe of the problem and the problem itself grows as we go along.

With the recovery in agriculture and industry, we are now poised for quicker advance. We hope that we can continue to build our economy with the co-operation of the advanced countries, for it is our belief that the benefit of science and the abundance released by technology should be equitably shared. How can the trading nations continue to prosper unless world markets expand and new markets for sophisticated goods come into being. Thus, this sharing could be a long-term investment.

We feel that Japanese-Indian co-operation will be mutually beneficial and a factor for peace in our part of the world. We are glad that Japan was among the first to support our development programme. Japan's total volume of credits to the countries of this region has been steadily increasing. We welcome this. Asian countries can be stable and secure only when they are economically strong. If individual countries are weak, how can their coming together make for strength? We have believed in co-existence and co-operation. Peace is threatened wherever one country seeks to interfere in another's affairs. We feel that our policy of non-involvement in military alliances is as valid today in a world where there are more centres of political and military power than in the bi-polar world of the mid-fifties.

Within a hand's reach of your country and mine, war has raged continuously for years. The people of Vietnam have gone through untold suffering and it is time they were free to live a normal life. I hope that the different moves of the last few weeks will lead to a general settlement. Similarly, may I express my wish that the simmering tensions and suspicions in West Asia will be removed? We should like Asia to be free of military involvement or political domination. We would like Asia to be an area of peace and co-operation.

I am sure that by working together, Japan and India can throw their weight on the side of peace. It is necessary to develop our friendship and co-operation at many levels—in scholarship, in the arts and sciences, in trade and industry, and in diplomacy. Mr. Prime Minister, our discussions have given some idea of the possibilities. Let us work to realise them.

* * *
THE MIRACLE OF MODERN JAPAN is based upon the achievements of the whole nation—of scientists, workers and administrators, and more especially of the leaders of the Japanese industry and business, many of whose representatives are present here.

We in India are struggling to erase the scars of colonialism. Our life expectancy has increased from 32 to 50 years. The death rate has come down from 27 per thousand to 16 per thousand. During the first decade of planning, India’s achievements in agriculture and industry as well as in the social, cultural and educational fields were impressive indeed. The Indian planning was held up as an example to other developing countries. For various reasons, including conflicts on our borders—which were not of our seeking—the Third Plan ran into difficulties, and towards the end of this period we had the harrowing experience of a country-wide drought. In order to transform adversity into opportunity we redoubled our agricultural effort. So when the rains did come the harvest was a record one. In a couple of years we hope to be self-sufficient in food-grains. The price line has been held. Our export earnings last year increased by 12.5 per cent.

It is a fallacy to suggest that developing heavy industry at a slower pace could have helped agriculture; higher levels of efficiency in agriculture cannot be attained without industry. For instance, shortages of iron and cement hampered our irrigation and warehousing programme at one stage.

We supply iron ore to Japan but we also export iron and steel and engineering products to other countries. The value of such exports has risen from practically nothing a few years ago to nearly 200 million dollars last year.

It is against this background that we have launched our Fourth Five Year Plan. The investment programme is modest since we want to maintain stability even as we accelerate economic progress. The Plan envisages considerable effort in agriculture, transport, power and in industries like fertilisers and petro-chemicals. Substantial investment is to be made for the development of our mineral resources including the off-shore reserves of oil. We also plan to increase our shipping tonnage and develop our harbours.

Our experience of co-operation with the Japanese industry and business has been a happy one. To mention only one example, the fertiliser plants which we have constructed in co-operation with Japanese industry and in record time are producing at nearly full capacity.

Those of you who may have visited India recently, either as mem-

Speech at luncheon given by the Japanese Chamber of Commerce and Industry and other organisations. Tokyo, June 25, 1969
bers of the Japanese industrial delegation or individually, have probably seen the wide field in which there is scope for co-operation between Japanese and Indian industry. I am glad Japan is setting up a library on India. The Government will be glad to send books for this library.

I hope I have not given an impression of complacency. We are conscious of our mistakes and shortfalls and are anxious to remedy them. We are aware of how long and hard the road ahead is going to be, and of the many obstacles we shall have to face. Progress does not end problems. We have learnt from our experience that every solution sows the seeds of new problems.

Our solutions will not always be the same as those found suitable in other countries, including yours. In India, conditions of social harmony and political stability cannot be preserved without a more active role for Government than what you have found necessary here.

Some of our States are larger in area and population than the leading countries of Europe. They speak languages which are as old as the languages of Europe. Our nationalist movement under the wise and powerful guidance of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru taught our people to subordinate regional feelings to national feelings. Our Constitution makes for effective State Governments and a strong Centre responsive to popular will and capable of meeting all challenges.

Japan has substantially increased its economic assistance to other Asian countries and proposes to increase it further over the years to come. To a modest extent and in keeping with our resources, we are also endeavouring to improve the economic base of Asia as a whole. Besides our own development, we are participating in the development of other countries. Co-operation between Japan and India can help ensure peace, prosperity and stability in our part of the world.

Science and technology have now opened new and exciting vistas of hope for the entire human race. Our political and moral will to make this hope a reality is on trial. As business men and industrialists you are accustomed to bringing different interests together to a common purpose. May I invite you to use a part of this special talent to create even stronger bonds of co-operation and understanding between our two countries and thereby between the countries of Asia and of the world?

Modern industry is a battle of nerves. The people of Japan know how to balance it by her ancient customs and thought. The Japanese have always appreciated balance and equilibrium. I hope Japan will show the way towards a synthesis between the modern and the ancient.
I thank you for the honour you have bestowed upon me. Those of us who are burdened with the responsibility of day-to-day affairs must look beyond the immediate future. That is why I welcome visits to universities, for to have a dialogue with young minds is to bring tomorrow into focus. So I am happy to be amongst you.

My childhood and youth were spent in struggle and insecurity. Working for my country's freedom with a singleness of purpose, this was inevitable. Life is more bewildering to the young people of today than it was in my student days. The world has now grown more complex. In the developing countries, we have been catapulted into the modern age at a pace which is not of our making. So swift are the modern means of communication that no place is too far and no people need be strangers. Time and distance have lost their dread and drudgery. Science has made one world realisable even if it is not yet a reality. But if physical distance has been diminished, have the hearts of nations drawn closer? Science has given us the key to plenty, but two-thirds of mankind have been barred from the feast!

Every age thinks that it faces unique challenges. Often enough, old patterns repeat themselves in new garbs. But in our own age claim to uniqueness can be made with some justification. At no time previously was there such total world consciousness; at no time had man access to such power for good or for evil; at no time had man achieved such capacity to meet his wants and to eradicate hunger, disease and ignorance; and at no time had man achieved such terrible means of total self-destruction.

A fundamental question today, which has largely been ignored and has therefore remained unanswered, is how to balance knowledge and strength with understanding, compassion and wisdom. Atomic and other engines of destruction can be defused only when we give up the attitudes of intolerance and fanaticism. Man has the power both to build and to destroy. This power should be used to liberate large numbers of human beings from poverty and to bring a better life to the under-privileged. But those who have the means are not giving sufficient thought to this matter.

A sense of internationalism is pervading many levels of man's consciousness. The world is becoming one, essentially because paths of economic and social development of peoples in different parts of the world are frequently crossing. Views, experiences and influences are being shared by the young people of all countries. But nationalism in its broadest sense remains the dominant political force in the world and we cannot wish away the feeling of national loyalty. But it is important to find a new basis for nationalism in which national

Speech on receiving honorary degree of Doctor of Laws at the Waseda University of Japan, Tokyo, June 27, 1969
independence can function within the ambit of international cooperation and inter-dependence.

In the earlier phase of history when industry was created and empires were built, virtues of acquisitive society were extolled. In many countries this was accompanied by philosophies of protest. We are familiar with the thought of Ruskin in Britain, of Thoreau in America, of Tolstoy in Russia and of Mahatma Gandhi in my own country. Their misgivings could not halt the march of technology. Yet these warnings of anti-materialist sages were not without point, for now we see that even with an abundance of material goods, pursuit of happiness has not, in fact, brought happiness. Over-organisation and over-management of big industrial societies have compelled individualism to assert itself and to challenge the forces of conformism. Sensitive people everywhere are genuinely concerned about the sharp areas of darkness amidst gaudy glare of affluence.

I wonder what picture of India you have in mind. India is a land of contrasts and contradictions where many centuries co-exist, where a people unlettered and sunk in abject poverty were able through unity and discipline to challenge the mightiest empire of the world in a movement which abjured violence and hatred.

Freedom meant not only political independence but economic and social justice for the people. Today we are engaged in an endeavour to fulfill the second part of our promise. The problems we face are largely those of growth, development and change. In spite of the tremendous odds, we are going ahead step by steady step.

In India we are intensely concerned with the preservation of our identity and our distinctiveness. It is on this basis that we seek understanding of our aspirations and co-operation with our efforts. We are proud of our ancient heritage. In modern times, Mahatma Gandhi gave us dignity and courage, so that even the most oppressed and downtrodden could stand erect. Tagore gave us creative urge and inspiration. Nehru transmuted that courage and inspiration into a vision of our future. Each one of them was deeply rooted in Indian tradition and yet transcended it by a universality of thought and spirit. In so doing they acted in consonance with the teachings of our ancient sages exhorting us to look upon the entire earth as one family.

India's past and her present are thus closely intertwined and together they provide a backdrop to the drama of contemporary change. It is an absorbing drama. One might even venture to suggest that it is unique in scale and intensity. We take particular pride in having it played so that all the world can see our triumphs and defeats, our forward movements and our set-backs. Our own people sometime provide the most severe criticism of our set-backs. Yet an ancient society of extraordinary complexity, inheriting an economy which
could yield only destitution to a vast majority and with 530 million people living simultaneously in different stages of social evolution, is being transformed. The people are being called upon to make the necessary voluntary effort and sacrifices and to accumulate capital out of their meagre resources in order to bring about an agrarian, industrial and social revolution.

Modern technology assures us that there can be plenty to go around. It has made possible not only the maximum tapping of existing resources but also creation of alternative resources of power and material. So far, its benefits have been reserved for a few industrialised countries. The chasm between them and the developing countries is widening. Inequality and economic disparities breed tension and threaten peace and prosperity. We must, therefore, ensure that knowledge is applied where it is most needed and that abundance, which is being created, is justly distributed. Concern for the difficulties of the under-privileged must become a part of our thinking. It is essential to help others not out of charity but for our own safety and future.

There is a qualitative difference between the world of yesterday and the world of today. We need the wisdom of the ancients. But it is irrelevant to divide wisdom into the old and the new, for wisdom is timeless. Our roots must take sustenance from our national culture as well as from the total heritage of man. But the past cannot provide answers to the contemporary problems. Life has changed but our thinking is still along old grooves. New world demands new thinking, new solutions, new institutions. New does not come into being automatically. It is the youth of the world who must seek and find a way.

Contradictions of the contemporary world are perhaps among the unconscious causes of the present restlessness. This disquiet is not confined to those who are young in age but envelops all those who are sensitive. It has always been the right of the young to ask 'why'. Out of that one word 'why' has arisen philosophy, reform, revolt. Today all the countries are affected by the revolt of the youth. Like all energy, revolt or opposition can be both destructive and creative. It should be indeed the responsibility of the youth to infuse new purpose into our values and bring new dignity to our civilisation.
Friendship with Malaysia

I have come here twice before with my father. I know what pride he felt at Malaysia's independence and joy at its progress. At the time of your independence he said, "I earnestly hope that this historic event will help the cause of peace and co-operation between nations." To Asia it is of special importance; it is another forward step in the awakening and rejuvenation of this ancient continent which has played such an important part in world history. My heart is filled with deep emotion at the friendship which you have shown me since my arrival.

Three great and ancient races have come together in Malaysia. Each has contributed something to the composite culture of this new nation and each in turn has been enriched by the sheltering care of a common citizenship. This is a great tribute to Malaysia, to its leaders and its people. Malaysia and India have traditionally been friends. A thousand years ago there was considerable movement and exchanges between our two countries; then a curtain fell between us. It is now lifted and the nations of Asia are rediscovering one another as kinsmen and neighbours.

Malaysia is a young and dynamic nation which is justifiably proud of its many achievements. I have been reading about your impressive land development, power, irrigation and other works. Your gracious city has many new landmarks; your striking parliament building and the new university were pointed out to me. They represent freedom, equality, justice, opportunity and enlightenment. I was glad also to have a glimpse of the new mosque, about which I had read so much. These monuments and your contemporary architecture and art are a tribute to the creative talent of young Malaysians.

During the long struggle for India's freedom, we did not regard independence as the end of the road. We thought of it as the key which would open the door to opportunity through development. We cannot view development solely in terms of material gain or privilege for a few, but as something that should enrich the lives of all our people. We seek transition from a traditional to a modern society, while retaining and even revitalising that which is timeless and of lasting value in our ancient tradition. We have set ourselves four guiding principles—democracy, secularism, socialism and non-alignment. We are a secular State which is pledged to respect and protect the teachings of all the great religions that have made India their home. While the majority community is Hindu, we have 60 million Muslims, 12 million Christians and 10 million Sikhs, besides Buddhists and others. They

From address at a rally, Kuala Lumpur, May 31, 1968
enjoy equal rights and religious freedom under our Constitution. Our socialism stands for social justice and equality of opportunity for all.

Our tasks are stupendous and they cannot all be undertaken by private enterprise. The State has, therefore, to take up many major projects. But the private sector flourishes side by side with the State sector.

India has known democracy since the dawn of history, but adult franchise has given it a fresh meaning. One hundred and seventy-five million men and women voted in our last general election. We feel that democracy gives people strength through participation.

Peaceful co-existence and non-alignment are extensions of our internal policy to the international sphere. Peaceful co-existence enables us to co-operate with all countries irrespective of their economic or political systems. Non-alignment means the judging of each issue on its merit, without pressures from outside, from the point of view of national interest as well as the larger interest of world peace. More than anything, the world needs peace; peace not merely as the absence of war, but peace which means stability and progress, which enables each nation to develop according to its own genius.

The people of Asia were in the vanguard of civilisation a few centuries ago; then came disunity and failure to keep pace with the times. Economic and technological backwardness led to colonial domination; but Asia is emerging again. Even during our freedom struggle, my father emphasised that India’s freedom could not be complete until the whole of Asia was free. We must get together again. The unity of Asia is not aimed against any other continent or region. On the contrary, it brings together people of different races, religions and languages into one family. We are confident that just as India was able to stand on her own feet after the British withdrew from our subcontinent, the other countries of Asia also can and will stand on their own strength. But there are certain forces which do not like this unity. They believe in spheres of influence and would like to subvert the national independence of the nations of Asia, to make them subservient to their own hegemony. The answer to this threat is the ability of each country to run its own affairs. Others can help through political consultation, economic co-operation, exchange of technical knowledge and experience.

Malaysia and India illustrate mutual co-operation on a footing of equality and to the advantage of both countries. Malaysia and India have much in common. We are multi-racial, multi-lingual and multi-religious. We have been influenced by the impact of Islamic culture and have blended in a happy harmony with other streams to produce a composite culture—an Indian culture in our case and a Malaysian culture in yours. I am glad that all people who made this beautiful country their own are united in the endeavour to build it.
India and New Zealand

Six years ago when our northern borders were invaded, New Zealand stood by us. That we shall always remember. New Zealand has played its part in the Colombo Plan and in the ECAFE and has made a useful contribution in the development of its Asian neighbourhood. Your assistance to various dairy projects in India and in the establishment of the fine All-India Institute of Medical Sciences in Delhi has been of great value. It is an example which could well be emulated.

New Zealand is a jewel in the Pacific, a country at peace with itself and hostile to none. You have given a progressive lead in implementing the United Nations resolution on de-colonisation by your enlightened policies with regard to Samoa and Cook Islands.

It is no surprise that developing nations yearn for prosperity and progress which they see others enjoying. They seek development, technical assistance, fair trade and even a degree of preference to compensate for past neglect. Development cannot be the concern of developing nations alone. It is an international problem. The world has learnt that it cannot live in peace half free, half subject. Similarly peace will always remain fragile in a world half rich, half poor.

In the past two decades, the gulf between the rich and poor nations has widened, causing new tensions which threaten us all and can create an explosive situation. India is in mid-passage. We are a developing as well as a developed nation. We receive external assistance and also give it to friendly countries. The extension of democracy at home has been peaceful co-existence abroad. Mutual respect and regard for each other's dignity are as important for good relations between individuals as between nations. Mutual respect does not rest upon identity or even similarity. It is consistent with diversity, provided there is a desire to understand and to know.

Twenty years ago, we saw in the Commonwealth an association of free and equal partners, which brought diverse people together in a sadly divided world. The Commonwealth has since grown. But racial tensions have subjected it to an unfortunate strain. The future of the Commonwealth will depend on its ability to deal effectively with this crisis in human relationship.

We can appreciate the anxiety of some countries about the withdrawal of the military presence of Big Powers from this region. Progressive nationalism is the strongest and most dynamic force in Asia and Africa today. It is also the best guarantee against subversive influences and external pressures. We believe that these can best be
met by strengthening the economic and political stability of the countries of this region. Broad-based regional economic co-operation and political consultations between all the countries of this region, irrespective of their ideologies, should be encouraged on a basis of complete equality. New Zealand and India are co-partners in the Commonwealth. I hope that we can be partners in regional co-operation.

The interest of the world is focussed on Paris where talks have opened on Vietnam. We sincerely hope that this meeting will lead to a just and lasting peace. A Vietnam settlement could be the starting point for the evolution of a new and equitable order in South-East Asia which would enable small nations in this troubled part of the world to live in peace and security and to lead their lives in accordance with their own urges and aspirations. The neutralisation of Indo-China, with international guarantees for its security and integrity, may provide an answer. Fear and rivalry could be transformed to friendship and co-operation. And what happens in this area could influence trends and events elsewhere.

We value our bilateral relations with New Zealand. We wish to develop them further. My talks with you, Mr Prime Minister, and your colleagues will greatly help us in this task. Our discussions have revealed a considerable identity of interest and outlook. This provides a foundation for enduring understanding and co-operation. The concept of the brotherhood of man has been preached by great men of all countries. A centuries-old Sanskrit verse reads, "This is one's own or this is a foreigner—such calculation belongs to men of small minds. But to the noble-hearted the whole world indeed becomes a family."

In India, this philosophy has been enunciated and pursued through the ages by our leaders of thought, ancient and modern. We do not always find it easy to live up to this ideal, for between the ideal and reality lies the shadow of false notions of pride and prestige. The world has become too small for men and nations to be indifferent to one another's problems and needs. For good or ill, we are One World. Since we do have to live together, is it not far better to do so as friends and neighbours, as members of a single human family?

May I say what a great pleasure it is for us to have you, Mr. Prime Minister, and your gracious Lady with us this evening? It is a special pleasure that after not having met for a long time, within a few months we have met three times—in New Zealand, then in London and now. We are glad that you have broken journey in India and are able to

From speech at banquet in honour of Prime Minister Keith Holyoake of New Zealand, New Delhi, January 28, 1969.
spend some time with us. Our formal talks this evening were marked by great informality. In fact, I do not remember having quite such informal formal talks before. As you rightly pointed out, there were no arguments between us. We had to look round to see whether we could possibly argue about something.

We are not only members of one family—the Commonwealth family—but neighbours in this region of the world. The very thought of New Zealand brings to mind greenery and great natural beauty. Your peaceful islands are like gems set in the Pacific Ocean. By contrast, I think of India in terms of turmoil, difficulties and challenge.

Your country has made a distinct contribution to human civilisation through the outstanding men you have produced, Rutherford and Hillary for example. The two fields in which we have made the most notable advance since Independence are atomic energy and mountaineering; in both these our progress can be traced to the work of these two outstanding New Zealanders. Our great scientist, Dr Bhabha, worked under Lord Rutherford in Cambridge and, of course, we all know what a great part Hillary played in inspiring Indians to take to mountaineering. Today, you will be pleased to know that there are a large number of girls among those who indulge in this wonderful sport. Mountaineering is now claiming converts all over the country.

The forces of science and technology today are making the world inter-dependent. The concept of fraternity has to be extended beyond the frontiers of nations. The compulsions of modern technology proclaim that there can be no alternative to co-operation. Yet there are numerous impediments to co-operation. Some people still judge people by the colour of their skins and the world continues to be divided into rich and poor nations. New Zealand and India are fellow members of the Commonwealth and are neighbours. Because of our location, we are intensely and directly concerned with two areas of unresolved hostility—West Asia and South-East Asia. These areas need peace, peace which is enduring and which will enable the people of the two regions to pursue their plans for development and progress. A solution which is one-sided or humiliating to one or the other cannot be lasting. This evening after our meeting you saw a photograph of Mahatma Gandhi and remarked, “How small and how peaceful he looks.” Gandhiji was fond of saying that true victory is one in which neither side loses and only peace triumphs. I believe that the friendliness of the people of New Zealand is a guarantee that New Zealand will always be a force for peace.

In this country also, we are endeavouring hard to be on the side of peace, freedom and fairplay. During your very brief stay, you will, I hope, have some glimpse of the new India which is emerging. It is an India of many faces. Most people choose the face which interests
them the most. There are some, of course, who choose the worse side of a thing. But we do not want to hide even the worse side. We think that whatever we are is made up of both good and bad.

I think the danger in the modern world is that in trying to be modern or to go ahead, we often lose our individuality. In India, we are trying to have a blending of both the old and the new, of the past and the present. It is perhaps too early to say whether such a thing is possible in the world of today, but we are trying. We feel that with all the excitement of science and technology, the world would be a very dull place indeed if all countries and peoples were to be the same. I certainly hope that India will always remain India. As our ex-President, Dr Radhakrishnan, said a real Indian was not just he who happens to be born in India or had an Indian passport, but he who believed in the ideals for which India had stood through the ages. We are trying to stand by those ideals today and we hope that future Indians will also abide by them.

Indo-Polish Co-operation

Twelve years ago, I came here with my father who, as you know, had a special regard and affection for you and your people. We became acquainted with your lovely city of Warsaw. We visited Cracow, the seat of an ancient university. As we travelled around and saw your people at work, we experienced the special quality of your land and your people. The deepest impact is of our visit to the site of the Auschwitz Camp. Its memory is for ever branded on my mind as a harrowing example of man's inhumanity to man. The resistance of your people to the dark forces of fascism is part of the great saga of which the human race is proud. I should like to take this opportunity to convey the admiration of the Indian people for the unconquerable spirit of Poland. My mind goes back through the corridor of time to recall the martyrdom and the subsequent resurrection of Poland. On our last visit we ourselves witnessed one of the processes which led to the rise of Poland like a Phoenix from the ashes of destruction. Poland has made a distinctive contribution to the treasure-house of human knowledge and achievement. Your mathematicians and scientists, your astronomers, among whom is the immortal Copernicus, your artists, writers, and musicians have won international honour.

From speech at luncheon given by the Prime Minister of Poland, Warsaw, October 9, 1967
The Indian people constitute one-seventh of all mankind. What happens to India cannot but be of consequence to the world. Since Independence, there has been a steady transformation in the national economy and in the lives of our people. Although India is a predominantly rural country, it cannot prosper without industrialisation. The State sector has pioneered many key and basic industries in India. At the same time, there is a wide latitude for initiative on the part of private industry in many challenging fields within a regulatory framework dictated by social interests. In this context, we have been greatly interested in your own flexible approach, and that of other socialist countries, in moving towards new and more effective forms and standards of national economic management. This is an area where we should like to share your experience. We remember with special affection the name of Prof. Lange.

In the development of our country, we have drawn upon the knowledge and co-operation of many countries, including yours. It is only after we became free that we had direct contact with you. In these two decades, we have worked together in the unending quest for peace. Poland and India follow different political systems but both are united in the conviction that war does not solve any problem. It is this understanding which makes peaceful co-existence an imperative. It has been our privilege to work with Poland in peace-keeping tasks. We worked together in Korea. We are working together in Vietnam, in Cambodia and in Laos. We are setting a new pattern for international relations based on tolerance, on understanding, on respect and on creative co-operation. Freed from the taint of exploitation, we prize these relations. It is our endeavour to enrich it and to develop it further for the benefit of our countries.

As one travels beyond the confines of our bilateral relationship and surveys the wider world, one becomes acutely conscious of tensions and conflicts which, if allowed to grow unchecked, will confront our generation with tragic consequences. Having survived varying vicissitudes of life for several thousand years, our people feel instinctively the many-sidedness of truth. We were, therefore, a little wary of mere ideological divisions. Military alliances were inadequate to ensure lasting peace among nations. Gandhi and Nehru moulded our attitudes powerfully and blended the best of the old wisdom with the new so that we rediscovered the message of tolerance and respect for other views. We were conditioned against the military approach to issues. The fearsomeness of modern technology also renders the military approach inadequate.

Our foreign policy of non-alignment is based on these considerations. What prospect has peace if each nation insists upon propagating its own way of life and that too at the point of the gun. One of
the big facts of the world’s history is the emergence of a large number of nations from the darkness of colonialism. It would not be a true dawn if these nations were unable to choose their own goals of growth. They should be able to evolve towards their destiny in the light of their own history and traditions. Only when peaceful co-existence is recognised as an inescapable necessity, only when there is general assurance that one nation will not interfere with another for ideological reasons, can all nations devote their energies to the bettering of the lives of their people.

We have always been ready to fashion our relations with our neighbours and with the rest of the world on this basis. Although we have been trespassed upon, we have never initiated trespasses on others. We propose to adhere to this steadfastly whatever the provocations, be they in the name of ideology or religion or of territorial claims of one sort or another.

Mr. Prime Minister, may I touch upon two matters which cast their shadows over us? The war in Vietnam fills us with anguish and foreboding. There is no alternative to a peaceful settlement, an end to the bombing and a resort to the conference table. The Geneva Accord offers a basis for a just and honourable settlement. The people of Vietnam have the right to determine their own destiny without outside interference or pressure.

The aftermath of the bitter conflict in West Asia is still with us and the present situation is fraught with danger. Force cannot be allowed to be used as an instrument of national policy and there can be no peace without justice. It is urgent to secure a withdrawal of the occupation forces. Once this is done, a framework for mutual security and a fair and speedy solution of the refugee question could be worked out.

Our search for peace is not motivated by partisanship. Our efforts are not directed against anyone but towards the establishment of peace. Inevitably, our thoughts turn to the deeper causes underlying the present uncertainties and fears. The doctrines of deterrence and balance of mutual terror appear to have gained a certain amount of even academic credibility. Yet the accumulated evidence of human history leads to the conclusion that armament and the building up of atomic arsenals are giving rise to a growing sense of insecurity.

Like Poland, India is deeply interested in the problem of disarmament. We supported Poland’s initiative in formulating proposals for a nuclear-free zone in Central Europe, the proposals which have taken their name after your distinguished Foreign Minister, Mr. Rapacki, and the further statesman-like proposal put forward by Mr. Gomulka. The balance of nuclear power today is so terrible that it no longer equates war with victory but with the very question of human survival.
We see danger both in horizontal and in vertical proliferation. While seeking agreement on the Non-proliferation Treaty, we should like to emphasise the balance of obligations which must prevail for nuclear disarmament. The stock-piling of armaments is a cause for fear and distrust. So is the prevalence of colonialism and racialism in one form or another. We do not accept as permanent or inevitable the present division of the world into rich and poor and the widening disparity between the industrial nations and the newly independent ones. These are difficult problems but we have to solve them and the sooner we do so the better it will be for us all.

In a few months, the Conference on Trade and Development will take place in Delhi. At that Conference, we look forward to close co-operation between India and Poland and we hope that the developing countries and the socialist countries would work together for mutual advantage.

Indo-Rumanian Co-operation

Your Excellency, I am glad to be here in your beautiful country. I bring you the warm greetings of the friendly people of India.

Distinguished leaders of your country including yourself have paid visits to India and have given us the opportunity of showing them the esteem and friendship in which we hold Rumania. Our former President, Dr Radhakrishnan, visited Rumania on two occasions and returned home with pleasant memories of the visits. My father was sorry that he himself was unable to come. We feel that such exchanges strengthen the bonds of friendship.

During the two decades of freedom we have seen the steady expansion of Indo-Rumanian relations in political, economic and cultural fields. An important reason for this growing friendship is that, although we are unlike in many respects, we share a record of fighting imperial and fascist oppression and we share the ideal of building a socialist society. We also share the conviction that world peace is no longer a matter of defining an ideal but a matter of practical necessity; and that the only way to peace is through peaceful co-operation, peaceful solution of all disputes, tolerance and peaceful co-existence between States with different ideologies and social and political systems.

Speech at airport, Bucharest, October 16, 1967
You have embarked on an ambitious programme of economic development. We have followed your achievements with interest. We have already benefited from your experience. There is a large area of co-operation ahead of us.

Our countries are geographically far apart. But distance is no hindrance to friendship. I hope that this visit will be yet another stage in the growth and maturing of Indo-Rumanian friendship.

Links with Singapore

I first came to Singapore in 1936. How long ago it now seems—another age, another world!

India is a bridge between East and West Asia, between Central and South-East Asia and there is much that draws us to Singapore. Through the ages our ships and boats have sailed the oceans, in the East and in the West. They have carried goodwill and friendship, trade and commerce. This bond stands renewed and is further strengthened by the closeness of our outlook and approach to national and international problems as well as the common pattern of our societies.

You, Mr. Prime Minister, referred to Sanskrit. It is the foundation of our culture. Its enriching influence has spread far and wide, as have other aspects of Indian culture. But this has not been a one-way traffic. We also have been influenced by other cultures and other strains, adapting them and weaving them into the fabric of our own lives.

I am impressed by the rich and varied patterns of your social structure. These are the expression of the distinctive contribution of different races. In our country also, we take special pride in the rich diversity of our people who speak various languages, profess different faiths and are brought up in the many-sided culture of India. In a sense, Mr. Prime Minister, what you and we are trying to achieve in our two countries has a significance for the world as a whole.

I am glad that the Indians who live in Singapore are being good Singaporeans. That is as it should be. Sometimes, communities who have been away from the countries of origin tend emotionally to cling to the old ways, losing touch with the constant changes which are taking place in their original homeland and yet not finding a place in their new homeland.

From speech at banquet given by Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew, Singapore, May 19, 1968
Our two countries are in the full swing of development and the transition to modernity. We seek to make rapid advance and yet to maintain and strengthen the deep and ancient roots of our cultural heritage. The aim is a worthwhile one. But, like all things of value, it has its price in the shape of special problems.

Perhaps the most distinctive feature of our world is the deepening consciousness of human dignity and self-respect. Man's concern and interest are no longer circumscribed by a few paternal acres. He not only thinks of himself as a human being, but is poignantly aware that the misery and poverty in which his forefathers were engulfed is no longer inevitable. The fatal acceptance of conditions as they were has gone for ever. Out of this has emerged the turbulence which is agitating the hearts and minds of men everywhere. In less than two decades hundreds of millions of human beings have cast off their shackles and are seeking fulfilment of their destiny.

We are not mere spectators for this vast and complex phenomenon. We are deeply involved in it and must play our respective roles. The first instinct may be to turn away from its intricacies and to seek refuge behind some catch phrase, some easy or sovereign remedy for all problems in terms of ideology, systems or ways of life. Human beings still interpret the unknown in terms of the known. We have lived through a period when the world was resounding with the shrill cries of warring camps, each with its banner, its slogan; each wanting to convert others to its own way. Slogans cannot feed the people, nor give them shelter, education or medical facilities. The people want bread to enjoy freedom, and freedom to enjoy life.

We are all pressurised by the revolution of rising expectations. We are driven by our own dreams, our own longing for the day when all our people can know the full meaning of freedom—freedom from want and freedom to grow to the extent of their capacity. Neither stability nor strength can be borrowed. If we are strong in ourselves we can help others too and be a force for peace.

Endangering our peace and stability is the widening gulf between the rich and the poor. It is a world problem as well as a national one. The problem was posed recently at UNCTAD and elsewhere, but a satisfactory solution is yet to be evolved. We hope that the vast resources which are being wasted in war will be diverted to the peaceful economic development of countries which desperately need them. But first and foremost, it is only through their own efforts, through the endeavour of their own people, that developing countries can give social and economic content to their political independence. We are determined to expand our economy and to increase trade. We are resolved to work towards a self-reliant economy. Will the developed countries play fair by us? Or will they continue to exploit our eco-
nomic backwardness to their own advantage, as they have done in the past?

No single country or ideology can provide a solution to the problems of our age. No magic formula is applicable to all countries and situations. My father spoke of seeking out areas of agreement and enlarging them. We believe in independence and are struggling now to make it secure and meaningful. But we do realize that no country can be entirely self-sufficient. No economy can survive in isolation. It is with mutual help and inter-dependence that we can preserve what we have and use it for the betterment of our lives.

We believe in regional co-operation, not as a narrow scheme of pitting one region against another, but as a wider and more broad-based concept in which each country would play a vital role and none would dominate the others. It would indeed be sad if regional organisations were to intensify the cold war atmosphere, rather than to act as bridges of understanding within the region and between various regions. In such an organisation we would not wish to exclude any country of this region because of its different social, economic or political system. We believe in the pooling of knowledge and experience; we know that these are not the exclusive preserve of any single country or race. We seek to promote mutual understanding, leading to agreement. We seek co-operation and the establishment of positive, creative and mutually profitable bilateral relations. And we hope that these will expand, in the measure that we gain mutual trust, into wider regional co-operation.

My father felt himself a world citizen, with an intense awareness of the special dangers which threaten our age and of its yearning for peace. It is up to us who have followed him to be true to that and to keep bright that vision. For more than two decades it has been our endeavour to work for peace along with like-minded nations. It is our belief that far from providing a lasting solution to any problem, war sows the seeds of bitterness and hatred and creates new tensions.

Peace is not merely the absence of war. It is not a mere moral injunction. Peace today comes from sincere and persistent effort to understand and tolerate. Peace is necessary for our very survival. The arena of battles has moved from Europe to various parts of Asia since the end of World War II. But neither Europe nor America, neither Africa nor Asia can escape the consequences of an escalating conflict in any part of the world. Your country and ours, as well as others in this region, are interested in a just and peaceful settlement of the Vietnam problem. It is natural, therefore, that the demand for the ending of this conflict should have been voiced with increasing urgency, and that the world's hopeful attention should now be fixed on Paris where talks have begun. Like any other nation, the coun-

geous people of Vietnam should be enabled to enjoy their own way of life in freedom and peace. The end of this tragic conflict will provide an opportunity and a challenge to the peoples of this region, provided we prove equal to the task and are able to utilise peace for further development and progress.

Mr. Prime Minister, I have great pleasure in visiting your country again, of meeting you and your charming wife and in exchanging views with you and your colleagues on matters of interest. Once again our talks have confirmed an identity of interests and outlook. It is my sincere hope that these seeds of understanding and friendship will blossom and bear fruit in many-sided collaboration for mutual benefit and the general welfare of our people.

Visit to Trinidad and Tobago

Long before I came here, I had heard of the colour and beauty of this country. As your Prime Minister has reminded you, we have met many times at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference; but today, even though I am here for such a short while, you have given me the opportunity of seeing something of the colour, the great vitality and dynamism of your composite, multi-racial society. In your lives here you are showing and providing what we in India are also trying to do.

Like you, we have many religions. In fact, all the religions of the world find a place in India. We have tried to give all religions equal respect and to tolerate different points of view. But we want all to contribute their talent, their wisdom, to the building of a new, strong India. One of our most ancient sayings is that "Just as the bee gathers honey from different flowers, so should the wise man take knowledge and experience from all people". This is the purpose of my coming to Trinidad and Tobago, to try and get to know more about your country, to see how you are dealing with the problems which are common to all developing countries, how you are meeting your difficulties and how you are achieving success.

We share many problems. It is in the measure that we can solve these problems that we can bring better life to our people and contribute to peace in the world. In the short time that India has been independent, she has taken great strides. We have a total population of 520
million. So when somebody asks me how many problems I have got, I say I have 520 million problems, because each person has to be fed, clothed, given shelter and employment. But gradually we are building a base. We have increased our agricultural production by 73 per cent in spite of three years of the world’s worst drought. We have increased our industrial production by 162 per cent. A country which was producing no machinery and was getting everything from outside during the colonial days, is today making its own jet aeroplanes and locomotives, not to speak of many other necessities of life.

As the country is so vast, whatever we make is just a drop in the ocean and it will be a long time before we can make all that we need. We do think that in two or three years we shall be self-sufficient in foodgrains. But it will take time before all the other things can be made. In the meantime, our people are impatient because they see that the world today has the knowledge, the power and the resources to eliminate hunger, want and disease; and that these resources are being used not for this purpose, but for making weapons. That is why there is impatience in our midst.

We in India believe that there can be peace in the world only when people recognise the fact that every country, no matter how small or big it is, has its own personality, its own ideas and its own way of life, and that no country should interfere with another country. We are all on this one planet, Earth, and until we know how to go and live and inhabit other planets we must learn to live together on this world as the many races of Trinidad and Tobago have learnt to live in this one country. When we can live together and try to understand and appreciate each other’s point of view, then there will be friendship and peace in the world.

We in India believe—not only now but from centuries past—that all are born equal. Emperor Ashoka, who lived in the third century B.C., wrote on rocks and iron pillars, “As the welfare of my children is dear to me so is the welfare of all other children and all other people.” This is what we also feel. We are concerned about the welfare, the sufferings and the happiness of all other people, and I hope that my visit here will help to cement the friendship between India and Trinidad and Tobago.
Welcome to the U.A.R. President

Your Excellency, I have great pleasure in welcoming you here. You have been with us on several occasions, and each one of your visits has left us a little happier and more keenly aware of your love and friendship for us. In the world today, our two countries are facing similar difficulties. As you said in your speech, freedom does not merely mean political independence; to be complete and meaningful, it has to include economic strength and self-reliance. To improve our economic conditions and take the country forward on the path to prosperity, the Government and the people of India are engaged in a supreme effort. Your country is also engaged in a similar effort. It is strange that whatever advance has been made in the field of science and technology seems to benefit more to those who are already advanced. The rich nations are becoming richer. This should be a matter of concern to you and to us and to all the other newly independent and developing nations of the world.

It is this problem which has brought the leaders of the three friendly nations—India, the U.A.R. and Yugoslavia—together here to consider the means of co-operation through which we could strengthen our voice in the assemblies of the world. We do not want this merely to enable us to get help from others, but mainly to be able to help one another. This was the main objective of the Tripartite Meeting. Our three countries have chosen a common path of co-operation. I do not know how many more countries will be willing to take to this path. It is very much our wish to take along with us as many as possible of the newly independent countries who are facing the kind of problems that we are facing.

In the past, freedom struggle in one country had provided inspiration and strength to similar struggles in other countries. Those who led the freedom struggle in India were fully aware of the fact that our own freedom could not be secure so long as freedom of any other nation was in peril. Today, a conflict in one part of the world becomes a danger to our own peace. Similarly, social or economic backwardness in any part of the world poses a threat to our freedom and progress.

In our country we are making a special effort to raise those sections of our society that had been neglected in the past. The same principle should be extended to the world community. Peoples or countries neglected in the past deserve special assistance. This is

Free translation of speech in Hindi at a civic reception in honour of President Nasser of the U.A.R., Delhi, October 10, 1966.
necessary to enable all sections of humanity to share equally in the gains made in the field of science and technology. Development is a common task. Success in this task is possible only when all the countries co-operate. Some advance is possible by one's own effort; but this effort needs to be strengthened by assistance and support from those engaged in a similar effort of their own.

Your visit to this country has made our friendship stronger. With further growth of this relationship, we should be able to attract other countries also into its fold.

Today, the progress in the field of communication has made it possible for people in one part of the world to reach another part of the world within hours. It is remarkable that the relationship between our two countries dates back to the time when the means of communication were not so advanced. There was even then trade between us and also exchange of ideas. It is a matter for gratification to us that each passing year brings new strength to our old relationship. I welcome you once again not only on behalf of this city, or the Government of India, but also on behalf of the entire Indian people.

India and U.S.A.

Your words, Mr. President, were exceedingly moving. You have spoken of India and her wide variety. We who live there are naturally deeply conscious of it; at the same time we are fully aware of the underlying unity which binds together all our people.

You quoted some words of my father. I should like to quote something you have said. You said, Mr. President, that "Reality rarely matches dreams, but only dreams give nobility to purpose". In the United States, you have matched your dreams in many ways. Yet you still seek, and rightly, to offer the American people a better and more purposeful life. You have called this idea 'The Great Society'. In India we have our dreams which may seem trite to you who sit here because they are so simple—food barely sufficient to keep one from hunger; shelter to keep out the wind and the rain; medicine and education by which to restore the faith and the hope of nearly 500 million people.

But everything in life is relative. There is an old proverb in my country. A person says, "I complained that I had no shoes until I met a man who had no feet."

Speech at dinner given by President Johnson, Washington, March 28, 1966
Mahatma Gandhi once said, and it is something which my father often repeated, that we in India had to work to wipe the tear from every eye. That, of course, is a big task, and I doubt if it can be done in any country. And yet we have been trying to do that for eighteen long years. Two centuries of subjugation cannot be washed away so easily. It takes time. It takes work. It takes courage. India is changing.... Nowhere in the world can the contrast be so striking. We have not only different levels of development between the different States, but even within each State we have often several centuries existing side by side. We have some of the greatest irrigation works in the world and yet, in parts of our State of Rajasthan in the desert, families store precious water under lock and key. During a tour of some of these border areas a couple of months or so ago, I myself experienced the great hardship of doing without water and measuring the miles from well to well.

Some 12 million or more of bullock-carts still churn the dust of our village roads. Yet, in other parts of India, we are building three nuclear power plants.

Average agricultural yields are low. At the same time there are areas where we obtain sugarcane yields that compare favourably with those in Hawaii or in Java.

A third of the illiterate people in the world are in India. Yet, we are steadily conquering illiteracy. In our State of Maharashtra, village after village strives to achieve total literacy. Parents learn from their children so that the honour of the village is upheld. In Madras, people have banded together to improve their schools. They have given 100 million rupees beyond what the Government spends on their schools. In the Punjab, little workshops make lathes and pumps that have revolutionised the countryside.

The seeming inconsistencies and conflicts of India are legion. The set-backs—and we have had many—are heart-breaking. Yet the signs of change are clear and constantly growing.

Sometimes critics point to an example of success and say, "This proves nothing. This is a mere drop in the ocean of Indian poverty." How wrong this is? For every success reinforces the prospect of further success. It shows that success is possible.

This is really our major problem. Years ago, when we visited the villages to persuade people to try for a better life, they turned to us and said, "There can be no better life. God wills it this way. This is our lot and we have to suffer it." Today, not a single voice will be heard like this. There is only one demand, the demand for a better life. This, in itself, I think, is a very big achievement.

You talked of democracy. May I tell you a story which I shared with the Vice-President a short while ago? It happened during our
first election. I had gone to speak in a village where, just the day before, the leader of an opposition party had spoken. When my speech ended, an elderly gentleman got up from the audience and said, "We have listened very carefully to what you have said, but just the day before somebody came and he said exactly the opposite. Now, which one of you was telling the truth?"

This, you can understand, is an extremely tricky question to ask a public speaker. I said, "Well, I think that what I said was the truth, but I have no doubt that the gentleman thought that what he said was the truth. The whole point of democracy is that everybody should say what he thinks is the truth and you, the people, have to judge whose is the correct version and which is the right thing for you."

Well, this was rather a difficult explanation for them, so they said, "Now, you tell us, do you belong to the Congress party?" I said, "I do." "Is your party in power? Is it forming the Government?" I said, "Yes, it is." "Then what business have you to send somebody here who tells us incorrect things? It is your business to keep him away."

This was one of the stops where I was supposed to stay only ten minutes, but I stayed two hours trying to argue the whole point about elections, freedom of expression, and so on. I cannot say that I got any further at the end of the two hours.

But now, years later, we find that we have got further. Nobody in India today would put such a question. Every one knows that different parties have their points of view; that these points of view are put before the people to judge; and that the people judge, not always rightly but at least they try to judge rightly. Certainly, from election to election, they have shown a great maturity.

India very definitely is on the move. The United States has given us valuable assistance in our struggle against poverty, hunger, ignorance and disease. We are grateful for this act of friendship. But we also know that our own 'Great Society' must and can rest securely only on the quality and extent of our own effort. This effort we are determined to make. We owe it to our friends; and even more so, we owe it to ourselves.

Nevertheless, I believe that it is of the greatest importance, to use your own words, to bring into closer union the spirit and courage of both our countries. I welcome your intention to set up an Indo-American Foundation which will give tangible shape and form to this union.

The present-day world offers the possibility of bringing together one people with another. The young men and women of your Peace Corps are well known and well loved in our country. Every endeavour to sustain and enlarge this people-to-people partnership is a good effort and is welcome.
Friendship with America is not a new thing for us. Those of us in India who have been involved with the struggle for freedom have known, from our earliest days, your own struggle here. We have been taught the words of your leaders and of your past great Presidents. Above all, we were linked because of the friendship and understanding that President Roosevelt showed us during some of the most difficult days of our independence struggle. I have no doubt that the friendly advice given by him to the British Government facilitated and accelerated our freedom.

But there again the major effort had to be our own. Even today, we want to bear our burden and we are doing so, but a little help is welcome from friends who consider it worthwhile to lighten our burden. India's problems today are her own, but they are also the world’s problems. India, if it is stable, united and democratic, can serve a great purpose. If India is not stable, if India fails, it would be a failure of the whole democratic system. It would be a failure of many of the values which you and I hold dear. That is why Mr. President, I welcome your words and I welcome this meeting with you.

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I come to the United States and to New York not as a stranger but as a friend. New York is the financial and cultural centre of your great country and I am aware that your Club is one of the best known groups in the business and banking community of this city. I am especially pleased, therefore, to be with you this evening.

My theme today is the performance and prospects of the Indian economy, a subject in which, I know, you have long been interested. The basic fact about India is that she is at once a very old and a very young country. She has had a long history, a great culture and many traditions. But it is less than eighteen years since she emerged into her own from the shackles of colonial rule. With the winning of freedom, we lost no time in adopting for ourselves a programme of economic development. Our first Five Year Plan was launched in 1951. In a few days, we shall complete the third of these Five Year Plans and fifteen years of development will be behind us. This period of time, so full of performance and achievements as well as of rising but unfulfilled expectations, is a useful time-frame for taking stock.

The recorded facts of progress are certainly impressive in all spheres of economic activity—agriculture, industry, infra-structure, health and education. I shall not repeat them in detail. Yet I cannot resist quoting some figures which will give you a broad-brush

From speech at dinner given by Economic Club of New York, March 30, 1966
picture of what has taken place in India. In these fifteen years, the production of foodgrains went up from 50 to 88 million tons. Industrial production has been steadily rising at the rate of 7 to 8 per cent per annum. The capacity for generation of electricity has increased fivefold from 1.7 million kilowatts in 1950 to 8.5 million kilowatts in 1965. Nearly 70 million children attend school today, as against 25 million in 1950. Malaria and smallpox have been eradicated and the expectation of life has increased from 32 years in the 1940s to 50 years now.

In this tremendous endeavour, India has been greatly helped by her friends abroad. We are grateful for the generosity and understanding with which this help has been forthcoming. Our own efforts in mobilising domestic savings have also been very substantial. In a country as poor as India, where the margin between income and consumption is necessarily narrow, it is rather remarkable that domestic savings have doubled from 5 per cent of the national income in 1951 to over 11 per cent in 1966. In the last fifteen years, these internal savings have financed 80 per cent of our total investment. With patience and good cheer, our people have accepted the growing role of taxation in financing the rapidly expanding programmes for development and social services. As another measure of self-reliance, exports in the last five years have increased at the rate of 5 per cent per annum. The doctrine of self-help is, therefore, not by any means new to us. From the very beginning, we have been committed to and have steadily organised ourselves for self-reliance to as large a degree as possible.

The practical connotation which we have given to this concept of self-reliance is to undertake, early in the process of development, basic investments designed to exploit fully our human and material resources. We have built steel mills, not because they are prestigious but because India has vast reserves of good iron ore and skilled and inexpensive labour. We can produce steel cheaply. We are organised for fabricating machinery and for designing plants using our own steel. We have coal, oil and bauxite which we have proceeded to exploit in the same way. Qualitatively, the last fifteen years have seen not only a growth but a diversification and sophistication of the industrial structure of India. This has meant that we now increasingly import raw materials and components. In many key commodities, the proportion of imports to total consumption is steadily going down.

I am sure you cannot be unaware of these broad facts. But, unfortunately, this is not the picture which has been in the forefront of world news about India in recent months. That is why I wished to draw your attention to them once again this evening.

In recent months, in India as well as outside, there has been much
public discussion on the strains which have developed in the Indian economy. It is not my purpose to take you through the detailed causes which have contributed to the phase of strain and tension which admittedly we are experiencing today. It seems to me that much of our present difficulties in regard to food and foreign exchange are, in a large part, a reflection of the fact that the rising expectations of the Indian people have overtaken the progress so far achieved. The greatest single lesson to be drawn is that in future plans we should aim to achieve decisively higher results than we have done so far.

In this context, the crucial sector is clearly agriculture. Over the last fifteen years, Indian agriculture has grown up nearly 4 per cent per annum. The demand has simultaneously gone up, due not only to the increase in population but also because people eat more, prefer better food and live longer. Even so, with the agricultural growth we have achieved, production might have been adequate for meeting our minimum requirements if only food could be steadily produced without any fluctuations beyond the control of man. Unfortunately, the vicissitudes of weather have greater impact in India than perhaps in other parts of the world. We have a high proportion of arable land, but less than a fifth of it is irrigated. Also, a large part of irrigation depends on the rains, and this year we have had an exceptional drought, unparalleled in the last seventy years. It is a measure of the degree to which the world has become indivisible that in this crisis we have had the full understanding and assistance of many countries and most notably, of your own. With this support, I have no doubt that we shall tide over the famine without too great a suffering.

We have drawn a long-term and essential lesson from this famine. In agriculture, it is not enough to aim at self-sufficiency. We must produce more. This is the basic objective of the bold new agricultural strategy which has been evolved in India in the last year. This strategy has been based on an intense review for several months preceding the present crisis. Basically, what we are attempting is to break, within a short space of time, the vicious circle of poor incentives, inadequate inputs and low production in Indian agriculture and to achieve a modernised agriculture.

Of equal priority are our plans for population control. Our efforts have received a decisive impetus in the last year or so. Over 18,000 family planning centres are now functioning in the country and we started on a intra-uterine contraceptive device programme last year. This device, which is simple, inexpensive and harmless, has already become quite popular and on an average there are 100,000 insertions a month. This number is rapidly increasing. In the Third Plan, the expenditure on family planning has been over ten times that spent on the programme in the first two Plans put together; more than
three times this amount will be allotted for population control in the next five years.

What is important to remember is that, in both agriculture and population control, we have to operate in the diffuse area where success depends on the extent to which individuals accept a change in attitude. At this point, one can truthfully say that the Indian peasant as well as the Indian parent is being rapidly prepared to accept the changed attitude demanded of them by modern society. But ultimately what will convince them to modernise is the example of modernisation itself. Nothing succeeds like success, and in the coming years, as examples of progress in India multiply, the pace of progress will certainly accelerate. What is important is that at every stage we should have the resources and the inputs to satisfy this demand for improvement whenever and in whatever form it arises. This then is the challenge for the coming period.

We are at present engaged in the formulation of the Fourth Five Year Plan. It seeks to take India on to a decisively higher stage of development in the next five years. The investment in the Fourth Plan will be $45 billion, nearly twice the investment of around $24 billion in the Third Plan. The strategy underlying this Plan is a rapid reduction in the birth rate, an assurance to the agricultural sector of all the inputs it needs, an emphasis on rapid expansion of exports, and a rapid increase in domestic savings. In drawing up this Plan, we have time and again been impressed by the extent to which agriculture, transport, power and industry are linked together. Fertilisers provide the most obvious example of these links. One of the most important targets is to increase fertiliser production capacity to 2.4 million tons of Nitrogen. We already have enough schemes on hand and under active negotiation to ensure realisation of this target.

As I see it, India is well past the mid-point of the process of development which began in 1951. The next ten or twelve years, of which the Fourth Plan will be only the first milestone, will be a crucial period as it is within this time-span of the next decade or so that India plans to complete her emergence as a fully self-reliant nation. These years will certainly be crucial to the people of India, in terms of the effort and sacrifice which they will be called upon to make. These will also be crucial for our friends elsewhere in the world, in that they will face the test of whether they intend to continue the support which they have given to India so far decisively enough in the future so as to make a difference. The aid which we have received hitherto has been on a generous scale in absolute terms. But, relative to other countries, it has been somewhat at the end of the list on a per capita basis. To some extent this is perhaps due to the enormous size of our country.
Nonetheless, the fact remains that unless internal savings are supplemented to an adequate degree by the import of capital, we cannot carry out the very investments which would render the further flow of aid unnecessary in the foreseeable future. I would venture to suggest that from the point of view of the aid-giving countries themselves, it would be far better to render assistance on a scale that promotes early self-generating growth than to run the risk of giving too little. Such a policy would be self-defeating.

This concept of ultimate self-reliance means that aid, which is an extraordinary form of transfer of resources, need not continue and that our own export earnings should meet our import requirements. The flow of private investment would certainly continue; it would be welcome and, indeed, receive greater emphasis. I am aware that most of you in this gathering are keenly interested in our policies in respect of private foreign investment and I shall, therefore, speak quite frankly on this matter. In India, we welcome private foreign investment not only for the capital it brings with it, but also for the transfer of modern technology and managerial and technical skills which it facilitates. In the future, we shall continue to maintain our policy of treating foreign investors completely on par with national investors. Indeed, the foreign investor in India is 'discriminated' only in the sense of being allowed certain advantages, such as tax exemption for technicians, which are not available to Indian nationals. Our fiscal structure contains sizable incentives to private investment, Indian and foreign, and these will be continued. We allow full repatriation of profits and capital freely and we intend to continue this policy. Most important of all, India has a large and growing market with a high degree of profitability. In the foreseeable future, it will be one of the world’s largest markets, and enterprises established early in the process of development are bound to take a full share in that prosperity. In India, we have a well-laid infra-structure of power and transport. Indian labour has demonstrated that, with proper training and good working conditions, its productivity can compare with that achieved in Western Europe. We have given high importance to technical education and there is no dearth of technicians and engineers in India.

This is the brighter side of the picture. The other side which has been presented to us repeatedly is the existence in the Indian system of a number of controls and allocation procedures which, it is claimed, act as a major inhibiting factor to the smooth flow of private investment. To a large extent, these controls are a product of scarcity. When resources are limited and have to be put to the most productive use within the framework of a system of priorities, it is inevitable that there should be selectivity about the fields in which one wants new investment. To give an obvious example, in the Indian context it
would be irrational to assure freedom of investment in cosmetics of similar luxury goods. It is this need for selectivity which necessitates controls.

Having said this, I do fully agree with the plea for a rationalisation and simplification of procedures for operating these controls. In this area, wherever the supply situation has improved, such as in steel or cement, we have loosened the allocation procedures. We have also undertaken a number of steps to streamline the approval mechanism. As a major step in this area, I am meeting young Indian industrialists next month to explore with them possibilities for further improvement. Any suggestions which you might like to contribute in this matter individually or in groups are welcome and we shall give them our full consideration.

Ultimately, liberalisation of controls is possible only with a greater inflow of foreign resources whether from export earnings, or foreign aid or foreign investment. We do not believe in controls for their own sake, and with an additional supply of foreign resources we shall certainly be prepared to relax many of them. On exports we continue to do all we can, but I must point out that the industrialised countries of the Western World need to open up their markets much more than they have been prepared to do so far.

I have outlined our approach to private foreign investment. I feel confident that this approach supplies a framework within which we and you can do business together. In this country you have always believed in pushing back your frontiers. In the last century, you tamed the Wild West. My appeal to you today is that in the next few decades you should allow yourselves to be tamed by the Developing East. In this complex and troubled world of today, the greatest promise for a better future lies in growth in science and technology and in modern means of communication which have brought this world, yours and mine, so close together already. We, in this generation, have the opportunity to use these marvellous tools to secure for the world peace through prosperity. In this quest, India is entirely ready and willing to be your partner.

* * *

There is little to be said either about India or about Indo-American relations with which you are not already familiar. But, with your permission, I should like to indulge in some loud thinking on matters of common concern.

India and the United States share the values of freedom and peace, religious tolerance and goodwill, care of the weak and the neglected

From speech at dinner given by the India Council of the Asia Society and other organisations, New York, March 31, 1966.
and opportunity for all without sapping the springs of initiative and enterprise. We also share a commitment to political democracy. On us rests a great part of the responsibility of carrying forward, over the coming decades, the traditions of progress with freedom and justice. As the most affluent democracy and the most powerful nation in the world, America has a place in world affairs which is easy to comprehend. India too will be judged by future historians in terms of her success or failures in enriching human dignity and in sustaining freedom among the emerging nations of the world.

There is no parallel in history for what we are trying to achieve in India today. In a vast and ancient land steeped in extreme poverty and embracing within its borders a rich variety of cultures, languages and religions, we are attempting to bridge, in a matter of decades, the gap created by a century and more of stagnation. This we are doing within the framework of an active and highly articulate democracy. For we believe that development can be achieved with consent and with increasing welfare.

The Indian experiment gains meaning and significance in its relevance to two-thirds of humanity for whom the virtues of freedom and of the rule of law have yet to be proven and tested. Neither India nor America can discharge the responsibility which history has bestowed upon them without having a correct perspective of the world in which we live.

Let us look at the world of today. As a result of the manifold initiative already taken towards greater international co-operation our world is becoming increasingly united. In the second half of the twentieth century, science and technology have definitely tilted the scales in favour of greater hope and promise for all mankind. At the same time, tensions still persist and there is growing inequality between one nation and another. A significant fact is the change in the outlook and quality of the new generation. There is now opportunity for youth to gain recognition, to pursue excellence, and for their talent to flower. In Europe and America, in Asia and Africa, in the Soviet Union and Latin America the young are restless and are seeking an identity. They are increasingly free from the passions and prejudices of the past. They repudiate the memories and slogans of an age in which wars, depression, colonialism and racial intolerance gave rise to such fierce passions and ideological disputes. Instead, they want to hew their own path of endeavour and self-expression.

In India too the gap between the new generation and the older one is much wider than ever before. Talented young people are emerging in large numbers and from all sections of society. The attitudes of these young people are changing the standard image of India that exists in the minds of most people abroad. Even in the Indian
village of today, bound as it is by old custom and tradition, you will find an urge for progress and change. Poverty and want, disease and ignorance are no longer accepted as punishment for past sins. The Indian business community has also come of age. The commercial attitudes of the past are dying and a whole generation of younger business men, trained in modern methods of management and attuned to technical and economic efficiency, is emerging to create a new and dynamic industry.

In the political sphere too, we have repeatedly belied the prophets of gloom. With all our differences and difficulties, India has remained one and united, a secular State where religious tolerance is cherished as much as individual freedom, a federal State where local autonomy is constantly being enlarged without undermining the sense of national unity and purpose.

The question is often asked how, despite all her problems, India has been able to strengthen the foundations of democracy and harmony. The answer is not difficult to find. In Mahatma Gandhi, we had a great leader whose identification with the poorest of the poor gave a strong base to our political party. In my father we had a leader who was young at heart and who retained to the last a fresh and forward-looking mind. He was able to call the nation to great tasks. His leadership was one that stressed self-reliance. He demanded loyalty not to himself but to larger causes. The Congress Party, which Mahatma Gandhi and my father guided, has a tradition of harbouring under its canopy a wide range of political opinion. Differences are resolved by debate and discussion.

I should not like you to believe—indeed how could I—that all is well with India or that we do not have formidable problems still ahead of us. With all our progress in the economic field, and it has been considerable, life for the average Indian still retains its harshness. Much remains to be done to bring the benefits of science and technology to our homes, our farms and our factories. Health and education require far greater attention than we have been able to give. In our commerce with other nations, we run an adverse balance which must be met by borrowing from abroad. What should we do to meet this situation? We have initiated a bold new programme for raising agricultural production and for encouraging family planning. In regard to external trade also, we are making every effort to increase our export earnings and to produce at home a growing proportion of our rapidly rising needs of fertilisers, pesticides, petroleum products, steel and even machinery. The Indian economy has, over the years, achieved a fairly high degree of sophistication and diversification so that today we are able to manufacture a wide variety of goods and equipment in our own factories.
Some of the difficulties which we are experiencing today in regard to prices, food production and foreign exchange are in large part a reflection of the very success that we have achieved in modernising and transforming the Indian economy. Progress has brought expectation of even greater advance and the desire to move faster than is immediately feasible. If our economy falters and shows signs of strain, they are difficulties of growth and not of stagnation or incompetence or wrong objectives and policies.

If we had not thought of building the basic industries, we might have moved faster. But there is no escape from setting up basic industry and transport and power. As we grow we have to build the basis of further growth. In President Johnson's words, we must "build for tomorrow in the immediacy of today".

So we continue our endeavour. Four-fifths of our investment of $40 billion in the last fifteen years has come from our own people, mainly through taxation, and mainly from the poor. Only a million Indians are rich enough to pay income tax in a nation of 500 million people.

The other one-fifth of our investment comes to us as foreign aid. It is a crucial one-fifth, a catalytic one-fifth. It represents new machinery, new technology and the materials needed by our growing industry.

A great deal of our foreign aid comes from the American people. As we draw closer to the turning point, our effort increases and we need a correspondingly greater volume of aid. If this is not forthcoming, the bright tomorrow recedes. As a nation, we do not wish to depend on foreign assistance for a day longer than is absolutely necessary. Our enormous population has made it difficult for us to obtain the kind of external assistance on a per capita basis as has been made available to other, more fortunately placed countries.

With all these disabilities, we do wholeheartedly endorse the principle that foreign aid can be justified only in terms of performance. No nation, not even the United States of America, is rich enough to waste its substance. And no nation, certainly not India, can receive even friendly assistance without paralysing its will and morale, unless such aid is merely a stepping stone towards eventual self-reliance.

The assistance we have received so generously from America has been not only on a government-to-government basis. It has also been on a people-to-people and a business-to-business basis. The work of the devoted young people of the Peace Corps, the activities of institutions such as the Ford Foundation and the Rockefeller Foundation, and the presence of a large number of Indian students in your universities—all these are evidence of people-to-people co-operation. As for business, American and Indian business men have come closer
together in trade and in industry in a number of productive ventures. I assure those who have a business interest in India or are contemplating such an interest, that India welcomes them. We allow repatriation of profits and capital freely. These problems can be discussed frankly with us and need not be raised to the level of international controversy. As a nation, we are hospitable. Investors coming to India will be received as friends. We have no rigid or dogmatic attitudes. Our main concern is the well-being of our people and the viability of our country. Whatever the odds, we must succeed in our experiment of progress with freedom and social justice. Consistent with this, we are prepared to consider any and every proposal for international business co-operation.

The bonds of friendship between India and the United States are strong, but they cannot be meaningful and purposeful without the realisation that our two countries have a special responsibility to share at this present juncture of history. To discharge this high responsibility, we must view the present in the perspective of history. We cannot afford to be distracted by impatience or diverted by difficulties or irritated by misunderstandings which seem so inseparable a part of human relations. The quality of statesmanship lies in rising above the vexations and irritations of the day. Nowhere is this quality more essential than in the relationship between India and America.

India and U.S.S.R.

I have visited this great land many times and my mind is full of memories, especially of the tour with my father in 1955. The truly tumultuous welcome we received imparted warmth and added meaning to the relationship between our two countries. From the time of the Great October Revolution, the world began to hear a new voice—that of Lenin—and began to stir to new ideas. Our own independence struggle in India developed along somewhat different lines. Nevertheless, we were influenced and deeply moved by the heroic efforts of the new Soviet Government to establish itself and build a new social order on the ruins of the Czarist tyranny and war. We were impressed by the foresight and practical wisdom of your leaders in modifying their tactics and making adjustments to suit the needs and circumstances of the time without surrendering their cherished goals. This has been an

From speech at Soviet-Indian Friendship Rally, Moscow, July 14, 1966
example for other countries, as was evident in the deliberations of your 23rd Party Congress.

The Soviet Seven Year Plan has registered substantial all-round gains. Your splendid successes in probing the unfathomed mysteries of space are but one symbol of your great progress. May I, on behalf of the Indian people, congratulate you, the Soviet people, on this magnificent achievement? We share your pride in the skill and daring of your scientists and cosmonauts, for the conquest of nature is a triumph of all mankind. In a very different sense, we in India too have attained certain objectives which, not many years ago, our people thought unattainable.

In the nineteen years since Independence, there has been a remarkable transformation of the Indian scene. Ten years ago, peasants cultivated their fields around two little villages called Bhilai and Hatia, near Ranchi, as their forefathers had for centuries before them. Today, Bhilai is a mighty steel centre and Hatia the hub of a huge machine-building complex. The Soviet Union has helped us in both these projects.

The public sector has taken a leading role in the development of many key industries in India. The past decade has seen a considerable strengthening of the infra-structure. Power and transport facilities have been greatly developed. There has been a tremendous expansion in technical education. A number of social and institutional changes have been effected. Intermediaries on the land have been abolished over large parts of the country and the ownership of land has passed to the tiller of the soil.

A new generation of Indians is rapidly coming to the helm of affairs. These young men and women have grown up in freedom. They have seized the opportunities offered by Independence and have acquired a variety of skills and experience. They have dedication, vision and confidence. Whether workers, technicians, scientists or managers, they are second to none. I am tremendously proud of them and when I see their bright faces during my travels in the country, I am inspired and filled with hope. They are dedicated to the building of a new India, a democratic and socialist India, and they shall succeed in this great adventure.

When we began planning fifteen years ago, it was our objective to end our dependence on foreign aid and attain a stage of self-sustaining growth and a socialist structure of society within the span of a generation. We adhere to this objective and are confident that we shall have developed a self-reliant economy within the next decade, that is, at the end of our Fifth Five Year Plan. With this same end in view, we are proceeding to build a heavy industrial base in the public sector and to develop our exports to a point where we are able to stand on our own
feet and repay the foreign loans which we have taken. Just now, we are engaged in giving final shape to our Fourth Five Year Plan.

Some of my colleagues preceded me to Moscow and have had fruitful discussions with your Government on ways and means to promote further trade and economic collaboration between our two countries and peoples. The Bokaro steel plant is a central project in our march towards self-reliance. The Soviet Union is assisting India in building this project and I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to thank Chairman Kosygin and his colleagues for the great interest they have taken in furthering our aspirations with regard to the construction of this project; much of the equipment for this will be assembled from the Soviet-aided machine-building plant near Ranchi to which I have referred earlier. Having now begun to build machines which make machines, we are equally anxious to widen and deepen our own technological design and engineering skill. Here again the Bokaro steel plant will rise as a shining symbol of constructive Indo-Soviet co-operation. India is engrossed in peaceful development. It is engaged in one of the most meaningful and vital struggles of our time—the struggle against poverty.

 Everywhere, nations are becoming free, though some dark spots of colonialism and racial oppression still disfigure the map of the world. Yet, political freedom is incomplete and has little meaning without economic independence. Until the battle for economic independence is won, the newly emerging nations—the developing nations—will be subjected to external pressures which must be resisted. The widening gulf between the rich and poor nations is creating new tensions which it must be the object of international economic diplomacy to relieve. In this task, India, though herself in the throes of development, has sought to contribute her mite in assisting other developing nations in Asia and Africa. As our economy develops, so will grow our ability to enlarge our contribution. The world will achieve freedom from want the sooner it is able to secure freedom from war and freedom from fear. That is why India has consistently and from the inception of her Independence stood for non-alignement and peaceful co-existence.

Our entire State policy has been built on the four pillars of socialism, democracy, secularism and non-alignement. We have held fast to these principles and, over the years, have been gratified to see their growing acceptance around the world. There are some who say that non-alignement has served its purpose and has no further role to play. This is a misreading of the international situation. It is the policy of alignement and not of non-alignement which has failed. This is evidenced in the disintegration of SEATO and CENTO. The nature of group tensions might have changed but tensions continue to exist. Non-alignement, cutting across as it does racial and regional barriers and rival
power blocs, has got an even more vital role to play in easing these tensions, safeguarding security, strengthening national independence and consolidating peace in our troubled world.

Let us look around Asia and Africa. These are continents newly liberated from colonialism, encompassing a multitude of emerging nations in various stages of social and economic development. One attribute is common to them all. It is nationalism, a sense of national identity, a pride and hope in national aspirations. There are also broader streams of regional nationalism, such as Arab nationalism, which are proud and strong. In the exuberance of their new-found expression, they are assertive, restless. They cannot be ignored. It is hardly surprising that the focus of danger and of international insecurity has moved from Europe to the developing world, the so-called 'third world' of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Here it is that we find the tensions of development and of growth, of nationalist upsurge, of external economic pressure and intrigue, of subversion, of coups, coming to a boil. Here it is that certain powers seek to create and accentuate tensions by calculated attacks on non-alignment and rejection of peaceful co-existence.

India belongs to Asia. And it is of Asia that I should like to speak, and more especially of South-East Asia. The tragedy of Vietnam has filled us with anguish. War will solve nothing. It can only extend the area of damage and destruction and embitter relations for years ahead. Vietnam is today a powder-keg. Any escalation might substantially enlarge and intensify the conflict with grave consequences for the peace of the world. There is no alternative to a peaceful settlement and it is to this end that we must all bend our energies. We in India certainly cannot afford to be by-standers especially when a part of Asia is ablaze. No power should be allowed to block the path to peace.

It is for this reason that I ventured to give expression to certain ideas on the eve of my departure from Delhi last week. It seems to be almost universally agreed that the best, perhaps the only constructive, course would be to get all the parties concerned—I repeat all the parties concerned—around the negotiating table within the framework of the Geneva Agreement. Meanwhile, there must be an immediate ending to the bombing of North Vietnam. This would create the climate for the holding of a conference and a swift cessation of hostilities and the complete withdrawal of all foreign forces and armed personnel from Vietnam, in full observance of the Geneva Agreement. There is nothing particularly novel in these suggestions. Nor is it our intention to present them in a package, as a rigid formula of any kind. There might be more suitable acceptable alternatives. If so, we would be willing to support such proposals. Our sole objective at this moment
is to focus attention on some simple, fundamental propositions and to
deny the inevitability of escalation and destruction by the prolongation of
the conflict. We have put forward our idea for a conference on
Vietnam in the same constructive spirit which prompted you to propose
the Tashkent Conference. Peace in Vietnam would also go a long way
towards bringing about conditions of greater stability in South-East
Asia which, like most other parts of the world, is in a state of flux.

We are glad that the confrontation between Malaysia and Indonesia
is ending and we hope this will lead to widening the area of peace and
the strengthening of non-alignment. Our interest in West Asia and
Africa is no less keen. The embers of colonialism and racialism might
appear to glow in the wind of change. But these are dying embers.
In cooperation with other countries we should continue to make all
possible efforts to wipe out these remnants of a shameful past.

We support the people of Zimbabwe, South Africa, Angola,
Mozambique, so-called “Portuguese” Guinea, Southern Arabia, Aden
and other dependent territories in their struggle for freedom and inde-
pendence. We consider our own freedom and independence incom-
plete until all countries under colonial domination achieve freedom.
Certain reactionary forces are at work in Asia and Africa. Some of
these seek to exploit religion for narrow political advantage. Others
are allied to entrenched social and economic privilege. It is not
enough to condemn these forces. They can be influenced in positive
directions and it is for the progressive forces to devote themselves to
this task.

China and Pakistan are close neighbors of ours. We wish them
well and make no claims on either except those of good neighbourliness
and friendship. We are willing to come to a just and honorable
settlement with China at any time. The conflict in which we were
involved with Pakistan last year was not of our making. We are grate-
ful to the Soviet Government and especially to Chairman Kosygin for
the patience with which they helped to bring about the meeting. India
stands committed to the Tashkent Declaration and is willing and anxious
to implement it fully, both in letter and in spirit. It was the hope
of our late Prime Minister, Shri Shastri, that this would mark a point
of departure in Indo-Pakistan relations.

The Tashkent Declaration is a notable document because both
parties have agreed to abjure the use of force in the settlement of dis-
putes. The Tashkent Declaration is a manifesto of peaceful co-existence
and postulates the pacific settlement of differences between States. We
in India bear no ill-will towards Pakistan. We remain ever willing
to enlarge friendly contacts between our two countries and peoples—
through cultural exchange, economic co-operation and collaboration,
easing of travel and transit restrictions, and in numerous other ways.
I am confident that there is no problem between India and Pakistan which cannot be peacefully settled in a manner consistent with the honour and interest of both countries. We have extended the hand of friendship to Pakistan and hope that they will no longer hesitate to grasp it. We are prepared to meet with Pakistan at any level to discuss our problems and work out just and honourable solutions.

One other issue is of deep concern to us and to all mankind. This is general and complete disarmament. We believe that non-proliferation cannot be an end in itself. It can only be an interim stage which facilitates a movement towards nuclear disarmament. Neither India nor any other country can unilaterally impose a self-denying ordinance on itself if the nuclear powers themselves go on proliferating nuclear weapons and do not come to a rational agreement regarding arms control. It is our hope that discussions on the banning of underground tests will mature into a formal international agreement. Meanwhile, the Moscow Test Ban Treaty is threatened by certain nuclear powers. While some kind of international guarantee to safeguard non-aligned, non-nuclear powers against the threat of a nuclear attack from a nuclear power may be useful, we do not think it is enough. Nor do nuclear-free zones adequately answer the basic problem. These are only first steps. The real answer to nuclear disarmament is general and complete disarmament. This global problem must be faced without delay.

The United Nations is the main hope of the world. We have always sought to strengthen that body and, despite our differences with China, have continued to support the principle of universality in its membership. We believe also that the United Nations should more truly reflect the present state of the world which has greatly altered since 1945 with the emergence to freedom of a very large number of Asian and African nations. These new nations deserve better representation in the various organs of the United Nations. Our discussions with Chairman Kosygin and his colleagues on all these and many other matters have been frank, friendly and fruitful. For me this visit has been a rich experience—rich not only because of the understanding and wisdom of your leaders, but richer still because of the sincere friendship and desire for peace of the great Soviet people. The people of India rejoice in your success and in your progress. Greetings to the citizens of Moscow. May the spirit of Moscow, the spirit of peace and friendship, always triumph. May the bonds of Indo-Soviet friendship and co-operation grow stronger. May co-operation between our two nations and all other friendly States help consolidate and promote peace in the world. Bharat-Soviet Maitri Amar Rahe (Long live Indo-Soviet friendship).
I BRING YOU India’s warm-hearted greetings and good wishes. I am grateful to Soviet television for the courtesy of being invited to your homes. I have come several times to the Soviet Union since 1953 and have known Soviet friendship and hospitality. In the name of the Indian people, I should like to thank you personally for the kindness shown to me and to my party.

We are glad to have more and more Soviet visitors in our country—technicians, experts and others. There are also a large number of Indian students and technicians in the Soviet Union. I welcome these people-to-people contacts, for this will strengthen our friendship.

Compared to the Soviet Union, India is much smaller in size but much larger in population. By next year you will have 500 million Indian friends. India became independent nineteen years ago. We have made tremendous progress in many directions. However, our agriculture still has to keep ahead of population to provide the food and fibre we need. We have taken up many large and small irrigation works, including some giant schemes like the 680-kilometre-long Rajasthan Canal which is converting a sandy desert into a garden and is irrigating the Soviet-aided Suratgarh State Farm. Our food-grains production has increased by 75 per cent since 1950 and we hope to be substantially self-sufficient in food-grains by 1971.

Before Independence, we had a negligible industrial base. This has grown in size and sophistication. We are today not merely building heavy equipment and machines, but machines which build machines. We have developed and are further expanding a substantial steel industry. Amongst the other articles we manufacture are motor cars, locomotives, ships and aircraft. Within the next decade, we hope to attain a stage of self-reliant growth.

The pace and quality of industrialisation in India has been greatly influenced by the generous assistance we have received from the Soviet Union in terms both of plant and equipment and of technical assistance. The most notable examples of Indo-Soviet collaboration are in the field of heavy machine-building, steel, heavy electricals, oil refining and the manufacture of drugs. A second integrated iron and steel works is being established at Bokaro with Soviet assistance. In Delhi, Russian is one of the languages spoken in one of our leading shops and we have an Institute of Russian Studies.

Indo-Soviet trade has expanded very rapidly and the Soviet Union is one of our most important trading partners. The character of this trade has also undergone a change. Whereas previously the Soviet Union used predominantly to export capital goods to India and India raw materials to the Soviet Union, the current pattern of trade reveals

Address on television, Moscow, July 13, 1966
a considerable amount of Indian manufactured exports to the Soviet Union—shoes, shirts and knitted garments—and Soviet raw materials and intermediates to India. We place great value on this trade, for experience has taught us that trade on terms of equality and mutual benefit is more valuable than aid.

Socialism is one of the cardinal principles of our State policy, along with democracy, secularism and non-alignment. The attainment of socialism in terms of equality of opportunity, social justice and reasonably comfortable living standards is still a long way off. But we are moving in that direction. The public sector occupies a position of increasing primacy in our economic affairs, especially in key industries. This is increasingly true of trade, foreign as well as internal. The co-operative sector is fast expanding and stimulating the process of socialisation of trade.

Alongside, there is the equally important process of social transformation. Agrarian relations have been reformed. There is vast improvement in health conditions. There has been a tremendous boom in education. Women are playing an increasingly active role at all levels of national life. There is an ever-widening pool of skill and talent.

Our foreign policy is based on the principles of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence. These principles are the best safeguards of the independence and integrity of developing nations. Our relations with the Soviet Union and other friendly countries have strengthened non-alignment. This policy is an active, not a passive one.

We are deeply concerned with war and human suffering and, at this moment, would like to add our voice to the urgent pleas for a peaceful settlement in Vietnam. Our heart goes out to the courageous people of Vietnam. They must be left free to decide their own destiny without interference from outside forces or pressures. The bombing of North Vietnam must stop and peace talks should be held to facilitate the cessation of all hostilities, withdrawal of all foreign armed personnel, and a political solution.

We are grateful to the Soviet Union for helping bring about the Tashkent Declaration between India and Pakistan. India fully supports this Declaration and is anxious to implement it. Our position on racism and colonialism, our desire to see complete disarmament, and our concern to narrow the dangerously widening gulf between rich and poor nations are well known.

On these problems and others, the Soviet Union and India have been and are in a large measure of agreement. I have had useful discussions with Chairman Kosygin and his colleagues. I shall carry back with me to India the warm glow of Indo-Soviet friendship. I know that we have a good friend in the Soviet Union and I shall like
you, the Soviet people, to know that you have no less a friend in the Indian people. This friendship is not merely a fact. It is an important factor in international relations.

I wish the Soviet Government and the friendly Soviet people success in their endeavours for further progress at home and peace in the world. Dosvidanya!

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It is a long-awaited pleasure to have our good friend, Chairman Kosygin, and his charming daughter, Mrs. Ludmila Gvishiani, with us. We are happy to welcome you, Chairman Kosygin, on this festive occasion. Our Republic Day celebrations will be the more joyous for the presence in our midst of good friends and neighbours. We regret that you cannot stay longer to see more of the immense variety of our country.

I recall our delightful meeting, only a few months ago, when Chairman Kosygin took time off from his many pressing engagements at the time of the 50th anniversary celebrations of the Great October Revolution to invite us, together with some of his distinguished colleagues, to a quiet, informal evening at his dacha outside Moscow. The talk touched many subjects but most memorable was the open-hearted friendship and sincerity which underlay it.

Thirty-seven years ago, on this day, the people of India took a pledge not to rest until they became free. Now it is eighteen years since we became a Republic, an event the anniversary of which we are celebrating tomorrow. In these eighteen years, our experience has proved that freedom is only the beginning; its fulfilment is the happiness of the people and their ability to live without fear. But the technology of war has developed to such an extent that a great question-mark seems to be poised over the globe. Is man born to blow himself up and destroy his planet? Can he not endure and build? The very nature of modern war has strengthened the compulsions for survival. I recently came across a profound thought in one of our ancient books, to the effect that 'when we believe, we perceive'. If we believe in the future of man, we shall be able to perceive and strengthen those forces which will help us to realise this belief.

Mankind is one, but people belong to different backgrounds. They are at differing stages of historical evolution and they hold diverse political beliefs. This diversity is essential for the very existence of the world. Attempts to impose doctrines of uniformity have not only failed but have proved to be a danger to peace. Our policies are based on an appreciation of this truth. Co-existence, although regarded by some as a truism, is still the only possible basis for international rela-

Speech at dinner in honour of Mr. Kosygin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., New Delhi, January 25, 1968.
tions. It is rooted in present day realities, and provides the framework for the survival of the human race.

The developing friendship between the Soviet Union and India is a good example of international co-operation. It has been of mutual benefit and it has helped freedom and peace.

We have worked together for these great objectives, and you have helped us in working for another equally worthy endeavour—the fight against backwardness. Economic co-operation forms a valued part of the growing Indo-Soviet friendship. In all parts of this vast land there are visible and living monuments to this co-operation and friendship.

The pattern of this economic co-operation—consisting of credits, material and technical assistance and increasing stress on trade—has pioneered a new trend in international economic relations. We are confident that, with the help we are receiving and even more through our own unremitting effort, we shall win notable victories in our struggle against backwardness.

The past two years have been most difficult for us. They have been years of extraordinary drought and economic hardship. This year we have had an excellent harvest; although the months to come will not be easy, we can look ahead with hope and confidence. Our economy is in transition. We have come up against problems of economic management, organisation and administration. These have served to emphasise that development has more to it than mere investment.

I lay stress on our economic ties, because for a country like India development and the struggle against poverty is the central problem. Our political independence will not be complete or secure until we are economically self-reliant. Our faith in planning is based on the belief that this is the only way for us to ensure a better life for our people and to narrow the disparities within our society. We are especially anxious to do our best for our children and young people. All who have visited the U.S.S.R. have come to admire the great solicitude with which the Soviet Government surrounds its children and youth. I was specially impressed with the part which the Young Pioneers took in the celebrations of the 50th Anniversary. They added colour and warmth to the functions.

In a few days, the second United Nations Conference on Trade and Development will take place in Delhi. We attach high importance to this conference, for we believe that the widening disparity between the rich and the poor, the favoured and the under-privileged, threatens the peace of the world as much as it militates against social justice. The Socialist States represent a large and powerful economic force. They can make significant contribution towards the success of the second UNCTAD.
Poverty and economic disparities are not the only threats to peace. Vietnam—indeed the entire Indo-China peninsula—and West Asia show how near the brink we find ourselves. The year has just begun. It is too early to say whether it will see a lessening of the tensions and fears which it has inherited. Every time there is some little hope of a turn towards peace, it is soon frustrated. It should be the duty of all who are interested in the cause of peace and humanity to prevent any aggravation of the conflict and to press for a stoppage of bombing as an essential preliminary to negotiation. In West Asia, we trust that the patient efforts of the United Nations will open the door to a just and honourable settlement. We hope that 1968 will be a year of peace and progress and that the pressure of progressive world opinion will help to eliminate the remnants of colonialism and racialism in southern Africa.

We in India have unfortunately had conflicts forced upon us. With you in our midst, Mr. Chairman, our thoughts inevitably turn to the historic Tashkent Declaration, of which you were the prime architect. That Declaration charted a path to co-operation and understanding on the basis of peaceful co-existence and good neighbourliness. India is ready and willing to tread that path. We should like to have normalisation of relations with Pakistan to pave the way for friendship and co-operation. But their co-operation in this task is equally essential. We have a saying that we cannot clap with one hand.

India firmly adheres to the principles of peaceful co-existence and non-alignment which, together with democracy and socialism, constitute the essential pillars of our policy. We shall not swerve from these basic ideals which we interpret in terms which are dynamic and consistent with the changing circumstances, yet without prejudice to the real spirit which underlines them.

May I once again express our pleasure in having you, Chairman Kosygin and other members of your party with us? I hope that you and your daughter will have an interesting and enjoyable stay in our country.

Visit to Uruguay

Uruguay has made distinctive contribution to the annals of freedom. The all-embracing sky of freedom does not distinguish between large and small, high and low. All are equal, nations and individuals.

From address to the Parliament of Uruguay, Montevideo, September 27, 1968
This was proclaimed by the founders of your nation when they asserted their right to be free. You have always equated freedom with the people's paramouncy and welfare and with the good of mankind. On no occasion have you sacrificed any one of these goals. This is indeed a remarkable record.

Uruguay has been a great laboratory of democracy and of experiments in social welfare. You have built a society in which the extremes of wealth and poverty do not confront each other. We feel that we can benefit from your experience.

About the time that the great Argetas and your Immortal Thirty-three inscribed their names on the history of this continent, in India there arose the first figures of our modern age. These pioneers of our renaissance were intensely aware of the need to rediscover ourselves and at the same time to acquire knowledge of Europe's science and institutions. The darkness of the humiliating pre-independence days saw the blossoming of great personalities, politicians, social reformers, scientists, educationists and lawyers. When the light of Gandhi came to our shores, they were overshadowed and a new era began for India. Gandhi preached the religion of freedom, but he was a social revolutionary and an intellectual emancipator. His concept of freedom transcended mere political independence and embraced the fullest development of national and individual personality. He drew inspiration from our past, yet gave new meaning and strength to the old values. The thinking of the great and the small was profoundly influenced by his presence.

His foremost disciple was Jawaharlal Nehru, a man totally different in birth, upbringing and education, yet passionately devoted to India. Twenty-one years ago, when our national flag was hoisted, he reminded our Constituent Assembly that freedom meant "no ease or resting but incessant striving so that we may fulfil our pledges to the millions who suffer". He laid the foundations of modern India, and formulated the policies which have guided our progress.

The independence of India marked also the beginning of the end of imperialism, and one by one other peoples of Asia and Africa have also become free. We are still close enough to our own freedom struggle to feel passionately about the freedom of others. We re-graded our struggle as a part of the great human struggle to end suffering. Long before Independence, Mahatma Gandhi had said, "We want freedom for our country, but not at the expense or exploitation of others, not so as to degrade other countries... I want the freedom of my country...so that the resources of my country might be utilised for the benefit of mankind."

We have worked for peaceful co-existence, for peace cannot be secured if nations interfere in others' internal affairs. We are in no
camp and in no military alliance. The only camp we should like to be in is the camp of peace and goodwill which should include as many countries as possible and which should be opposed to none. The only alliance we seek is an alliance based on co-operation. Our policy of non-alignment has never meant escape from judgement but rather independence of judgement, the right to decide on the merits of the issue and in the light of our own reason. We seek friendship and co-operation with all nations. We have striven hard to divert nations from the course of collision which bipolarity implies.

We oppose military blocs because we feel that far from reducing tensions, they increase them. We believe that there is no security greater than national strength and the will of a free people. In the ultimate analysis, the guarantees of others cannot be of much avail.

As in our own country we see that disparities breed discontent and unrest, so we find that the division of the world into rich and poor nations intensifies tensions and situations where peace is imperilled.

The two supreme issues before the world today are the threat of war and the challenge of speedy development. Vast masses of the people of our world are still denied the basic necessities of food, clothing and shelter. In no country can statesmen ignore them. Today science and technology give us the power to relieve hunger and want and to remedy the other ills with which the world is beset. Yet we are powerless to harness these resources. The wealth of the world is still made to subserve what is short-sightedly felt to be national interest, and in supporting the outdated theory of spheres of influence. It is still consumed by wars. We have faith in the United Nations and its organisations and have assiduously worked for international cooperation. We urge international action against economic backwardness, against malnutrition, against disease, against illiteracy. However remote success may appear, we must bend our energies to bring about nuclear disarmament and the true internationalisation of science in the service of humanity.

Modern communications bring us all closer together. Mankind’s instinct for survival in this nuclear age should counteract the contagion of distrust and despair and give us the strength to meet the many challenges posed by the revolution of science and technology. Each country should seek to synthesise industrial civilisation with its own fundamental ideas and personality. Out of the anguish of our times we should endeavour to create a new unity of mankind which will allow the spirit of man to grow in safety and peace.

Our philosophy teaches us that truth is one, although sages call it by various names. We all have something to learn and perhaps something to teach one another.

The unity of man has long been on the lips of philosophers and
poets. Modern communications today make it possible to realise this dream. But what our poet, Rabindranath Tagore, called 'the desert of dead habit' is standing in our way. Tagore spoke of a Universal Man. The Universal Man does not cease to be an Indian or an Uruguayan, he does not lose his national identity, but he thinks first of humanity and its larger good. While science explores outer space and seeks to make a pilgrimage of the planets, let it be our endeavour to cultivate the inner spirit. Let us build a Home of Men in which all sons and daughters are equal, in which no one claims a monopoly of wealth or truth and in which all share their sorrows and their joys. Peace can come only through such united endeavours.

India and Venezuela

Mr. President, Senora Leoni, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen:
I am most grateful to you for your invitation which has made it possible for me to fulfil a long cherished wish to visit, even if for a brief while, your beautiful country and the dynamic city of Caracas, which is the birth-place of your great leader, Simon Bolivar, and which, in recent years, has grown faster than any other South American capital.

This is my first visit to Venezuela, but during our own struggle for independence in India, we drew inspiration from other similar struggles against colonial empires. The names of Francisco Miranda, Simon Bolivar, your great liberator, and Paez, the first President of Venezuela, are part of the history of human freedom. When I went to Bolivar's tomb this afternoon to offer the homage of the people of India, his stirring words to Venezuelans rang in my ear: "The people shall be the creators of their fundamental laws. They shall be the masters of their own destiny."

In recent years we have watched the efforts of President Romulo Betancourt and of Your Excellency in building a modern, progressive democracy. We are deeply committed to the social and economic development of our own people. We are impressed by the manner in which you have in so short a time transformed a basically rural society into a thriving industrialised community with the highest per capita income in South America.

Having achieved independence from colonial stagnation much earlier than we, you have forged ahead of us in economic growth. In

From speech at banquet given by President Raul Leoni of Venezuela, Caracas, October 10, 1968
India we have found that social and economic growth within a democratic framework cannot allow undue concentration of wealth or disparity of incomes; therefore, simultaneously with absolute growth, we must also meet the basic needs of the poor and under-privileged sections of our society.

As in Venezuela so in India, ever since our independence we have tried, to the best of our ability, to meet the economic and social needs of our people. It has been a hard struggle to overcome in twenty-one years, the back-log of stagnation left by 150 years of alien rule.

In the social field, we have created 30 million jobs and added 20 years to our life-span. We have also put an additional 45 million children in school (taking the total to 75 million) and undertaken a programme of school meals to improve their nutrition. I was very happy to hear today of Senora Leoní's great interest in the welfare of children. It is a work which is very close to my heart. A nation can truly be judged by the way it cares for its children.

In our campaign for social and economic betterment we cannot, in the modern world, remain isolationists. We must learn from the scientifically advanced countries. But in doing so, we must be careful about the terms on which we receive such assistance. Is the present pattern of aid to be regarded as charity to be repaid or perhaps an investment for political support? We are chary of new bonds which might increase our dependence on dominant economies.

In the recent United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held earlier this year in New Delhi, we found that Venezuela shared many of our views. We would both like to pay our own way in the world and to finance our development as far as possible from the proceeds of our own exports. But here we are confronted with built-in obstacles in the present structure of international trade. This is why, at the New Delhi conference, both our countries laid emphasis on the reduction of tariffs by richer countries on products originating in developing countries, and on a scheme of general non-reciprocal and non-discriminatory preferences in favour of exports from developing countries.

But economic development can take place only in a climate of peace and all our efforts towards richer exchanges, whether in commercial or cultural spheres, will be nullified if we are unable to contribute to the maintenance of peace in the world and to promote international understanding and co-operation. This is why both Venezuela and India have given full support to policies of peace and principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. In India we have consistently stood for the principle of the sovereignty and independence of nations regardless of size; for the principle of non-interference by one country in the internal affairs of another; and
for the principle of inadmissibility of force or duress in deciding territorial and other disputes between countries. Whenever we have seen these principles violated or the Charter rights of small nations denied, we have not hesitated to raise our voice in protest. Recently we have done so again, when we felt that there have been serious departures from these principles.

The goal of disarmament is dear to us. India has not only given consistent support to all measures of disarmament but has also on principle refrained from entering into the nuclear arms race. We in India have never had aggressive designs on any neighbour and want nothing more than to live in peace and to devote our energy to the enormous task of economic construction. We recognise that our principal enemy is under-development and we have no desire to divert our attention from this struggle. We are primarily interested in economic development and keenly feel that the vast sums which today are spent on nuclear armaments can be much better utilised for the economic and social advancement of the peoples of the world.

Indo-Yugoslav Friendship

YOUR WORDS, MR. PRESIDENT, bring to mind memories of a great friendship between you and my father, both partisans of peace, and the larger friendship it symbolised between the people of Yugoslavia and India. Your thoughts reflect the feelings of my own country and people. Your people and mine share similar hopes and aspirations.

The courageous people of Yugoslavia have always stood and struggled for freedom and are fulfilling their aspirations under your determined and dynamic leadership. These aspirations include not only the reassertion of the national personality but the realisation of a social and economic revolution ensuring equality, progress and prosperity. Your bold and far-reaching experiments in the social and economic spheres have aroused world-wide interest and are of immense value to us in India.

Mr. President, you have referred to the historic meeting here ten years ago between my father and yourself together with our mutual friend, President Nasser. I am glad that India will have the honour and pleasure to welcome you and President Nassar in October this year.

Speech at dinner given by President Tito of Yugoslavia, Brioni, July 10, 1966
This will be a meeting of three friendly and like-minded countries who are dedicated to the concept of non-alignment as an instrument of peace and peaceful co-existence. It will be a revival of the practice of holding periodic meetings between our three friendly Governments. It is only natural that such discussions should be held from time to time to take stock of our common problems and to co-ordinate and collaborate our efforts in pursuance of our common objectives.

Mr. President, the dangers of the cold war and armed intervention are no less today than they were eleven years ago. Although some problems have been solved, new tensions have developed. The principle of non-alignment has as much validity today as it had when it was first conceived.

When the world has become one neighbourhood, Vietnam is no longer a far away country. The suffering of the people of Vietnam is the world’s peril. That is why on the eve of my departure I gave expression to some ideas on this problem. We cannot be the silent and helpless spectators of a situation which entails so much human suffering to the people of Vietnam. Peace is not the concern of great powers only, but of vital interest to all mankind. A special responsibility devolves on the non-aligned countries, as indeed upon all countries, to find ways and means of a just solution which meets the legitimate rights and hopes of the people of Vietnam. There is no alternative to a peaceful solution, except a bitter and bloody war that could engulf the entire world.

Mr. President, we must build a better world, a more prosperous world. We must give greater social and economic content to non-alignment and co-existence, for how can there be a stable and peaceful co-existence between affluence and poverty, between very rich and very poor nations? Colonialism is dying but its ghost will haunt the world until political independence is matched with economic viability. Non-aligned nations have a positive and a creative role in promoting economic development and social change, and in protecting developing nations from external pressures.

More and more nations are today subscribing to non-alignment while military alliances are steadily weakening. Ten years ago non-alignment did arouse suspicions in certain quarters. Today, it is accepted and respected as an area of peace and disengagement, a bridge between conflicting blocs, an instrument for reducing world tensions. The world is not yet free from the threat of nuclear annihilation. Proliferation of nuclear arms constitutes a real danger. We have a responsibility to urge and assist general and complete disarmament.

Our two countries differ in size and historical background, yet our problems are similar. We are composite societies comprising diverse ethnic and linguistic groups. We are both developing nations. We
are both on the path of socialism, though Yugoslavia is far more advanced along the road than we are. We are both convinced that the tasks of economic transformation and social justice demand two pre-requisites, peace and international co-operation. Sharing so much in common, it is but natural that India and Yugoslavia should draw closer together. I welcome your words, Mr. President, I too should like to see co-operation between our two countries grow, and grow more rapidly in every field—in trade, industrial development, exchange of technical personnel and other fields. I also attach a value to greater contacts between the younger generation through our universities and research establishments.

Our ties are close. Our friendship is firm. May our friendship grow stronger and our relations closer.

*

YOUR WORDS have touched me deeply. To come to Yugoslavia and to meet you and Madam Broz is certainly a privilege; even more so is to find understanding hearts and the warm and strong hand-clasp of true friendship.

You were kind enough to talk of the closest co-operation and mutual understanding which have characterised the relations between our two countries for a number of years. This is reflected in the continuous exchange of visits between our countries at all levels.

I myself was last in your country on the beautiful island of Brioni in July 1966 and had very cordial and fruitful talks with you and your colleagues. Some months later, we were privileged to welcome you and Madame Broz in India, and we also had the opportunity of holding a tripartite meeting with our mutual and esteemed friend, President Nasser. Recently, we had the privilege of receiving your Foreign Minister, Mr. Nikozic, and our Foreign Minister also paid a visit to you. I mention these not as a bare recital of visits but as evidence of our will to work together in political and economic fields in order to extend the boundaries of mutual co-operation and to concert our action in defence of peace.

Today, world peace hangs by a slender thread. While there is some movement towards a non-proliferation treaty, the nuclear arms race continues to loom large on our horizon. This is bad enough. What is worse is that racialism and colonialism continue to divide and oppress people in new forms. In such a situation, it is the duty of all men and nations of goodwill to unite and throw their weight behind the forces of peace by unceasing exploration of all avenues.

From speech at banquet given by President Tito of Yugoslavia, Belgrade, October 11, 1967
of co-operation and in the interest of a just and honourable settlement of disputes through peaceful means.

You have referred to the continuance of the deep tension and unresolved crisis in West Asia. This continued stalemate is a threat to peace. Aggression must be vacated. Only on this basis can the problem of security of nations in this region begin to be tackled. Other problems, economic as well as human, can be considered separately. We have followed with keen interest the great efforts which you have made in personally visiting a number of Arab capitals and in sending special envoys to other capitals of Europe and Latin America. Our good wishes and hopes accompanied you on your journey. As a result of these sincere probings, there emerged a series of constructive ideas which have provided the modus vivendi and which contain the basis for a lasting settlement. We have welcomed and supported your initiative as also your ideas and shall continue to do so. Through this period it has been useful to have the closed contact with you and your representatives and to share the information. Many difficulties are yet to be overcome, but we can discern a wider recognition of the need for finding a political solution of the West Asian crisis. We must continue to pursue our efforts to make this possible.

We are glad that, in this hour of great national crisis, our friend and colleague, President Nasser, weathered the storm with great wisdom and courage. We send him our message of solidarity. I am firmly convinced that the great historical movement of the Arab people will go forward in strength and unity towards the achievement of its progressive aims. The tide of Arab nationalism cannot be reversed. Statesmanship consists in recognising the validity as well as the vitality of this great movement of the Arab people towards national self-expression.

Mr. President, you have also referred to the long, bitter, cruel and unnecessary war which continues to play havoc with the lives of the Vietnamese people. But there can be no end to the conflict except by political means, on the basis of acceptance of the right of the Vietnamese people to decide their own destiny. When we make suggestions for ending the Vietnam conflict, we should like it to be clearly understood that our purpose is not partisan unless passionate devotion to peace is regarded as partisanship.

Tripartite discussions between our two countries and the U.A.R. have established the groundwork on which, I hope, we shall be able to build a worthy edifice of economic and technical co-operation. Our interest in this inter-regional economic partnership is not incompatible with our interest in fostering intra-regional co-operation with our Asian neighbours.
Our two countries are firmly linked by the bonds of sincere friendship which is based on shared ideals and purposes. We deeply cherish our relations with Yugoslavia and are confident that they are contributing to peace, understanding and progress in the world.
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