

**SPEECHES  
OF PRIME MINISTER  
LAL BAHADUR SHASTRI**



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OF PRIME MINISTER  
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PUBLICATIONS DIVISION  
MINISTRY OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING  
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**THE NATION**

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## INDIA WITHOUT JAWAHARLAL

**F**RRIENDS The towering personality who was in our midst till but a few days ago is no longer with us to lead and guide us. The last of his mortal remains have gone to join the soil and water of the India that he loved. Even though Jawaharlalji has passed from our sight, his work and his inspiration live on. And we, to whom was given the privilege of being his countrymen, contemporaries and colleagues must now brace ourselves to the new tasks ahead, and face up to the situation whose very prospect we once used to dread—the situation of an India without Jawaharlal.

There comes a time in the life of every nation when it stands at the cross roads of history and must choose which way to go. But for us there need be no difficulty or hesitation, no looking to right or left. Our way is straight and clear—the building up of a socialist democracy at home with freedom and prosperity for all, and the maintenance of world peace and friendship with all nations abroad. To that straight road and to these shining ideals we re-dedicate ourselves today.

No better beginning could have been made than by my colleagues of the Congress Party, who in the hour of decision resolved to come together. I am also grateful to the nation for the way it has received my taking over of the heavy burden cast on me. What I need in the discharge of these heavy responsibilities is the willing cooperation of our people. They are our real source of strength and it is from them that I shall seek to draw my inspiration.

Among the major tasks before us none is of greater importance for our strength and stability than the task of building up the unity and solidarity of our people. Our country has often stood as a solid rock in the face of common danger and there is a deep underlying unity which runs like a golden thread through all our seeming diversity. But we cannot take national unity and solidarity for granted, or afford to be complacent, for there have been occasions when unfortunate and disturbing divisions, some of them accompanied by violence, have appeared in our society. I know that these disturbances gave a deep shock and caused great anguish to Jawaharlalji, who had, all through his life, worked untiringly for communal harmony and mutual toleration. Let not people in different parts of the country, however strong their feelings might be on particular issues, ever forget that

they are Indians first, and that all differences must be resolved within the unalterable framework of one nation and one country. Let us make every endeavour to foster this feeling of oneness and to carry forward the work of national integration started with the National Integration Conference in 1961.

Political democracy and the way it has functioned in our country is surely a great achievement. Here again we owe an immeasurable debt to Jawaharlalji for his deep attachment to democracy as a form of government and as a way of life. There is something in our older cultural heritage too. I have particularly in view that enduring strand in Indian life which can best be described as respect for the human personality and the spirit of tolerance. I have no doubt in my mind that it is only by methods of persuasion and mutual accommodation and by a constant search for areas of agreement as the basis for action that democracy can work out. It is in this spirit that I shall devote myself to the duties and responsibilities of the office I have been called upon to fill.

Of all the problems facing us, none is more distressing than that of the dire poverty in which tens of millions of our countrymen continue to live. It is my great desire to be able to lighten in some measure the burden of poverty on our people. In this, I remember particularly the claims of the most backward sections like the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, who have suffered neglect, and have had to endure disabilities for many centuries. It would be my proud privilege to work for the establishment of a more just social order.

At the moment we are in the process of building up our defences. The burden is a heavy one, but recent events have left us with no choice. There can be no let up in these preparations, but we are determined that they should not affect our first and foremost priority—the development of our economy.

The main question before us is that of executing our plans and policies and finding ways of introducing the vigour and efficiency that they require.

This naturally takes me to the problem of efficiency and integrity of the administration. Our public services on the whole responded well to the numerous calls that have been made upon them since Independence. But there is a widespread feeling—which I share—that extensive reform of the administration is essential if the tasks of economic development and social reconstruction are to be accomplished. Apart from this, it is essential in a democracy that the public services should be sensitive to the feelings and sentiments of individual citizens. They should under all circumstances function not only with formal

courtesy but in a spirit of service, sympathy and humanity. The administrative organisation and its methods and processes must be modernised if it is to become an effective instrument of economic change. I shall do my best to see that these major problems receive systematic attention and I shall apply myself closely to the problem of administrative reform in its various aspects.

I know that our people are full of enthusiasm and that they are prepared to accept many sacrifices in order to keep the nation stable and strong. But sometimes their impatience gets the better of them and then there are unfortunate happenings which cause pain to everyone. Discipline and united action are the real source of strength for the nation. May I also appeal to the members of the various political parties to lend us a helping hand in the task of national reconstruction? Similarly the Press can play a very useful role as indeed they have been doing all this time. There is a position of great strength and influence and I have no doubt that their influence will always be exercised for the public good. We are all of us different elements, working in different ways towards a common goal—the service of the people. I shall respect these differences, but I shall continue to lay emphasis on the oneness of our objective.

In the realm of foreign affairs we shall continue to seek friendship and develop our relations with all countries irrespective of their ideology or political systems. Non-alignment will continue to be the fundamental basis of our approach to world problems and our relations with other countries. It will be our special endeavour to further strengthen our relations with neighbouring countries. With most of our neighbours we have friendly and cooperative relations. We have problems with some of them which we would like to settle peacefully and amicably on an equitable and honourable basis.

India and Pakistan are two great countries linked together by common history and tradition. It is their natural destiny to be friends with each other and to enter into close cooperation in many fields. Goodwill and friendship and mutual cooperation between these countries will not only be of immense benefit to them but will make a great contribution to peace and prosperity in Asia.

Far too long have India and Pakistan been at odds with each other. The unfortunate relations between the two countries have somehow had their repercussions on the relations between communities in the two countries, giving rise to tragic human problems. We must reverse the tide. This will require determination and good sense on the part of the Governments and peoples of both India and Pakistan. President Ayub Khan's recent broadcast showed both wisdom and under-

standing and it has come just at the appropriate time. However, a great deal of patience will still be necessary.

It had always been our desire to establish friendly relations with China. But all our efforts were nullified by the Government of the People's Republic of China. China has wronged us deeply and offended our Government and people by her premeditated aggression against us. Despite our strong feelings about this aggression we have shown our desire for a peaceful settlement by accepting *in toto* the Colombo proposals. We adhere to them and it is for China to reconsider her attitude towards these proposals and to give up the anti Indian campaign that has been carried on in China and also amongst our friends in Asia and Africa.

For the greater part of this century the names of Gandhi and Nehru have been symbols of the movement of subject peoples for freedom from colonial domination. We who have gone through our own struggle for freedom cannot but look with sympathy at peoples struggling for freedom anywhere. Our country has, for many years, been a stout champion of the freedom of dependent nations at the United Nations and elsewhere in the councils of nations. Unfortunately there are still some parts of the world where colonialism remains and where large sections of people are denied freedom and fundamental rights. We would consider it our moral duty to lend all support to the ending of colonialism and imperialism so that people everywhere are free to mould their own destiny -

Our late Prime Minister was one of the founders of the Afro-Asian movement. We conceive of Afro-Asian solidarity not as an end in itself but as a means for achieving certain noble objectives. These are to work for the freedom of the people of Asia and Africa, to build up the area of peace and understanding among all nations, and to promote economic growth and higher living standards among our peoples. We seek no leadership of the Afro-Asian group. We are content to be humble collaborators with our sister nations in Africa and Asia in the common cause of world peace and freedom of peoples.

We have always been a staunch supporter of the United Nations. As a member of that august body India has undertaken its full measure of responsibility in all aspects of the United Nations' activities. My Government reaffirms its unflinching support for the United Nations. The United Nations is the one hope of the world for bringing peace and freedom to humanity. Towards the achievement of these goals India has played an active role in the past and will continue to do the same in the future.

The problem of problems that faces mankind today is the achieve-

ment of peace and disarmament. For countless generations mankind has been yearning for peace. The supreme task facing the United Nations is to ensure not only that war is banished but that war is made impossible. As President Johnson has said, a world without war would be the most fitting memorial to Jawaharlalji. We pledge ourselves, in cooperation with other peaceful nations of the world, to continue to work for the realisation of this ideal.

Before I conclude, may I repeat that I am only too conscious of the magnitude of the tasks before us and the responsibility placed on my shoulders for the service of the people of my country. I approach these tasks and responsibilities in a spirit of humility and with love and respect for all my countrymen. I will try to serve them to the limit of my capacity. The memory of our departed leader is still fresh with us. With him has ended the great age which Gandhiji began and Jawaharlalji consolidated. We have now to build on the firm foundations they have left behind. Let us then bend ourselves to the great tasks before us—an India free, prosperous and strong and a world at peace and without war. These would be the most fitting memorials to Gandhiji and Jawaharlal.

## MAKING OUR COUNTRY STRONG

**B**ROTHERS AND SISTERS As I stand here today I recall how we took a vow to plant the national flag on the Red Fort forty years ago when we were volunteers in the national movement. It was our brave leader, Jawaharlalji, who inspired this idea. We can never forget him. He was one of the greatest leaders of the freedom struggle and after winning independence he launched the massive task of India's reconstruction. For seventeen years he worked unceasingly, day and night, to consolidate our freedom.

We all remember the joy and enthusiasm which surged through the country on August 15, 1947, when we regained our long lost freedom. For seventeen years you witnessed every year the unforgettable scene of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru standing at this spot and unfurling the national flag. We cannot forget the dignity and courage with which he led the country. He became a part of our life. Now he is no longer with us. His inspiring voice is mute but he has left us an invaluable heritage which we must preserve. We have to surmount the difficulties

that face us and work steadfastly for the happiness and prosperity of our country

The food problem has become very acute during the last month and a half. The States of U P, Bihar, Bengal, Maharashtra, Gujarat and a part of Rajasthan are facing food scarcity. I can assure you that we are doing our best to meet this situation. We have rushed foodgrains from surplus States like Punjab, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh and also from imported stocks. Though we are not yet out of the woods, there has been a perceptible improvement. We will have to intensify our efforts during the coming months. We will also have to limit our consumption and help to feed those of our countrymen who are less fortunate than ourselves. We should not store foodgrains in excess of our requirements. I am confident that we will face this problem with courage and far sightedness. We will have to stop lavish feasts during the coming two or three months. Ministers will not participate in feasts and will not hold any parties. This may not result in much saving of foodgrains but it will have a psychological effect and set a good example before the people.

The basic question to which we have to address ourselves is that of increasing the production of foodgrains. I do not want to go into the details of the steps we are going to take. Broadly, we want to assure a fair price to the producers and procure grain without causing hardship. I am sure we will be able to improve our position considerably within a year or two.

I do not want to minimise the other problems that face us. The prices of everyday necessities like cloth, oil, sugar and matches have risen. This has naturally affected the farmer also. During the last 15 years, we have invested Rs 20 000 crore in our development plans. Unless this huge investment results in a corresponding increase in production, it is bound to lead to inflation and high prices. We will have to devise steps to arrest rising prices. There is no question of going back on our objective of establishing a new revolutionary society but we will have to take firm action to control prices. I am sanguine that the Government will be able to find a way out of the present economic difficulties.

I want to ensure that essential commodities are available at fair prices during the coming years. I am not very much concerned about the prices of luxury goods but I do want the common man to be able to get food, cloth and articles of everyday use at fair prices. Every shop will have to display a price list and Government officials will have to enforce it strictly.

We want peace at home and abroad. We have to pay particular attention to our relations with our neighbours. The Chinese invaded our country. Their attitude has not changed. Therefore we cannot change our attitude either. In consonance with the principles laid down by Gandhiji and Jawaharlalji we are always prepared to hold talks, consistent with our dignity and self respect, but our country is not going to bow down to any threat of force or of an atomic bomb. We are confident of the strength of our people, and are capable of facing every danger.

I am happy that President Ayub Khan has expressed friendly sentiments. I welcome his plea for amity between India and Pakistan. We also desire amity. Border incidents are not good either for Pakistan or for India. It also does not redound to our credit that we are not able to stop the migration of lakhs of people from across the border. I hope that we shall be able to hold talks within the next few months and create an atmosphere of goodwill which may lead to a settlement.

We have friendly relations with our neighbours—Burma, Ceylon, Nepal and Afghanistan. Some problems do crop up sometimes. I am happy that the Prime Minister of Ceylon has accepted our invitation to come here during October. I am confident that we will be able to find a solution to the problem of the people of Indian origin in Ceylon. Our Foreign Minister, Sardar Swaran Singh, is going to Burma, and I hope he will be able to resolve the present difficulties with that country.

Jawaharlalji showed us the path of peace. We will work for world peace with all our strength. We will steer clear of alignment with power blocs and pursue an independent policy. We adhere to the policy of non alignment, co-existence, disarmament, anti-colonialism and anti-racialism. We are firmly opposed to colonialism and we want to see the end of Portuguese colonialism. We cannot tolerate racial policies, whether in South Africa or elsewhere. We stand for truth and justice, not in an aggressive manner but with dignity and restraint.

We can win respect in the world only if we are strong internally and can banish poverty and unemployment from our country. Above all we need national unity. Communal, provincial and linguistic conflicts weaken the country. Therefore, we have to forge national unity. I do not say that opposition parties should not criticise the Government. They are free to do so but this should be done in a democratic manner. We welcome such criticism. But there are questions which have to be tackled on a national basis. The problem of food is one such question. It is not a party issue. I leave it to the good sense of my friends.



I appeal to them to work for national unity and usher in a social revolution to make our country strong.

In the ultimate analysis, the strength of the country does not lie in material wealth alone. A country is made strong by people like Gandhi, Jawaharlal and Tagore, by the force of character and moral strength. Therefore, I appeal to our young men to inculcate in themselves discipline and character and work for the unity and advancement of the nation. If our young men and women work in this spirit, I have no doubt that the future of our country will be bright.

### NO DEVIATION FROM NEHRU'S POLICIES

**I** SAID ON the very first day of my election, and on more than one occasion later, that the Government of India would continue to follow the policies of Nehru in international matters and that democratic socialism would continue to be our objective at home.

In a democracy there is full freedom for rethinking and independent thinking. What happened when Mahatma Gandhi took over the leadership of the freedom struggle? There was a complete overhauling of philosophy, policy, technique and programme. Mahatma Gandhi deviated completely from Lokmanya Tilak, Aurobindo Ghosh and Lala Lajpat Rai.

In a way, Gandhiji was the preceptor of Jawaharlalji, his *guru* in a sense. But did Jawaharlalji always agree entirely with Gandhiji? No. And yet could you find a more loyal and devoted follower of Gandhiji than Jawaharlalji? He loved Gandhiji immensely and he gave him his fullest loyalty, yet, he had his own independent way of thinking. When he joined the Government, it was not possible for him to put into effect each and every idea of Gandhiji. But this does not mean that he was in any way disloyal to Gandhiji or he did not do what was right.

We will try to work on our own as far as possible. We do not want to drag in the name of Pandit Jawaharlalji to cover our lapses. We must own the entire responsibility for what we do. But we cannot help remembering our great leader, our Prime Minister with whom we worked for about half a century. We can never forget him, we will always remember him and we will try to follow in his footsteps in the best manner possible.

I have also to add that I cannot function entirely on my own. I am a member of a political organisation and I sit in this place on behalf of that political organisation. That organisation has adopted democratic socialism as its objective. The mandate is quite clear and it is under that mandate that this Government has to function. It is not an organisation of some individuals. It is the biggest political organisation in the country today. And all I can say is that the Congress, the Congress President and all its members are in the hands of the common people. It is on account of this that the Congress will always find it impossible not to identify itself with the masses and with the common people. Members of the Cabinet do express their views sometimes in one way and sometimes in another. But by and large they have a collective responsibility and every Minister has to realise and understand the fact that nothing should be said against the decisions taken by the Government as a whole.

In international matters, we have followed a well set course for a number of years. We believe in non-alignment and in the pursuit of peaceful methods for the settlement of international disputes. We are equally clear that colonies should not exist and that racialism should be resisted. Co-existence is a wholesome and absolutely sound policy which was initiated and strengthened by our late Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlalji. We whole-heartedly endorse it, and it is a great achievement of the policy of co-existence that in certain matters even the biggest powers are coming closer to one another. Any threat or danger of war would be ruinous for the world, specially for countries like India who are engaged in fighting an exceedingly difficult problem—the problem of poverty and unemployment.

I would like to conclude by affirming our firm faith in democracy and socialism. This is the objective and goal, as I said, of the Indian National Congress. I am part of this great political organisation which has not only fought for and achieved independence for our country but has also, during the last 17 years of independence, striven continuously to provide political stability as well as social justice to our people.

To my mind, socialism in India must mean a better deal for the great mass of our people who are engaged in agriculture, the large number of workers who are engaged in the various factories and the middle classes who have suffered much during the period of rising prices. These are what I call the common men of my country. As the head of the Government, it would be my continuous endeavour to see that these objectives are realised and that a social and economic order is established in which the welfare of our people is assured.

## THE NEW INDIA

**T**OMORROW the country will observe National Solidarity Day. It was exactly two years ago that our northern borders were attacked. This was a surprise sprung on us "quite suddenly. But in that hour of peril, we saw an upsurge of patriotic feelings throughout the country. Differences of state, caste, creed or language, which had often seemed superficially to divide us, disappeared in a moment. It was a visible demonstration of the fundamental unity of our people, which has preserved the integrity of India through the ages. The farmer in the field, the worker in the factory and indeed people from all walks of life came forward to make their own contribution in order to defend the country's freedom. On the borders our soldiers fought with valour and with determination. So many of them made the supreme sacrifice and gave their lives so that the country might live. The whole nation remembers them with feelings of admiration and gratitude.

We have, however, to remember that we should not be satisfied with what happened in the past. We have to realise that preservation of the freedom and territorial integrity of the motherland calls for incessant effort, vigilance and alertness. The problems that we face today are serious indeed. The Chinese are trying to build up a mighty war machine and to create fear in the minds of all. China has gone a step further and has recently exploded an atomic bomb. We are thus confronted with a nuclear menace in Asia, something new for this peace-loving continent. These are serious developments and we must take due notice of them. Even otherwise, in recent days, we have seen events of greater significance taking place in other parts of the world.

Within the country, we are going through a period of difficulties. The production of food is still inadequate. Harvesting of rice has begun and the new paddy and rice will be coming into the market. This will ease the situation in respect of rice for the present. The farmers are aware that the Government is very particular that they should get reasonable and remunerative prices for their paddy. I hope they are aware of the fact that the producers' prices have already been fixed and announced. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to expect that the Kisans will come forward to sell their paddy or rice to the Government at fixed prices also, if they do not resist the temptation to sell it quietly to others in order to get a higher price, it will only cause misery to their own kith and kin. In the present situation specially, their

responsibility is great. I am sure they will go all out to cooperate in the vital task of feeding the people.

The sowing of the *rabi* crop will soon start. Let us try to produce much more of wheat than we did in the year 1962, which was a normal year. It is essential that the district administration should help in the supply of adequate seeds, manure and similar other facilities. Water for irrigation purposes is the most important item.

The problem of water logging has greatly increased in recent years. Every effort should be made to see that areas liable to water logging are provided with necessary drains. Besides major irrigation projects, minor and medium schemes should also be taken in hand. All tanks and ponds should be deepened. I am told that the construction of tube wells sometimes diverts attention from the existing irrigation works and even leads to avoidable duplication. It should always be borne in mind that new investment in tube-wells should not make the older investment infructuous, nor should it result in the neglect of the existing works. These are some of the reasons why the irrigated area in a number of States has not appreciably increased in spite of considerable investment.

The district administration has to be much more alert and active to give all encouragement and assistance to the Kisans with a view to increasing the production of their *rabi* crop. While wheat is important, there must be greater production of pulses also. The shortage of pulses has considerably added to our present difficulties. I know we all understand and fully realise that the solution of all our present-day food difficulties lies in increased production. It is therefore essential that Government officials in the districts and others at the State or Central level as also the farmers should work hand in hand to produce a much better result. Let us show to the country that we can tackle our problems effectively by our own efforts and perseverance.

The question of distribution has also assumed great importance. The cooperatives and the fair price shops have helped to a considerable extent in the present situation. With improved methods and with more effective supervision they can do still better. Moreover, if consumer cooperatives can be organised by local initiative they can be of much assistance in ensuring supplies to the consumers at steady prices. I am sorry to say that grain dealers do not seem to have fully realised the gravity of the situation. This has led me to serious thinking and it now seems essential that Government must make some radical changes in the present system of distribution. I do not say that the alternative system will be hundred per cent good. It has, however, become essential to ensure by all possible means that every

man gets the necessary quantum of food at a reasonable price. We may, therefore, have to take new measures. However, I would not like to take any new steps till we have consulted the Chief Ministers. Luckily they will be here in the last week of this month and I propose to have a full discussion with them.

Let me assure my countrymen that there is no cause for dejection. Our food position, as I said earlier, will surely improve on account of the new paddy and some other crops. Besides that, we will be getting imported wheat from the United States of America. We will also try to get it from other countries. We will, therefore, not be short of stocks so far as essential supplies to our countrymen are concerned. I am, however, keen that in the coming few months, while we should try to produce more, we must necessarily build up a better machinery for proper and equitable distribution.

In the long run, the economic conditions of the country will improve only if we plan our economy in a rational and scientific manner. We are in the midst of preparing our fourth Five Year Plan. Agriculture is bound to get a high priority. Industry is equally important and the combination of industry and agriculture alone will take the country out of the morass we are in and present a cheering picture before our people. This is thus a period of travail and of hard labour. We have to make a determined effort as a people to raise ourselves above poverty and misery.

It may be obvious, but often we seem to forget that it is not the endeavour of a few people but the hard work of the many that makes the country great and prosperous. We are passing through a new and revolutionary phase in our history and all the people should stand united as one man, as they have done before in the hour of peril. Let us then resolve this day to meet the challenge of our time with fortitude and determination and with a sense of national unity and national purpose.

While we must be prepared to meet any situation or to deal with any eventuality, we must not allow our faith in peace and peaceful methods to be dimmed. In fact, peace is of fundamental importance to a country like India that is trying to build herself up economically. But peace is of even greater importance from the point of view of humanity at large. We cannot ignore the real truth that war has ceased to be an event between one country and another, war hereafter will engulf the whole world. Some days ago, I was in Cairo attending the Non-Aligned Nations Conference. The basic theme of that Conference also was peace and peaceful co-existence and there we did our best to promote these noble objectives.

On this day I invite all my countrymen to join together as brothers and sisters in this great and challenging task of building up a new, awakened and strong India. I ask you to pledge yourselves anew to the dedicated service of our motherland.

## NATIONAL SOLIDARITY DAY

**O**CTOBER 20 has come to acquire a special significance for us all. It was on this date two years ago that our northern neighbour, whom we had treated as a friend, launched an attack on our borders. During the weeks that followed this fateful day, the world witnessed a most heart warming demonstration of the basic unity and solidarity of the Indian people.

The observance of National Solidarity Day is an annual reminder of this fundamental unity. On this day, the thoughts of the whole nation turn to our Armed Forces who gallantly guard our extensive borders and who have, throughout history, been famous for their courage and stamina.

We believe in peace and peaceful development, not only for ourselves but for people all over the world. Our main preoccupation is with economic and social development at home and peace and friendship abroad. To our Armed Forces, who have been guarding our frontiers, facing the rigours of winter in the mountains, who have been taking part in peace keeping programmes under the auspices of the U.N.O. and of the Geneva Agreements on Indo-China, whose sense of discipline, unity and loyalty inspires the whole nation, I send my greetings on National Solidarity Day. The whole nation remembers them today with gratitude, affection and admiration.

## ATOMIC ENERGY FOR PEACEFUL PURPOSES

**T**HE ATOMIC ENERGY Commission have been able to build up this Plutonium Plant on their own. It is a great tribute to them.

During the last few decades there has been a tremendous development of science and technology. This holds great hope for a developing country such as India. The leeway of ages can perhaps be made

*Message to the Armed Forces, October 20, 1964*

*Speech at opening of the Plutonium Plant of the Atomic Energy Department, Trombay, October 22, 1964*

good in a decade or two by determined efforts on the part of our scientists and technologists. Science, therefore, has a special place and importance in our country. Our great leader Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru laid the utmost emphasis on the setting up of new laboratories for research. There has no doubt to be fundamental research in science, but applied research is equally important for new improvements and changes in our techniques. I am glad that the importance of this aspect is fully realised by our scientists. The policy enunciated by our late Prime Minister in regard to the growth of science has to be pursued and followed up. We have to utilise the exploits of science in every branch of our activities and I do hope and expect that despite our difficulties, necessary funds will be found for it.

The atomic energy establishment in Trombay has been a great venture. We are grateful for the Canadian Government's aid and assistance. I am very glad indeed that every effort has been made in this establishment to train up our own scientists and thus build up a cadre of efficient scientists in our country. It is also pleasing to know that the first reactor, Apsara, was established by our own scientists and engineers. They are young and they have a great future before them. Naturally much more is expected of them. I wish them all success in their efforts.

We have developed this plant with a view to utilising atomic energy for peaceful purposes. It is essential that this revolutionary technique in atomic energy should be made use of for bettering the lot of the people and changing the face of the world.

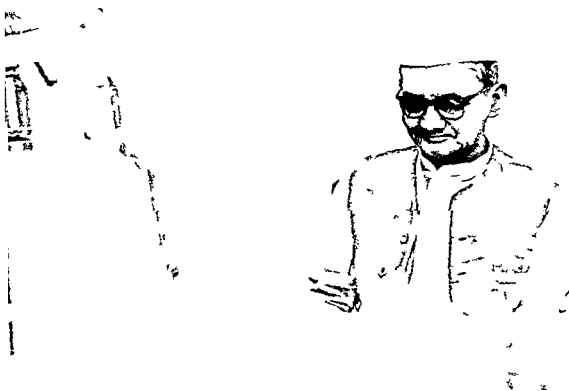
It is most regrettable that nuclear energy is being harnessed for making nuclear weapons. This constitutes a grave threat to the world. If there is a nuclear war, God forbid, it would mean destruction on a very big scale, indeed, complete devastation. We cannot play with the lives of human beings. We have, therefore, to work for peace.

It is unfortunate that no further advance has been made ever since the signing of the Moscow Partial Test Ban Treaty. It is important that this Treaty should be further extended to *underground tests etc.* The world is passing today through one of the most critical phases in human history and time is the essence of the matter. If we want to stop further proliferation of nuclear armaments, the Disarmament Committee will have to be more active and more earnest. And I want to take this opportunity to appeal to you, our distinguished guests who have come from so many friendly countries, to do all that you can to rouse world opinion and world conscience against the destructive use of the mighty atom. The peoples of the world must be made

*Dressing a gathering on Independence  
Day in pouring rain from the ramparts  
of the Red Fort, Delhi*



*Broadcasting to the nation*

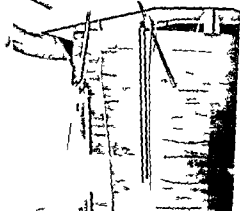






*Speaking at the Indian Institute of Public Administration*

*Speaking at the inauguration of the Plutonium Plant  
of the Atomic Energy Department at Trombay*



11 / 1 / 1931

*Addressing the plenary session of the twentieth Congress  
of the International Chamber of Commerce in New Delhi*

*Speaking to the citizens of Meja in Allahabad district  
on the occasion of the electrification of the town*



aware of the danger that they face from the possibility of the most glorious discovery achieved by the mind of man being used in a perverted manner for the destruction of humanity itself.

India has decided not to enter this race for nuclear armaments. Asian and African nations have many more important things to do in order to build up their own country and countrymen. We cannot afford to spend millions and millions over nuclear arms when there is poverty and unemployment all around us. India will, therefore, have to rouse world opinion against the destructive use of atomic energy. The Trombay establishment is, therefore, an instrument of peace.

#### ADMINISTRATION IN THE DISTRICTS

THERE USED to be autocrats, democrats and aristocrats, but now the new word 'technocrat' has achieved some importance. Some experts who hold political office function very ably. They can scrutinise everything to the minutest detail. Everything concerning their department or their subjects is attended to with the utmost care.

This is all very well. But the real function of an administrator or a Minister does not lie merely in doing certain specific things competently. What is important is that he should have his finger on the pulse of the country. He should be in a position to know about the thinking, the approach, and the attitude of the people. A technocrat knows his subject; but he may not bother about what other people have to say. Therefore a layman may sometimes be better.

People judge the Government by what they get in their villages or small towns, by what response they get from the administration there, by whether the administrators deal with their various problems quickly enough. Quite a number of the people's difficulties can easily be solved by the district authorities. At the present moment, unfortunately, our best officers have come over to the Secretariats, whether it is the State Secretariat or the Central Secretariat. Our district jobs are being manned by young officers which is a good thing in itself. But there should also be some experience, some maturity, before an officer takes over as District Magistrate or Collector of a district. People from the villages tell me that while they can talk to a Minister

or even the Prime Minister, it is not easy for them to talk and discuss matters with the District Magistrate or the Commissioner. This type of feeling must be removed. Of course, the administrators have to keep themselves somewhat aloof from the people. I quite appreciate that, but they must not lose the human touch. It has become common for us to criticise the administration. Everyone feels he has something to say against the administration and the administrator. The fact of the matter is that our administration, with all its defects and lapses, has functioned admirably well in the midst of critical periods in our national life. I am referring to the days of the partition of 1947, and during the transitional period which was beset with many difficulties. It is often said that the army is a great stabilising force. But I feel that the administration and the administrator, too, undoubtedly play a very important role in the stability of the country. I must express my appreciation to our administrators who have functioned during the last fifteen years, their contribution has been most valuable.

### ON JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

**T**ODAY, the nation is celebrating the 75th birthday of Jawaharlal Nehru. The day has been full of events dedicated to the children and the youth of the nation as it used to be during his lifetime. And tonight I should like, if I may, to address myself particularly to the young. To them belongs the future in the shaping of which Jawaharlalji made a unique contribution.

I should like to remind every young man and woman in the country that so many things which they take for granted today are in the nature of a legacy which Jawaharlalji has left to the nation. He it was who in 1928 proclaimed that complete independence and not mere Dominion Status was the political goal of India—a goal which was adopted officially by the Congress on December 31, 1929. And on January 26, 1950, during his Prime Ministership, India became a Sovereign Democratic Republic. It was he who took the lead in putting forward the concept of planned development for India even before the Second World War broke out. He presided over the launching of India's first Five Year Plan in 1951 and during his lifetime the nation made phenomenal economic and technological progress. It

was he who first pointed out that without socialism democracy cannot be complete, and it was in his lifetime that socialism was accepted as the goal towards which we must move. It was Jawaharlalji who evolved the doctrine of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence to which an ever increasing number of countries in the world subscribe. And it was his wisdom and counsel which, on many an occasion, reduced the tensions which were building up and removed the threat of war.

Yet it is not with his achievements alone, great as they were, that we should try to identify him. We should rather identify him with the forces which he generated throughout the country, forces which imparted a new dynamism. It is for us to keep the flame burning, the spirit alive.

There is hardly any aspect of Indian life—social, political or economic—to which he did not give a new impetus. Let us remind ourselves of some of the perils which he fought and brought under control and which, if we are not careful, may raise their heads again. He was, as you know, against communalism. His attitude towards the minorities was one of equality, indeed of generosity. The secular State which he shaped was born out of the feeling so deep in his heart that every citizen of India—whether he is a Hindu or a Muslim, or a Christian, or a Sikh, or a Parsee, or a Jew, or a Buddhist, or a Jain—has equal rights. Let all those who remember Jawaharlal with affection on his 75th birthday dedicate themselves to the task of national solidarity and pledge themselves to fight communalism, linguism and casteism, in whatever shape or form they may appear.

The same humanitarian approach was at the root of his thinking on economic subjects, his passion for planning and his desire to create a socialist society. He wanted to banish from this land hunger, disease, illiteracy and all the ills that attend upon poverty and towards this end, he sought the cooperation of everyone—of labour, of the business community, of the administration, of teachers and of people in politics. Speaking shortly after Independence, he had said that ours was a generation sentenced to hard labour in order that the vast potential of progress could be converted into actuality.

It was in this same spirit of love for humanity that he approached international problems. When he spoke on international affairs, he had only one thought—to promote peace. He did not take up positions calculated to help India in one way or another, but rather he thought of humanity as a whole. The same peaceful approach was to be found even when India herself was a party to a dispute. Twice in his lifetime, India was exposed to naked aggression. Even while

fighting invaders with the force of arms and the gallantry of our soldiers, he never abandoned the peaceful approach. He went to the UN over Pakistan's aggression. For Jawaharlalji, no other course was possible for he believed in peace and in settling international disputes by peaceful methods. We cannot be enemies for ever, he declared, *referring to Pakistan in 1950*. This is as true today as it was when he uttered it. And in the same spirit of peace, he accepted without any reservation the Colombo proposals regarding the Chinese invasion. We must, he used to say, quoting Gandhiji, look at international problems not with blood shot eyes, but with eyes which are clear.

Jawaharlalji was a great devotee of science. It was only through science and technology that India could lift herself out of centuries of stagnation and the depths of poverty. Only through science could the farmer flourish and factories increase their production. But his scientific approach was not something different from his human approach to all the problems of life but an integral part of it.

He was at once a visionary and a scientist. The scientific spirit is an attitude, rather than an aptitude. It pertains to the mind. It should not be confused with manual skills or mechanical devices. It is based on a passion for truth, truth sought relentlessly, rejecting dogma and doctrine, through actual living experiment. It is not without significance that Gandhiji chose to call his autobiography "The Story of my Experiments with Truth."

Let us not lose the capacity to make experiments, to try things out and to discover the truth for ourselves. Truth is not something which is inherited, not something which is prescribed by authority. Science rejects authority. No scientist would defend a theory by quoting another. Galileo, Newton, Einstein and now Narlikar have upset the theories built up by their predecessors. Science is always revolutionary. The slogans which dominate politics and the superstitions which sometimes envelop our daily life can be dispelled only through a scientific approach, a rational approach to life which Jawaharlalji always had.

At the same time, let us not forget that science and rationalism, divorced from human values, can produce ruthless efficiency symbolised by the atomic bomb. It is not enough to have the mind of a scientist if we do not have the heart of a humanitarian. It was the greatness of Jawaharlalji that he had them both. Indeed, he was at pains to emphasise how important it is, to quote his own words, "for the human mind and human spirit to control science and direct it in the right direction". "The great path of science", he said, "has to be tempered by something and that something is spirituality"

As long ago as 1947, speaking in the Constituent Assembly, he said -

'We hear a lot about the atom bomb and the various kinds of energy that it represents and in essence today there is a conflict in the world between two things, the atom bomb and what it represents and the spirit of humanity. I hope that while India will no doubt play a great part in all the material spheres, she will always lay stress on the spirit of humanity and I have no doubt in my mind that ultimately in this conflict that is confronting the world, the human spirit will prevail over the atom bomb.'

In seventeen years of independence, India has lost many great men who had waged a non violent war against foreign domination. Gandhiji, Sardar Patel, Maulana Azad and now Jawaharlalji himself, who, fortunately for us, presided over the destinies of free India through the most difficult period of her history, are no more. But the country whom they served so devotedly lives and is moving on the road to prosperity. As Jawaharlalji had said so rightly in 1949, "a nation goes on and on. A nation does not die."

It will be for the youth of today to assume the responsibility tomorrow of running the affairs of this great country. And so, to the youth of the country on the 75th birth anniversary of Jawaharlalji, I say, the future is yours. Let the humanism and the scientific spirit which Jawaharlalji had in such abundance enrich your hearts, ennoble your minds and guide your actions.

## BUSINESS ETHICS

THE PROBLEM of the social responsibilities of the business community is essentially a part of our outlook on life. It has largely to do with the kind of society we aim at.

We in India are passing through a period of transition from a predominantly rural agricultural economy to industrialisation on a comprehensive and widespread scale. In our recent history we have had a foretaste of the problems and the social instabilities that stem from economic transition and the process of industrialisation.

In a pre-industrial society the change is gradual and slow. It is governed by the general acceptance of certain patterns of rights and

obligations. This keeps its level of material well-being low, but socially it is more peaceful. Industrialisation has a tendency to disrupt social peace. In several ways it upsets the established order of the social system and the scales of social balance. Certain adjustments and the readaptation of a new set of social relationships become necessary.

Industrialisation immediately introduces a striking change in the whole complex of social relationships. This causes two kinds of strife. First, those who participate in it argue about the division of proceeds as between workers and entrepreneurs. The second kind of strife arises from the protests of those sections and regions which do not immediately get a share in the expanding industrial activities. In the initial phase of industrialisation there is an exodus of labour from the villages to the towns. Towns begin to attract labour and expand much faster than housing, transport, water and other amenities can. This results in congestion and over-crowding and throws up the problems of slums, sanitation and the like. Later, when the pattern of industrialisation begins to diversify, new industries based on new and labour-saving techniques are set up. This creates the difficult problem of technological employment. The point of all this is that the process of economic growth has an inherent tendency towards imbalance. Basically it is a problem of growth itself, but the consequences ensuing from this seep down to the very roots of the country's life.

Gandhiji had foreseen these problems and had given considerable thought to them. It is a well known fact that the Indian National Congress under his leadership was not concerned with the winning of political freedom only. It had a social objective also. Gandhiji was a strong advocate of the ideal of Sarvodaya which meant the moral and material well being of all sections of the community. He paid special heed to the requirements of the poorest and the lowest strata of society.

It is widely believed that Gandhiji was opposed to heavy industry. In his writings, there is abundant evidence that he recognised the evils that come in the wake of heavy industrialisation. But, although a protagonist of the Charkha, at heart he was no enemy of the mill-owner. As he himself once said, "Do I seek to destroy the mill industry, I have often been asked. If I did, I should not have pressed for the abolition of the excise duty. I want the mill industry to prosper, only I do not want it to prosper at the expense of the country." He, however, held very strong views about the share that labour should have in industry. Many a time he said that labour was superior to capital and he had always been a champion of the legitimate



rights of labour. But at the same time he wanted harmony and cooperation between the two, or, as he put it, "a marriage between capital and labour."

Gandhiji recognised that while all men should have equal opportunity, all did not have the same capacity. Some had the ability to earn more than others. But he believed that those who had talent would be performing the work of society if they used their talent wisely and well. Gandhiji said that he would allow a man of intellect to earn more and not suppress his talent. But it was his view that the bulk of his larger earnings should be used for the good of the State, just as the incomes of all earning sons of the father go to the common joint family fund. Those with talent and opportunity would find their highest fulfilment as trustees. This concept of trusteeship was one of the dominant trends in Gandhiji's political and social philosophy, and he extended this concept of trusteeship to cover all fields of life.

Gandhiji was a saint and not all that he preached and practised can be applied in our mundane society. But in our own humble way we are trying to build a welfare State on a socialist democratic pattern. The criterion for determining the lines of advance must not be private profit but social gain. The benefits of economic development must accrue more and more to the relatively less privileged classes of society, and there should be progressive reduction of the concentration of income, wealth and economic power.

The importance of the role to be played by the businessman in the establishment of the new order cannot be over-emphasised. It is, I venture to think, even greater than that of the economist and the politician. Too often the community views the businessmen's aims as selfish gain rather than advancement of general welfare. That impression can be removed only if business becomes fully alive to its social responsibilities and helps our society to function in harmony as one organic whole.

There is a feeling that the present laws regarding Companies concern themselves more with the rights and privileges of the shareholders and workers and tend to ignore the rights of the consumers and the community. Under the pressures of shareholders and trade unions, the Company management has a tendency to become less sensitive to the interests of the consumers and the community. The Company must act as a citizen of the community. It can be transformed into a social entity through a combination of public spirit and shrewd business sense.

Instances where employee participation in equity has been highly

beneficial to shareholders are forthcoming in the case of a few progressive concerns in the USA and the UK. It is possible that the good example set by such progressive Companies will in due course radiate to countries where there are such organisations. Where, however, the Companies are not voluntarily going to follow this lead, legislation to that effect has been suggested. It has also been felt that democratic principles of consent and participation of the governed must be incorporated in the Company Law by suitable amendment whereby the workers, consumers, the community and the shareholders voice their views in the council not as a matter of grace but of right.

I do believe that India must ever preserve her soul. We must develop but we must not allow the profit motive to be the only goal of economic activity. Men of business and industry must accept a voluntary ceiling on profits and dividends as a first step. This would surely help in some measure to remove the feeling that seems to divide those who have and those who are still in want. Secondly, the workers must be associated effectively with the management so that the thrill of participation in the task of building up the country can be imparted to them. Only then can a truly cooperative endeavour be generated. I feel confident that labour will respond with dignity and responsibility.

Finally, we must reject the doctrine that in business what matters is the end and not the means. Let us look not to the immediate profit but to the long term gain. Let us build on strong foundations that will stand the test of time. I would suggest that men of business and industry might consider the adoption of a code of conduct for themselves. Taken together, these ideas might help in the establishment of a new society which meets the material requirements of our people by giving them a better standard of living without denuding them of what we have always held precious through the ages.

### THE ADMINISTRATOR AND THE GOVERNMENT

**A**N ADMINISTRATOR has obviously to administer the laws of the State and the policies of the Government. The laws of a State are a product of certain basic ethical and social values, of social conditions of political institutions, of historical developments and of social and economic objectives. The laws, thus, reflect the policies of the

people and the State. However, laws tend to be conservative. They have to be so because they provide the framework around which a society develops. Policies, on the other hand, are more flexible. They produce the laws and also flow out of them. So an administrator, when he administers the laws and their progeny—the rules, regulations and directives—has to be conscious of the policies behind these regulations and the purpose which they are intended to serve.

An administrator is also a representative of the Government. *Governing*, I realise, is not a very fashionable word these days. But it is the basic duty of a Government to govern. Therefore, it also becomes the job of the administrator through whom the Government functions. The basic idea of governance, as I see it, is to hold the society together so that it can develop and march towards certain goals. The task of the Government is to facilitate this evolution, this progress. It must provide proper conditions and a proper climate for this purpose. While governing, the administrator must, therefore, keep certain trends in view. He should be aware of the policies which he has to implement and of the methods which are open to him for their implementation. He should know what the Government wants and at the same time be attuned to the needs of the people.

We have adopted a policy of planned development. Planning in various fields—agricultural, industrial and social—is being attempted on a truly massive scale. As far as the administration is concerned, this raises two important inter-connected issues: planning itself and its implementation. Some projects, for instance big industrial ventures, can be both planned and executed centrally. But the vast majority of plans have to be prepared and executed at the local level and the local plans have, through the State plans, to fit into the larger framework of the national plan. How far the process of planning and its implementation should be centralised, and to what extent and in what ways decentralised constitute important issues. The national objective has to be fulfilled. At the same time local initiative must be fostered.

These issues cannot be resolved in any simple fashion. Balance has to be achieved at different points in different sectors, the emphasis has to shift as development progresses, as experience is gained, and as technical and managerial skills develop.

The enormous task of social and economic revolution can be carried forward successfully only with the participation of the people. Obviously, the administrator has to go to the people. He has to identify himself with them. Yet he must retain his own identity and maintain a certain aloofness, so that he does not get embroiled in local

politics To a certain extent each man has to strike his own balance, but certainly his task would become easier if the administrator is genuinely dedicated to the cause Nothing influences people more than true dedication and the spontaneous enthusiasm which it generates

The post Independence era has presented another problem that involves social and individual adjustment This deals with the relationship between the politician and the administrator, to be more precise, between the public leader and the Government servant The problem has to be faced both at the local level and at the Governmental level If I may share a secret with you, at the district level the politician generally prefers to be on the right side of the local administration An administrator has to see that the politician continues to feel that way He can ensure this only if his integrity is above board and if he is reasonably industrious He must also realise that things have changed much in the last 20 years and are bound to change further The administrator may be among the most enlightened men locally, but even if he is conscious of that, it should not make him feel superior or act superior

At the Governmental level normally we have experienced administrators and also experienced public men I would like to ask their pardon for saying so, but I believe that in the course of getting to this stage, many angularities get rubbed off It is, therefore, comparatively easier for them to work together and to complement each other

I would like to refer to certain specialised areas of administration. Take, for instance, the District Magistrate To large sections of the people he represents the Government He has always been responsible for law and order and is now increasingly responsible for the developmental activities at the local level He needs both prestige and authority and at the same time humility and dedication Efforts to sustain his authority will have to be continued for quite some time Therefore, the persons who are placed in charge of districts must be carefully selected They should be experienced and should be given enough time to understand local problems

In the case of industrial undertakings in the public sector and other large nationalised services, the administrator should be reasonably familiar with the technicalities and the commercial problems involved He must also develop the art of man management The younger executives must receive the necessary training. This aspect must compel the attention of top executives

Our industrial undertakings should be able to provide the necessary goods and services to the people at the lowest possible cost and

as efficiently and as quickly as possible. Cost consciousness and the need for an efficient system of accounting are, therefore, very necessary.

To sum up, we have to develop a clean, efficient, versatile, sensitive and responsive administration. Above all it has to be an administration in which people will have faith and confidence. This holds good today. But the demands on administration will become greater tomorrow. It is the tomorrow on which you should keep your eye.

## **INDIAN ECONOMY**

## HEAVY INDUSTRY AND THE PLANS

IT IS NOT my view that there is a contradiction between the setting up of heavy industries and the promotion of well being amongst the masses. But clearly, there has to be some kind of balance between outlays on heavy industry and outlays on measures which would be of immediate benefit to the common man. It is the task of the Planning Commission to study this problem in all its intricacies when formulating the Fourth Plan and it is only after the Planning Commission has gone into this difficult question, with all the care that it needs, that the Government and I can take a definite stand on this.

I feel that it is necessary to make sizeable cuts in Government expenditure, both at the Centre and in the States. To achieve such economies, we must examine the possibilities everywhere. The many shortages which exist—of cement, steel, foreign exchange, imported machinery and the like—act as limiting factors in the development of heavy industries. I definitely consider that it would be wise not to dissipate our resources by starting too many fresh projects at this stage and instead to concentrate all available resources on the speedy completion of the projects already under construction. Such a policy, I feel, will accelerate rather than retard the development of heavy industries in the country, a development which has to be assessed not in terms of the number of foundation stones laid but in terms of output achieved.

## CHALLENGE OF THE FOURTH PLAN

THIS IS THE first meeting of this Council which will not have the guidance of Jawaharlalji. It was his vision that led to the introduction of planning in India and it was his example and advice that inspired many other developing countries. I was in Cairo the other day and President Nasser said that he had had long talks with the late Prime Minister and it was in pursuance of those talks that he had decided to set up a Planning Board. President Nasser said that he took the idea from Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. As long ago as 1938, soon after

From letter to Shri Bhupesh Gupta, M.P., New Delhi August 21 1964

Speech inaugurating the twenty first meeting of the National Development Council New Delhi, October 27 1964

popular Governments were formed in the Provinces, when Subhas Bose was the Congress President, a National Planning Committee was set up under Jawaharlalji's chairmanship. Again, it was he who decided as the first Prime Minister of India to set up the Planning Commission in 1950, and to constitute the National Development Council.

There is no doubt that what we achieved, specially in our First Plan is something to be proud of. The national income rose by 18 per cent, surpassing the Plan target of 12 per cent. We started well in the Second Plan but half way through we ran into serious difficulties regarding foreign exchange and we had to prune down many projects. Nevertheless, with the additional external assistance which we received, we were able to achieve an increase of 21.5 per cent in our national income against the original target of 25 per cent. Taking the decade covered by the first two Plans as a whole, the national income increased by 44 per cent, per capita income by 18.5 per cent and per capita consumption by about 16 per cent, despite the fact that the population had increased by 21.6 per cent during the period.

The mid-term appraisal of the Third Plan which was undertaken last year revealed that the progress in the first two years had been very slow indeed. Some of the reasons for this were undoubtedly outside our control. But we would be less than honest if we did not face up to the fact that our own performance was, in many respects, poor. Fortunately, in the third and fourth years of the Plan, progress has been somewhat better than in the first two years. But it is not good enough. The growth in national income was 2.6 per cent in 1961-62, 2.4 per cent in 1962-63 and a little above 4 per cent in 1963-64, while our aim was to have an increase of more than 5 per cent each year.

This sluggishness in our growth obviously calls for a redoubling of our efforts. If we are lagging behind, we must increase our speed. Unfortunately, the slow rate of growth has left us with little resources and has engendered a sense of frustration. The present shortages and high prices are themselves the result of our slow rate of progress. The real problem before us is to overcome these difficulties. We must, I think, look at the past in order to identify our achievements and failures, and to ascertain the reason for them for our future guidance.

Apart from the consideration which the Council would be giving to the Memorandum on the Fourth Plan, we should apply our minds to a few specific and concrete problems confronting us. First and foremost there is the problem of raising agricultural production, of procurement of foodgrains and their distribution and of the regular supply of a few other articles of daily necessity.





*Addressing a gathering in Allahabad after  
laying the foundation stone of Ganga Bridge*

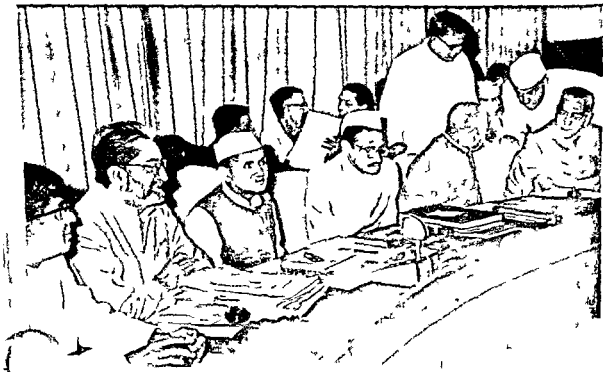
*At the Motilal Nehru Institute of Business  
Research and Administration Allahabad University*



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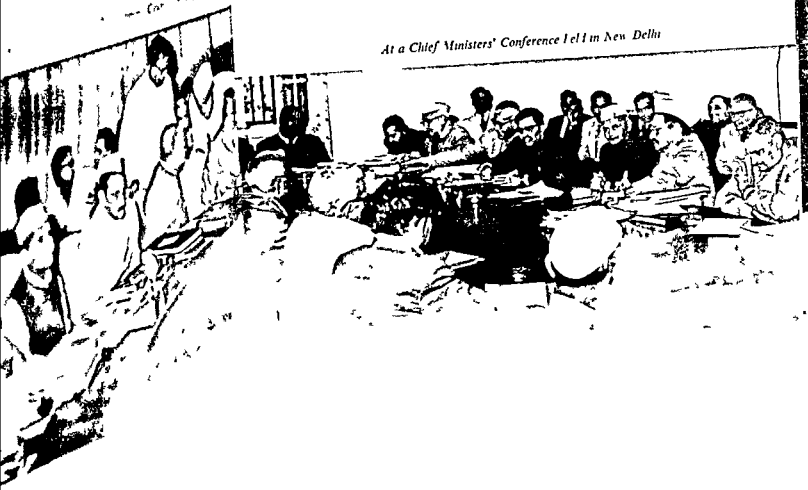
*At the silver jubilee celebrations of the Press Association New Delhi*

*At a meeting of the National Development Council, New Delhi*





*Addressing the Associated Chambers of Commerce and Industry at Calcutta*



*At a Chief Ministers' Conference held in New Delhi*

All of us know that our achievements in the agricultural sector have not been up to the mark. What we need now is a programme of concrete action. To produce immediate results such a programme has to be conceived in terms of the resources and facilities which are available and not in terms of what might be done in ideal conditions or in the distant future. All too often there are complaints about the shortage of fertilizers because we do not produce enough and cannot import enough. But are we making the fullest possible use of compost, manure and other indigenously available sources of nutrition for the soil? We are planning many major irrigation projects. But even while these are under construction, are we doing all we can in the field of minor irrigation? Cannot more wells be dug, cannot ponds be deepened, cannot the available waters of irrigation projects already completed be more fully utilised? Surely these are within our reach if we go about our task in a spirit of self help. We have to make a determined effort to find our requirements from within the country and not always depend upon imports and foreign materials which we can afford to do without.

All too often we think of these things at the national level and the State level, while there is neglect and even confusion at the village level. The farmer has now to deal separately with representatives of different Government agencies, each owing allegiance to a department or ministry at the headquarters of the State or the Central Government. The coordinating role which the District Officer used to play in the past has been lost. I would suggest to all the Chief Ministers present here today that they should restore to the District Officer, whether he is known as the Collector or the Deputy Commissioner, the status of a co-ordinator of all governmental activities in the district and confer upon him the responsibility for guiding all the efforts undertaken on behalf of the Government, Central or State. This may well mean splitting up the larger districts into more compact administrative units. This task should be treated as an urgent one. I would like to emphasise this point. Some of the districts, for instance those in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and West Bengal, are very large indeed. It would be in the interests of better administration to break up these districts, and even if it means more expenditure, it will be well worth it.

This toning up of the administration is essential whether we think of our short term problems, or of our long term problems of agriculture or of industry. Without improving the administration it will not be possible to control prices, effect a more equitable distribution of available supplies or do any of the other things which we must do to impart stability to the economy. Again, it is only through better

administration that the public sector projects can be completed with speed and the private sector can discharge its responsibilities in the way that it should

Even while we concentrate on measures to deal with our current problems and take steps to improve our efficiency and performance in the remaining months of the Third Plan, we cannot but start thinking of the Fourth Plan and the Memorandum prepared by the Planning Commission. Indeed, that is the main item of business before us today. What should be the main objective of the Fourth Plan? It must ensure that despite the unanticipated difficulties we have to overcome, the move towards a better life for the common people maintains its momentum. We have, therefore, to aim at as large a Plan as we can find resources for. The programme outlined in the Memorandum envisages an outlay in the public sector ranging between Rs 14,500 crore and Rs 15,500 crore against the estimated resources of Rs 14,500 crore for the public sector. Even this order of resources is based on certain assumptions.

One of the main tasks to which the Council should apply its mind today is the mobilisation of resources. There have been shortfalls in the State sector during the Third Plan. We cannot take such a risk in the Fourth Plan. I say this not to find fault with the State Governments whose contribution to our resources is below the target. I know the States have had difficulties and problems. In the Fourth Plan, we must anticipate these difficulties and problems and not give in to them when the time actually comes.

So far as the rural population is concerned, we certainly do not want to add to the burdens of the farmer. Yet I know the Indian farmer would be willing to pay more if he sees some tangible results before his eyes. Perhaps one reason why we find it so difficult to secure the cooperation of the farmer is that we do not establish the kind of visible link which is needed between the contribution which the farmer makes and the benefits that accrue to him. The farmer sees the Government as a collector of revenues through its District Administration. He also sees a number of other people who are building roads, bridges, hospitals and schools, providing fertilizers, seeds and credit. He does not see the link between the two sets of operations. In my opinion, we shall have greater success in raising additional revenues from the agricultural community if we can give them the orientation and appearance of a betterment levy. Thus if a new bridge is built and a toll charged for it, the user understands its logic and feels that he is paying for a service and not being taxed. The same logic applies to the other amenities which we provide.

Another matter connected with resources in which we must all make a combined effort is the earning of foreign exchange. Ever since 1958 the shortage of foreign exchange has been one of the most serious handicaps to our development. One reason why our decisions cannot be quick, why many factories have idle capacity, why machinery which is damaged or broken down cannot be replaced immediately, is the dire shortage of foreign exchange. This shortage has persisted despite the aid we have received, and continues to be a major matter of concern for our Fourth Plan.

It is thus essential that our export drive should do even better. Here again is a subject for which the Centre is responsible in matter of form, but in substance the effort to increase our exports depends very considerably on the support and cooperation of the State Governments. It has also to be realised that sales tax and other things which are not really meant to affect the export trade are levied in a way which hampers our exports and raises their prices. May I suggest to the State Governments that it would be desirable to have a special cell in the appropriate Department in the States which will concentrate attention on exports and give support and cooperation to measures for increasing our earnings of foreign exchange. Perhaps such cells already exist in some of the States.

Another matter in which cooperation between States is most essential is in respect of programmes relating to irrigation and flood control. It often happens that steps taken in one State lead to serious difficulties in another. For instance there is the problem of water logging which has a vital bearing on agricultural production. We have seen in recent months how vast areas of good agricultural land have been rendered unusable by flood waters which cannot be drained out. The worst situation is in Punjab, Delhi and parts of Uttar Pradesh. This is a problem which has to be dealt with on a regional basis and I think it would be desirable to consider the establishment of a special body to study this problem and to make concrete recommendations. I feel certain that if we can deal with this problem effectively, we would have made a substantial contribution towards increasing food production.

The more I think of our problems today, the more convinced I am that there is much greater need for coordination and solidarity than is generally realised. The main task of the National Development Council should be to promote thinking on a national plane for the attainment of our national objectives. State Governments must certainly attach the greatest importance to the State Plans. They have to be discussed, however, within the framework of the national Plan.

and I feel that discussion at this meeting should be mainly on the national Plan and the national effort needed to sustain it

I should like to say a word about the relative roles of the private sector and the public sector. Our objective is socialism. This does mean an immense growth of the public sector. Each Plan sets out what the private sector will do and what the public sector will do. Failure in either sector affects the Plan and creates imbalances in the economy. We have, therefore, to ensure that the targets allotted in our Plan to the private sector, no less than those allotted to the public sector, are fulfilled. The private sector has had and will continue to have a role to play in our expanding economy.

The Industrial Policy Resolution has already brought out that the two sectors cannot work in water tight compartments. In the context of rising prices and the difficulties which the common man has to face about basic consumer goods, it is necessary for some of the consumer goods industries to be developed in the public sector. I believe that the Government should also set up textile mills, sugar factories and plants for the manufacture of cement, drugs and medicines. Only then can we be assured that the shortages which we have been experiencing in the recent past will not become chronic. Such industries will also give us better profits and larger scope for employment.

Heavy industries will, of course, continue to be the backbone of our economic development. Much more steel machinery must be produced, but care must be taken, as I have had occasion to emphasise in the past, that we get the most out of the investment which we make in heavy industry in the shortest possible time. Planning of heavy industries for the Fourth Plan has to be on the basis of performance. Only then can our planning become more real and more accurate.

I have deliberately confined myself to certain practical issues which seem to me to be of paramount importance. They are issues for us to face here and now. Unless we can stabilise prices, increase production and improve our administration, the most careful Plan will not help us. We who claim to be responsible to the people have to be responsive to the people. It is up to us to restore to them a sense of dignity and hope. Unless we are able to do this in the remaining year and a half of this Plan, our Fourth Plan may not succeed, no matter what resources we mobilise.

The Fourth Plan presents a challenge to the nation. The challenge can only be met if we are prepared to undertake the many tasks which confront us with a truly national approach.

## ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND THE COMMON MAN

**I**N THE initial months of the emergency created by the Chinese invasion, we were able to absorb the stress and strain of higher defence and developmental outlays without serious disturbance to the economy. Despite the diversion of scarce resources to defence purposes, we were able to maintain the tempo of expansion in industrial production and add modestly to our depleted foreign exchange reserves. Industrial production in 1963-64, the first full year after the Chinese attack, increased by 9.2 per cent as against an increase of 8 per cent in 1962-63 and 6.4 per cent in 1961-62. During the same year, our foreign exchange reserves showed a modest increase of Rs. 10.8 crore and we were able to repay some 50 million dollars to the International Monetary Fund. The general level of wholesale prices increased by about 9 per cent in 1963-64, but this in itself was not a very serious disturbance, particularly as it occurred after two years of virtual stability in the index of wholesale prices.

Unfortunately, agricultural output in the 1963-64 season did not show as great an increase as was expected at one time. It turned out to be virtually the same as was achieved three years ago at the end of the Second Plan. The stagnation in agricultural output taken as a whole over the past few years and the anti-social activities of some people have combined to create shortages and price increases over the past year. There are certain lessons which, I feel, can be derived from the experience we have had.

First and foremost, efforts to increase agricultural production on a steady, long-term basis deserve the highest priority. I have not the slightest doubt that our agricultural production can be substantially stepped up. Our agricultural production increased at the rate of 3.5 per cent per annum during the first two Plan periods. A significant feature was that in some parts of the country, in Gujarat, Punjab and Madras, an increase of more than 5 per cent per annum was achieved, while in Assam, Orissa and West Bengal, there was only a marginal increase of about 1 per cent per annum.

There is no reason why the high rates of growth already attained in some parts of the country should not be achieved all over the country. The farmer has to be provided with the necessary impetus—better seeds, better manures and irrigation and credit facilities. The Government is trying to do its utmost in this regard. However, the agricultural departments in the States have to be much more active. They



must have more accurate figures about the production of different crops. The agricultural department and the Community Development Blocks must work for the proper supply and provision of these facilities. They must also see to it that they are fully utilised. There should be a common and consistent link between these departments and the farmers so that one helps and supports the other. A special spirit has to be generated amongst the farmers so that they resolve to produce more, so that they can feed the country and also earn more for themselves. A concerted effort has to be made to achieve this result.

There was a reference to the possibility of increasing agricultural output by allowing large-scale production on a selected basis. Some people are of the opinion that we have not carried out land reform far enough in many places and that this has come in the way of the farmer doing his utmost to increase output. It seems to me that both these view points have validity in the right place and for the right crop. Ceilings on land holdings are meant to reduce disparities and, along with the other measures for bringing waste lands under cultivation, afford better opportunities to the landless section of the population. At the same time, the Plan does visualise an exemption from ceiling in certain branches of agriculture, such as plantations, dairying, etc., which require large scale investment on a long term basis. The Plan also provides safeguards for efficiently managed farms which consist of compact blocks on which heavy investments have been made.

We are now in a stage of transition, moving from one Plan to another. This is undoubtedly the time for a cool appraisal of the effort that we have to undertake. There are and will be difficulties at each step in our march towards the goals of agricultural and industrial development, of better social services and of a society which ensures equality of opportunity to all the people—objectives which we, as a nation, have placed before ourselves since Independence. At each stage, we shall have to take note of any special difficulties that might arise and make necessary adjustments in our policies and operation devices. In today's situation we have to take measures to curb inflation. Some of these may seem somewhat irksome to Government departments who have been called upon to curtail expenditure, as well as to the private sector. But the steps necessary to check inflation are far less painful than the consequences of persistent inflation.

Even while we deal with our present problems and difficulties, we cannot lose sight of the future, we cannot afford to be faint hearted. We must continue our efforts. We must find new ways of doing things better than in the past and we must seek new resources to

sustain this performance in the future. This is a task in which your contribution can be a significant one.

A brief Memorandum on the fourth Five Year Plan has already been prepared. In a way, this Memorandum is essentially an invitation to Central Ministries, State Governments, private industry and others to submit or prepare more detailed programmes and projects as well as to work out supporting policy measures so that a draft Plan could be prepared and presented to the country for discussion and comment. Without even a rough preliminary framework, the various agencies responsible for making detailed proposals do not have a reasonable basis for doing so. At this stage, therefore, the numbers and proportions and targets in the Memorandum on the Plan should not be looked upon as representing final or fully considered views and decisions. Much work remains to be done before even a draft of the Plan could be submitted.

The accent in the Fourth Plan must be on the well being of the common man. In the course of the next ten years or so, it will be our endeavour to ensure a minimum living standard to our people. In the realisation of this objective the private sector will necessarily have to play an important role in as much as the consumer industries, including agriculture, fall almost entirely within the ambit of the private sector. The investment envisaged in the private sector as a whole would be more than a third of the total investment in the Fourth Plan and the share of the private sector in organised industries is expected to be almost half of the total investment in the industrial field. Such a large investment programme presents a challenge to private enterprise which has to press into service all its ingenuity to tap investible funds from all possible sources. It would, in particular, be necessary to make special efforts for enlarging surpluses through cost reduction and increased efficiency and to utilise them for re-investment in the interest of the economy. The Government on its part will do all it reasonably can to assist private enterprise to fulfil the targets assigned to it in the Plan.

I know that there are many difficulties in the way of setting up new industries. The shortage of foreign exchange has been dogging us at every step. The aid which we receive from friendly countries no doubt makes a most valuable contribution. Private investment from abroad in appropriate fields, particularly in industries where we are seeking to introduce new techniques, has also to be stimulated. But, above all, we must intensify our efforts to increase exports both of our traditional items and of our newer products.

I am aware that there have been considerable difficulties in raising

fresh capital in the market. Not many new industries have come up during the last two years. This slackness must go so that there is greater industrial output and more of employment. What measures need to be adopted to get over this sluggishness is a matter which is receiving the serious attention of the Government. The responsibility for achieving the targets set in the Plan, whether for public or for private enterprise, is a national one and we have all got to put our minds together to ensure that the weakness of one sector does not impair the strength of another.

We have to keep our social objective clearly in view and the industrialists and businessmen and the Government have to work for one common objective. In that context the growth of private industries is welcome as it forms part of our economic development. Your organisation can play a vital role in the growth and expansion of industries and create a new sense of purpose and achievement in the business community.

Industrialisation is not an end in itself. It is essential as it increases the supply of goods which people need and provides employment and livelihood to our growing population. Clearly then, in the choice of measures to help industry, the Government cannot forget the interests of labour or of the consumer. Indeed, the main reason why the Government tries to regulate and control industry is to ensure fair play to workers and consumers. The Bonus Commission and the Monopolies Commission became necessary because of this basic concern of the Government. Nothing would make the Government happier than to see an increasing sense of social responsibility in industry since this will make it possible for the Government to concentrate more on measures to help industry rather than to control it. Indeed, in the context of the present price situation, I feel that industry itself could and should evolve certain measures to ensure that its products reach the ultimate consumer at fair prices.

Apart from the workers it directly employs and the customers it serves, industry also has a responsibility to the community as a whole. I am glad that you welcome our efforts to eliminate tax evasion and avoidance, whether by big people or small. Each man who evades taxes adds to the burden which falls on the honest tax payer. The Government must consider the question of unaccounted money seriously, and take steps to mitigate its evil. We do want the cooperation of all in this matter. Let us hope that the problem in its present formidable form will cease to exist.

## DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AND WORLD TRADE

THE YEAR 1965 falls in the middle of what the United Nations have designated as the Development Decade. In doing so, the United Nations have recognised that the crucial task before humanity today is to help the developing countries on the road to progress, to enable them to attain a reasonable standard of living and to banish hunger and disease and illiteracy from the world. Consultations towards this end at Government level have been going on at the UN and its specialised agencies, in the World Bank, in the GATT and in the International Monetary Fund and, last but not the least, in the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development which met in Geneva last year.

It is in the fitness of things that such consultations and exchanges should take place not only between Governments but at all levels, particularly between representatives of industry, trade and banking and all the people who are engaged in different forms of economic endeavour which add to the wealth of the nations. The problems are many and great. Cooperation between Governments and co-operation between private bodies and agencies have to go hand in hand. I am confident that your deliberations will make a significant contribution to the dialogue between developed and developing countries and prove helpful to both.

We in India, as many of you may know, have been engaged, since our Independence, in the task of development through successive Five Year Plans. Two such Plans have been completed and we are about to enter the final year of our Third Plan. A period of fifteen years is not a long one in the history of a nation, yet we can look back with some satisfaction at what has been achieved in the last decade and a half. Despite the increase in population, we have managed to raise the *per capita* consumption of foodgrains and cloth. We have made a visible impact on illiteracy and disease. There has been an increase in the *per capita* consumption of shoes, bicycles and sugar. These commodities may seem quite elementary to you, but they are still not within the economic reach of large sections of our people.

Agriculture is the main source of livelihood for over two thirds of our population. In the first decade of planning, it recorded a rate of growth of nearly 3½ per cent a year which is by no means small. But with about 30 per cent of the land still without irrigation,

agricultural production in India continues to be dependent on the vagaries of the monsoon. The first three years of the Third Plan were years of relatively low production which caused an upsurge in prices in 1964. Fortunately the crop prospects now are remarkably good. The prices of foodgrains and other agricultural products have begun to come down. The shortages we experienced last year have brought home to all of us the crucial importance of agriculture. In the Fourth Plan, a concerted effort will be made to sustain a high rate of growth in agriculture.

Agricultural progress, vital as it is, cannot by itself solve the problem. The cultivated agricultural land comes to less than one acre per head of population. Only industry can relieve the pressure on land and thus make possible a real improvement in the standard of living of the people. Indeed, even agricultural development depends to a great extent on the supply of fertilizers and insecticides, steel and cement, which are the products of industry. There is no getting away from the fact that the industrial base has got to be widened in India. The production of engineering and chemical industries has been increasing in the past few years at rates close to 15 to 20 per cent per annum. Electricity generation has been rising at the rate of more than 10 per cent per annum. Our steel production is now in the neighbourhood of 6 million tons and schemes of further expansion are in hand. In such progress as we have achieved so far, the help and cooperation that we have received from other countries, large and small, from the East and the West, through private agencies and Government channels, has made a most significant contribution. But the fact remains that the *per capita* income of an Indian is still less than one rupee a day or less than six dollars a month.

If I have talked so far of Indian problems and of Indian experience, it is because I know them best and also because I feel that the basic problems which we have to face and which we are facing are common to all developing countries, whether they are in Asia or Africa or Latin America.

Basically, the greatest shortage in all developing countries is that of capital. While these countries must do everything possible to encourage the formation of domestic capital, it is quite clear that their own efforts will not suffice to achieve a tolerable rate of progress. In these circumstances the inflow of capital from communities with high levels of voluntary savings can make a tremendous difference to their rate of economic growth. It may well fill the huge gap between requirements and availability to which your President, Mr. Steel, has referred.

The difficulties and impediments which stand in the way need to be analysed objectively and dispassionately by a body like the I C C. There are many purely psychological factors on both sides. Investors are apt to feel that there are too many risks in investing in developing countries. On the other hand, in developing countries, partly for historical reasons, there are apprehensions that the influx of private foreign capital may lead to an indirect form of foreign influence. To what extent are the doubts on either side real and to what extent are they imaginary? How can they be allayed? These are practical issues which should be squarely faced. In doing so, there should be a genuine attempt to appreciate and understand the difficulties on both sides. Developing countries cannot expect that private capital will come to them on terms less favourable than are available to it elsewhere. Equally, investors must realise that the policies which developing countries pursue are born out of the hard realities of their own conditions. If they appear to tax industries heavily, it is because they have to provide so many services and utilities to sustain them, and because profits in sheltered markets, where scarcity rather than competition is the rule, tend to be high. If this Congress, with its constructive approach, comes forward with recommendations which take into account the realities of the situation, I have no doubt that a good deal of progress can be achieved in promoting liberal attitudes on either side.

Another major shortage which hampers development is that of foreign exchange. This shortage is reflected in efforts to curtail domestic consumption in a country where the standards of consumption are already very low, so as to make more products available for export. But there are other factors too. All too often when developing countries are in a position to increase their exports to the markets of industrialised nations, they come up against barriers of a formidable nature. This is indeed a sad phenomenon in a world in which there is a growing recognition of the fact that greater and freer trade leads to greater prosperity. Most countries in Europe today have, through a Customs Union or a Free Trade Area Agreement, abolished trade barriers between themselves. Yet the same countries seem to turn protectionist when it comes to admitting imports from developing countries. Far from receiving preferential treatment which would help provide resources for development, they often come up against restrictions of a discriminatory nature. Although these impediments formally emanate from the Governments concerned, the actual pressure behind them is that of industrialists and businessmen. It seems to me, therefore, that the I C C which has always stood for freer trade

can usefully propose ways and means whereby developing countries can have better access to the markets of industrialised countries

Technology is yet another field in which greater cooperation between nations would accelerate the pace of development in many parts of the globe

Despite the very valuable services provided by the ICC there still remains a great need for cooperation at the operational levels, between enterprises and industrial units, so that know how could be transmitted directly from user to user. How cooperation in these matters can be further strengthened will, I trust, be engaging your attention in your deliberations here

### A REALISTIC VIEW

**E**CONOMIC development is the keynote of our policies and programmes. Progress has to be made both in the agricultural and the industrial sector. So far as foodgrains are concerned, we have passed through a crisis. It was a difficult period, a period of scarcity and of soaring prices. To be frank, the Government did not get any cooperation from the trading community, especially from those dealing with foodgrains. We had to adopt a policy of tightening regulations and checks. Our policy has borne fruit. There were difficulties, but ultimately the dispatch of foodgrains on a State to-State basis did the job. The needs of the different States and of the country as a whole were met although the people did have to face a difficult situation.

In the industrial field too there has been constant progress and development. A large number of industries have been set up in both the public and the private sector. The progress might have been slow in certain sectors or in some projects during this period but if we take things as a whole, I think our future seems to be quite bright and hopeful. I might mention that in the last year of the third Five Year Plan period, we expect to have much greater production and, perhaps, the greatest during the last few years. It seems to me that for India there is no alternative to heavy taxation in the general interests of our society. We have big responsibilities. We have to find resources for the implementation of our Plans and to achieve certain

targets. In that context we have to resort to heavy taxation and although individually we have to suffer, we will have to accept it in the general interest of our country

Our objective, as you know, is socialism. We cannot have a kind of free economy. As we function in a democracy—and democracy is the basis of our political structure—we cannot have a regimented type of economy either. We have therefore to evolve our own pattern. There has to be a mixed economy, both the public and private sectors must function in India. I would suggest that the private sector and the public sector should not work at cross-purposes with each other. Wherever public sector projects have come up, a large number of private industries have also been established. In fact, new cities and new colonies have come up near the sites of public sector projects. In the circumstances, I do not feel that there is any conflict or clash between the public and the private sector companies or factories. What our country needs today is more production. As I said, whether it is done in the private sector or in the public sector, it means the same thing. It really means giving more employment to our people as well as producing more goods in India so that we do not have to depend on foreign countries.

We have in our budget proposals provided for incentives for greater production. In fact, the budget is production-oriented. Relief in excise duty has been provided for. In case there is greater production in certain commodities, relief in excise duties will be given. There is also reduction in personal taxation and, as far as I can see, taxation measures have been rationalised and put on a more stable basis.

Quality and cost are as important as increase in production. In this respect our experience has not been very happy. The budget proposals provide incentives whereby a developing country like ours can compete with more advanced countries in the world market. I shall not go into details but I would like to suggest that this is one of the important things which must receive your very careful consideration.

It is high time we realised the importance of consulting our technicians and scientists. If the necessary know-how and other facilities are not available here, we certainly must go to foreign technicians and foreign partners for preparing project reports and so on. It is of course, much easier and much quicker to hand over the entire work to foreign participants, collaborators or technicians, but if we really want to build up India, we will have to depend more and more on our own technicians, engineers and scientists.

Our Fourth Plan has to be bold and ambitious. Needless to say,



our needs and requirements in every sector of our economy, in every field, whether social or other, are tremendous. We have put the size of the Plan at about Rs 21,500 crore. Even then it is not possible to meet all the demands of the State Governments or of different Ministries of the Government of India.

I do not mean to suggest that we should not take a realistic view of things. It is very important that we should carefully scrutinise our resources. I do not want us to be placed in a difficult position somewhere in the middle of the fourth Five Year Plan period. If we are careful in examining our resources and plan accordingly, there is no reason why we cannot go ahead successfully with our Plan projects.

## **THE FOOD PROBLEM**

## KEY TO THE FOOD PROBLEM

WE HAVE yet to recover from the big shock we received recently in the passing away of our great leader, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. We would have liked to wait for some time, but the question you have to consider today has assumed great importance and great urgency. In the present situation I felt that our late Prime Minister would have summoned you here to consider the problems and come to some prompt and quick decision. I thought I should follow in his foot steps and request you all to come here and benefit from your advice.

The present problem of tackling the food situation can be considered in two ways: that is, we can consider the short term measures and the long term measures. In the short term measures, we may have to take very quick and prompt action. But while thinking of the short term measures, we cannot completely ignore the long term measures.

In fact, the real key to the problem is increased food production in our country and unless we achieve our objective in this regard we will always be faced with a difficult situation. It is unfortunate that low food production should jeopardise our economy every now and then and present us with a crisis each time. It is therefore of great importance to consider seriously long term measures even while we give thought to immediate remedies.

In so far as long term measures are concerned, I find it impossible to believe that we cannot increase our food production or that we cannot fight the shortage of food in our country. The point is how we are to do it. This is the question we have to consider.

The Community Development Department should be the most effective department in increasing the present quantum of production. My feeling is that the Community Development Department should, for the next one year at least, concentrate on the question of increasing agricultural production. Every worker in the block should see to it that every field, every bit of agricultural land in his area is fully attended to. Every field must be surveyed and its potentiality assessed. After six months there should be a review of targets and results for each field. If the results are unsatisfactory, the Community Development officers and other officers should consider the reasons for it. We have to work more in the field and less in our offices. The late Prime Minister used to lay the utmost stress on the importance of the work of the

agricultural departments in the States. In fact, he had once even suggested, if I am not wrong, that the Food and Agriculture Department should be taken over by the Chief Ministers themselves. I am not making that suggestion at the present moment, but only pointing out what great importance he attached to it. This was because our whole economy is based on adequate food production and does not depend too much on imports. The Food and Agriculture Minister and his Ministry should receive the fullest support from all the State Governments. Financial difficulties or hurdles should not come in the way. In that connection I would suggest that officers of the agriculture departments in the States should be working more in the fields. Of course, some officers are needed in the Secretariat, but at the district level, officials of the agriculture departments should be much more in contact with the people and with the cultivators.

Sometimes even when water is available, the tenant and the cultivator are not in a position to utilise it in the best manner possible. We have waited long and it is time we went to the villages ourselves. So far as I am concerned, I propose to go without the pomp and show of a Prime Minister.

It is better to go and stay in a far-off village for three or four days and try to establish real contact with the people. To do this, we must stay with the people and talk to them. We have thought over these matters earlier and talked of them many times but most of us including myself are guilty of not having done much about it. As soon as we hold office we get involved in many problems, we have to look to many things. Yet once or twice in a year, it should be possible for each and every one of us to go and live in villages for at least three days. If we meet a hundred or two hundred people we will really know what the actual position is. If we take the lead, I have no doubt the officials and the departments concerned will try to follow us. But whether we give the lead or not, the officials cannot shirk their own responsibilities.

We have made tremendous progress in industries and the achievement is something marvellous, if I may use that word. But agriculture still remains a sleeping partner. Why has this happened? Sometimes I feel that so far as industries are concerned it is easier to tackle them. It is an organised sector. But in the case of agriculture, where you have to deal with millions, where you have to deal with vast areas and a dispersed population, we are not so good, although we should have been. We derived all our strength before independence from the peasant and from the cultivator.

In our freedom struggle, it was the cultivator, it was the peasant,

who lent us his fullest support. But our new officers do not find it easy to give the peasant a new life and new enthusiasm again perhaps because of various problems. We must realise that what counts most in the matter of food and agriculture is the human factor, the human element.

I am told that not much has been done about the package programme yet. It is a big experiment, a big trial, where you supply the cultivators with all the things they need. But as far as I know the achievement so far has not been very significant. If we concentrate on certain sectors in certain areas and if we do not produce the desired results, it would depress me and depress all of you. This package programme needs your fullest attention. It is a model of what is to be done throughout the country, and will be a pointer to what we lack and what we should do in the case of other areas.

Increased production is of the highest importance, but perhaps it is in no way less important that we should make the necessary arrangements to distribute foodgrains satisfactorily. If the distribution is properly done, there is not so much fluctuation in prices. I do not say that the prices of foodgrains can be isolated from the general economic problems of the country—our general economic situation, our fiscal policies and other measures—they all have to be taken together. Even so, unsatisfactory distribution can sometimes result in soaring prices and other difficulties.

Prices have gone very high. Wholesale prices in India are now at the highest level ever reached and we are entering the difficult lean season when prices normally rise further. The general index at 144.5 on May 30, 1964, is 8.6 per cent above the level a year ago. Prices of foodgrains and other agricultural commodities in particular have risen sharply in the past year. While prices of food articles have gone up by 13 per cent, cereal prices have increased as much as 16.5 per cent. This rise in prices imposes, it is needless to add, extreme hardship on large sections of the people and it is naturally the foremost problem in people's minds today.

As I said earlier, our entire developmental effort for which we have toiled all these years and sacrificed so much is in danger. There are many factors causing this rise in prices and we will have to review them. But the major cause is the rise in prices of foodgrains, specially cereals. It makes me very sad to see that one reason for the shortage of food is that certain sections of the people do not fully realise their responsibilities in the matter. Foodgrains are available, cereals are available and available within the country, and yet they are not coming into the market. This is a most unfortunate situation.

It is essential that the Government should have adequate stocks at its disposal. We must have buffer stocks and for that the Government will have to procure foodgrains. At the present moment, I am not talking of State trading as such. But what is important is for us to have an adequate reserve so that we can fight the trading community if they do not behave.

It has been suggested, and rightly so, that there should be price support for the cultivator. We should provide for it. It has been suggested by all Food Ministers. But alongside the producer there is the consumer, and for him too there should be some kind of maximum price.

We have at present large stocks of foodgrains, but they will have to be replenished when the foodgrains are allocated to different States. The trade should know that even today we can meet the situation by throwing foodgrains into the market. Yet we want to be careful, stocks must be replenished immediately so that we do not run short later on. Therefore, our effort has been to get in touch with some countries and I am glad that both the United States of America and Pakistan have responded favourably and promptly. There should now be no feeling of scarcity in the country. When there is a scare, complications arise. I very much wish that the whole country should know that we can meet the present situation without any difficulty. There will be no shortage and I think the prices will also be stabilised.

### THE CENTRE: HELP OR INTERFERENCE ?

I HAVE not much to say since the Food Minister has dealt with almost all the important points raised here, elaborately and in a comprehensive manner. This conference has specially met to think of steps and measures which will tide over the present food crisis. The situation in the States is undoubtedly *very difficult*, besides the shortage there is a strange kind of psychology prevalent in different parts of our country, a good many rumours have been spread that there is shortage both of wheat and rice and the traders are free to exploit the present situation. I would like you to remove that doubt and suspicion from the minds of our people. I can say with some assurance that for the next two months there will be absolutely no difficulty.

in the supplies of adequate foodgrains, both wheat and rice, to different States

I am quite clear that maximum prices will have to be fixed. As the Food Minister said, it is a matter which might take some time. We should prepare ourselves for it and we must have the necessary machinery as far as possible we should try to have an honest machinery. It would be most unfortunate if the staff concerned did not play the game. Since we started providing grains from the Centre, we have thought in terms of imports but now the States also feel that they can thus get foodgrains from the Centre.

The Centre will intervene or interfere whenever there is a serious or extraordinary situation. But this interference should not become a practice.

I think the States—those which have a deficit as well as those with a surplus—should meet. I think it should be perfectly possible for, say, two or three Chief Ministers to meet and settle amongst themselves the quotas which should be sent to the deficit States.

We must not forget the cooperative societies in these transactions, the movement of foodgrains from one place to the other, and their marketing. There is a great future for cooperative societies. And if you really want the weaker sections of the community to be benefited in different ways, either through multipurpose cooperative societies or consumer cooperative societies or credit cooperative societies, they are just the thing which would really help us.

It is regrettable that those who are in charge of cooperatives—officials and non-officials—have not fully realised how they have to function today. Despite this, for there are failings everywhere, cooperative societies must be kept in mind.

## APPEAL TO THE FOODGRAIN TRADE

**M**ORE THAN a month has passed since we last met in New Delhi to discuss the food situation. The position has continued to cause the deepest concern to all of us and that is why I am writing to you personally on the subject.

I do not want to go into the statistical or economic explanations of the causes underlying the present crisis. We have to face the situation as it is today. The shortage of foodgrains has caused serious

problems and whatever may be the reason, the Government have to increase the supplies to the people. As an immediate measure, the Government have no alternative but to import cereals from abroad and as quickly as possible. Despite the fact that we are short of foreign exchange, we are doing everything possible to import all that we can in the shortest possible time.

It is regrettable that the wheat crop last year was poor and we are in short supply of wheat also. But under the PL 480 Programme of the United States, supplies have been and can be stepped up substantially.

Some time back there was a bunching of ships in the ports of Calcutta and Bombay. There was some trouble about the unloading of ships carrying foodstuffs. Quick steps were taken to remove the difficulties of the workers and the situation appears to have improved considerably. Now there are not many waiting ships carrying foodstuffs. Nevertheless, I would like to appeal to everyone working in the ports, in whatever capacity, to remember that foodgrains are vital for the community and the workers should not in any way become responsible for aggravating the present complicated situation.

It has been decided to divert ships to different ports in the coming months, so that there is the minimum of delay and the delivery of grains to different States becomes easier and quicker. The railways have also been advised to give top priority to the movement of foodgrains and already the quota of wagons has been stepped up, even doubled in many instances. As the tempo of movement from the ports quickens, the ships will also arrive more promptly.

I feel that the impact of larger imports will begin to be felt by the end of this month. In between, and even thereafter, it is essential that our own domestic production should reach consumers all over the country with the minimum of interference and hold ups. The restrictions which exist on movements from State to State and zone to zone have to be operated as instruments of an integrated all India policy and without undue partiality to the needs of surplus States. Not all the stocks of foodgrains are in the hands of the Government, Central or State. Large quantities are in the hands of the trade. This is natural. What is wrong is that traders with stocks should conceal them rather than bring them out into the market. The State Governments have been taking action to bring out the concealed stocks. Personally, I would be happier if these stocks were freely marketed by the trade itself, but the traders have not left us much room for hope. Possibly they fear that once they bring out the stocks,



they will expose themselves and have to suffer penalties. They are surely liable to penalties, but in the special situation existing today, when foodgrains must find their way into the market, I would go to the extent of suggesting to you not to take any penal action where any trader or stockist brings into the open within the next two weeks any stocks of foodgrains not previously declared. The stocks may further be allowed to be sold in the open market at a reasonable price. However, after the lapse of the period of grace, firm measures will have to be taken as has already been done in some places. I do not want to say more about this point. More than enough has already been said, and it is now time to let firm action speak for itself. I can only express the hope that even now the private trade will respond to my appeal, will take into account the bitterness that is being created against them, and will so conduct themselves that such firm measures do not become necessary.

Cities, of course, are our main problem, but in some of the States shortage and scarcity have affected the rural areas also and there has been a lot of suffering on that account. I think that the bigger cities like Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and Delhi will have to be dealt with in a special way. If it becomes essential, we should be prepared to introduce rationing in these cities. We must have the necessary machinery, at least in the larger cities, so that whenever the need arises, it could be brought into play at short notice. The Union Finance Minister has already offered to meet part of the cost of the enforcement staff, and I do hope that you will go ahead with the setting up of this machinery.

In the rural areas, the supplies should be made through fair price shops and the trade in the rural areas should also play its part. I do hope the Panchayats will take upon themselves a special responsibility in the present situation. Each and every village Panchayat should keep an eye on every man in the village to see that there is no starvation. Panchayats will also be in a position to know who has foodgrain stocks. They should use persuasive methods to bring the stocks out. In case they do not succeed, they should bring it to the notice of the authorities concerned. They will thus be doing a great service to the people of their areas. Presidents of Panchayats and other office-bearers of Panchayats should make it their duty to move about in the villages in the course of the next two months and take necessary measures to try and solve their own problems as much as they can. The district authorities should try to do their best and cooperate with them in this matter.

Similarly, there are many ways in which the people in the cities

can help themselves. The larger hotels and restaurants that serve a wide variety of dishes can easily cut down their consumption of rice and wheat. Non vegetarians can easily curtail their consumption of cereals. It might be helpful to cut out rice from our diet, especially in areas like Punjab, Delhi, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh. This can be done for a month. Those who cannot do without rice can at least cut it out one day in a week.

While I have laid much emphasis on the immediate issues and short term action, the Government of India have prepared their long term measures also. Our Food and Agriculture Minister, Shri Subramaniam, has, in his Press statement, given an indication of what we propose to do. The imports, of course, will have to continue and perhaps in a larger measure so that we can build up the necessary reserves. These reserves should consist both of indigenous as well as imported cereals. Various steps will have to be taken to procure foodgrains indigenously from the producers without causing the least harassment to them. We must start thinking of these measures from now on because within another two or three months the *kharif* harvest will be coming in. That will be the real testing time for us and we can not afford to be caught unprepared.

The idea of the Foodgrains Corporation has already been mooted by the Food and Agriculture Minister and he is going ahead with the scheme. The Corporation will be able to procure directly from the cultivator, the wholesalers and from rice and flour mills. It is expected that the State Food Trading Body will start functioning from next January.

The most important thing for purchasing cereals from the market is the fixation of a reasonable price for the producer. If the producer gets remunerative prices he would himself willingly part with his produce. It has been decided that the producers' prices will be fixed and announced much before the sowing season so that the producer will know beforehand what price he will get and so put in his best. The setting up of an Agricultural Prices Commission is also being considered and a committee has been set up to go into the details and draw up the final scheme. This work will be completed very soon and the Commission will come into existence shortly thereafter.

The main solution of the food problem is neither import nor making up the shortage by other means. The only real solution can be increased production. The cultivator will have to be given all the facilities to increase his production. If the cultivator, the Government authorities and public organisations could work in full cooperation, it should not be impossible to have a sizeable increase in our

production I know there is not much point in talking about it let the results speak for the success of our efforts The *kharif* crops have already been sown Something can still be done to improve the yield of the *kharif* crops by measures such as the use of fertilizers, proper weeding, timely irrigation, pest control, etc., and I would appeal to the cultivators and the extension workers to do everything possible in this direction An even greater trial for the Government and the cultivator will be when the *rabi* crops are to be sown We must start making preparations from now on As I have said earlier, it would be advisable for Ministers and others to make frequent visits to the villages and see things for themselves I have said the same about myself also and I shall try to do my bit in this regard

An important step recently taken by the Food and Agriculture Minister was to fix the consumer prices for rice in the four southern States of Andhra, Madras, Mysore and Kerala This is a bold step, but its success will lie in its proper enforcement It is there that difficulties might arise On the one hand, the trade will have to co-operate and on the other, the district administration will have to maintain constant vigilance If the trade does not co-operate the administration will have to deal with the situation I sometimes feel that our administration today suffers from the fact that too many people are content with desk work and leave all field work to junior officials of various kinds The fixation of consumer prices will prove a failure unless the district administration does its job

While we are in the midst of a foodgrain shortage, I have asked the different Ministries concerned to consider the question of prices of some other items of goods which are also essential for our day to day life Sometimes the prices of these articles lead to an increase in prices of foodgrains Some of these items are cloth, vegetable oils, sugar, matches, kerosene, tea, soap and vanaspathi It is important to fix the prices of these items and properly enforce them These products are of interest to the common man and to the low income groups generally Prompt action has already been taken in regard to the fixation of prices of popular varieties of cloth and it has been decided not to leave it to voluntary control We should, as in other countries, generally adopt the practice of selling goods at fixed prices In fact, there should be a display of prices for all essential commodities and they should be sold only at those prices It should become more or less a matter of habit for the producer and the seller to know and understand that there will be no undue profiteering at any time This may take time but we must move in that direction Will it be possible for some of the shopkeepers at least to set an example? Let it be

the duty of their associations or other voluntary organisations to give a lead in this regard. I am sure that if they do it they will create tremendous goodwill for themselves and also truly serve the people.

I would also like to suggest that there should be as many consumer cooperative societies as possible. There may be shortcomings in their working, but the public workers should try their level best to run them satisfactorily. Consumer cooperative societies do give much relief to their members especially in these hard times. They sell articles at a fixed price and the quality is also generally better.

May I mention here that recently special checks were carried out quietly in Delhi in order to study the retail prices of some of the commodities? It was found that there was a premium of one paise over the printed price of matches. But in a certain area one shop quoted a still higher price. In one case in regard to the purchase of sugar, the receipt was not given and the rate charged was also higher. There was also a heavy premium on Dunlop bicycle tyres. The general tendency was not to show the price list. But on the whole, except for some variation here and there, the prices of medicines were the same all over the city. Philips electric bulbs and Dalda Vanaspati are being sold at stamped prices, the rates being fixed by the manufacturers. It is obvious that officers should frequently go round and find out for themselves whether products are being sold at prices fixed by the Government. Prompt and effective action in handling a few cases will have a tonic effect. Even this may not be necessary if the people concerned know that the authorities are going around and keeping a close watch on the situation. It is, therefore, essential that the officials realise their full responsibilities.

I am told that some kind of demoralisation has set in among the officials. I am sorry to hear of it. I would advise them to act without fear or favour. They must act boldly, and the Government will lend them full support. As things are going to be very difficult in the next few months, I want the officers not to suffer from any doubts. They are the agents of the Government to execute its policies and programmes. If they hesitate in the execution and enforcement of the schemes drawn up by the Government, however good these may be, they will not succeed.

May I also appeal to you all to keep foremost in mind the need to cooperate amongst ourselves if we are to tide over this crisis. Harassed as you are by your own difficulties, it is only natural that you should be inclined to impose various restrictions and enforce measures that might help to ease the situation in your own State even though they may cause greater difficulties in the neighbouring States. Unless the

States cooperate with one another and keep the all India picture in mind, we shall only be adding to our difficulties. There is a natural tendency for surplus States to hold on to their stocks so that the position does not deteriorate in their own areas. But if every State that is surplus in any commodity—and it need not be foodgrains—decides to reserve the major portion of that commodity for itself, then things will become altogether impossible. I would, therefore, appeal to you all to please desist from any measures that will add to the difficulties of other States, whatever the temptation. I can assure you that the Government of India will spare no effort to see that you are not made to suffer on account of any cooperation or help that you might extend to those who are in greater need.

I would also appeal to the leaders and members of the political parties. They have every right to criticise the Government and in the present situation they should have and really do have full opportunity to expose the deficiencies of the Government. They can also publicly express their anger and lodge protests. The Government would really benefit if they were to take into account this expression of feelings. However, I do not know if it would be advisable to resort to direct action. Some of the parties are already doing it and some others have decided to launch it sooner or later. This is not good, either for the Government or for the political parties, and certainly not for the people. I do not deny that some of the criticism against us is justified, but in the next two months we have to do our best with the cooperation of all to tide over the immediate crisis. I have no doubt that in this and the next month things will definitely improve when cereals arrive from abroad. Our new stocks of indigenous rice will also start arriving in the market in the month of October.

May I say, in all humility, that the present situation calls for a national all party approach. There really is no alternative in a difficult situation like this where the question of availability of food is involved. The matter is so vital that it demands common constructive thinking from all parties, from the Government and the Opposition, from the administration and the people, from the Centre and the States. If such a spirit emerges out of the present crisis, I am sure it would be good for us and good for the country as a whole.

Much of what I have said concerns not merely the State Governments, but also others—labour leaders, political leaders, members of the trade, and so on. I am, therefore, taking the liberty of giving a copy of this letter to the Press as well.

## FOOD PROCUREMENT

THE MAIN point before us today is How do we deal with the difficulties about food ? There are no doubt two steps that we have to take First, we have to get foodgrains from within the country, from wherever it is possible or from wherever they are available, whether it is Punjab, Madhya Pradesh or Andhra Pradesh How we get them is a separate matter on which much has been said The alternative is to import from abroad However much we may dislike importing foodgrains, at the present moment we have no choice but to depend upon imports from different countries If in the course of the next few months we are able to import a good quantity of wheat and rice, it will become possible for us to tide over the present difficulty

Fair price shops are very important, and we want to increase their number We may have to do it in the course of the next few weeks if it is necessary But what is important is that these fair price shops should be managed well There is no point in hiding the fact that there is a good deal of leakage from the fair price shops I was told that in one of the States about 25 per cent to 30 per cent of the cereals provided to the fair price shops were smuggled out, or leaked out, and they were sold in the open market Therefore, it becomes essential that there should be a constant vigil and watch over these fair price shops I might also add that in the rural areas especially, the fair price shops have not functioned properly It is important, of course, that the administration should deal with this, yet it is advisable for the Panchayats to take more interest in the matter Other non-officials should also keep an eye on the fair price shops in the interests of their better functioning

We must remember that during the last three years we have subsidised foodgrains in fair price shops to a very great extent I think, in 1961, it was round about Rs 15 to 16 crore, the subsidy increased to Rs 21 crore in 1962, it rose to Rs 36 or 37 crore in 1963 and it seems that in the year 1964 the figure might go up to Rs 50 crore It is obvious that the Government are keen that those who cannot afford to purchase foodgrains in the open market should get them at cheaper rates from fair price shops

As regards floods, there are still some difficult areas Uttar Pradesh, for instance, is badly affected and there is widespread water logging Northern Bihar is also in a difficult situation and those areas which have been affected by floods are in a bad way Even a State like Punjab, which is a granary of food for the country, or at least

for the northern part of our country, is faced with serious difficulties, especially in the Rohtak Jhajjar area. A large area of Delhi is also in a very poor plight. So are areas in Gujarat, and rural Maharashtra. All these flood affected areas have to be helped out a good deal.

I think that if the problem of water logging is solved in Punjab, we may get about two lakh tons or at least one lakh tons of wheat from that area. It is a very fertile area, but large tracts are unculturable or have become unculturable because of water logging.

Formerly, when an area was affected by floods, the Kisan was not able to sow the *kharif* crop, or the *kharif* crop was damaged, but the Kisan could always depend upon the *rabi* crop. But in the flood affected areas, the situation has come to such a pass that there is danger of the Kisan not being able to sow even the *rabi* crops. In the water logged areas, things are still worse. For years together, they have not been able to produce anything.

I am referring to this matter because I feel that very special attention is called for by the various departments concerned. It is the view of an expert engineer that many areas have been affected, because of canals which have been constructed during the last few years, because of some bridges and culverts of the railways, and also because of some newly-built roads. Because there is no coordination between the different departments involved, the water logging persists.

I am sorry to be critical of the Government or of the administration, but I can say from my own experience that no department is prepared to shoulder the responsibility. If you mention it to the railways, they will say, "We have nothing to do with it, the bridges or the culverts were built a long time back". If you go to the Transport Ministry, they will say, "Well, the roads are all right, and, therefore, there should be no problem". If you refer to the Irrigation Department, well, they are a law unto themselves.

In saying this, I am aware of the reflection on myself and I accept that I should be held responsible. But I do want to emphasise that the administration must realise its responsibility in this matter, and get rid of this system of each department working in a sort of water tight compartment. We are a vast Government, and naturally every Ministry is becoming bigger and bigger. It is, therefore, even more essential that there should be proper coordination.

I would only like to add one more point. It is essential that loading, unloading and despatch of foodgrains to different areas should be expedited and arranged efficiently. Of course, it is the ports that are mainly concerned with loading and unloading. Next come the railways. Things have improved considerably during this period. There

has been quick loading and unloading. As regards labour, there was some difficulty, but they have responded well and the railways have also carried on their work efficiently and effectively during this period

This of course applies to a short period. I do not want to take a complacent view. I think our responsibility is very great and I see difficult days ahead, at least for the next two months—September and October—until the new harvest comes. But I do not want in any way to create a feeling of demoralisation in the country or amongst ourselves. I have no doubt that we will be able to overcome the present crisis without any serious trouble.

As for imports, there has been some delay because of trouble in the American ports. However, several countries have helped us in diverting ships to India and it would, therefore, be possible for us to get adequate food during the third week of this month.

As I said, I do not envisage any special difficulty in feeding our people. Things may not be to our entire satisfaction, yet we will not have to resign ourselves to anything disastrous.

Whichever way we look at it, an increase in the production of foodgrains is essential. Towards this end, I would merely mention two new steps which we propose to take. There is the production part of it and there is the distribution part.

Insofar as production is concerned, the Food Minister has announced that we want to fix the prices of foodgrains for producers. I say that this is a revolutionary step. It has not been done so far, although we have been thinking about it for some time. Yet I can not ignore what Dr Lohia said the other day, that if we give higher prices to the producer, it would mean that the foodgrains would also be priced higher. This is an aspect of the problem which needs to be carefully considered. And it has also to be realised that for a country like the United States of America it is easy to fix high prices or higher prices. Their economy is an economy of prosperity. Our economy is an economy of, I won't say poverty, but anyhow.

I would like to appeal to all Hon. Members to kindly lend their help to us in this matter. It is very easy to form unions and organisations and demand higher wages, and I think it might be done. But to begin with, if we start with that kind of agitation, my feeling is that the scheme itself will be killed.

It is desirable that an objective body of experts should consider the question of fixation of prices and make an *ad hoc* announcement. We do not want to delay the matter much. The prices for *rabi* crops have to be announced soon, because sowing will begin some time in



the month of November, slightly earlier or later in some places. We have appointed a committee of experts and officials at the Centre with Shri L. K. Jha as Chairman. The Finance, Food and other Ministries concerned are all represented on the committee. Their report about producers' prices will be submitted some time next week. By the end of this month, I hope they will also be able to submit their report about the prices for wholesalers and retailers. Their's is a difficult task, no doubt, but they will, at least for the next year, carry on with it. After that, I hope in the month of January, the regular Agricultural Prices Commission will be set up as a permanent body to do this work in the future.

I do not want to say much about how the Kisan should be helped in regard to increasing production. A great deal has already been said. It might be said that I take a conservative view, but I feel that in the given circumstances, what is essential is that the Kisan should be helped to the utmost in small ways. What I mean is mechanised farming is good and we may have farms like Suratgarh. We should have them as experimental, demonstration farms. It would also help us in adding to our present food production, but by and large it is not possible for the cultivator to take to mechanised farming. I fear that if we did that, we would have to import machinery from abroad and add to the burden on our foreign exchange. Secondly, if we took to mechanised farming on a large scale, the machinery would lie unused for months together, unless we could arrange for enough technical personnel. Instead of being beneficial to the Kisans it would be definitely harmful. We may go in for this at a later stage, but just at present what is needed is that the Kisan should get enough water, better seeds, manures and the necessary credit facilities. If we can give these things to the Kisan, I have absolutely no doubt that he will produce much more.

I remember very well what Pandit Jawaharlalji used to say. He always emphasised this, and said that he did not want these big bulldozers, tractors, etc., that he only wanted to give the Kisan improved ploughs and other improved implements which could be produced in this country. If any repairs were necessary, he said, the Kisans themselves could do it, or people could be taught to do it. I feel exactly the same way and therefore I would suggest that the Government should concentrate on the Kisan's basic needs. I have no doubt that the Hon. Members will also agree with this.

One thing more. I have said so earlier, but I might repeat that the community development blocks will have a special responsibility in this matter. I have suggested, and Shri S. K. Dey, my colleague,

entirely agrees, that the community development blocks, during the next few years, should concentrate on increasing food production and nothing else. They can, of course, do other things, but the main part of their work should be to help the Kisan to increase his production. I would even go to the length of suggesting that it should be the responsibility of the community development officers to attend to each and every field. A proper survey should be made of the production of each field, of the progress made in six months, and if there is no progress, of the obstacles and difficulties the particular Kisan had to contend with. Those difficulties and obstacles should then be removed. There should be a regular chart. I do not suggest that we should merely work on paper. My desire is, in fact—I may perhaps be wrong but I sometimes feel—that all the jeeps should be withdrawn from the community development blocks. Let the officers and workers visit only a few villages if they cannot visit them all. But let them do some concentrated work and actually mingle and mix with the Kisans. Then alone will the community development workers be able to enthuse them. I would go to the length of telling the House that it will be our job, the job of the Ministers, to go and stay in villages. I am suggesting this in all seriousness. Whenever we go anywhere, it would be much better for us to stay in a village rather than in a dak bungalow. When I advise officers to go and mix and live with the people, we must do the same and set a real and good example. I do not want to make the task of the Ministers or others impossible. But some kind of a plan or scheme has to be drawn up in accordance with which we have to function.

As I said, the real problem is to increase production. I would not say that this problem is going to be solved or self sufficiency is going to be achieved in the course of the next one or two years. We must think in terms of at least six to eight years during which we must do our utmost to increase our agricultural production and to build up a reserve as well. This progress should be steady progress and should as far as possible be a progress from year to year. One cannot completely ensure that there will be no troubles for the cultivators and the rural areas. There may be floods or drought, there may be frost and what not. These things will also have to be kept in mind.

Even a great country like Russia which has done wonders is still faced with shortage of foodgrains. Even they sometimes find it convenient or necessary to import foodgrains, you can well imagine what must be the position of a country like ours, faced as we are with so many other problems besides.

Distribution is also a very important matter. The Food and Agriculture Minister spoke about the setting up of an All India Foodgrains Corporation. We do not want to create a monopoly whereby only the Government deals with foodgrains. It is an experiment and I think we should start with it carefully and try to succeed in it. In a way, it is State trading and if we succeed in it we can take a further step. It is not a question of ideology, there can be no ideology where food is concerned. Food is an essential thing and it is the responsibility of the Government to give it to the people at reasonable prices. The Government should see to it that there is no scarcity or shortage. In a country like Japan which believes only or mostly in private trade, the State procures all the rice and other foodgrains produced in the country. Not only that. The Government also takes charge of the distribution. I am told that there are 36,000 or 40,000 retail shops in Japan to distribute the foodgrains.

I would like to say one more thing. I am sorry I have to be a bit critical but there is a feeling in the States that they are dependent on the Centre for the supply of wheat or rice. Even States which are more or less self sufficient if not surplus depend on the Centre. They do not put in their best effort to produce more because they know that the Centre will somehow find foodgrains. This is not a very happy trend. For one thing, it has an adverse effect on the administration. This trend must be changed and a new psychology created in the States.

I wanted to refer also to the high prices of other articles or commodities which are of common use, like cloth, sugar, salt, oil, vegetables, match boxes and even bicycle tyres and tubes, etc. It is essential that at least for some of these items prices should be fixed. For cloth, a scheme has already been drawn up, and the Ministry of Commerce and Industry has decided that the prices of the popular varieties of cloth will be controlled by law.

## THE AGRICULTURAL CAMPAIGN

**M**Y BROTHER KISANS I am appealing tonight to the cultivators of India, to the three hundred million of my countrymen who live in our six lakh villages and till over 350 million acres of agricultural land. I am appealing to them at this critical juncture to do everything possible to increase the output from their fields. There is no greater

service that they can perform to their society, their people and their country

You well know that the wealth of every nation depends on the production in its fields and in its factories. Even the production in the factories depends to a great extent on production in the fields. For instance, industries like cloth, sugar, etc., depend completely on the supply of agricultural raw materials. To increase the wealth of a nation and to make it prosperous and strong—particularly a predominantly agricultural country like ours—is mainly the responsibility of our Kisans and I am sure their shoulders are broad enough to take this burden. With the coming of October, the sowing season starts in full swing. So much depends on what we do *within the next few days*. If we strive and if we labour, Mother Earth will not be found wanting in her bounty.

During the last few years there has been some increase in agricultural production. During the first Five Year Plan, production went up by 17 per cent, and during the Second by 20 per cent. We had set a target of increasing production by 30 per cent in the Third Plan. All the credit for this increase in production goes to our cultivators who have laboured hard to bring it about. It is, however, unfortunate that this increase in production has not been to the extent that we had hoped, and the effect becomes still less when one considers the rapid increase in population. One of our difficulties has been natural calamity—excessive rains in some areas, lack of rains in others, frost, and so on. The result has been that our production has been far below the Third Plan targets. But there is no reason to lose heart. None knows better than you that agriculture is a matter where one has always to be prepared for a little increase or decrease. But in the long run, fortune smiles on those who strive and endeavour.

I believe firmly that the cultivators of this country have the strength and the capacity to make up the deficiencies even in one single season—the coming *rabi* season—and to give a new direction to the country's economic progress.

My brother cultivators, when it comes to fields and agriculture, you know so much more than I do. In this appeal, therefore, I shall confine myself only to a few broad matters.

- (i) The proper preparation of fields plays an important part in the success of agriculture. We must use cow-dung and other compost and make the fields as productive as possible. There is no need to get too many things from

outside Success will depend to a great extent on the efforts which you and your family members put in

- (ii) The use of improved seeds, manures and fertilizers, to the maximum extent possible, also does much to increase output rapidly It has been seen that many cultivators use far too much seed Research has shown that by using less seed and issuing it in a proper manner, the production actually increases, especially as every plant is able to get sufficient space for adequate nourishment
- (iii) In many parts of our country, the success of agriculture depends on irrigation It is indeed a pity that not all areas have the irrigation facilities they require, but wherever such facilities are available, we must put them to the maximum possible use For instance, where canal water is available, we must have the field-channels ready and also raise proper boundaries in our fields so that the maximum use can be made of the water available All this may seem rather trivial but it is a matter of the utmost importance I would urge you to give the greatest attention to the construction of masonry wells, tanks and field channels I am sure that this in itself will rapidly make an impact on production
- (iv) There are many fields which can yield two crops but are unable to do so This is because the land is not ploughed and prepared in time for sowing Our endeavour should be to see that there are no single-crop fields By the proper rotation of crops we can ensure that no agricultural land is left without a crop in any agricultural season
- (v) At a time when food shortage threatens us, we must go in for those crops that ripen early and give greater output Whereas an acre can yield only about 25 to 30 maunds of wheat, it can grow three to four hundred maunds of potatoes and 250 to 300 maunds of cauliflower, cabbage and tomatoes We do need to give more emphasis to increased production of vegetables
- (vi) We have also not been able to use pesticides and improved agricultural implements to the extent necessary This is one of the reasons why production lags behind As soon as any crop is attacked by pest, we must use the proper insecticides, and for this you can get the necessary know how from your Gram Sevak and other Development officers

I believe you all know that we have decided to fix minimum prices for various agricultural commodities. This is being done to guarantee that the cultivator gets sufficient remuneration for the labour and investment he puts in. We shall ensure that you are properly remunerated, just as we propose to impose restrictions on those middlemen who tend to take away the greater part of the profits. In order to increase production in the coming *rabi* season, you will have to invest in improved seeds, manures and fertilizers. The prices of *rabi* crops will be so fixed that this investment will bring a sufficient return. In fact, it will always be our endeavour to ensure that our cultivators are properly rewarded for producing the commodities which are so essential for the life of the community.

In this vast country, we have set up once again the system of village Panchayats. These Panchayats can only come to their full flowering in conditions of economic prosperity, and hence it is their first duty to do everything possible to increase agricultural production and thereby bring about that prosperity. It is this very increase of production that is also the principal challenge before the Community Development Movement on which we have laid so much stress. If we have to import food indefinitely to feed our people and import raw materials to run our industries, how can we ever hope to improve the economy of our country or raise the standard of living of our people?

For the success of the *rabi* campaign it is of the utmost importance that there should be full coordination between the different departments concerned. It is equally essential that items like improved seeds, manures and fertilizers, improved implements, pesticides, irrigation facilities and agricultural loans should be available in proper measure at the appropriate time.

For the proper utilisation of these facilities, the Development Block, the Panchayat, the Cooperative Society, the Krishak Samaj, the Gram Sahayak and all other workers who come in contact with the Kisan have got to put their best foot forward and work with the utmost enthusiasm and devotion. For the Government servants particularly, especially those serving in the districts and in the villages, this is indeed a wonderful opportunity for service to the country. They can share in the great task of providing food to their countrymen.

When Gandhiji was our leader, the workers of the Congress used to go from village to village throughout the country and bring home to every individual the meaning and content of freedom. In this manner, they created enthusiasm wherever they went and built up a vast national movement. At this time of emergency, when a serious

food crisis threatens us, the need of the hour is that every one of us, to whatever group or party he may belong, should enlist himself in this agricultural campaign and go once again from village to village enthusing the cultivators and helping them to resolve their difficulties. To bring home the message of this campaign to every corner of India, to spread a new glow of awakening and enthusiasm in the hearts of our villagers is today truly the greatest service to the nation.

The monsoons are coming to an end and the month of October gives promise of the cool and pleasant season that is to come. This is a month of the greatest significance and the greatest effort for our cultivators. It is in this month that you take up your plough and drive your bullocks long before the break of day and go into the fields and labour hard so that the soil becomes soft and fertile and productive. By the sweat of your brow you have to end this shortage of food and defeat want and poverty. Let the coming agricultural season, the new crop that is to be sown, mark a new turning point in our country's future.

In what words shall I appeal to every single peasant of this country to spare no effort of body, mind, wealth or labour, in the forthcoming *rahi* sowings in order to make our country prosperous and strong? I would also earnestly request those who are the elected members of cooperative societies and of village Panchayats and, in fact, all workers and volunteers to stand shoulder to shoulder with their Kisan brothers in this time of difficulty and build up a new and irresistible force on the agricultural front. Where there is courage and determination, can success ever be in doubt?

## **THE LANGUAGE QUESTION**



## SANSKRIT

**V**ARANASI HAS a special place as a centre of culture and as a holy place of learning. The veterans of Sanskrit have glorified it by accepting it as the field of their work and labour. Sanskrit is an invaluable heritage of this country. It is the original source of much that is in our culture and civilisation.

In fact the history of Sanskrit language and literature is the history of the intellectual progress of this nation. The spirit of India manifested itself in this language and it became the mother, sister and nurse of several Indian languages. The glory of Sanskrit spread in foreign lands also. Several foreign scholars came to India to study Sanskrit books. Interest in Sanskrit learning increased among scholars in foreign countries. Today there are special institutions for study and research in Sanskrit in countries like Germany, USA, USSR, France and Italy.

Sanskrit gave strong foundations to the social, cultural and spiritual life of this nation. From time to time there were changes and revolutions in the field of thought, but Sanskrit never ceased to be a link language. Even today, it has a special place in the cultural life of this nation, as most Indian languages still draw sustenance and strength from Sanskrit literature.

It is time that Sanskrit once again played an important part in the life of the nation as it has done before. Our duty does not end with praising the golden past. The past can be an inspiration only, and it is the present we have to live in.

It is remarkable that thousands of scholars worked for the development of Sanskrit without caring for any material gain. We are fortunate that many such scholars are still with us. We should not become lethargic in our service to Sanskrit. It would appear that in some fields foreigners have done more service to Sanskrit than Indians. A language can be enriched only by the labours of its followers at home and abroad. Government protection and social stimulation are important but the history of Sanskrit proves that the best Sanskrit literature was independent of all this. Scholars worked for Sanskrit in a selfless spirit, only for the glory of the language. Hundreds of them were not even eager for fame. Many scholars did not even mention their names in their books and thousands of them cared little for money.

It is necessary today that research on the different aspects of Sanskrit should be done in a modern way. Sanskrit works should be translated in different foreign languages and the store of Sanskrit knowledge should be increased. More and more books should be written in Sanskrit on modern science and learning. The deep knowledge of Sanskrit which is being destroyed should be preserved. Simple, illustrated books, free from the burden of grammar, should be produced in Sanskrit. Only Sanskrit scholars can undertake this task.

By this I do not mean that the Government has no role in this. The Central Government and the State Governments know their responsibility. The Central Government has established the Sanskrit Commission and the Central Sanskrit Board and has done much for the development of Sanskrit by implementing their proposals, by establishing the Central Sanskrit Vidyapeeth at Tirupati and by honouring Sanskrit scholars. The Government is giving assistance for developing the All India Sanskrit Vidyapeeth at Delhi into an international Sanskrit institute and for expanding the Dr Rajendra Prasad Central Sanskrit Library. Our State Governments too have paid attention to this after Independence. We are trying to give even more attention to the development of Sanskrit.

## HINDI AND THE INDIAN PEOPLE

I AM SPEAKING to you tonight with a deep sense of distress and shock over what has happened in Madras State on account of apprehensions which seem to have been aroused on the language question. I cannot adequately express my sorrow at the loss of life and my thoughts and sympathies are with those who have suffered so grievously.

The strong emotions which have found expression in tragic events are apparently based on a feeling that assurances given earlier on the question of language have not been fully observed. There also seems to be a misunderstanding of the constitutional and legal position and of the policy decisions taken by the Government of India. I honestly and sincerely believe that these apprehensions are based on an unfortunate misunderstanding of the factual position. I propose, therefore, to place before you as clearly as possible the facts as they are and then ask you to bestow upon them your dispassionate consideration.

In the course of speeches in Parliament in August and September 1959, Jawaharlal Nehru gave certain assurances to the non Hindi speaking people, and the assurances gave great satisfaction. What exactly were those assurances? Let me quote the key sentences from his two speeches. "English", he said, "can be used by any State in writing to the Government"—the reference obviously was to the Central Government—"or writing to each other". He went on to explain that while for internal State work, presumably the State language would be used, there would be no limitation on the use of English in dealings on the all India scale between States. Continuing, he said "There is no limitation of time even to that, except when people generally agree—and I had said that these very people in the non Hindi speaking areas who might be affected should agree."

In another speech, he said, "I believe also two things. There must be no imposition. Secondly, for an indefinite period—I do not know how long—I should have, I would have English as an associate language because I do not wish the people of the non-Hindi areas to feel that certain doors of advance are closed to them. So, I would have it as an alternative language as long as people require it and the decision for that, I would leave not to the Hindi knowing people but to the non-Hindi knowing people." Amplifying his remarks he added, "Hindi progressively develops, I try for that, but I love English to come into the picture to be used as long as people require it. Some States have followed it, they can go on using it and gradually allow languages to develop and to replace English."

These were the assurances given by Panditji and I wish to reiterate that we stand by them fully and solemnly. They will be honoured both in letter and in spirit without any qualification or reservation. In order to remove all doubts, I would like to state what the policy decisions are.

First, every State will have complete and unfettered freedom to continue to transact its own business in the language of its own choice, which may be the regional language or English.

Secondly, communications from one State to another will either be in English or will be accompanied by an authentic English translation. This is based on a unanimous decision of the State Chief Ministers. Similarly, English translations will be available of Hindi communications addressed to the Centre by any State or the public.

Thirdly, the non Hindi States will be free to correspond with the Central Government in English and no change will be made in this arrangement without the consent of the non Hindi States.

Fourthly in the transaction of business at the Central level English will continue to be used

It should be quite clear from what I have just said that there is no question whatsoever of Hindi being imposed on the non Hindi speaking States. It is also clear that English will continue to be used in non Hindi States for as long as the people consider such use to be necessary

I would now like to talk about recruitment to the services. It is on this question that serious apprehensions have apparently been caused in the minds of the student community. So far English has been the only medium for the examinees sitting for the Union Public Service Commission examinations. Even now English will continue as a medium and its use will not be discontinued unless the people from non Hindi speaking areas themselves ask for it.

It is quite true that in accordance with the provisions of our Constitution adopted in 1950 Hindi has become the official language of the Union with effect from January 26 1965. Ordinarily, English would have ceased to have any official status with effect from this date, but two years before the crucial date the Central Government enacted legislation to provide for the continuance of English. Thus it is by law that English continues to be an associate language and thus also a medium for examinations. It was decided in 1960 that Hindi might be permitted as an alternative medium after some time. This question was placed before the Chief Ministers of all the States and it was decided in consultation with them that effective arrangements for moderation must be made before Hindi was used as an alternative medium. But this will be allowed only when a satisfactory moderation scheme has been evolved. For this purpose the Government of India will consult all the Chief Ministers and eminent educationists from different parts of the country. This may well take time. We shall make sure that the method eventually to be adopted for moderation is considered to be satisfactory by the Chief Ministers. The scheme of moderation has to be such that it leaves no ground for any genuine apprehension that the use of one medium or another would bestow advantages or give a handicap to any group of candidates. May I assure the student community that every care will be taken to ensure that their employment prospects are not adversely affected?

I do hope that, from what I have said about our decisions and our policies it will be clear that we are most anxious to safeguard the interests of non Hindi speaking people to the fullest extent and to avoid any inconvenience to the non Hindi speaking States. These will be our guiding considerations throughout. We shall consider, in

consultation with the Chief Ministers, measures to implement these assurances

What disturbs and distresses me is the fact that an agitation has been launched without any attempt to discuss. This, I want to say in all humility, is not the way in which grievances should be ventilated or differences voiced in a great democracy like ours. In this vast country of ours, people profess different religions, speak different languages, dress differently and observe different customs, but we are one nation, the history of our struggle for independence and our faith in our future development are our common bonds.

I want to appeal to you to pause and ponder over the whole situation. What is involved is the very unity of the country. Whatever the area to which we belong, whatever the language we speak, we must consider what is best for the country as a whole. Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and so many other national leaders and the framers of our Constitution, who were men of wisdom and foresight, decided that there should be a common language to forge all the people of India into a well knit nation. The objective is desirable, indeed noble. But our methods have to be such as to inspire confidence all round. I ask you, all my countrymen, to lift this issue to a higher plane and to bestow upon it the most rational consideration. If some of you still feel that there are any legitimate grievances or that some administrative or executive action has been taken which should not have been, I and my colleagues are ready immediately to listen and to discuss in a sincere endeavour to remove all genuine misapprehensions. I do hope that my talk with you tonight will provide enough assurance to enable the present agitation to be withdrawn.

### THREE-LANGUAGE FORMULA

THE MEETING of Chief Ministers of the States convened to consider the language issue was held on February 23 and 24, 1965.

The meeting strongly deplored incitement to violence in order to give expression to grievances of any kind and urged that strong action should be taken to put down lawlessness. It considered that recourse to violence and destruction of public property cut at the very root of the democratic process which required that all differences should be settled by methods of discussion and persuasion. It was felt that

all those who were in a position to influence public opinion should speak out frankly against the use of violence and mobilise public support for settling disputes and differences in an orderly way. At the same time the conference recognised that genuine difficulties as well as unwarranted apprehensions aroused by misleading propaganda must be speedily removed.

The conference recalled that through the provisions on the subject in the Constitution, through the enactment of the Official Languages Act, through the decision to have a trilingual basis for education and through the assurances given on the floor of the Lok Sabha by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and reiterated and amplified by me in a broadcast to the nation on February 11, 1965, both the long term objectives and the need to move towards them with the necessary caution had already been spelt out. Hindi is the official language of the Union and English is to continue as an associate language. There is no question of making any modification in these basic decisions from which alone a sound policy could be evolved. What needed consideration was a number of practical issues arising therefrom, including the Amendments to the Official Languages Act, 1963, to give effect to the assurances referred to above. The Chief Ministers agreed that the examination of these issues should be taken in hand.

The importance of ensuring equality of opportunity as enjoined by the Constitution as between people belonging to different parts of the country was emphasised by many Chief Ministers. Reference was also made to the question of the various States having an equitable share in the all India services. The need for evolving a sound system of moderation for examinations for all India and higher Central Services before the introduction of Hindi as an optional medium was emphasised. It was further urged that consideration should be given to the introduction of regional languages as media for these examinations. It was suggested that before any decisions were taken on these questions, a study of all the aspects involved should be undertaken in cooperation with the Union Public Service Commission.

The working of the three-language formula evolved by the Chief Minister's Conference on National Integration and accepted by the State Governments was reviewed. It was decided that this formula should be fully and effectively implemented in all the States. It was urged that in accordance with this formula, the study of an Indian language in current use, preferably one of the southern languages, apart from Hindi and English in the Hindi-speaking areas and of Hindi along with the regional languages and English in the non Hindi speaking areas would further promote a sense of national unity and

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encourage better and freer communication between the people in the different parts of the country

Necessary action will now be taken by the Union Government in pursuance of the above decisions

## FEARS AND MISAPPREHENSIONS

THE LANGUAGE question has aroused strong feelings throughout the country, especially in the southern parts of India. People are naturally deeply attached to their mother tongue, and there is absolutely no question of displacing or replacing the languages spoken in different States. There are misapprehensions especially in regard to the use of the State language or the mother tongue, some Tamil papers expressed the fear that Hindi would replace Tamil. Slogans opposing such a move were shouted by some people in Madras. This was a clear case of misapprehension.

The Government of India will give all possible encouragement to the development of the State languages. Almost all State Governments have accepted or adopted the policy of introducing the State language as the official language of the State, in course of time all the State languages will become their principal languages for official purposes. The choice of medium of instruction has been left to the State Governments. Nobody need entertain the slightest doubt or fear in their minds that there can be a question of replacing any State language by Hindi.

Another point is about the use of English. On January 26 1965, it was officially announced, in terms of the provisions of the Constitution, that Hindi is or would be the official language of the Union. No other action was taken which could create any kind of confusion. Even if some circulars were issued, it should not have resulted in such violent action and destruction of property. Our mistakes could have been pointed out. I remember, when I was in charge of the Communications Ministry, a money order form printed only in Hindi was brought to my notice. The matter was rectified at once. We immediately stopped sending Hindi money order forms to the south and English forms were sent instead.

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and clearly that we will abide by the assurances given by the late Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. We will certainly have thoughts about how these assurances can be implemented. As a matter of fact, that is one of the points which we are considering. While doing so, we should realise that this country needs a link language. I am glad that Shri Annadurai is not against Hindi as such. But he has said that it should not be spread through the help of the Government. I would not like to say anything about that, but I do wish and hope that after some time he might like to reconsider his view even in regard to this particular matter. I do agree that there should be non-official effort, as big an effort as possible, for the teaching and propagation of Hindi.

At the same time it is important that English has to continue and will continue. In terms of the Official Languages Act, English is to continue as an associate language, and there will be no difficulty at all for anyone who does not know Hindi, whether he is functioning here in the Secretariat, or in any other all India office in any other part of the country. There will be no handicap at all in such matters as recruitment or promotion.

With these assurances, I do not think there should be any kind of fear or apprehension in the minds of the people of Madras. I do hope that the students of Madras will now at least see things in the correct perspective. They have by and large withdrawn their strike, and I have extended my congratulations to them. Still there is some trouble somewhere, some of the trouble may not be especially due to the language problem as such. I have no doubt that the Madras Government will consider all the suggestions of the students more sympathetically. It would be in the best interests of the students as well as the State and the country if they did not resort to any kind of direct action.

### THERE SHALL BE NO IMPOSITION

I DO NOT WANT to suggest that I have no views about the language issue. I have clear and categorical views in regard to all the points raised during discussions, in Parliament, with Chief Ministers and elsewhere, but I do not want to express any opinion at the present moment because we feel that all these points should be studied further and carefully examined.

However, I would like to say that there can be no question of imposing Hindi and that those who do not know Hindi can continue with English, even after the announcement of January 26, 1965

We might devote a little more time to the study of the pros and cons of this matter and then take a decision which would be almost final. Of course, there is nothing final in the world. But a decision taken after due deliberation is more likely to be based on a long range view of things.

We have to consider the language problem in the national perspective. It is not that we can consider each and every language spoken in this country as one which should be the official language of the whole country. That would not be possible. In accordance with the Constitution, we have accepted Hindi as the official language of the Union. I think that it is essential that there should be one common language, one link language for the whole country. Otherwise, it would mean the compartmentalisation of our country, it would lead to some kind of disintegration. In any case, we cannot precipitate things. We cannot impose Hindi and we shall have to wait patiently for Hindi to be learnt by the people of every State.

## EDUCATION

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## THE RESPONSIBILITY OF YOUNG CITIZENS

I AM GLAD to know that the Aligarh Muslim University has achieved all round expansion and development since the attainment of independence. I understand the number of students has gone up nearly three times and the number of faculty members has more than doubled. The financial assistance given by the Central Government has increased more than fourteen times during the last few years. The extensive funds provided by the Government of India have helped the University authorities in developing and strengthening its various departments. The Institute which promotes, among other things, the study of Islamic culture and civilisation and the teaching of modern Arabic, Persian and Turkish languages and literature, has been playing an important role in the achievement of some of the traditional objectives of the University. The growing importance of Arabic in the present-day world cannot be sufficiently emphasised. With the emergence of great Arabic speaking nations in Africa and Western Asia the language has assumed much greater importance and significance and you will be interested to know that in the Indian Foreign Service, Arabic is now treated as one of the important languages which officers should learn.

I am also glad to know that the commendable development of the University has not been confined to the traditional fields of knowledge and that the various aspects of modern knowledge have also made rapid strides during the last few years. A medical college has been established and the Engineering Faculty has made remarkable progress—in fact the University is rated as one of the outstanding institutions in the field of mechanical engineering today. The University has also taken in hand an important project of setting up an extensive agricultural farm which has been approved by the Government.

I do not propose to talk today about the need for reforming our educational system. Eminent educationists and leaders of public opinion have from time to time given expression to views which are well known. The entire process of education has to be viewed as an integrated whole and we have to be clear about the objectives that we wish to achieve. As you all know, the country is engaged at present in a process of economic development. Indeed we are going through what may be termed a period of industrial revolution. A large number

of structural, industrial and other types of units are being set up throughout the country. For manning these, the country needs a large number of well trained technical people. The Aligarh University has devoted considerable attention to engineering education and other universities have also done the same. Four large technical institutions have been set up in the country. Now that we are contemplating a fourth Plan whose size would be equal to that of all the first three Five Year Plans put together, our requirements for technical personnel will be substantially larger. I should, therefore, like all universities and technical institutions to make an assessment of the expansion that they can undertake for increasing the number of students for technical courses and to formulate specific proposals.

The academic content of technical education has to be good and substantial, but it is equally important that our young engineers and scientists should have a practical approach to problems. I would like them to be anxious to use their own hands in order to do a good job. It is an approach of this nature that will enable the country to make rapid headway in the matter of industrial development.

I would now like to say a few words to you, my young friends, who have already graduated and have received their degrees and diplomas today. The completion of education marks a turning point in the life of every individual. Naturally your anxiety must be to get suitable employment which is essential for finding the means to live. Opportunities for employment are being created increasingly as our development plans are implemented. The fourth Five Year Plan, for instance, which will commence in less than a year and a half from now, envisages altogether about twenty million jobs. It cannot be said that every one who acquired a degree or a diploma will find employment immediately but most of you would in due course find yourselves employed in one capacity or another. There is equality of opportunity for everyone and to a large extent your future is really in your own hands.

Whatever your station in future life, each one of you should first of all think of yourselves as citizens of the country. This confers on you certain rights which are guaranteed by the Constitution, but it also subjects you to certain responsibilities which also have to be clearly understood. Ours is a democracy which enjoins freedom to the individual, but this freedom has to be subjected to a number of voluntary restraints in the interests of organised society. And these voluntary restraints have to be exercised and demonstrated in every-day life. A good citizen is one who obeys the law, whether there is a policeman around or not, and who takes delight in performing his civic duties. In the olden

days the sense of self restraint and discipline was inculcated by the combined effort of the family and the teacher. The economic stresses of present-day life unfortunately do not leave enough time to the parents to look after their children. In the educational institutions the numbers have grown so large as to take away the benefits which used to accrue formerly by personal contact between the teacher and the taught. Inevitably, our young students are often left much to their own resources. Often this creates problems which we all know about. This is an important aspect which needs thorough examination. The responsibility of our young citizens is great. In my view every station in life is important in itself. Work has its own dignity and there is great satisfaction in doing one's own job to the best of one's ability. Whatever the duties, we should apply ourselves with sincerity and devotion. Such an approach, apart from being good in itself, also has the added advantage of opening avenues for further advancement. We have to see whether we have done our own job well before thinking of criticising anybody else. All too often, we succumb to the temptation of decrying others without bothering to look at ourselves. Never forget that loyalty to the country comes ahead of all other loyalties. And this is an absolute loyalty, since one cannot weigh it in terms of what one receives. It is essential to remember that the entire country is one and that any one who fosters or promotes separatism or fissiparous tendencies is not our true friend. What I have said stems from a desire to see that the youth of our country prepares itself in a disciplined and determined manner for the responsibilities of tomorrow. A democratic country is sustained not by the greatness of a few but by the cooperative efforts of the many. The future of the country is in your hands and as the older generations complete their task the new ones come along to take their place. If they are well equipped as individuals and as citizens, the country's future will be bright indeed. At a time when you are at the threshold of a new period in your life I would urge you to play your role with confidence and dignity.

Mr Vice-Chancellor, you have paid a rich and fitting tribute to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's faith in secularism and the keen interest and unfailing encouragement which he extended to this University at all times. Our position with regard to secularism is known so well that it hardly needs any reiteration. It is embodied in our Constitution, which ensures equal respect for all religions and equal opportunities for all citizens, irrespective of their caste and creed and the faith which they profess. In spite of a seeming diversity, there is a fundamental unity in India which we all cherish, and it has to be our constant

endeavour to maintain and strengthen this unity. The country can progress only if it does away completely with fissiparous tendencies and emerges as an integrated whole. And it is in the field of education that the seed of secularism has to be sown at the earliest stages, so that the plant can be carefully nurtured as it grows.

The world is at the moment passing through very difficult times. In fact, it would not be wrong to say that never before in the recent past had mankind to grapple with problems of as complex a nature as are confronting it today. It is imperative that satisfactory and, as far as possible, lasting solutions should be found to these problems without undue delay, otherwise there is a danger of the situation getting out of hand. Mutual suspicions, hatred and ill will between nations and groups of persons have to be removed at all costs and sincere and determined efforts have to be made to ensure that differences and outstanding problems are resolved by mutual discussion in a spirit of understanding, and not by the use of force. Wars and conflicts, as we know to our cost, always create more problems than they succeed in solving. The great advances made by science and technology, particularly in the field of nuclear and thermonuclear energy, have placed an almost unlimited power at the disposal of mankind. This power can be used either for constructive or for destructive purposes and it is up to us to try to derive the fullest possible benefit from it.

We in India have our own special problems. No one can deny that some of them are of a serious nature and must be tackled with vigour and determination. Our national objective has been defined clearly and unambiguously. We aim that every citizen should be provided with the basic necessities of life and should have complete freedom to lead the life of his or her own choice. We aim at a democratic society, strong and free, in which every citizen, irrespective of his religious belief, will occupy an equal and honoured place, and will be given full and equal opportunities for growth and service. We aim at the removal of untouchability and the doing away of the prevailing serious inequalities in status and wealth. We are opposed to the concentration of wealth in a few hands. Our rich cultural heritage, extending over countless centuries, is not the culture of this community or that but the synthesis of the cultures of the great peoples who lived here at various times in the past. The objectives I have mentioned are by no means easy of achievement in their entirety. I know that we have met with only a limited degree of success so far, but we have to persevere until the goal is achieved.

I should like to mention here that the concept that Muslims constitute a minority in India and Hindus a majority is totally outmoded and



this institution lives and progresses in the fulfilment of Rabindranath's dreams

Standing in your midst today, I have to keep reminding myself where I am, so different is this from what one comes to associate with a usual university convocation of which I have attended so many. Here in this Amarkanj one feels that of which the Poet wrote, "the eternal companionship which the great brotherhood of trees have ever offered to man". Listening to the age-old invocations which used to ring out in our forest *ashrams* thousands of years ago, one is inspired by the richness of our heritage, so sublime and so profound. One feels a sense of relief from the trials and tribulations and tribulations of the times (of which I have more than an adequate share). And so it is that I come to you not as the Acharya of Visva Bharati but as a pilgrim in search of peace and fulfilment.

I wonder whether you who live and move daily in these sylvan surroundings realise how great is your privilege, how precious your heritage. For while the whole country is indebted to Gurukul, you are the direct inheritors of his ideals—the spiritual heirs through whom he sought a perpetuation of his dreams. The *tapovan*, the forest *ashram*, was the centre of the highest learning in ancient India and it was the atmosphere of the *tapovan* that Rabindranath sought to reproduce for you. He wished you "to live in intimate touch with Nature, daily to grow in an atmosphere of service offered to all creatures, tending trees, feeding birds and animals, learning to feel the immense mystery of the soil and water and air". And because he felt that a knowledge of the arts was essential for the full development of the human soul, he sought to provide all this for you so that you could go from here in knowledge and in culture, a fully integrated personality.

This brings me to the *guru-shishya* relationship prevailing in ancient times. The *shishya* lived as a member of the *guru's* family and worked for him and there was a relationship of deep respect, even reverence, on one side and parental affection and solicitude on the other. Circumstances have changed and such a relationship is no longer possible. But things have swung to the other extreme, and the relationship between the teacher and the pupil seems to be limited to the roll-call. The close personal bond is no longer there—worse, there is no meeting of minds at all. This is the price we are paying for the mass production of university students. We hear so much about student unrest, of student indiscipline, and there have been incidents which have pained and saddened us. The root cause for this indiscipline and unrest is the absence of any close link between the teacher and the taught. It is the teacher who can inspire and guide young people at

this age and absence of respect for him only leaves a vacuum in the youthful mind which mischievous passions rush in to fill. Here in Visva Bharati you are fewer in number, and the link between teacher and pupil is much closer than in most other universities. Let this ever remain one of the distinguishing characteristics of Visva Bharati.

Simplicity of living was another feature of learning in the *tapovan*. I wish that our universities would try to come a little closer to the age-old ideal of simple living and high thinking. Here in Santiniketan, living in the lap of nature, you are specially favoured in being able to live up more easily to this high ideal, of realising in Gurudev's words 'our conscious relationship with the Infinite, and the lasting power of the Eternal in the passing moments of our lives'.

In these days when talks and discussions regarding the making of the nuclear bomb fill the air, I am particularly happy to have this opportunity of visiting Santiniketan. Santiniketan stands for all that we hold precious in Indian life and culture and tradition. The atom bomb is the very antithesis of all that Santiniketan stands for. It is not a weapon of war, it is an evil engine of mass destruction. The nations of the world regard it as such and yet do not have the strength to outlaw it. And now because our neighbour China, in defiance of world opinion and sentiment, has exploded a nuclear device, there is a cry that we should abandon all that we have stood for, throw to the winds the culture and traditions of thousands of years and engage in this brutal race. No matter what the present pressures, we must not lose our peace of mind or steadfastness of purpose. And when that day dawns—as dawn it must—when all the nuclear bombs of the world find their proper resting place at the bottom of the deepest ocean, Santiniketan and all it stands for will still continue for. Santiniketan represents a spirit that is eternal.

It is in consonance with that spirit and in the fitness of things that in these days when there is so much bitterness against China in the public mind, Santiniketan should have a Cheena Bhavan where the study of the age-old culture of China continues undisturbed.

It is often said that morality has no place in the working of governments, and that decisions of governments cannot be based on purely moral considerations. To an extent this may be true. Count Cavour, one of the liberators of Italy, made the poignant remark that if we did for ourselves what we do for our country, Oh! what rascals we should be!! But I would still proclaim that any government that turns its face away from considerations of morality and humanity will imperil world peace and thereby betray all mankind. For us any such course should be unthinkable, and this cannot but be so in

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a country which Mahatma Gandhi led to freedom, and which proudly proclaims on its emblem the high ideal *satyameva jayate*

For me Visva-Bharati has a special appeal, because it seeks to draw inspiration from all that was great in our past and blend it harmoniously into the present. There is too much running after Western education on the part of our universities. To some extent this is typified by the ardour with which we seek to cling to the English language. None would belittle the importance of the English language as a great vehicle of thought and culture, and as a great language of international understanding. But to seek to retain English for all time as the official language of our country seems to me a deeply humiliating proposition. To all those who seek to retain English for ever in our national life I would recall the powerful words of Gurudev: "Through this great deficiency of our modern education, we are condemned to carry to the end a dead load of dumb wisdom. Like miserable outcasts, we are deprived of our place in the festival of culture, and wait at the outer court, where the colours are not for us, nor the forms of delight, nor the songs."

One by one the great figures who filled the Indian scene are passing away leaving their memory and inspiration behind. It is now for the people as a whole to carry forward their work. Unity is the need of the hour, and it is here that our universities which are training the torch-bearers of the future have so great a role to play. Institutions like Visva-Bharati, which cater not to any one part of the country but serve the nation as a whole, which seek to draw "seeds of thought from the granary of the past" and project them into the future must come forward to show the way. For you national integration is not a slogan, it is an accomplished fact.

Further, the role of Visva Bharati far transcends the limited concept of national integration. Visva Bharati as conceived by Rabindranath was universal and it embraced the whole world. Even while its inspiration and thought are essentially Indian, yet the cultures of other lands have blown freely through these whispering groves. So many distinguished sons of different countries have helped to build up this institution and make it what it is today. Even today, there are amongst you students of different countries, and Visva Bharati continues to be a meeting ground of many cultures. Let us hope that this will always continue to be so, and that this precious legacy of Gurudev will one day be the standard bearer of a world unified in thought and friendship.

We so often hear of the youth of yesterday criticising the youth of today. We heard them mention indulgently the hot blood in the young people and of their natural inclination to revolt, to discard

authority. These urges have a deep psychological basis and are wholly natural. They are part of the process of growing up. But simultaneously, youth must develop a sense of responsibility. Nature has willed that revolt comes first and responsibility later. Therefore, outside help is necessary. This assistance can be provided only by education which should aim at moulding balanced young people and responsible citizens.

The Government are keenly aware that investment in education is investment in the future of this country. What shape the country will take tomorrow depends on what education we provide to our children today. The fourth Five Year Plan is being drawn up. It is proposed to more than double the allocations for education. It is necessary to husband these resources carefully and to marshal them in such a way that maximum results are obtained in these fields which count most. At the same time it is necessary to distribute the expenditure in such a fashion that our social objectives are gained.

This is an age of science and technology. In the field of science, very little can be achieved, at least on a wide scale, by merely providing material facilities and even less by concentrating these facilities in a few laboratories. Science has a temper, it has a method. These have to be cultivated and two aspects have to develop simultaneously. First, fundamental research, and secondly its application, to derive practical benefits. We have a large number of laboratories and scientific institutions and technological schools. It is for the scientists working in these to ensure that the fruits of science filter down, and quickly, to the masses. But we have also to concentrate on fundamental research.

I would like to stress an important aspect of scientific research. It is becoming more and more a team effort. The complications are so numerous, the fields of knowledge so vast, that no individual can hope to acquire all the necessary knowledge within a few years. Also, progress in fundamental science is such that water tight compartments between different branches of science can no longer hold good. While selecting special programmes for research, therefore, I would also like it to be considered how far persons specialising in different fields can work for a common project.

I would also like to mention in this connection our increasing requirement for able and dedicated field workers and administrators. It has to be seen how far our educational system equips our youth to shoulder these responsibilities after they come out of the educational institutions. In all these spheres it is necessary to catch them young. For then only can they imbibe the necessary spirit and fully develop the required qualities and talent.

I mentioned a short while ago the need to make education the medium of gaining our social ends. We are pledged to developing a socialistic pattern of society. This can be done only if the weaker sections of society are provided with special facilities and incentives to acquire learning and special skills which will enable them to advance in life. For this it would be necessary to offer a much larger number of scholarships from the primary to the college stage to students coming from families in lower income groups. At the same time, quick progress can be made only by giving due recognition and encouragement to merit. Therefore, a certain percentage of these scholarships should be set apart for disbursement on the basis of merit alone, irrespective of the income group of the parents. Another fruitful direction lies in making available cheap and good text books and supplementary reading material.

Before I conclude I want to ask you, the young graduates of today, to enter life upon the conclusion of your education with confidence and determination. To serve your motherland you must have in your mind the right image of your country. While it is always good to know one's faults and weaknesses, I think it is wrong to exaggerate them and to project an image which may be disconcerting. I have no doubt that there is a great deal for us all to learn from several other countries of the world, but I also believe that there is much more that we can learn from our own heritage. India has a soul of its own and a sensitive conscience. We must endeavour to maintain a synthesis between material values on the one hand and moral and spiritual values on the other. Such a balance will sustain our society and will, I hope, assist not only our country but indeed humanity at large. It will avoid the perils that are the result of one-sidedness or extremism. The future of the country is in your hands and I wish you godspeed and all success.

## **INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS**

## A VISIT POSTPONED

IT IS WITH a great deal of sadness that I have decided to bow to the advice of my doctors and give up the idea of going to London for the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference. I had looked forward so much to this visit, and to meeting fellow Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth countries. This would have been my first direct contact with the peoples of the Western world, and I felt it particularly fitting that this first visit should be to London, where parliamentary democracy first took birth. It would have been a delight for me to meet the people and the leaders of Great Britain, with whom we have such close and friendly ties. All this, however, is not to be.

This would also have been a unique opportunity for me to meet leading representatives of Commonwealth countries other than Great Britain. There are now so many Asian and African countries also who are members of the Commonwealth, and there could have been so many useful discussions. The special feature about the Commonwealth Conferences is that they are held without any constitutional or statutory obligations and commitments. The atmosphere is informal and provides a great opportunity for a free and frank exchange of views. Even though there may be differing views on various questions, yet there is an underlying link which holds the members together and makes the Commonwealth an association which can help to further world peace and friendship amongst nations.

## THE COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE

HON'BLE MEMBERS are aware that owing to my indisposition I requested Shri T T Krishnamachari and Shrimati Indira Gandhi to attend the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference on behalf of the Government of India. On their return they reported to me fully about the proceedings of the Conference.

At the opening session of the Conference on July 8, glowing tributes were paid to the memory of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. It was stated that, in a sense, the current meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers

Statement New Delhi, July 1 1964

Statement in Parliament, September 7 1964



was a memorial to Jawaharlal Nehru since it was his policy which had done so much to transform the Commonwealth relationship and make possible the membership of countries with different forms of Government, that the Commonwealth now transcended all frontiers that normally divided mankind, and that the fact of having within its fold representatives of all continents, creeds, races and societies gave the deliberations of the Conference a special significance.

The results of the discussions are reflected in the communique issued after the Conference. As can be seen from this communique, the deliberations of the Conference covered the world situation, the racial discriminatory policy of South Africa, the colonial policy of Portugal and the unresolved problems of British colonial territories. Other matters related to cooperation between the Commonwealth countries in programmes of economic and social development and measures to increase cooperation between the Commonwealth countries in matters of Commonwealth aid and trade.

Our delegation participated in this discussion on various items and made its contribution in accordance with the policies and programmes of the Government of India.

I shall not go into further details about the proceedings of the Conference but limit myself to a few words about the reference to Indo-Pakistan problems in the communique issued at the end of the Conference. Various views have been expressed in the Indian Press and by the public on the following reference in this communique:

"The Prime Ministers noted with satisfaction the friendly public statements by the President of Pakistan and the Prime Minister of India and expressed their hope that the problems between their countries would be solved in the same friendly spirit."

I can well understand the anxiety of the Hon'ble Members that the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference should not be used as a forum for the discussion of problems involving differences between Commonwealth members. I would, however, like to urge that so far as this particular instance is concerned, it was, I am convinced, a general expression of goodwill and that it did not constitute a departure from the convention that inter-Commonwealth differences should not be discussed at such meetings. I have noted in this connection that representatives of some other Governments who attended the Conference have publicly affirmed that the convention that inter-Commonwealth differences should not be discussed has been fully maintained and that this is a matter for the countries concerned to deal with between themselves. We have ourselves stated publicly that we want to settle our differences with Pakistan peacefully but in a manner

consistent with our national honour and dignity. Unfortunately this general expression of well intentioned goodwill at the London meeting has been misunderstood by some in India and has been misinterpreted or misrepresented in certain quarters abroad. We firmly and categorically repudiate the suggestion contained in such misinterpretation and misrepresentation. At the same time we reaffirm our resolve to continue to function with a sense of dignity and responsibility, as a nation dedicated to peace and to the settlement of differences by peaceful methods.

### APPEAL TO NON-ALIGNED NATIONS

MANY OF MY distinguished colleagues have referred feelingly to the passing away of one of the founding fathers of the non aligned movement, namely our late Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. His departure has left an aching void in the hearts of not only his own countrymen but of all peace-loving peoples in the world. I believe there is not one of us who does not miss his presence at this Conference, to whose aims and aspirations he had contributed so much. His voice, alas, is silent but his message will continue to inspire all those striving for peace, international understanding, and the freedom and dignity of man.

Being for the first time on African soil I cannot but recall that it was at the southern end of this vast continent that our great leader Mahatma Gandhi developed his philosophy and technique of non violent struggle which he first deployed against racialism in South Africa. He perfected this later in his own country into a vast non violent national movement against imperialism. And, finally, when communal passions ran high in the cruel aftermath of Partition by his martyrdom at the hands of a co-religionist in the cause of his Muslim brethren he upheld with his very life the ideal of secularism.

With his departure, Jawaharlal Nehru took up the thread and as the Prime Minister of India strove to the end to apply these ideals on a still wider plane. He sought democracy and a new social order and the promotion and maintenance of peace not only for his own country but for the whole world. Though Jawaharlal is no longer with us, the Government and people of India stand dedicated to freedom and peace, to the principle of non alignment and peaceful co-existence and to the eradication of racialism and colonialism.

Even in the days of our own freedom struggle, Jawaharlal Nehru had raised the question of the freedom of the African peoples. He had said about a quarter of a century ago that Africa would emerge one day as a new force on the world scene. How truly that prophecy has been fulfilled! Africa, which had been kept in bondage for more than a century, is on the march, determined to fulfil its destiny. We have no doubt that whatever remnants of colonialism remain will soon disappear.

*It is indeed a unique gathering that we have here.* What unites us and brings us together is not any pact, not any alliance, not even a common allegiance to any particular dogma or doctrine. By being non-aligned we have asserted and proclaimed the right to think for ourselves and to speak for ourselves. Our voice is not an echo. It is the authentic voice of the people we represent and for whom we speak. And we and our people share and agree upon certain ideals and certain objectives. First and foremost, we believe in peace, in the settlement of all disputes through peaceful means, in the abolition of war, and more particularly, nuclear war. Secondly, we believe in freedom, freedom for the people of each country to follow their destiny without external interference. And, above all, we believe in the dignity of man as an individual, whatever his race, colour or creed, and in his right to a better, fuller and richer life.

The non-aligned nations have the supreme task of chalking out, in the light of the latest developments in the world, a programme of action which should be followed in pursuit of their common objectives. The time has now come to formulate a positive programme in the furtherance of peace. The main elements in the programme, in our view, should be the following five points: (1) nuclear disarmament, (2) peaceful settlement of border disputes, (3) freedom from foreign domination, aggression, subversion and racial discrimination, (4) acceleration of economic development through international cooperation, and (5) full support for the United Nations and its programmes for peace and development.

First and foremost, there is the programme of nuclear disarmament. We note with satisfaction that there has been a measure of agreement, however limited, at the Geneva Disarmament Conference. When the Conference resumes its sessions, we would all hope and wish for further progress. We, the non-aligned countries, should continue to play a helpful role in promoting agreement towards total nuclear disarmament. It is important to realise that the mere limitation of tests, proclamations of certain areas as being free from nuclear weapons, and any other limited measures of this character, will not and cannot be enough.

for protecting humanity from the horrors of nuclear war. Nuclear disarmament must be total and complete and it is in that direction that we must move.

We cannot but express our serious concern at the fact that not all powers have agreed to subscribe to the Partial Test Ban Treaty. The non-aligned nations must take up a clear and forthright attitude and call upon all the nations of the world to accept the ban on nuclear tests and then full moral force must be brought to bear on those countries which refuse to subscribe to the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty.

Many of those assembled here might recall how strongly the first Non-Aligned Nations Conference at Belgrade felt on the subject of nuclear tests and how separate missions were sent to the USA and the USSR to persuade them to desist from further tests. With this background in mind, this Conference should consider the recent disturbing indications which suggest that China is about to explode a nuclear device. I propose that we might consider sending a special mission to persuade China to desist from developing nuclear weapons. I say this not because India and China have some differences today. These differences must sooner or later be resolved. But the threat to humanity from one more country having nuclear weapons at its disposal is a far more serious matter. We in India stand committed to the use of nuclear power only for peaceful purposes and, even though in a purely technical and scientific sense, we are capable of developing nuclear weapons, our scientists and technicians are under firm orders not to make a single experiment, not to perfect a single device which is not needed for peaceful uses of atomic energy. Despite all our differences, may I venture to take this opportunity through this Conference of appealing to China to accept a similar discipline?

My second point relates to the peaceful settlement of border disputes. While the cold war has abated somewhat, yet all too often fighting breaks out in different parts of the world because neighbours have boundary disputes. We should welcome the proposals made by Chairman Khrushchev and other Heads of Government on renouncing the use of force for solving territorial disputes or questions of frontiers. At the recent meeting of the Organisation of African Unity, the African States pledged themselves to respecting the borders that existed when they achieved their national independence. This is a positive lead which must be followed and the principle should be made universal.

It is obvious that if this principle is to be successful we must evolve other methods of settling such differences and disputes. Direct negotiations between the parties concerned would be an ideal solution.

As the late President Kennedy has so fittingly said, while we should never negotiate out of fear, we should never fear to negotiate

Quite often the commencement of negotiations is hampered by one party or the other seeking to impose certain conditions. To be real and fruitful, negotiations must be free from all preconditions. Their basis must be the customary or the traditional boundaries which may be in existence and not any new boundaries that may have been created by force of any kind. Non aligned nations should declare their strong opposition to any changes brought about by open use of force as well as by quiet penetration of borders or subversion of one kind or another. In this context, it would be relevant to recall the famous words used by Jawaharlal Nehru more than a decade ago "Where freedom is menaced or justice is threatened or where aggression takes place we cannot be and shall not be neutral"

The third point I wish to make is this. Because of our past history and our own freedom struggle, we stand unequivocally for the emancipation of colonies and dependent countries. We strongly believe—in theory as well as in practice—in giving equal opportunities to all, regardless of race, caste, creed or sex. We are entirely opposed to the doctrine of racialism, wheresoever and in whatever form it may be practised.

On this continent of Africa, there are quite a few areas which are unfortunately still under the shackles of colonial rule. Portuguese oppression continues in Angola, Mozambique and the so-called Portuguese Guinea. In Southern Rhodesia, the white minority Government seeks to impose its will on the majority. Over South West Africa, the illegal and alien rule of South Africa continues in defiance of world public opinion. We greet the freedom fighters from Angola and other oppressed territories and offer them our full support for the success of their heroic struggle for independence.

While we stand pledged to the right of self-determination for dependent territories under colonial rule, I would like to sound a note of caution. Self-determination is the right of any country that is dominated by another. But there can be no self-determination for different areas and regions within a sovereign and independent country, for this would only lead to fragmentation and disruption and no country's integrity would be safe. Hateful policies of Apartheid and racial discrimination of the Union of South Africa are an affront to mankind. India severed her trade relations completely with South Africa in 1946. In economic terms, this meant considerable loss. Through all these years we have adhered firmly to this policy. How we wish more countries were able to observe and implement this

policy ! In fact what is required is strict economic sanctions and an effective ban on supplies, particularly of arms and oil. The struggle for the defence of human values in South Africa must continue until it is crowned with success.

While racialism has to be strongly condemned, whether it is of the South African variety or any other, may I suggest to the non aligned nations that sometimes it becomes essential to look within. May I in that context say that we have also to make sure that no form of racialism is allowed to operate amongst citizens of member countries. Discriminatory action against residents of certain racial origin can also be harmful. Sometimes economic considerations are at the back of such steps and certainly exploitation of any sort by any class or community is to be deplored. But care must be taken that any action initiated on economic grounds does not result in racial bias or discrimination. When any State or Government faces special difficulties on account of persons living there who were originally from another country, it is best to tackle them after mutual discussion and consultation.

The programme for economic development through international cooperation, which is my fourth point, is not, let me emphasise at the outset, a programme for seeking more aid. It is basically a programme of greater effort on the part of each developing country to mobilise its own resources. We want to stand on our own feet. If we are unable to do so straightway, it is mainly because a long period of political subjection has sapped our resources and stifled our initiative. We therefore do need help, but what we seek should be the minimum and not the maximum and it should be directed towards making us independent of aid. In such a programme, we developing nations must help ourselves and help each other even before we seek assistance from outside. Although we may be individually deficient in various things, through cooperation amongst ourselves we can do a great deal for each other. We in India are trying our best to muster our technical and material resources to participate in a programme of economic cooperation with other developing countries to whom we can be of assistance.

We are now in the middle of what is called the United Nations Development Decade. We have had a Conference on Trade and Development in Geneva earlier this year. May I say that while these are important steps in the right direction, we are not satisfied with what has been done or promised so far ?

The target of economic growth which was set for the Development Decade by the United Nations is in need of an upward revision. The

work done at Geneva needs to be carried forward. Meanwhile, all States must agree to implement the recommendations embodied in the final Act. The most important of these is bringing into being new international institutions which have been envisaged. Unless the developing countries can expand and diversify their export trade, unless the transfer of capital from developed to developing countries on satisfactory terms can be accelerated, economic progress will not attain a pace compatible with peace and freedom.

My fifth and last point relates to the support which all of us must give to the United Nations in pursuit of the policies to which I have just referred. We are all members of the United Nations and if we meet and confer on our own we do so only with a view to strengthening the United Nations as an organisation and to carrying its objectives forward. The United Nations takes the greatest interest in how these operations are begun, organised, financed and manned.

Despite the progress which has been made, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that all is not well with the world. In South and South East Asia, there is an atmosphere of conflict and tension. The long travail of Vietnam and Laos continues. Cyprus has not yet been freed from its sufferings. The situation in Congo remains uncertain and unstable. In the Caribbean area, there are tensions and frictions. On our own northern borders, despite our acceptance of the proposals made by the non aligned powers assembled at Colombo, we have been unable to get a friendly response from China. But we must continue to strive for peace, to resolve all differences through peaceful methods, by conciliation as distinct from confrontation, and by trust instead of suspicion.

While we have been moving steadily in the direction of the universality of membership, a major exception is China, which is still not a member. Although we have our differences with China, we have always supported and still support her admission to the United Nations. Furthermore, as countries which are still under colonial regimes of one kind or other attain their independence, we would hope to see every part of the globe represented through the government of its own choice in the United Nations.

The United Nations as a whole has given support to the policies and programmes of peace, freedom and progress, which have been engaging our attention here. We should support it not merely in words but in action. It is on the non aligned nations that the brunt of supplying forces for peace-keeping operations falls. India has on many occasions placed her armed forces at the disposal of the United Nations for keeping peace. It is therefore, for the non aligned

nations to subscribe to these lofty ideals. We do not for a moment claim that we have attained the ideal for ourselves. We often err. We often fail. We should be ready to apply to ourselves and to each other the same criteria, the same principles that we advise others to follow and adopt. I have put these thoughts before this august body in all humility and yet in doing so I know that I am only spelling out the spiritual message of Gandhi.

### SUMMING UP THE CAIRO CONFERENCE

WE, AT THIS conference, come from four continents and many countries. We belong to different cultures and political systems and speak different languages. But there is a fundamental unity in our outlook and approach and we have spoken with the same voice on the great problems that face the world. It is this factor of common adherence to certain principles and policies that binds us together, for in our unity lies our strength. United we can help to shape the future and to ensure a more just and equitable world order in which peace and progress will prevail for the benefit of all mankind.

Of course, all our countries have their different problems and their different interests. But we have met here to reconcile our particular interests for the promotion of the general good. Our discussions have been frank and friendly and, as is evident from the results, we have achieved remarkable success in defining our attitude to the burning issues of the day.

The policy of peaceful co-existence underlines our broad approach to international relations and we have proclaimed admirable principles which should govern the conduct of States in order to promote and to ensure world peace and security. We want a world where peace prevails and where there is freedom from fear of nuclear annihilation. We have issued a call to the Powers that have not yet signed the Moscow Treaty to do so and have further called on them to refrain from the acquisition or production of nuclear weapons. We have strongly urged peaceful settlement of disputes, including border disputes, and have proclaimed ourselves resolutely against the threat or the use of force and for the non recognition of situations brought about by force. We have also raised our voice firmly and in unison against the



evils of colonialism and of racial discrimination. We wish to lend our combined strength to the United Nations to enable it to fulfil more effectively its principles and purposes. And we wish to plan and work for an era of closer international cooperation in all fields of human endeavour, with particular emphasis on economic development.

### COMMON GOALS WITH CEYLON

**Y**OUR VISIT, Madam Prime Minister, is an event that gives us immense pleasure. Ceylon is close to us geographically and also close to our hearts. We have had the honour of welcoming you here before. You took the trouble of being here last at the time of the passing away of my great and eminent predecessor Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. It was gracious of you to have come on that occasion and sympathised with us in our national loss and bereavement. I know how friendly Jawaharlalji was to the Government of Ceylon and to the Ceylonese people. Long before India and Ceylon got their independence, Jawaharlalji visited Colombo and as a fighter for freedom he was given a great welcome in your country. Everyone of us knows how near he was to your distinguished husband Mr. Bandaranaike. We cherish our friendship with Ceylon and it is our earnest hope that the bonds of unity will become stronger in future and that we will try to be helpful to each other.

It is very good of you, Madam Prime Minister, to have decided to visit India at this time. We have a small problem between our two countries and I know both of us believe that it should be possible to settle it. Problems often arise between neighbouring countries, but because of their closeness it should also be easy to settle the problems in a friendly manner.

The recent explosion of an atom bomb by China has created a stir which is undoubtedly a matter of concern for all of us. However, we have always held the view that the use of nuclear weapons should be banned by agreement and all nations in the world should unite to save humanity from destruction. I also feel that those countries which do not possess nuclear weapons, in Europe, Asia, Africa, should unite and make a concerted effort to build up the necessary public opinion. This would have an impact on the countries which are in possession of nuclear weapons. I must admit that we are passing through a most

difficult period in international relations and we have to act wisely and as far as possible in cooperation with each other

For the countries which have recently attained their freedom, it is most important that they make economic progress. We have to deal with the problems of poverty and unemployment, of industrial and agricultural development. I know, Madam Prime Minister, that you fully agree with this and are already engaged in this task. Our problems here in India are enormous, but we are trying to tackle them as effectively as we can. We believe in a planned economy and we are in the midst of our third Five Year Plan. It is our earnest effort that through the completion of our Plans, we should be able to give a fuller and more prosperous life to our men, women and children. When I think that the difficulties of 460 million people have to be successfully and effectively tackled, many other things pale into insignificance. Let us hope that we will be able to defeat poverty and unemployment and to build up a new social order which would give real relief to our people. It is essential for the under-developed countries to try to help each other and cooperate with each other in improving the standard of living of their people. I know you feel equally strongly on the question of peace and of economic development of Asian and African countries.

We all wish you well

## WORLD PEACE

**I**NDIA AND THE many other countries which have attained independence in the last twenty years or so are averse to any kind of conflict, because their objective is to build a new social order.

It is most important that these countries should be allowed to carry on their task in peace. On behalf of the people of India, I would like to say that for us the most important and vital thing is the maintenance of peace in the world.

If the world is to live in peace, we will have to accept the policy of co-existence. Humanity is being denied the fullest advantage of the development and progress made in science and technology because of an atmosphere of cold war, and tensions everywhere which divert our attention and our resources. The Moscow Test Ban Treaty was a

From speech at World Conference for Peace and International Cooperation,  
New Delhi November 16, 1964

welcome achievement. We are hoping that there will be further progress in this direction. Nothing has happened so far but we cannot afford to be pessimistic. This Conference will strengthen those who want to work for disarmament and peace. Countries which do not possess nuclear weapons or nuclear devices for destructive purposes should stand united and raise their voices against nuclear development.

It would be suicidal for India to enter into the arena of nuclear weapons. We have to spend each and every pie at our disposal for the betterment of our people, for improving the lot of the weaker elements in our society. To think of manufacturing bombs and investing millions and millions of rupees for that work would mean impoverishing our people and causing further misery to them. In these circumstances, purely from the practical point of view, I do feel that India cannot afford to adopt any other policy.

Non-alignment can help us to achieve disarmament as well as peace. Through non-alignment, we increase and expand the area of peace.

## ATOMIC EXPLOSIONS IN CHINA

I HAVE received your letter of the 17th of October, 1964, on the atomic explosion conducted by China, the previous day, along with a statement issued by the Government of the People's Republic.

2. Your Excellency's letter and the statement repeat the same arguments and make the same proposal which you made in July-August 1963, when the nations of the world were preparing to sign the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, which Your Excellency's Government refused to subscribe to.

3. As you are aware, over a hundred nations have since adhered to that Treaty and the international community has repeatedly hailed the Treaty as a significant landmark in the quest of humanity for general and complete disarmament. The cessation of atmospheric test explosions, which followed, also reduced radio-activity in the atmosphere and consequently the hazards to health which these explosions were inflicting on the innocent inhabitants of the earth. This was the first time in the history of mankind that the peoples of the world took a concrete step towards the ultimate objective of a disarmed world. Since then, the international community has taken several steps in that

direction, particularly towards non proliferation of nuclear weapons and limitation of the arms race by reducing the production of fissionable material for the purpose of weapons. I regret to note that the Government of the People's Republic of China has not only denied its cooperation in this common endeavour of the peoples of the world for progress towards the elimination of nuclear weapons and general and complete disarmament, but has also placed serious obstacles to it. Whatever the political or military considerations, the nuclear explosion conducted at Lop Nor on the 16th of October in total defiance of the opinion of the nations of the world and in complete disregard of the health of its innocent inhabitants is a development that the people all over the world must regard as retrograde and deplorable.

4 Your Excellency has proposed "that a summit conference of all countries of the world be convened to discuss the question of the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons and that, as a first step, the summit conference should reach an agreement to the effect that the nuclear powers and those countries which may soon become nuclear powers undertake not to use nuclear weapons, neither to use them against non nuclear countries and nuclear free zones, nor against each other". As I said earlier, this proposal is similar to the one Your Excellency made when the Government of the People's Republic of China refused to sign the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. My predecessor then replied to Your Excellency at some length. He said that general and complete disarmament covering conventional weapons and forces, as well as nuclear weapons and their means of delivery, was the most urgent and the most vital objective of the peoples of the world. Pending the conclusion of a comprehensive treaty, it was necessary that immediate and positive steps, embracing measures of arms control and limitation and reduction of the risks of war, be taken to reduce international tension and build up confidence. The international community had been seized of the problem and the United Nations and the Disarmament Committee had been dealing with the entire gamut of the problems of disarmament and of a disarmed world. My predecessor then enumerated the steps which had already been taken and were being taken by the international community in this regard. He made particular reference to the stoppage of nuclear weapons tests in respect of which an international treaty had just been entered into. He drew attention to the fact that Your Excellency was one of the signatories of the Bandung declaration, which stated, *inter alia*, that "Pending the total prohibition of the manufacture of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons, the conference appealed to all powers

concerned to reach an agreement to suspend experiments with such weapons". He hoped that the People's Republic of China, in harmony with the majority of the countries of the world, would subscribe to the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, which was not only a step towards general and complete disarmament, but also of great significance in saving humanity from the death-dealing fall-out resulting from explosions in the atmosphere

5 I regret to say that Your Excellency's Government has belied this hope and ignored the appeal of the peoples of the world. The radioactive fall out from the Chinese explosion has traversed the atmosphere of the globe, spreading its unhealthy debris over the peoples of the world. It has also given a set-back to the efforts being made by the international community to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons and to bring the world nearer to its goal of general and complete disarmament.

6 In your letter, last year, Your Excellency had ignored conventional disarmament. This particular aspect of the matter cannot be absent in any proposal from the People's Republic of China which has the largest army in the world, not including millions of armed men in the Chinese militia. In your last letter, Your Excellency had also proposed a Summit Conference which was to consider the question of prohibition and destruction of all nuclear weapons and of taking certain measures as initial steps. These initial steps included the establishment of nuclear free zones, including one which would cover China, and bind her to refraining from the export or import of nuclear weapons or technical data for their manufacture, and the cessation of all nuclear tests. This time, Your Excellency has omitted these suggestions, as the People's Republic of China, in complete disregard of its own proposals, has now established China as a nuclear weapons zone, rather than a non nuclear zone, and conducted a nuclear weapons test explosion. Now Your Excellency only suggests that the step to be taken should be that nuclear powers should not use nuclear weapons. There is no reference to the non manufacture of weapons, the non-possession of weapons or the non testing of weapons.

7 In the reply we had sent to your last communication, we had pointed out that the problems of general and complete disarmament, including nuclear and conventional arms, were highly complicated matters requiring a lot of detailed work and were not matters which could be debated and settled at a large conference of the kind proposed by Your Excellency. By their very nature, these intricate issues need to be negotiated in smaller committees and often at the level of experts, as was being done by the United Nations. We agreed that it was essential

that all countries subscribed to a treaty on general and complete disarmament, but we felt that a conference of plenipotentiaries of the countries of the world could be useful only when substantial progress had been made in working out a draft treaty on general and complete disarmament

8 The Government of India continue to adhere to these views, which are also the views of the majority of the nations of the world. What is needed is not declarations or exhortations, but concrete and specific steps, like cessation of tests, prohibition of the use of fissile material for purposes of weapons, non proliferation of nuclear weapons, reduction of large and intimidating armies, etc. In this context, I trust Your Excellency's Government will take early steps to subscribe to the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty and stop the production of these weapons of mass destruction

9 The Government of India believe that general and complete disarmament is the most urgent and the most vital problem facing mankind today. They have, for years, urged that a treaty on general and complete disarmament be agreed upon as speedily as possible, and have lent their full support to all measures, comprehensive or partial, preliminary or otherwise, to that end. They will continue to do so. We believe in the ultimate victory of the spirit of humanity over the glorification of war and violence to the detriment of the human race. Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration

## EXCHANGE OF VIEWS IN UK

A WIDE RANGE of subjects came up for discussion during my meetings with Mr Harold Wilson and several of his Cabinet colleagues. We exchanged views fully and frankly in a friendly and informal atmosphere

There was no formal agenda for discussions. However, some of the topics on which there was an exchange of views, were as follows

- (i) The complex international situation as seen from Delhi and London, particularly the difficult situations in South East Asia, South Asia and Africa
- (ii) Problems of peace, disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, the United Nations, the proposal regarding the

multilateral force, freedom for the remaining colonies and programmes of assistance to developing countries

(iii) The balance of payments problem of the UK.

(iv) India's programmes of development and India's defence needs

As the House knows I had not gone to the United Kingdom with any specific requests or proposals. This exchange of views was, however, very useful. The Prime Minister of UK and his colleagues stressed the importance of having frequent opportunities at various levels to exchange views in an informal manner so as to understand one another's points of view even if no agreement could be reached on certain specific matters. They felt that in the complex and difficult world situation personal discussions of this nature would help the larger interest of world peace and disarmament and assist the promotion of economic and social progress, particularly in the developing countries.

One of the matters which is of special importance to India and which has attracted much attention in the UK also is that of the recent explosion of a nuclear device by China and its impact on the nuclear policy of the Government of India. Our views on this question are well known. India is determined to pursue the path of peace and to work for the elimination of the nuclear menace which faces mankind today. The non nuclear countries in particular have to give serious thought to this matter and the Government of India are already in touch with several other governments on this question. Equally, it is the responsibility of the great nuclear powers, particularly the USA and the USSR, to think of concrete steps for the elimination of the threat that overhangs mankind. We must not forget that the nuclear danger is a menace to the people of the whole world. Our views were stated categorically and they were welcomed.

## THE SINO-INDIAN DISPUTE

**I** TAKE THIS opportunity of restating our position on the question of China's aggression and claims on our territory in order to remove any possible misunderstanding.

Some time after the Chinese had committed aggression on our borders, the Colombo proposals were formulated by certain friendly countries. The Government of India accepted these proposals, but the Chinese Government did not do so. Later, the Ceylonese Prime



*Addressing the Non Aligned Nations Conference in Cairo*

*Speaking at a dinner given in honour of Mrs Bandaranaike at Rashtrapati Bhavan*





*Addressing the World Conference  
for Peace and International Co-  
operation held in New Delhi*

*Speaking at a dinner given in honour of His  
Excellency Dr Mohammed Yusuf Prime  
Minister of Afghanistan at Rashtrapati Bhavan*



*Speaking at a dinner given in honour of Monsieur Pompidou Prime Minister of France at Rashtrapati Bhavan*



*Being received by Mr Kosygin at Vnukovo airport Moscow*

Minister consulted us on the question of civilian check posts in the demilitarised zone of Ladakh. In reply, the Government of India indicated their willingness to agree to there being no posts of either side in the said demilitarised zone. Since then, there have been no further developments. In this context, the question of any negotiations does not arise at present.

The Government of India believe in the pursuit of peace and in settlement by mutual discussions provided always that such discussions can be held consistently with the honour and dignity of the country.

## INDIA AND FRANCE

INDIA AND FRANCE have a very old relationship and have always remained friends. There was a time when some parts of India were under French rule. The whole country was under British rule. We fought for our freedom and I must say that the British parted with great grace and we attained our independence. I must also compliment the French Government for the way they gave up their colonies in India. Since then our bonds have become even stronger and we have come much closer to each other.

Since independence, our main problem has been that of the economic development of our country. We have made considerable progress, but we have still to go very far. We are a poor country and we have to do our utmost to raise the living standards of our people. We want to build up a new social order in which every man and woman will get the basic necessities of life. We believe in socialism and we do not want any monopolies in our country. In fact, we desire an equitable distribution of our national wealth.

We love democracy and we have a very large adult franchise in our country. We have had three elections, perhaps the biggest elections in the world if I may say so, in which millions of people have exercised their franchise. These elections have been peaceful and it has shown that democracy has got a strong foothold in India. We have as our objective democracy as well as a radical economic change so that we have political, social and economic freedom. In this process of development, France has also been very helpful in trade and commerce. We do hope that there will be further expansion and we greatly welcome

the cooperation and collaboration we have received from France in connection with different projects and industries

In international matters, we believe in peace and disarmament. I know France also believes in these objectives and both of us have to work for these objectives. It is important that countries holding different views should live together. That is why we laid the utmost stress on peaceful co-existence. It is equally important that there should be reduction in conventional arms and the question of total disarmament should be earnestly pursued. It is much more important that the development of nuclear devices should come to a stop and every effort should be made for the elimination of nuclear weapons. It is important if civilisation and humanity are to survive.

### COOPERATION WITH AFGHANISTAN

YOUR VISIT is most welcome to us. Afghanistan has fought for its independence and preserved it. I know yours is a freedom loving country and that you believe in the freedom of all countries in the world. You are wholly opposed to colonialism. It is indeed regrettable that we should still have colonies in this world. There are Portuguese colonies which are a matter of shame to humanity and to all of us. We have also in our midst South Africa where something is happening which is ununderstandable and unimaginable to all of us. We cannot conceive that the kind of Apartheid they are observing could be possible in the present-day world.

Having attained our freedom, the most important problem for us is that of economic development, industrial progress and progress in the agricultural sector also. Our achievement in the industrial sector has been significant and I am glad that Your Excellency will get an opportunity to see something of what we have done during the last fifteen years.

Afghanistan and India have many common problems. I know your main problem is also that of economic development. We can cooperate in many matters. For instance, in the matter of training of technical personnel, we can be of help and assistance and we would be most willing to contribute our mite in this regard.

In international matters we see eye to eye with each other on almost all important problems. You believe in non-alignment and India also

strongly believes in it. It was our late Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlalji who put forward this idea and pursued it to the end. In spite of the enormous difficulties we have had to face during the last few years, we did not deviate from this policy and I think it has paid us in many ways. We have accepted the policy of non-alignment but not with any selfish motive or purpose. It is acceptable to us because we feel that it means independence in thinking and action. It expands the sphere of peace and it helps in accepting and adopting the policy of co-existence. I know Afghanistan also believes in co-existence and it is important that in pursuance of these policies we should work for disarmament and for peace.

What the world needs most today is the maintenance of peace and the avoidance of conflicts between nations. Unfortunately the position in South East Asia, specially in the Indo-China sector, is fraught with difficulties and we have suggested that the conflict which is going on there at the present moment should be stopped and the different parties concerned should meet and discuss amongst themselves. We have also suggested that a Geneva Conference type of meeting might be held so that there is a dialogue between the countries concerned and others who are interested. This conflict must not escalate.

The world as a whole is full of problems and difficulties and it is most important that every country which loves its freedom and wants to maintain its independence and sovereignty should work for peace and try to see that there is disarmament in the world which alone will lead to real peace.

## VIETNAM

THE QUESTION of Vietnam is uppermost in the minds of our people and of people all over the world today. We have always striven for the success of the Geneva Agreement, and tried to see that there is no breach of the agreement and no conflict. Unfortunately, the position has become rather delicate. We had made an appeal that the present hostilities should come to an end, that the two parties concerned should stop fighting. The other thing we had suggested was that there should be another Geneva Conference. It is a very difficult problem and there seems to be no immediate solution in sight. Therefore, we feel that even those not directly interested might meet for mutual consultations.

which alone could point to some kind of solution. We have also written to different Governments in this regard, and there has been, generally speaking, a favourable response. The countries we wrote to have generally supported the idea that there should be some kind of joint appeal to end the present hostilities, and that there should be some kind of conference also. I think that it is in the interest of world peace that these suggestions are accepted. We will do our level best to move in this matter and see that something positive is done.

### CLOSE TIES WITH NEPAL

SEVERAL MONTHS ago, His Majesty the King of Nepal kindly invited me to pay a visit to Kathmandu. I went there on April 23 for a short visit of about two days. As I said in Nepal, there are no problems of any importance or consequence between our two countries, and our relations with Nepal are in a very good and healthy state. My visit to Nepal was, therefore, a goodwill visit in every sense of the term.

His Majesty's Government and the people of Nepal accorded us a warm and affectionate reception. This is symbolic of the friendship of the Government and people of Nepal for our Government and people. I should like to take this opportunity of thanking His Majesty's Government for the hospitality they extended to us.

I had the opportunity of a cordial and friendly exchange of views with His Majesty and with the Chairman of His Majesty's Council of Ministers, Shri Surya Bahadur Thapa. We exchanged views on the world situation and the recent developments in Asia and I am glad to inform the House that, as stated in the joint communique issued on the conclusion of my visit to Nepal, these talks were characterised by a 'broad measure of unity and identity of purpose and approach' on all these matters. His Majesty's Government agree with us that so far as the developing countries of the world, including Nepal and India, are concerned, there is no acceptable alternative to the policies and principles of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence, which we have pursued hitherto.

I was glad to see that Nepal is making progress in the economic, social and other spheres of her national life. I am glad to inform the House that His Majesty's Government are appreciative of the assistance which we have been able to extend. The numerous projects being

constructed in collaboration with ourselves are making rapid progress and the Government of Nepal conveyed to me their satisfaction at the speed of progress on these projects

His Majesty the King inaugurated the Kosi barrage on April 24 at a moving ceremony at the site which was attended by a vast number of people, Indian as well as Nepalese. This project is an impressive symbol of Indo-Nepal cooperation in removing hunger and poverty and in bringing a better and a fuller life within the grasp of our two peoples. I laid the foundation of the Kosi canal during the same ceremony.

In conclusion, I am glad to say that I have returned from Nepal reinforced in my belief that the friendship between our two countries is lasting. Trust and sympathy are the hallmark of our relations with Nepal. Goodwill between the two countries and their peoples is plentiful, and the desire for cooperation for mutual benefit is all too evident. Because of the geographic contiguity of the two countries and the numerous other bonds that tie them together, the dealings between our two Governments are extensive. In the course of the conduct of these relations at all levels, some minor difficulties are bound to be experienced by one side or the other, but there is no reason to think that these difficulties cannot be resolved by mutual consultation to the satisfaction and advantage of both countries. In fact, this is happening every day. Apart from high level visits and consultations officials of the two countries meet practically every other month to resolve minor difficulties as they arise and to promote and carry forward the cooperation which is vital to both countries.

I have extended an invitation to His Majesty the King to visit India and he has graciously accepted our invitation. I have also invited Shri Thapa, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, to visit our country and he has very kindly agreed. We shall look forward to their visits.

## THE GIFT OF FRIENDSHIP

I HAVE absolutely no doubt that the ties of friendship between India and the Soviet Union will grow stronger with each passing year. I leave for the Soviet Union tomorrow on a goodwill visit. India and the Soviet Union are close friends who have an identical approach on

[From a special interview with All India Radio on the eve of departure for the Soviet Union May 11 1965]



many issues. There are absolutely no problems between us. The two countries have collaborated in many fields. Only recently we celebrated the tenth anniversary of Indo-Soviet economic cooperation. Bhilai, Barauni, Neyveli, the Heavy Machinery Plant at Ranchi and the Heavy Electrical Equipment Plant at Hardwar are some outstanding examples of economic cooperation. Bokaro will soon be added to this impressive list. These projects will remain the most abiding and the most cherished monuments of Soviet Indian friendship.

Jawaharlalji used to say, 'The Soviet Union has given us many precious gifts, the most precious gift of these is friendship'. I can do no better than to echo these sentiments.

### ✓ COMMON OBJECTIVES WITH USSR

YOUR EXCELLENCY, Mr Prime Minister, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

My colleagues and I have been in your country for just a few hours. We are greatly impressed by the warmth and cordiality with which we have been received. My predecessor, Jawaharlal Nehru, always had the most vivid impressions of the deep feelings of friendship for India which are entertained by the people of the Soviet Union.

I would like to express my warm appreciation of the kind references you have made to my country and people. I would like to assure you that we in India have the highest regard and affection for the Soviet Union and the people of your great country.

The Soviet Union was one of the first countries with which we established diplomatic relations after the dawn of freedom in our country. We did so in the conviction that the development of friendly relations between our two countries was necessary not only in the interests of our two peoples but also in the larger interests of peace throughout the world.

Over the years there has been a most remarkable development in our relations in the political, economic and cultural fields. The close and ever growing understanding and cooperation between our two countries on many vital international questions is a lasting tribute to the success of the policy of peaceful co-existence between States with different political, social and economic systems to which both our Governments steadfastly subscribe.

[Reply to the toast at the banquet given by the Soviet Prime Minister Moscow May 12, 1965.]

(We are particularly gratified by the constant understanding and respect your Government has shown for our policy of non alignment. This policy is not based on considerations of expediency but finds its roots in the history and tradition of our country from ancient times. In the context of today we are firmly convinced that the policy of non alignment and peaceful co-existence is the best means of preserving our independence and sovereignty. We have adhered to this policy in spite of the serious pressures and threats to our independence and territorial integrity we have been subjected to. It is no exaggeration for me to say that our ability to pursue this policy has to a large extent been due to the understanding and support which your Government has extended to this policy.)

(It has been a source of great satisfaction to us to see the development of close understanding and cooperation between our two countries on many vital international questions. At the United Nations and other international forums, our delegations have cooperated fruitfully in the pursuit of common objectives. Your support on some vital issues concerning India has been deeply appreciated by our Government and people and has forged unbreakable bonds of friendship between us.

The close cooperation and understanding which so happily exists in the approach of our two countries to various international problems flows from our common quest for peace and our common desire to eliminate war. It is for this reason that both our countries are totally opposed to the use of force for the settlement of international disputes. Similarly, we share the view that general and complete disarmament must be achieved as early as possible if mankind is to be saved from the threat of complete annihilation. The Test Ban Treaty which was signed in this historic city two years ago was a significant first step on the way to disarmament. India was one of the first countries to sign this treaty. Unfortunately, not all countries have found it possible to subscribe to this treaty and the world now faces the dangerous consequences of an unrestricted proliferation of nuclear weapons. (The international community has to address itself with the utmost seriousness to this problem if there is to be any guarantee that weapons of mass destruction will not pass into the hands of a larger number of countries, thereby resulting in a serious threat to the security of the world. It is a matter of great satisfaction that our Governments have always worked in close coordination in all matters relating to disarmament.) It is our hope that the current session of the United Nations Disarmament Commission will mean positive progress in this field and that its deliberations will lead to the Eighteen Nation Disarmament

Committee resuming its work with a greater sense of direction and purpose as soon as possible

(I would like to express our gratitude for the substantial economic assistance we have received from the Soviet Union during our second and third Five Year Plan periods. The various schemes and projects which have been implemented with Soviet aid have gone a long way in creating a base for the economic structure we are planning to build in our country. The Bhilai Steel Project is one of many lasting monuments to the close and friendly cooperation between our countries in the economic field. We are now engaged in working out the framework for our fourth Five Year Plan and I am glad to hear that my colleague Mr Asoka Mehta has had fruitful discussions with representatives of your Government on the basis of which our long term economic cooperation can be coordinated for the mutual benefit of both our countries and peoples)

Mr. Chairman, for me personally this is truly a voyage of discovery. I have previously had the privilege of meeting several distinguished leaders of your great country during their visits to India. I was also anxious to meet the friendly and warm hearted people of the Soviet Union and their leaders and to feel the glow of that close friendship which illumines our mutual relationship. We in India are now going through the first stages of industrial revolution. We are making strenuous efforts to improve the living standards of the millions of our country. Your country, Mr Chairman, has already advanced far towards the completion of this process. (You have achieved marvels in the field of science and technology and have even enabled man to conquer space. We admire you and we congratulate you on your achievements. We are also happy in the thought that in so many spheres of economic activity in our country, we are successfully collaborating with the Soviet Union and are steadily but surely progressing towards the establishment in our country of a socialist society in which there will be no serious inequalities between the rich and the poor and in which all our people will be assured of a reasonable standard of living.)

I fully share your view, Mr Prime Minister, that the close and friendly ties which have developed between our two countries are in the interests of our people and of world peace itself. May I request you, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, to join me in drinking a toast to the health of the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, His Excellency Mr Mikoyan, to the health of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics, His Excellency Mr Kosygin, to the welfare and prosperity of the Soviet

people and to the further consolidation and strengthening of Indo Soviet friendship

## THE CONSCIENCE OF THE WORLD

MR RECTOR, Dear Friends,

I am deeply touched by your very kind welcome. Words fail me in expressing my gratitude to you for the affection shown to me. I am sorry to have been late. It was on account of important discussions I was having with Mr Brezhnev. He did not allow me to get up. There was no alternative. As a guest, I had to remain seated there. I am in the hands of the Soviet authorities, a prisoner, but a prisoner of love.

I am very happy to have this opportunity of seeing with my own eyes how the world of friendship is being built in the minds and hearts of the youth of various countries. This is a laudable experiment. The only way to build peace and friendship among the peoples of the world is by bringing them together in institutions like this where they can open their hearts and minds to the fresh winds of thought that blows from all parts of the world. I believe that the seeds of friendship sown in institutions like this are bound to take deep root and grow in time to come. If the leaders of the world could join and discuss things in a friendly and peaceful atmosphere such as you have here, most international problems could be solved without any difficulty whatever. You are the future leaders of your countries and of the world and I wish you every success in carrying the message of friendship, of world peace, and of human understanding from the portals of this university to your own countries. You have to bring about by your sincere and earnest efforts a world where man will respect his fellow-men and where the colour of one's skin, or one's political or religious creed will not be forces that divide.

(I am happy that more than a hundred and forty students from India are studying in this institution. We are grateful to the Soviet Union for having given this opportunity to our students to study in various fields of science and technology at this university. I hope that our students will bring credit to themselves, to their country and to this institution.)

Mr Rector, at a time when tension and strife are once again tending to divert the attention of the world from the path of peace and progress, it seems necessary to make special efforts to stress those higher values of amity and goodwill to which both our countries are irrevocably devoted. Mahatma Gandhi who generated, shaped and guided India's struggle for independence proclaimed and carried into effect the policy that even a colonial power could be fought by peaceful methods and without feelings of bitterness and animosity. The world's conscience today has to be roused against the forces of strife and destruction. The leaders and people of India and Soviet Union are working together in this direction. In this great task your University and other similar institutions can play a truly effective role.

It was India that led the battle of freedom against imperialism. We fought it with a special technique and we won our freedom in about twenty five years. The leaders of India, Gandhi, and Jawaharlalji, always said that India would never be satisfied unless all Asian and African countries achieved freedom. I am glad to say that soon after the attainment of independence by India, freedom came to the countries of Asia. I am happy that most of the countries of Africa have achieved independence. There are still some countries which are under foreign subjugation. India stands against colonialism. We feel that there will be no peace unless all colonies have attained freedom and there is no subjugation in any part of the world. I would especially like to refer to the Portuguese colonies of Mozambique and Angola, to Southern Rhodesia and to the policies pursued in South Africa. The people of these countries are waging a battle against colonialists and undergoing terrible suffering. There is no alternative for the people but to accept these sufferings and go ahead with their battle with courage and determination. I would like to convey to them the moral support of the people and the Government of India. I have no doubt that India, the Soviet Union and all non aligned countries will stand by these freedom fighters till they have achieved independence.

Mr Rector, I wish you every success in the unique experiment that you have launched here, and through you I wish to convey to all the students of the eighty three countries who study here my best wishes for success in their work. Thank you.

## RECAPTURING THE ATMOSPHERE OF PEACE

**M**R. CHAIRMAN, Your Excellencies and Friends,  
I feel greatly honoured to participate in this function and heartily reciprocate the warm feelings which you have expressed. From my point of view this is an extremely important occasion when I am meeting the leaders of a country which has strong ties of friendship with India. I want to tell Your Excellencies that the people of India have the highest regard for the people of USSR and that they cherish this deep and growing friendship between ourselves.

While Governments can give the lead in cementing friendly relations between countries, the consolidation of such friendship depends in the ultimate analysis on the efforts of the people themselves. The people of India and the people of the Soviet Union have already demonstrated that they are united together by genuine, strong and abiding bonds of friendship.

(Our mutual relations are based not upon any temporary expedients but upon the sincere realisation that the larger interest of humanity can be served best by promoting and enlarging the area of peace. Our close relationship is not directed against the interests of any other country or any other people. On the contrary, we both earnestly wish that all the countries of the world should be united together by similar feelings of mutual regard and close understanding.) Our mission would be completed only when that day dawns.

The father of the Indian nation, Mahatma Gandhi and our great national leader, the builder of modern India, Jawaharlal Nehru always conceived of the freedom of India only as a part of the freedom of the oppressed nations all over the world. Gandhi and Nehru were men of great vision and unbounded idealism. They taught us to believe that the freedom and independence of India would be incomplete so long as any country anywhere in the world continued to be under foreign domination. When, therefore, we attained our independence, we did not think that the journey's end had come. We knew that the process of liberation had just begun and that we had still to traverse a long road which lay ahead of us. It is for this reason that throughout these years we have given strong support to all the peoples who have fought for independence from colonial domination. The people of India are clear in their belief that peace can be established throughout the world only when the last vestiges of colonialism have been eliminated. I want, therefore, to reiterate today how strongly we support the

aspirations of the people of countries such as Angola, Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa for independence and for freedom from foreign rule. I am happy that in the noble task of fighting colonialism and imperialism, the Soviet Union and India have always stood shoulder to shoulder in the United Nations.

Often I wonder why even today certain colonial countries should still wish to cling to their colonies. These powers should not in my opinion ignore the realities of the situation. In fact they should heed world opinion which solidly supports the liberation movement of all countries which are still ruled by colonial powers. It is absolutely essential that the colonies must get their freedom as early as possible. Although a number of countries have already attained their independence, colonialism still persists and this must be eliminated from the face of the earth so that men everywhere may live in freedom and with a sense of national dignity.

We are most unhappy at the situation in Vietnam which is a great danger to peace. We want peace to be restored throughout Vietnam. All outside interference should cease and the people of Vietnam should be able to live their lives in freedom and with dignity. Every endeavour should be made to bring about the stoppage of armed conflict and wean away the parties concerned from the battlefield to the conference table. There can be no military solution to the Vietnam problem. I have already said publicly that the bombings in North Vietnam should stop and the right atmosphere should be created for a peaceful solution.

India and Soviet Union both firmly believe in the policy of peace and peaceful co-existence. Peace is essential for the preservation of humanity in this thermo nuclear age. The only alternative to peaceful co-existence is complete destruction and even total annihilation. We must, therefore, cooperate amongst ourselves in the task of strengthening peace and promoting international amity and goodwill. We must also not lose sight of the fact that peace is indivisible and that a threat of war anywhere is a threat to peace everywhere. It is my sincere hope and earnest expectation that India and Soviet Union will together provide mighty support to the forces of peace in this strife torn world.

We strongly believe that the primary responsibility of countries which have secured independence from colonial domination is to provide relief to their people who have suffered so long under foreign rule. All attention has to be concentrated on economic development with a view to providing adequate food, clothing, shelter, education and medical facilities to the people by the establishment of a just economic and social order. Peace is thus of vital importance to the

developing countries. Those who seek to create an atmosphere of strife and to build up tensions are no friends of the developing countries. In fact, they compel the developing countries to divert their limited resources from projects for economic development to armament for national defence.

(The most serious threat to peace in the world today as I see it is from the proliferation of nuclear weapons.) The Soviet Union has taken initiative in promoting measures for arresting the further spread of nuclear weapons. (The Moscow Test Ban Treaty was clearly designed for this purpose.) Whereas your country is trying to promote measures for nuclear disarmament, China has detonated another nuclear device. This further underlines the importance and the urgency of the problem of control and eventual elimination of nuclear weapons. We in India firmly believe that unless effective measures are taken to control the nuclear menace within a short time, the world may well reach the point of no return. I ask you, my friends, to bestow the most serious consideration you can on this danger to mankind and to evolve appropriate measures to fight this menace.)

(While India pursues steadfastly the policy of non alignment and peaceful co-existence, certain countries are casting covetous eyes on our territories and are attempting to violate our frontiers. In this manner our territorial integrity and national sovereignty is threatened. We as a people believe in peace and in the pursuit of peaceful methods even for the settlement of international disputes. We are prepared always to sit together and discuss such disputes as may arise. But if the path of peace and negotiation is discarded and aggression is committed, we are duty bound to safeguard our freedom and to defend our frontiers. In such a situation we would consider no sacrifice too great. Our responsibility for the preservation of our freedom is higher than any other responsibility. I want to make it clear that we have no desire whatsoever to take even an inch of any other country's territory. In fact such an idea never even occurs to our mind. At the same time we are determined that we shall not allow any part of our own territory to be annexed by force by any other country, no matter what its alignment and what its power.)

(We still believe sincerely that if the world is to live in peace at all, there must be total disarmament, both nuclear and conventional.) We congratulate the Soviet Government on taking the initiative in regard to nuclear weapons by pressing the Moscow Test Ban Treaty. It was an important step towards the achievement of nuclear disarmament, but only the first step. We hope that this will lead to the banning of all nuclear tests, including underground tests, and to the banning of



the use of nuclear weapons throughout the world. We also hope that total and general disarmament by stages and with adequate means of international control and inspection will be achieved in our lifetime and in the not too distant future. I can assure you that my Government and my people will work wholeheartedly in cooperation with you and with other peace loving countries for this cause.

Your Excellencies, although my country is facing a difficult situation on its borders, we are still determined to go ahead with plans for our economic development. (As you are perhaps aware, India has launched a series of Five Year Plans to improve the economic conditions of our people and to give social and economic content to our political freedom.) Yet we are striving hard, with the voluntary co-operation of all our people, to meet these problems, to raise the standard of living of our people, to industrialise our country and to achieve the aims enshrined in our Constitution. (We believe in the equality of all races and religions, we believe in the equality of men, we believe in socialism, and we hope we can achieve these objectives in our own way, according to our own genius, and mainly through the efforts of our own people.)

The Government and people of India are happy that friendly relations have always existed between our two countries. They are confident that these relations will ever grow stronger. Our trade with the Soviet Union has been doubled in the last three years and I hope it will re-double itself in the next five years. We believe that our friendship is to the mutual benefit of both our countries and peoples.

(My visit to the Soviet Union has convinced me that the Soviet and Indian people can together be a most potent factor for world peace. Your Excellencies, let us make no mistake. The world has once again begun to drift away from the path of peace towards the path of strife. The highest degree of statesmanship is needed to prevent the coming conflict. Let us resolve that together we will contribute to the emergence of that statesmanlike leadership which can yet recapture the atmosphere of peace. It is in this wider context that we should view the importance of the friendly ties that bind us together.)

My visit to this great, heroic, capital city of Moscow will come to a close tonight when I leave for Leningrad. During the days I have been here, I have been overwhelmed by the warmth of affection which the leaders and the people of your great country have showered upon my wife and myself. The Soviet people are warmly human, straightforward and genuine. I want to assure Your Excellencies that the 450 million people of India reciprocate heartily these feelings and I would ask the Soviet people to accept the greetings and good wishes of all my countrymen for your well being and prosperity.

## FAREWELL TO MOSCOW

DEAR FRIENDS and citizens of the great Soviet Union I bring you the warm and friendly greeting of the Government and the 450 million people of India. I wish you every success in your noble effort of building up your country and in trying to spread friendship, understanding and peace throughout the world. We in India are also engaged in the great adventure of building up our country in various fields—political, social, economic, cultural, scientific and others. As you know, we suffered from 200 years of colonial rule and we have to make up for lost time and telescope centuries into decades and decades into years. In this great task of building up our country and helping the maintenance of peace, we feel greatly encouraged by the sympathy, understanding and active support of the Government and the people of this great country.

We have always admired your Government's policy of peace and peaceful co-existence which, as your leaders told me, is a fundamental principle of your foreign policy since the days of the great Lenin. We have also, since the beginning of our struggle for independence under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, dedicated ourselves to this cause of peace. Our late Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru initiated the five principles of peaceful co-existence between different social, political and economic systems and enunciated the principles of non-alignment as the two main pillars of our foreign policy. We respect your policy of peaceful co-existence just as you respect our policy of non-alignment. These two policies go hand in hand and help in the maintenance of peace, in the relaxation of tensions and in helping newly independent and developing countries to maintain their political and economic independence.

The international situation is taking a dangerous turn in various parts of the world—in Asia, in Africa and in Latin America. In this thermo-nuclear age, it is all the more necessary to follow the path of peace and peaceful co-existence so that the world may be saved from the scourge of war. The only alternative to peaceful co-existence is a violent upheaval which will destroy the whole of humanity. Peaceful co-existence is not a policy of weakness but of strength, it is not a policy that can compromise with imperialism or colonialism. It is a positive policy that helps the liberation of colonial territories and peoples under foreign domination. We hope that the remaining pockets of colonialism and imperialism in various parts of the world, such as Angola, Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia, etc., will be removed.

Speech on the occasion of a television appearance in Moscow May 15 1965

in the very near future through the force of strong and powerful world opinion)

I have been in your heroic city only for four days today. I have been deeply impressed by the warmth of your reception and the sincerity of your feelings of friendship for my country and people. We know how bravely you fought against Fascism and Nazism and I congratulate you on the recognition you recently received from your Government on the 20th anniversary celebrations of the victory over Fascism. The people of the Soviet Union played a decisive role in this great victory over Fascism, and were an inspiring example to all countries to fight against aggression.

We are determined to maintain the territorial integrity and sovereignty of our country. While we have no designs on the territory of any other country, we shall not tolerate any encroachment on our own territory. Like you, however, we believe in the settlement of all international disputes through peaceful negotiations. We hope that all other countries will likewise follow this path of peace and settle all questions through peaceful means.

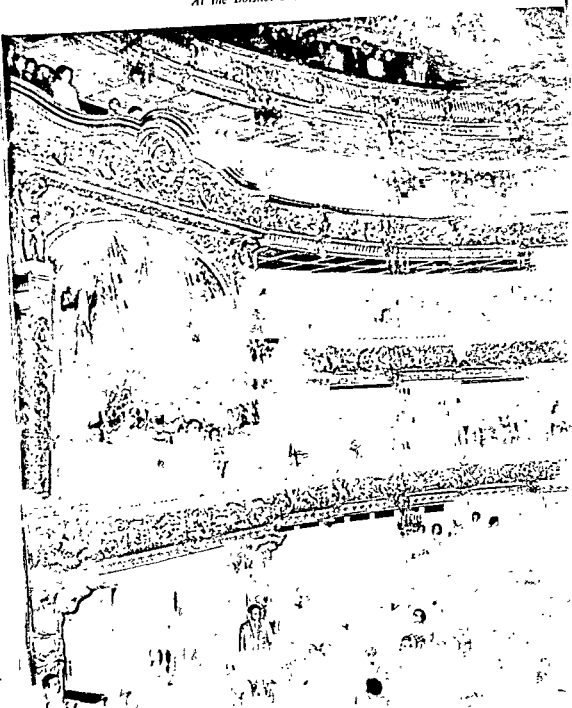
(I should like to take this opportunity of thanking the Government and the people of the Soviet Union for the generous and disinterested help they have given to us in various fields of our economy.) We in our turn are also trying to help some of our neighbouring countries and other countries to the best of our ability, in strengthening their economies. But no country in the world can develop with foreign assistance alone. It is, therefore, our aim to reach a self-sustaining stage, mainly with the efforts of our own people.

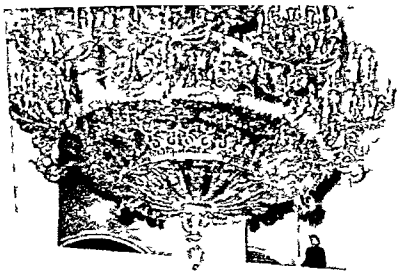
(Our trade and economic relations have developed very rapidly during the last few years.) The tenth anniversary of our economic co-operation was recently celebrated with great enthusiasm by our people in India. Bhilai and Ranchi, Ankleshwar and Barauni, Neyveli and Rampur, are shining examples of our cooperation in the new India.

(Our trade has increased more than eight times in the last eight years. Both our Governments have agreed to double it in the next eight years. We hope that our economic and trade relations will be as beneficial to you as they are to us.)

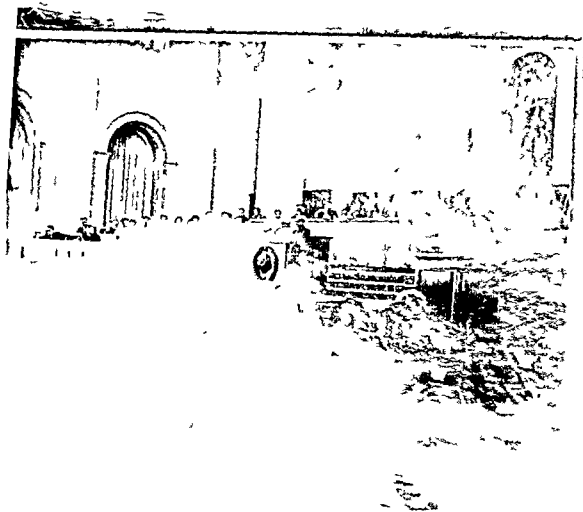
(Our cultural relations are also increasing rapidly. It is necessary that more and more people from our two countries should visit each other so that there is greater fellow feeling and understanding between us. It is my earnest hope that our growing friendly relations will help in promoting a feeling of amity and goodwill all around. Let the friendship between the Indian and Soviet people serve as a solid

*At the Bolshoi Theatre in Moscow*



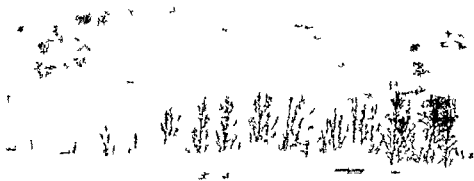


Arriving at the barquet hall at the Kremlin Moscow



*Addressing a meeting at the Great Kremlin Palace Moscow*

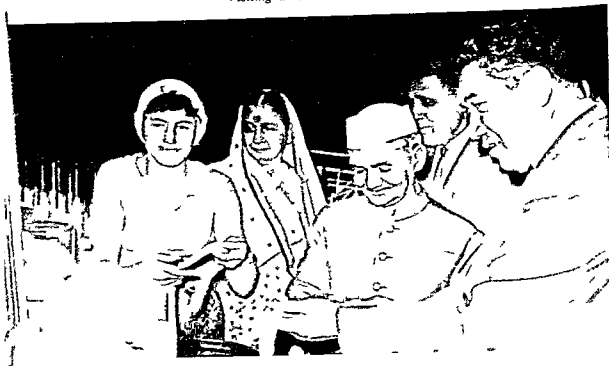
*Inspecting a Guard of Honour at Stal igrad airport*





*At the airport in Kiev*

*Visiting a textile mill in Tashkent with Mrs Shastri*



foundation for understanding and cooperation amongst all the peoples of world\

I am leaving for Leningrad tonight and I would therefore like to take leave of you. Allow me, my friends, to say how deeply touched I am by the warm affection which has been showered upon my wife and myself. We are carrying with us happy memories which we will always cherish. Once again I would ask you to accept the greetings and good wishes of the people of India for the happiness and well being of all men, women and children in this great country.

## LENINGRAD

**I** AM VERY HAPPY to be in your great city. It is named after a great revolutionary in the world. Lenin will live forever in history. As long as there are weak and downtrodden people, Lenin's words will be remembered. All Indians have great respect for Lenin and have always looked upon him with admiration. Under his leadership, the revolution directed from this city changed the face of the Soviet Union. I pay my tribute to him.

I have seen the cemetery in Leningrad. It created a great impression on my mind. A nation which is capable of such great sacrifices cannot be easily vanquished. Five lakhs of people perished here and yet the people continued to fight till victory was won. This heroic example will be remembered forever and will continue to inspire generations. An attack on a nation cannot be met by a show of weakness, but only by resoluteness.

It has given me much pleasure to visit this great city. I am grateful for the affection shown by the men and women of Leningrad who were so charming, simple and straightforward that they won all our hearts. Whenever I come to the Soviet Union again, I will make it a point to visit Leningrad, both because the people of Leningrad are so full of affection and because Leningrad will always be a source of inspiration to me.



## A VISIT OF SPECIAL IMPORTANCE

THIS WAS MY first visit to the Soviet Union. I am glad to have had the opportunity of intimate talks with the top leaders of the Soviet Union. These talks were frank and friendly, and the Soviet leaders showed understanding and sympathy for India's point of view on all important matters. Peace and peaceful co-existence were the keynote of our discussions. India greatly appreciates the policy of peaceful co-existence accepted and adopted by the USSR. The Soviet Union in turn appreciates our policy of non alignment. Non alignment and peaceful co-existence are the basic policies which would undoubtedly help in the strengthening of peace. Peaceful co-existence is a recognition of the realities of the situation. Every country wants to build itself up in accordance with its needs, its particular genius and traditions. Any intervention or subversion in the affairs of another country can only lead to bitterness and conflict which must be avoided. Whatever their pattern of Government, whatever their ideologies, all countries should be able to live in peace and amity. Similarly, the frontiers between two countries should not be disputed or settled through aggression. There should be a peaceful approach to the solution of this problem. The Soviet Union and India have both accepted it as a sound policy. Unfortunately some countries have resorted to the use of force on our borders. India still wants to settle all matters peacefully, but this cannot be achieved by one side alone. It is essential that we protect our borders and maintain the integrity of our country at any cost.

There were important and useful discussions on economic problems. We are thankful to the USSR for the help it has rendered to India in the economic field. I am exceedingly glad to say that the Soviet Union has agreed to help us further in the setting up of new basic industries—non ferrous metal, steel, coal mining, oil, etc. Soviet assistance will be forthcoming for the fourth Five Year Plan and I am sure the assistance will be substantial. We value this assistance as it will help us a good deal in the successful implementation of our Fourth Plan.

*This visit has been of special importance and I am happy indeed to have received so much cordiality and friendship. My visits to Leningrad, Kiev and Tashkent will be memorable to me and to my wife for the affection showered on us at these places. We will cherish this happy memory always. The people of India have the same feelings towards the people of the Soviet Union. They feel that cooperation*

between the two countries is essential not only for the good of the two countries but for humanity at large. Both will work for peace in full cooperation with each other and would like to maintain contacts for the furtherance of this noble cause. I wish and hope that unity between the Soviet Union and India becomes stronger and that our bonds grow closer. I extend my most sincere thanks to Mr. Brezhnev and Mr. Mikoyan with whom I had friendly meetings in Moscow. They have been good enough to accept my invitation to visit India. To Mr. and Mrs. Kosygin, who were good enough to accompany me and my wife, I convey my grateful thanks. I am thankful that Mr. Kosygin should have taken such keen interest in my programme throughout my stay here. I have extended an invitation to Mr. and Mrs. Kosygin to visit India at their convenience, and I am happy that they have accepted my invitation.

(Leningrad and Kiev have left a lasting impression on my mind for the supreme sacrifice they made in the last war. Their story of courage and determination will be written in letters of gold and will always be a great inspiration for future generations. If people fight with courage, there is none to defeat them.)

(We have a cultural agreement with the USSR under which annual plans are drawn up. Exchanges under this programme are continuously increasing. There will be an exchange of professors and scientists and scholarships for two hundred students.)

(I am delighted to have visited Tashkent) and seen and met the people of this beautiful city. (It looks like India. There appears to be so much similarity and cultural affinity between us. I have no doubt that this Republic will develop further.) I am deeply touched by the cordiality and friendship shown to me by the people of Tashkent and wish to express my sincere thanks to them.

(Our policy on the situation in South East Asia and the policy of the Soviet Union are clearly expressed in the Joint Communiqué.)

## TRIBUTE TO THE SOVIET PEOPLE

ONE OF THE great achievements of Jawaharlal Nehru was to put India on the map of the world. He evolved and shaped a foreign policy which struck a new path in international relations and showed a new way to the whole world. My recent visit to the Soviet Union was also

an outcome of that same policy of peace and goodwill. The friendly welcome extended to me by the Prime Minister, the Ministers and (Governments) officials (and, above all, by (the people of the Soviet Union was heart-warming indeed. It is true that there has been a great change in India in that Jawaharlalji is no more with us. The Soviet Union too has seen some changes in the recent past. As a result, both the Soviet Prime Minister and I were in a sense new to the office. Even so the talks we had were absolutely frank and friendly. What I liked most about these talks was the absence of any kind of reservation or manouvring. Nothing was said which was prompted by diplomacy. Whatever they thought right they accepted in a straightforward fashion. If they differed on an issue, they said so clearly and unequivocally. I did the same. I was greatly impressed by the fact that in my entire stay in the USSR I had no occasion to encounter equivocation or roundabout talk in any of the exchanges I had there.)

(Ours is a policy of non alignment. We do not want to join any power bloc, Eastern or Western. This was a policy decision of Jawaharlal Nehru. If we align ourselves to any power bloc, I doubt whether we would be able to think freely or do what we consider right for our own country. Today Nehru's policy of non alignment has been adopted by many Asian and African countries and it has struck roots there. We are committed to the policy of non-alignment and the Soviet Union fully supports us in this. They are also whole-heartedly implementing the policy of co-existence amongst people of different ideologies and different forms of Government which had been initiated by Jawaharlal Nehru and agreed to in principle by them. Thus non-alignment and peaceful co-existence have become a base, a foundation on which peace and amity in the world can be built. We want to further our friendly relations with those countries who are with us in our pursuit of the policy of non alignment.)

(We do not want war with any country. It is our policy to be friendly to all, and even to those whose ideologies and methods are totally different from ours. At the same time, as I said, we do not want to align ourselves to any bloc. Because of this, our bonds with the Soviet Union have become even closer and stronger.)

It is difficult to find a parallel for the patriotism and capacity for sacrifice I saw in the people of the Soviet Union. In Leningrad, about five lakh of people were killed in the last war and about six lakh starved to death. This supreme sacrifice of eleven lakh people in one city is not a small thing. Although the German Fascists had marched right up to Kiev near Stalingrad, the Russians did not lose courage.

The men, women and children of the country roused themselves and cling together in a heroic bid to defend themselves and their Fatherland. It does not behove our country, or any country for the matter of that to be perturbed by some small reverses. We must remember that the aggressor is always at an advantage, as were Fascist Germany and Italy. Nobody can forcibly occupy a country of 450 million people if they have inner strength, love for their motherland and the capacity for sacrifice. I saw the truth of this for myself in Leningrad. It was the essence of Jawaharlal Nehru's message that every Indian should work with devotion for the nation and be prepared for every sacrifice for the sake of the country. At the same time it is true that we want to avoid war, although we cannot succeed in preventing it entirely on our own, without cooperation from the other party. The seriousness of the situation will be brought home to us if we consider that once it starts no war today can remain a local affair.

Jawaharlal Nehru was a citizen of the world. The sufferings of people anywhere in the world pained him as much as did the miseries of his own countrymen. Today we are engaged in the big task that was so dear to the heart of our departed leader, of fighting poverty and unemployment in our country. We will not rest till the lot of the common man is improved. (We are grateful to the countries from which we receive loans and assistance for our Plans. But we must remember that we have to strengthen our hands and stand on our own feet. We shall shortly have to dispense with this aid. We may not have enough to eat or wear, but we cannot depend on others indefinitely. It is not desirable for us to get under the pressure of loans and aid from other countries. We must be prepared to defend the country ourselves and develop it through our own efforts.) This is what Jawaharlal Nehru taught us.

## **INDIA AND PAKISTAN**

## PAKISTAN'S AGGRESSION ON THE KUTCH BORDER

THIS HOUSE may take into consideration the situation which has arisen as a result of repeated and continuing attacks by Pakistan's armed forces on the Kutch border. There have been serious and frequent engagements. Our men are defending our frontiers with exemplary valour and I should like to tell them that this House and all the people of this country stand solidly behind them and will consider no sacrifice too great to meet this challenge to our territorial integrity.

The situation which we are facing today is undoubtedly grave. I think the House would like to have a connected account of the events leading up to the situation that exists today.

During the last few months Pakistan has been resorting periodically to firing and clashes at several points on the Indo-Pakistan border both in the east and in the west. Our men have taken defensive action at all these points effectively, but with great restraint. The clashes on the Kutch border are the latest in the series of incidents which Pakistan has chosen to indulge in.

Some time ago, Pakistani patrols were noticed moving on a track close to the Kutch-Sind borders. On being challenged by our patrols the Pakistani patrols claimed that they were moving on a track which was the old customs track and within Pakistan territory. It was also noticed that Pakistan had occupied Kanjarkot and established a standing post there. In accordance with paragraph 3 of the Ground Rules the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Rajkot Rangers took up the matter with the Director-General West Pakistan Rangers and called for a meeting to discuss the situation and to determine the *status quo*. The Director-General West Pakistan Rangers did not attend but sent his local Commander who had a meeting with the DIG Rajkot Rangers. This, however, led to no result and encounters between our patrols and those of Pakistan continue.

On April 9, in the early hours of the morning our border post at Sardar was attacked with heavy mortar and MMG fire followed by artillery fire from 25 pounder guns under cover of which two battalions of the Pakistan Regular Army belonging to 51 Infantry Brigade advanced towards the post. Details of this encounter have already been given to the House in the statement by the Home Minister on April 12. The fact that this attack was pre-meditated and pre-planned was quite

clear from the documents captured from the Pakistan prisoners and from their interrogation. The plan of assault on our border post by the Pakistan Army was drawn up in the second week of March and movement of troops began thereafter. Orders for the attack were apparently given on April 7 and the attack was launched in the early hours of April 9.

Therefrom, as the House knows, the Chief of the Army Staff was instructed to take over operational control of the border and Army units moved into Vigokot the same evening. The Pakistani firings and shellings, however, continued to which our armed forces have replied.

Since then Pakistani armed attacks of increasing intensity have been continuing at many points into our territory south of the Kutch-Sind border. On April 24, our company post at Point 84 was shelled in the morning and later attacked by Pakistan infantry supported by tanks and other armour. On April 26, Pakistan armed forces, again with tanks and armoured vehicles, attacked our border post at Biarbet. These attacks are still continuing.

Pakistani armed action is an act of naked aggression. They have attacked Indian posts which are deep in Indian territory, six to eight miles south of the border—territory which on Pakistan's own admission has never been in its possession. Hon'ble Members have, no doubt, seen the statement of the Pakistan Foreign Minister, Mr Bhutto, on April 15 in which he said, defending the Pakistan position. "It must be remembered that the central fact is that this is a dispute over territory which lies roughly north of the 24th parallel. The dispute has arisen not because the boundary is undemarcated but because the disputed territory is in India's adverse possession." This is what he has said. In other words, Pakistan has chosen to mount an armed attack on territory over which Pakistan has never exercised possession and over which Pakistan, in fact, admits India's possession. Pakistan thus stands self-condemned. She has used force for changing the *status quo* and for vindicating its territorial claims. This is contrary to the United Nations Charter and to the Ground Rules under the Indo-Pakistan Border Agreement of 1960. Pakistan's behaviour, in fact, amounts to clear and open aggression on our territory.

As is usual with Pakistan even while discussions have been in progress through diplomatic channels to settle the matter peacefully, Pakistan has been intensifying its attacks and moving in tanks and heavy artillery to attack our posts.

On April 19, the Foreign Secretary handed over a formulation to the High Commissioner which in substance was just what the Pakistan Foreign Office had suggested to our High Commissioner in Karachi.

a few days earlier, namely, that there should be a ceasefire, to be followed by talks at the official level with a view to determining and restoring the *status quo ante*, and later a high level meeting between the two Governments to discuss the boundary question. On the morning of April 24, the Pakistan High Commissioner handed over an alternative formulation to the Foreign Secretary, according to which ceasefire was to be followed by the withdrawal of the armed forces of both India and Pakistan, whether civil or military, from certain areas which they contended were the disputed territory. But earlier the same morning, even before this new formulation had been presented, Pakistan had launched a heavy attack in brigade strength on our post at Point 84, west of Chadbet, with heavy artillery.

Throughout this period, Pakistan has been making shifting claims and conflicting statements. At the meeting between the DIG, Rajkot Rangers, and Lt Col Aftab Ali, Commandant of the Indus Rangers, at Kanjarkot on February 15, 1965, they said that they had not occupied Kanjarkot but that they were patrolling the area up to the track south of Kanjarkot which according to him was the old customs track adjoining Surai and Ding. In the Government of Pakistan's note, dated March 1, 1965, which was in answer to our protest note of February 18, 1965, it was stated by the Pakistan Government that Kanjarkot fort had not been occupied by the Indus Rangers. Today, not only is Pakistan in occupation of the Kanjarkot fort but it has gone much beyond its claim to patrolling up to the customs track. Pakistan today is laying claim to a large area south of the Kutch-Sind boundary and north of the 24th Parallel.

I want to state clearly and emphatically that we reject and repudiate these claims in their entirety. Pakistan claims that the Rann of Kutch is an inland sea and, therefore, Pakistan is entitled to half of this area. This is completely untenable. The Rann of Kutch is not an inland sea and has never been recognised as such. Long before the creation of Pakistan, the then British Government of India decided formally, in 1906, that it was more correct to define the Rann of Kutch as a "marsh" rather than as a "lake" or "inland sea". That the Rann of Kutch is a "marsh" is indisputable. It has all the flora and fauna of marshland with marsh grown grass in abundance and other characteristics. What happens is that during the monsoon period, because of the strong winds and the high tides in the Arabian Sea, this low lying area gets flooded by sea water. Furthermore, in the monsoon period, it receives fresh water from the swollen rivers. The area, therefore, is flooded from about the middle of May till the end of October. It is mostly dry and partly marshland during the remainder of the year.



Pakistan's claims also ignore the historical fact that even though the Kutch Sind Border is undemarcated, it is well defined on maps and well recognised in fact. Prior to the partition of India, the Kutch-Sind border separated the then British Indian Province of Sind and the Indian State of Kutch. Not being an international boundary then, it did not need to be demarcated. The boundary itself was, however, well defined in all official maps dating from 1872 to 1943 and even later, and was well known and well established. The boundary has also been described in detail in official documents over the last three-quarters of a century prior to the partition of India. The boundary shown in the official maps of undivided India prior to August 15, 1947, cannot be questioned.

The official *Gazetteer* of the Province of Sind published in Karachi in 1907, the *Gazetteer of India* of the Bombay Presidency published in 1909, and the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* published by the British Secretary of State for India in 1908 are all categorical about the Rann of Kutch being outside the province of Sind. In all the documents of the Political Department of the then British Government of India, of 1937, 1939 and 1942, defining the political charges of various officers, the Rann of Kutch was invariably shown as falling within the Western India States Agency and never as falling within the province of Sind. As the House is aware, the entire Western India States Agency became part of India as a result of accession. The totality of evidence leaves no basis whatsoever for any dispute regarding the border between the Sind Province and Kutch.

Ever since these recent intrusions commenced, the Government of India has suggested repeatedly to Pakistan that meetings should be held between local officials in addition to talks at the higher level. For instance, we suggested to the Pakistan Government that the Surveyors General of the two countries should meet to discuss the problem of demarcation. Pakistan refused. We reminded Pakistan of the Ground Rules and the desirability of a meeting between the local Commanders for the restoration of the *status quo*. We also suggested in our note of February 18 that there should be a meeting between the representatives of the two Governments at whatever level considered appropriate by Pakistan and repeated this suggestion later more than once. Despite these endeavours, there was no proper response from Pakistan.

On April 13, 1965, the Pakistan Government made a three step proposal suggesting (i) ceasefire, (ii) an inter governmental meeting to determine what was the *status quo* which should be restored, and (iii) a higher level meeting. The Government of India authorised

their High Commissioner the very next day, *i.e.* on April 14, to convey their acceptance of these proposals. It is to be deeply regretted that the Government of Pakistan later went back on their old proposals.

On April 19, the Government of India repeated that the proposal for ceasefire should be accepted forthwith, but instead of accepting this proposal, the Government of Pakistan put forward an entirely new formula on April 23, which, as I have already mentioned, required the withdrawal of Indian forces from what Pakistan chooses to call unilaterally a disputed territory but which in fact is indisputably entirely our own. Pakistan has since been persisting in this demand. This attitude on their part means a virtual rejection of all our efforts to wean them away from warlike postures.

I have made this a rather long narrative in order to give the House a complete picture of the false nature of Pakistan's claims, its sinister designs and the naked and reckless use of force by Pakistan against us.

It is apparent that one of the prime reasons for Pakistan's irrational behaviour is the obsessive hatred against India which Pakistani leaders, the Pakistani Press and communal fanatics in Pakistan have worked into their system over the past two decades.

The events which I have just described have caused us all the gravest concern. Ever since the attainment of Independence, India has stood for peace, international amity and goodwill. India has a living and vital stake in peace because we want to concentrate attention on improving the living standards of millions of our people. In the utilisation of our limited resources, we have always given primacy to plans and projects for economic development. It should, therefore, be obvious to anyone who is prepared to look at things objectively that India can have no possible interest in provoking border incidents or in building up an atmosphere of strife.

However, our neighbours, both China and Pakistan, have chosen to adopt an attitude of aggressive hostility towards India. Lately, they seem to have joined hands to act in concert against India.

In these circumstances, the duty of Government is quite clear and this duty will be discharged fully and effectively. The entire resources of the country in men and material will be employed to defend our frontiers and to preserve our territorial integrity. I know that each one of the 450 million people of India is today prepared to make any sacrifice in defence of the motherland. We would prefer to live in poverty for as long as necessary but we shall not allow our freedom to be subverted.

The specific question which we have to consider and, by this, I

mean not only the Government but this House, and indeed the whole country, is what course we should now pursue?

We are prepared to take the path of peace but we cannot follow it alone. Pakistan must decide to give up its warlike activities. If it does, I see no reason why the simple fact of determining what was the actual boundary between the erstwhile Province of Sind and the State of Kutch and what is the boundary between India and Pakistan cannot be settled across the table. It need not even be a negotiating table. It is more a question of finding out the facts, rather than of negotiating a settlement. It can be done by experts on both sides. All this is possible provided there is an immediate cessation of hostilities and restoration of the *status quo ante*.

I should like to tell the House that on the Kutch border, Pakistan has many advantages. What is more, our soldiers are occupying posts in areas which will soon be submerged in water and from where they will, therefore, necessarily have to withdraw. If Pakistan continues to discard reason and persists in its aggressive activities, our Army will defend the country and it will decide its own strategy and the employment of its manpower and equipment in the manner which it deems best. Countries who are friendly to us have urged that a ceasefire should be agreed to as soon as possible. We are ready to respond to these appeals. But, at the same time, I must tell the House that we have also to be ready for the alternative.

Mr Speaker, I have uttered these words after the most serious thought and with full consciousness of my responsibilities. This is one of the most fateful moments of our times. I realise that both India and Pakistan stand poised at the cross roads of history. The path of reason and sanity, of peace and harmony, is still open. Even while our police and later our Army have been defending our soil with commendable courage in the face of heavy odds, the path to peace has not been blocked. But it is a path on which we cannot walk alone. It takes two to make friendship and peace.

It is my earnest hope that the point of no return will not be reached and that Pakistan will still agree to a ceasefire in accordance with its own proposals of April 13, which India had accepted.

I know at this hour every Indian is asking himself only one question: what can I do for my country and how can I participate in the nation's endeavour to defend our freedom and territorial integrity? To all India to all our people, I want to address this appeal. Wherever you are and whatever your vocation, you should work with true dedication. Bring out the best in you and serve the country selflessly. The supreme need of the hour is national unity—unity not of the word but of the

heart All Indians, of whatever faith or profession have to stand solidly together and prepare themselves for hardships and sacrifices Let us give no quarter to any ideas that tend to divide us Let us all work together with a new sense of national discipline and with an inspired feeling of dedication to the cause of the country's freedom and integrity And I would close by asking this august House to give its whole hearted and mighty support to the Government at this momentous hour

### CONDITIONS OF CEASEFIRE

**I** BEG TO MOVE that the situation arising out of the repeated and continuing attacks by the armed forces of Pakistan on the Kutch border be taken into consideration

I know how anxious the Hon ble Members must be to know the facts of the situation and the policy of Government in regard to the grave developments which have taken place First of all, I would like to report to the House that during the last two or three days, there has been no major engagement on the Kutch border and that the aggressive armed forces of Pakistan have not been able to make any further inroads on our territory Secondly, during the clashes which took place, heavy losses were inflicted on the intruders The morale of our armed forces is very high I know that this House and the people of India stand behind them, united in the determination that the territorial integrity of India must be preserved fully and completely

With your permission, Sir, I would like to state briefly the facts of the situation

The Kutch Sind border is a well-defined, well known and well established border which is clearly marked in the various editions of the Survey of India maps ever since 1871 A large part of the boundary is not demarcated on the ground This is so, however, because there was no disputed boundary between the province of Sind and the Kutch Darbar, and it was not customary to demarcate with pillars boundaries between provinces and States of British India as they were not inter national boundaries.

On August 15, 1947, Pakistan was carved out of India as an independent State Under the Independence Act, the territories of

Pakistan were enumerated and these included the province of Sind. The boundary between Sind and Kutch thus became an international boundary. Pakistan is precluded from claiming any more territory than was included in the province of Sind on August 15, 1947. No part of the territory south of the Kutch-Sind border, which is shown in the map as situated north of Kanjarkot and is thus clearly Indian territory, could conceivably be a part of Pakistan. In fact, this area was under the jurisdiction and authority of the Ruler of Kutch, which had extended at all times both in law and in fact right up to the border between Sind and Kutch as shown in the Survey of India maps of 1871, 1886, 1898, 1943 and 1946 which was the last map before the date of independence.

The boundary between Kutch and Sind has also been described in detail in other official documents over the last three quarters of a century prior to the partition of India. The official *Gazetteer of Sind* published in Karachi in 1907, the *Gazetteer of India* of the Bombay Presidency published in 1909 and the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* published by the British Secretary of State for India in 1908, are all categorical about the Rann of Kutch being outside the province of Sind. In all the documents of the Political Department of the then British Government of India, of 1937, 1939 and 1942, defining the political charges of the various officials, the Rann of Kutch was invariably shown as falling within the Western India States Agency and never as falling within the province of Sind. As the House is aware, the entire Western India States Agency became part of India as a result of accession.

The position is so clear that in the light of this, the attack on the Kutch border is a clear case of aggression by Pakistan. This aggression also fits into the pattern of Pakistan's aggressive behaviour during the last few months. Pakistan has been resorting frequently to firing and clashes at several points on the Indo-Pakistan border, both in the east and in the west. She has shown an utter lack of responsibility and displayed amazing recklessness.

A few days ago, Prime Minister Wilson sent a message to me and I presume a similar message to President Ayub Khan, making certain proposals in the framework of which a ceasefire could be brought about. The Prime Minister of the UK is still pursuing his efforts and, therefore, for obvious reasons, I am unable to say much more about this matter at this stage. I can, however, assure the House that in the exchanges I have had with Mr Wilson and in any further exchanges, we shall not depart from the position that along with ceasefire there must be a restoration of the *status quo ante*.

Mr Chairman, the Indian Government and the Indian people

have no ill will against the people of Pakistan. We wish them well and we would be happy to see them progress on the road to prosperity. We are aware that their prosperity as well as the prosperity of the people of India of the 600 million people who inhabit this sub-continent, depends upon the preservation of peace. It is for this reason that we have adhered fervently to the path of peace all these years. A war in the Indian sub-continent may well undo the massive efforts which have been made in both countries to secure an improvement in the living standards of our people. The march in this direction has only just begun and there is yet a long way to go. But President Ayub has talked of a total war between India and Pakistan. We on our part have been greatly restrained not because we are unprepared to meet President Ayub's challenge but because we feel that reason and sanity should prevail over aggression and bellicosity. President Ayub seems to suggest that whereas his country has the right to commit aggression on Indian territories at will and at a point of its own choice, India must not take effective counter measures. This thesis is totally unacceptable to us. The pattern of Pakistani activity is this. First raise a claim to a neighbour's territory, suddenly mount an attack taking the neighbour by surprise, launch an ingenious propaganda campaign to suggest that the action is only of a defensive character. I do want to urge President Ayub to think a little more carefully of the consequences of the line of action that he has chosen to pursue. So far the Pakistani aggression on the Kutch border has been met only by local defensive action to protect our territories. From the Indian side there have been no counter measures and the aggression has therefore been a totally one-sided affair. We have restrained ourselves, but if the Government of Pakistan persists in its present aggressive posture the Government of India will be left with no alternative except to think how best to defend the territorial integrity of the motherland.

Mr. Chairman, let me once again make the position of the Government of India perfectly clear. We will have no objection to ordering a ceasefire on the basis of a simultaneous agreement for the restoration of the *status quo ante*. After the *status quo ante* has been restored, we will be willing to sit together with the representatives of Pakistan to demarcate the boundary in accordance with the well settled and well established dividing line between the erstwhile province of Sind and the State of Kutch. At the same time, I must reiterate clearly and emphatically that the Government of India do not recognise that there is any territorial dispute about the Rann of Kutch. Let me also make it clear that the threat of total war held out by President Ayub will not deter us from performing our rightful duties. No Government in

the world would be worth its name if it allows its own territories to be annexed by force by an aggressive neighbour. The Government of India know their responsibilities in the present situation and they are determined to discharge them most effectively.

The threat to our freedom is real, continuing and immediate. We have to meet this threat with all our resources and with all our might. We can afford to give up a few projects for economic development but we cannot allow our defence mechanism to be in any manner inadequate for safeguarding our frontiers.

Among the people there must be a real sense of unity. We must give no quarter to the rumours that are sought to be circulated by anti-social elements. I am greatly strengthened by the knowledge that the morale of our people is high and that every Indian today is prepared to make any sacrifice for defending the territorial integrity of India.

The Rann of Kutch has been and continues to be India's territory. It has been in our possession according to Pakistan itself though Mr Bhutto characteristically chooses to call it adverse possession. Pakistan now seeks to annex this territory by force. This we shall not allow. No Government in the world would allow that. We have acted with the greatest restraint so far but the sands of time are running out.

I shall say no more on this difficult situation. This is a testing time for our country and our people. I would say to our people : be united, feel the pride of belonging to a great nation, carry out your tasks with true dedication. Take no notice of the false Pakistani propaganda. Let us have faith in ourselves and in the great destiny of our country. I would now close by asking the House to declare that we all stand together united in defending our motherland.

## PEACE : THE MUTUAL NEED

**Y**OUR PRESENCE reminds us of our past history and specially of the days when we attained our freedom and independence. It was a remarkable event, the way power was transferred to us, bloodlessly and peacefully. It was something unique in the history of the world. You were, if I might say so, the chief actor of the drama and we remember how gracefully you took over the office of the first Governor-General of independent India.

You held this post in the most trying times and we know that the partition brought about great misery both in this country and in Pakistan. We had, however, hoped that the formation of Pakistan and India, as two separate countries, would result in a better relationship between the two communities and that there would be peace and harmony between us. It is, however, regrettable that this has not actually come to pass. When you were here as Governor General the first aggression in Kashmir took place. When you have come here for a farewell visit, unfortunately there has been another aggression and this has come to us as a greater surprise than the aggression in Jammu and Kashmir. It is exceedingly difficult for me to understand the reasons for this kind of attack on Indian territory by Pakistan. There may be some differences of opinion on the demarcation of the boundary line. It was not at all difficult for the representatives of the two countries to have discussed the matter amongst themselves and tried to settle their differences. However, Pakistan thought otherwise and we are indeed faced with a very difficult situation at the present moment. I am glad that your Prime Minister is making efforts to bring about peace. We do not know what the response of Pakistan is to the proposals of the UK Prime Minister. I would not like to go by the reports which have appeared in the newspapers. However, if there is any truth in the Press reports it would seem that the chances of peaceful settlement are rather bleak but, as I said, I would not like to believe the press reports. I greatly desire that the efforts of the UK Prime Minister to bring about a peaceful settlement should succeed so that this conflict does not escalate. These clashes and conflicts really come in the way of our main objectives. I am referring to the economic development of our country.

In fact, it is essential for both India and Pakistan to bring about a real change in the condition of their people. I consider it most important that there should be peace in the two countries so that economic development becomes possible, so that we can go ahead with our programmes and projects with courage and determination. There is a great deal of poverty in our country and the problem of unemployment is serious. It is our earnest effort to tackle these matters in a planned way. We are striving to reduce the gulf which exists between the rich and the poor and to ensure an equitable distribution of our national wealth. All this is necessary because unless we can provide our people with the basic necessities of life there will be no real happiness in the country. We want to build up a new India and for that there has to be a radical change in our present social order.



## PAKISTAN'S PROPAGANDA

YOU ALL KNOW that there has been a serious development on the Sind Kutch border and it is a matter of the greatest concern to us. I know how all of you must be feeling about it and we have declared that we cannot part even with an inch of our territory. We must preserve the integrity of India and do whatever is possible to achieve it. It is highly regrettable that Pakistan should have been carrying on propaganda that it was India who was the aggressor. Sometimes people ask us well, how is it that their propaganda is a bit more effective than ours? But the difficulty is if you have to make wrong statements, false propaganda, naturally it sometimes becomes more effective. Our difficulty is that we do not want to indulge in this. We do not want to resort to false propaganda and therefore it might *perhaps sometimes appear that we are not as effective as they are*. Yet we have to restrict ourselves, we have to confine ourselves to the truth. We cannot say things which are entirely incorrect. But we have made it absolutely clear that this aggression has been entirely from Pakistan's side and this has been so in spite of our efforts that officers of the two countries meet and discuss the question of the boundary line on that border. There was never any response from Pakistan. Even in October last, we wrote to them that we should meet and have a discussion in terms of the agreement which was arrived at between Sardar Swaran Singh and General Sheikh of Pakistan in 1960. To that, as I said, there has been no satisfactory reply, practically no response at all and today we are faced with an open aggression. We did feel that if this clash was not converted into a major conflict, it might be good because any kind of major conflict or war has tremendous repercussions. Therefore, when a ceasefire was suggested by the British Prime Minister, we felt that we would not object to it. We have conveyed our reaction, but made it clear that the *status quo ante* must be established at the same time. We can consider other matters only then. I have made the position quite clear in my statements in Parliament and I have no doubt that if Pakistan agrees to it, it would be in the best interests of Pakistan. If they do not, then we know what we have to do and we will discharge our responsibilities to the fullest extent and in the best manner possible. You have to explain to the people this conflict, what our approach is, what wrongs Pakistan has committed and you have also to enthuse the people and to prepare them to meet any situation that emerges.

Naturally we have to lay the utmost stress on increased production, whether it is in the agricultural field or in the industrial field. We have to tell the people that although we have sufficient stocks of food at the present moment, there should be restricted consumption, as little as possible. We may have to publicise many other things in connection with this conflict. The role which the Publicity Department or the Information Departments of the States have to play in the present situation is therefore really exceedingly important and they will have to function as efficiently and as effectively as possible. If Pakistan does not agree to these proposals and the conflict escalates, a situation would arise in which the whole nation will have to rise as one man. For that there has to be necessary discipline amongst us as it is only a disciplined nation which can meet the present challenge. I am sure you will do your best to inculcate these feelings in the people and make every effort possible to prepare the country to fight the menace.

## SETTLEMENT THROUGH NEGOTIATION

**A**FTER MAKING my statement on April 28, 1965, I have kept the House informed of developments on Kutch-Sind border.

The initiative which Prime Minister Wilson took some days ago has been followed up and gradually concrete proposals have evolved with a view to bringing about a satisfactory settlement of the problem. We have made it clear on every occasion that a ceasefire would be possible only on the basis of a simultaneous agreement for the restoration of the *status quo* as on January 1, 1965. We have also indicated clearly that only when such a restoration has been effected would we be ready to have recourse to the procedures which had been agreed to between the two Governments for demarcating the border where this had not already been done.

In the communications from the British Government, various points of detail have been put forward for consideration by both the Governments. So far, no final draft has been prepared or presented. All I would say is that consistently with the stand which I have taken on the floor of this House, we attach the greatest importance to the restoration of *status quo ante* and we have indicated our willingness to proceed thereafter to negotiations at Ministers' level followed, if

necessary, by a reference to an impartial tribunal as contemplated in the earlier agreements on the subject

Our policy and our intentions are quite clear and unequivocal. We do not believe in talking with one voice here and with another voice there. We do not believe in talking of peace at one place and committing aggression at another. Our position has been made known to the whole world in the clearest possible terms.

I want the Hon'ble Members to be assured that our Armed Forces are ready and determined to defend the territorial integrity of the country. They have been greatly strengthened in their determination by the united and powerful support which this House and the people of India all over have extended ever since the crisis began.

I am leaving for Moscow tomorrow morning and I know I would be carrying with me your good wishes and fraternal greetings to the friendly people of USSR, people who have stood by us in hours of trial and anxiety.

## AN ATTITUDE OF PEACE

WE ARE A free nation, a sovereign people. This is a settled fact, which we owe largely to Jawaharlalji, and it is recognised by all. Nobody can undermine it. Today our sovereignty and freedom are being threatened and we are faced with the big task of protecting and safeguarding them. It is our bounden duty to do so with all our might.

You are aware that a few days back Pakistan committed aggression on the Kutch border. We faced the attack with courage and strength. In the event of a war being forced on us, I am confident that India will be in a position to fight back effectively. But we must always remind ourselves of the advice Jawaharlal Nehru used to give us that war should always be avoided.

War is a great destructive force. Some leaders, politicians and high Government officials may talk of war, but they forget that in a war it is the common man who suffers most. In the present-day world no war can remain a local war; it must inevitably escalate into a world war. We have to think and think again before we decide to abandon the path of peace and allow ourselves to be drawn into a war. You all know how often and how persuasively Jawaharlalji taught us that the

country's honour lay in the path of peace and amity. He firmly believed that whenever there were differences between countries, they should be solved through peaceful negotiation. In this belief, the whole country was behind him.

‘We firmly hold that the Rann of Kutch is an integral part of India and that Pakistan has no claim on any part of this area. It is true that a portion of it had not been demarcated, that is to say, the exact boundary line had not been drawn on the ground. Talks were held between Pakistan and India about this in 1960 and it was decided that after further discussions the border would be demarcated on the ground. But in spite of our repeated reminders Pakistan did not do anything to follow up the discussion of 1960, and now all of a sudden they have attacked our posts in this area. We are still willing to agree to the proposal that if Pakistan wants to settle the issue peacefully, she must vacate the Rann of Kutch, including Biarbet and Kanjarkot.’

Our position is quite clear and I have made no secret of our desire. As I said, we are still prepared to settle the matter in a peaceful way. But we shall not back out of our basic policies, in settling this affair we shall insist that the solution is consistent with the honour and dignity of the country.

Negotiations are now in progress but I cannot predict what the outcome will be. It might take some time still for anything to be settled. When I was leaving for Russia I thought the matter would perhaps be settled in a day or two. But further difficulties have arisen and a final solution has yet to be reached. Anyhow, even if it takes some more days for a solution to come in sight, we should not give up our present stand. It is not proper to link this issue with other border issues. Wherever we have a border problem with Pakistan we are ready to talk it over and thus find a solution. But the Kutch problem is a separate issue altogether. We have to settle it by itself, and not along with other problems. (When I visited Karachi I told President Ayub that we had been talking of so many other things but the most important problem was that of border clashes between our countries and the blameless people who suffered as a result of these clashes. I expressed my strong feeling that we must put an end to these clashes and settle all outstanding issues through negotiations. I was happy that President Ayub agreed with me.) He said he was also very upset that innocent people should be killed and injured and that he was keen that a solution should be found to this problem. (But since then, President Ayub has not mentioned the matter again.) It may be that he has been preoccupied with other things, perhaps the elections they have been having. But we are still clear in our minds that we want to

settle the border issues between ourselves by peaceful means. We are prepared to have discussions but it would not be advisable to link everything up with the Kutch issue. If we did that the problem would get unnecessarily complicated and knotty. That is something we should avoid. As I said, we must at all times be acutely aware of the crucial and important task which is before us; and that task is protecting and safeguarding the sovereignty and freedom of the country.

President Ayub has been talking of war. Two or three of his recent statements have contained threats of war. We do not wish to use such language or threaten Pakistan in return. It does not behove us; nor does it behove President Ayub. The Press, the leaders and Ministers in Pakistan seem to have launched a campaign of hatred against India. No good can come of this and nobody will gain thereby. In any case, if Pakistan persists in talking of war, all that we can say is that we are fully alive to our responsibilities and we shall fulfil them, come what may. What I would like to say is that the country should be prepared for all eventualities. We do not know what turn things will take : one thing is certain and that is that all of us, all the men and women of this country, will have to muster their courage and strength to meet the situation. We should be prepared to defend our towns and cities with all our might. We should no more be afraid of bombs or aeroplanes. I have no doubt in my mind that if this potential threat to our sovereignty should become real, millions of people in this country will turn into soldiers overnight. It is not only a question of fighting on the front. If millions of people resolve to stand shoulder to shoulder, determined to fulfil every demand that the country makes upon them, we shall have unlimited strength. It is not an army alone that fights a war but a whole people. The real strength of an army depends on the extent to which the nation is behind it, on the unity of the nation. We must no longer quarrel amongst ourselves over communal and linguistic issues because such activities only sap a nation's strength.

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