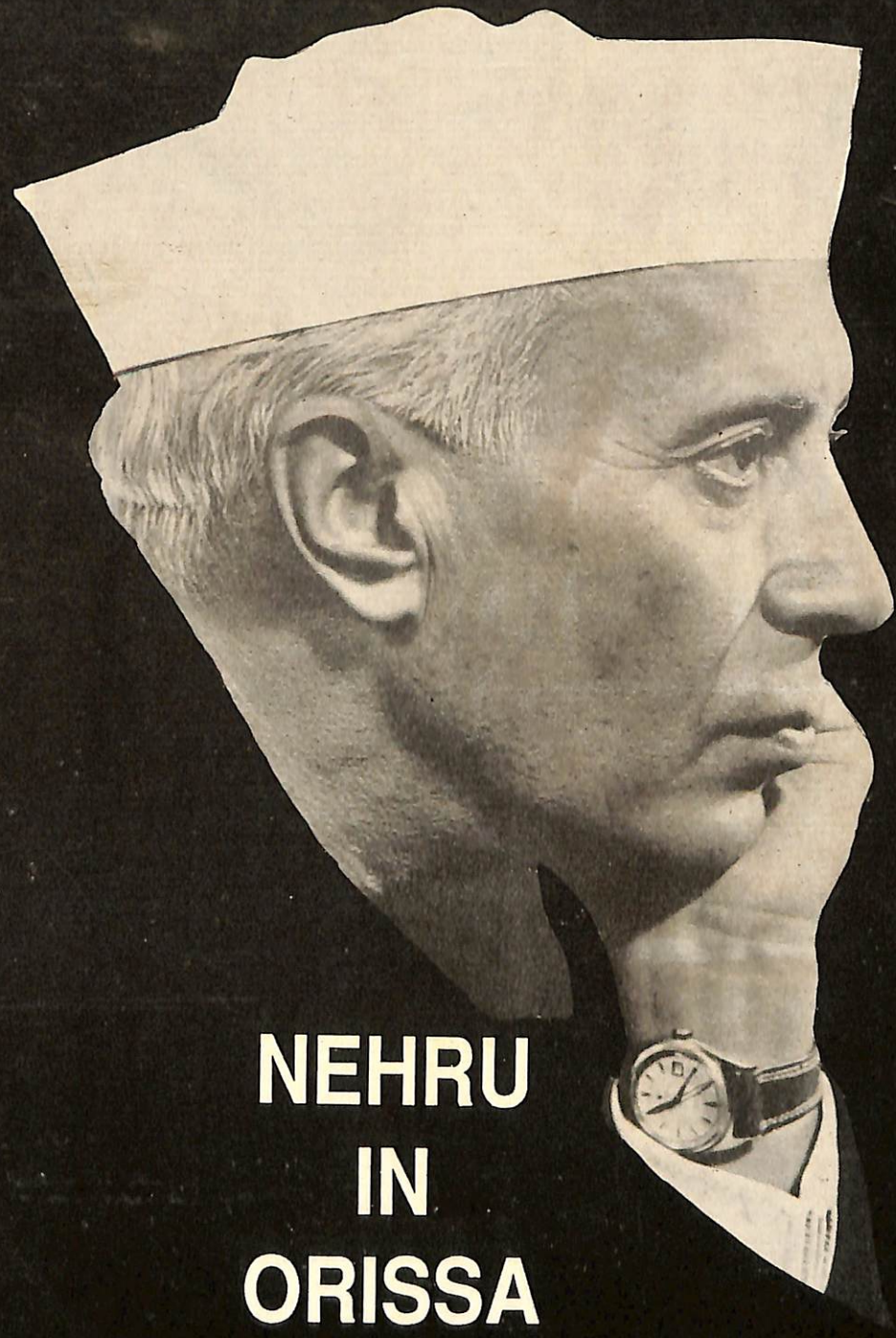
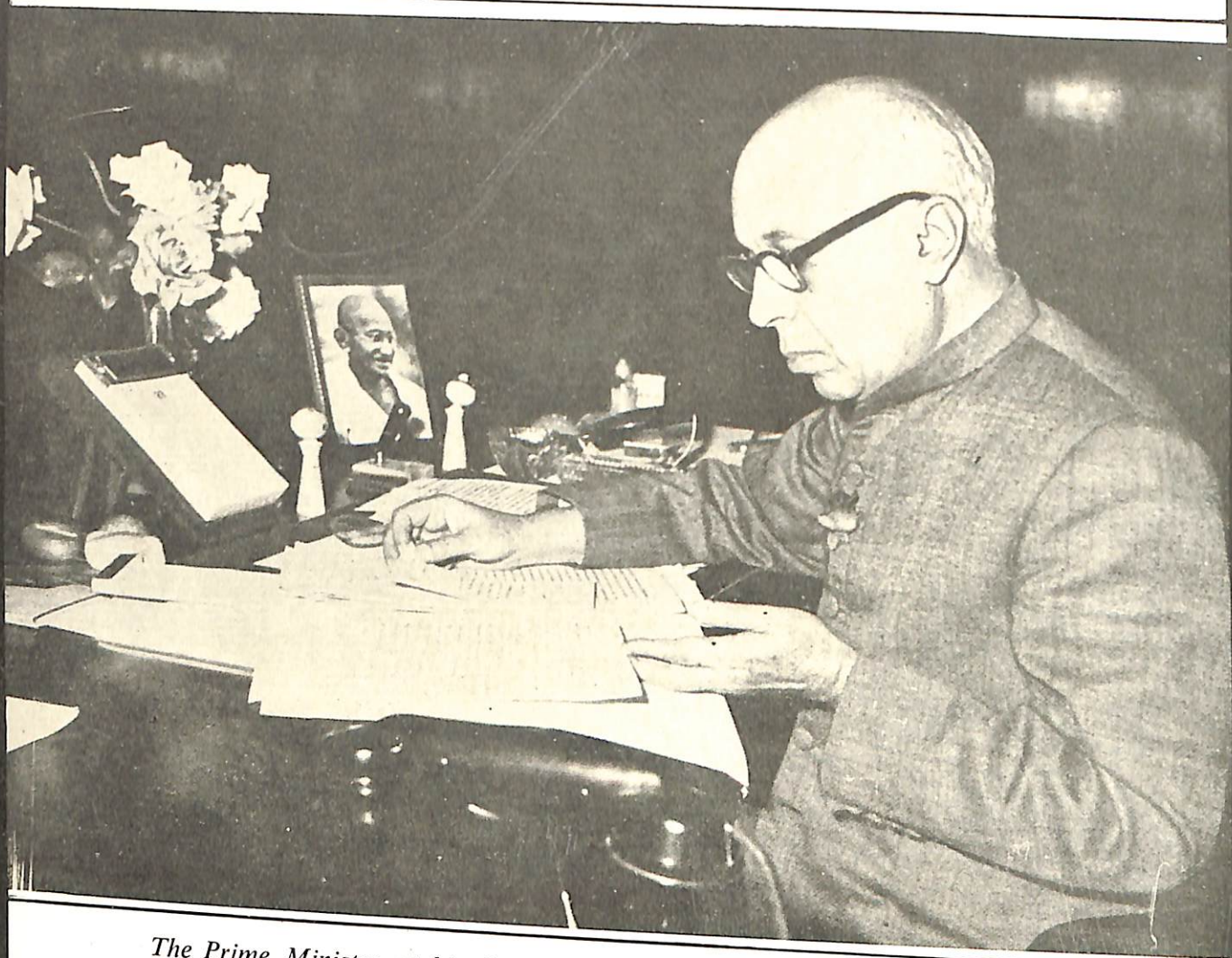


ORISSA REVIEW

NOVEMBER 1989



**NEHRU
IN
ORISSA**



*The Prime Minister at his desk — with a portrait of Mahatma Gandhi
and a bowl of beautiful roses at hand*

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This number of the Orissa Review is being published in collaboration with the State Implementation Committee for the celebration of the Birth Centenary of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

The Editorial Board is grateful to Sri Subas Pani, IAS for his help and cooperation.



PANDIT NEHRU : A MANY-FACETED PERSONALITY

SRI JANAKI BALLAV PATNAIK
CHIEF MINISTER, ORISSA .

The most remarkable aspect of Pandit Jawaharlal's personality was his total involvement with India - with its culture and history, the joys and woes of its people, and of course its future and its role in the shaping of a new world culture. Pandit Nehru's firm faith in democracy and socialist ideology, coupled with a humanism of deepest tenderness, transcended him into a visionary, a prophet of peace in a troubled world of cold war and violence. His profound admiration for the great heritage of India reflected more than a mere historical sense. It was the perspective through which he comprehended the present and envisioned the future.

Pandit Nehru was the architect of modern India. He laid the foundation of the process of India's modernisation. He set India on the path of scientific growth and technological change. He was a socialist who scrupulously avoided dogmatism. He was a democrat who believed in governance by consensus. India's achievements during Pandit Nehru's prime-ministership have indeed been monumental. But what is of much greater significance is the profound personal influence he exerted on the people of India. There is perhaps no single individual in history who has presided over the destiny of a country for a long period of seventeen years not only through a free and fair electoral process, but chiefly on the edifice of love and affection of the masses.

The voice of Pandit Nehru reached far beyond the boundaries of India. He was a messenger of peace who gave a shape and a significance to the Gandhian values of non-violence, mutual tolerance and universal love. Nehru was an ardent nationalist, but chauvinistic outlook was anathema to him. He believed that India's nationalist interests can best be served through a ceaseless effort for international peace and cooperation. As Indira Gandhi aptly remarks, "Jawaharlal Nehru is one of the key figures of the twentieth century. He symbolised some of the major forces which have transformed our age."


Pandit Nehru had a special love for Orissa. His first visit to Orissa was in 1936. Later, in 1948, he laid the foundation stone of the country's first

major Multipurpose River Valley Project at Hirakud and on its completion, he inaugurated it in 1956. He also laid the foundation of Orissa's new capital Bhubaneswar in April 1948. It was through Pandit Nehru's blessings that India's first public sector Steel Plant was established in Rourkela of Orissa, which he himself inaugurated in March 1961. In 1962, Pandit Nehru laid the foundation of the Paradeep Port in Orissa.


The last AICC session which Pandit Nehru attended before his death was at Bhubaneswar in 1964. It was in this Bhubaneswar session that the historic resolution on Democratic

Socialism was adopted by the Congress. Nehru himself had drafted the resolution which assured to every citizen a national minimum of five essentials : food, clothing, housing, education and health. Thus it was in Orissa that Pandit Nehru articulated his last testament as an avid democrat and a liberal socialist.

Pandit Nehru was the embodiment of humanism, social justice and international peace. On this occasion of the concluding function of the Birth Centenary of his great soul, I join the people of India in paying him my humble tributes.



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For the first time I have visited the poor Uttar
Pradesh though my visit has been all too brief and
has not exceeded two days. During these two days,
however, I have visited Cullach, Puri, Bhubaneswar,
Balasore and - some villages, besides seeing
many village gatherings of peasants. This
brief tour has brought home to me more than
ever the appalling poverty of the people of Uttar.
The bare and fighting halquis also have
made such a mark in our old history
being as the especial victims of flood and
famine and as well as the unprincipled
exploitation of our country. In the poverty
stricken country of Uttar seems to be
the greatest sufferer and I have seen the
palest suffering in the faces of such faces
of unnumbered people. For Uttar as for

the rest of India the problems of poverty and
unemployment are very urgent and
overwhelming and serious must come to
the soon to put an end to them. The
rest of India has a special charge in
regard to Uttar and the Congress, I trust,
will give all the help it can to

**Pandit Nehru's message to the people of Orissa
after his first visit in November 1936.**

Uttar Pradesh. The sorrow and
suffering of Uttar drew me and I hope
that I may come again to this province
and be of greater service to her people
than I have been on this occasion.
Uttar is at present sadly entangled to
some extent, in the problems created
by the new province. But these are
trivial and secondary compared to the
vital national issues which face us all.
I am sure that Uttar will stand by the
Congress and face with us these issues. It is by
the complete of the Congress in Uttar and I am
deeply beholden for the hearty support for
my team, and to the people of Uttar I am deeply
grateful for the warm affection with which
The hearts that unite us will hold and will
grow stronger, for ours is a common struggle
and a common destiny.

Jawaharlal Nehru

NEHRU IN ORISSA

NOVEMBER 1936

Pandit Nehru was received at the banks of the Mollaguni river, about 35 miles off the boundary of the Ganjam district on 11th November 1936 noon by Sri Dibakar Patnaik, President of the Ganjam DCC. He was accompanied by Pandit Nilakantha Das, President and Bhagirathi Mohapatra Secretary, Utkal Provincial Congress Committee. The Puri district tour concluded on the other side of the river. Nehru crossed the river in a small boat rowed by Congress volunteers.

Nehru's first halt was at Balugaon, where he addressed a small gathering. Then he proceeded through the estate of Khalikote. At kodala, Nehru addressed a gathering at roadside for five minutes. At Attagada, a large crowd greeted Pandit Nehru. Nehru spoke on the poverty of kisans and sought the cooperation of the people to strengthen Congress which was going to achieve Swaraj for the people. On his way to Aska, he halted for a few minutes at Boirani where he addressed a large gathering. At Aska, there was a mammoth meeting at night. Pandit Nehru delivered a long speech on the problem of poverty in India, which could be

solved, he said, by all people joining the Congress and strengthening it.

Nehru then proceeded to Shergada where he addressed a vast gathering. He reached Berhampur at 9.30 night, where he was given a hearty reception. He was taken in a large procession from the outskirts of the town to the A.I.V Samaj Hall where a meeting was organised. Addresses of welcome were presented to him by the DCC, Ryots' Association, Hindi Prachar Sabha and the women. Mr. R.V. Ramanamurty spoke a few words of welcome on behalf of the citizens. In his speech Nehru said, "I want to be happy and I want my people to be happy..... I want my countrymen to show healthy faces. I want to hear the laughter of children. I do not want to see sunken cheeks and pinched faces." Nehru reiterated the Congress demand for Purna Swaraj and advised people to think in terms of socialism.

On 12 november 1936, Nehru accompanied by Pandit Nilakantha Das and President, Ganjam DCC, passed through Badakhimedi and Chikiti estates. Nehru addressed half a dozen meetings and reached Ichapur at 9 A.M.

APRIL 1948

Nehru, accompanied by his niece Miss Rita Pandit and B.K. Gokhale, Secretary Works, Mines & Power, Government of India, arrived at the Jharsuguda aerodrome in the morning of April 12, 1948, and was received by Orissa's Governor Dr. Katju and the Premier Dr. Mahtab. Nehru motored to Sambalpur and on the way obtained

an idea of the area to be submerged by the reservoir of the Hirakud dam. Nehru also visited two villages which were to be submerged as a result of the reservoir. Addressing the villagers, he said that in all such great projects, some people had to necessarily suffer and they should gladly do so in the larger interests of the country. On his way to Hirakud, Nehru was given rousing reception by the villagers.

Laying the foundation of the Hirakud Dam, India's first multi-purpose river project after Independence, Nehru said that the project would bring in immense wealth not only to Orissa but to the entire country.

On 13 April 1948 at 10.20 A.M. with ringing of a bell arranged under the electric remote system, Nehru laid the foundation stone of Bhubaneswar, Orissa's new capital, in presence of a large crowd of officials and non-officials from all over the state. In course of his speech, Nehru said, "The laying of the foundation stone of this new city has been a task after my heart. Construction is always welcome. To build a city is something happy to think of. There could not be a greater joy than to create. It is almost godlike to create. To be associated, therefore, with the construction of the city has been a thing I appreciate most." He said that the important consideration in the building of a town was how children would live and how youths would live. It was not enough to raise buildings for offices and officers unless a city had the scope for the manifold activities of the citizens.

Nehru moved round the site of the buildings of the proposed capital and saw their plans.

Nehru arrived at Bhubaneswar from Sambalpur by air in the morning of 13 April, and was received among others by Dr. K.N.Katju, Governor.

A large gathering gave a great ovation to Nehru when he proceeded to lay the foundation of the New Capital.

DECEMBER 1951

Nehru landed at Jharsuguda airfield at 9.32 A.M on 13 December 1951. He was accompanied by Smt. Vijaylaxmi Pandit. He was received by a large gathering of distinguished people including Biswanath Das, President, Utkal Congress Committee, and Nabakrushna Choudhury, Chief Minister, Orissa.

A guard of honour was presented to him by the Congress volunteers. He was presented with a purse of Rs. 11,000 by Sri Shibji Nathubhai, Chairman of the reception committee.

Nehru addressed a mammoth gathering at Jharsuguda. In course of his speech, he emphasised on the oneness of the country and on India's secular principles. He expressed his distress because there were still communal organisations whose leaders were blind to the evils of communalism. Nehru said that the people must strive against the problems of poverty and illiteracy.

He then proceeded to Sambalpur. On the way, he was stopped at several

wayside villages where people in large number gathered and requested him to speak. He devoted five minutes to each of these gatherings taking delight in chatting with the children. At Lapanga, Rengali and Bhalupali, Nehru reminded the people of Mahatma Gandhi's emphasis on village industries.

He arrived at Sambalpur at about 1 P.M., took his lunch and left for Bargarh, where he addressed a public meeting.

Nehru arrived at Bhubaneswar from Jharsuguda in the afternoon of 14 December 1951. He was accompanied by Srimati Vijaylaxmi Pandit, Biswanath Das, President, UPCC and Nabakrushna Choudhury, Chief Minister. Before leaving Bhubaneswar for Cuttack, he motored round the new town of Bhubaneswar to see the progress of the construction of the New Capital whose foundation he had laid in 1948. He addressed a public meeting at Bhubaneswar and then left for Cuttack in a car. At the entrance to the city, he changed into a jeep and moved to the Government House amidst lusty cheers of thousands of people who lined on either side along the 4-mile route. Enthusiastic crowds stopped the jeep at several places to garland Nehru.

Addressing a meeting at Cuttack attended by over a lakh of people, Nehru asserted that any tactics aimed at sowing disruption and anarchy in the country must be resisted. In his 95-minute address, Nehru stressed the need for strengthening the unity of the country without which no progress

could be achieved.

MAY 1955

A vast crowd of 25,000 people cheered Nehru on his arrival at Berhampur on 8 May 1955 by a special train from Bhubaneswar. He was accompanied by Indira Gandhi. On arrival at Bhubaneswar earlier at forenoon, Nehru was received by Chief Minister Nabakrushna Choudhury at the airport.

As the special train steamed in at 2.50 P.M he was received at the platform by Biswanath Das, President Utkal PCC and other prominent citizens. As Nehru boarded his car, the seething crowd lining the long road outside and occupying all thoroughfares shouted warm welcome.

Nehru drove to the Khallikote College premises immediately after his arrival to call on Acharya Vinoba Bhave who was staying there. They both had a discussion for about one hour in the presence of Pandit Govind Ballav Pant, Lal Bahadur Shastri and Indira Gandhi.

After his discussion with Vinobaji, Nehru got into a car to leave for the old Imperial Bank building where the Congress Working Committee was meeting. But the car could not proceed beyond the gate because the crowds demanded that he should go in an open jeep so that they might have his darshan. Nehru waited vainly for ten minutes and got into an open jeep.

In the evening of May 8, Nehru addressed a huge gathering at the Courtpetta grounds. He said that with

unity, India could face even atom bombs. "We fought the British not with arms but with our unity," he said.

Nehru in his address referred to the problems of poverty, unemployment and illiteracy.

Nehru participated in the deliberations of the AICC and the Working Committee of the Congress. On May 9, he had his lunch in the community kitchen. At the kitchen, he was presented with two pencil sketches of himself by a deaf and dumb artist Kalpataru Panda. Early in morning, Nehru left for the sea in his bathing costume and had an enjoyable half an hour's swimming. In the afternoon, he spent 15 minutes amidst 3000 children who gave demonstrations of dance, music and acrobatics.

On May 10, a purse of Rs.1116 was presented to Nehru by a Telgu Association of Berhampur to set up a Telugu library at Viswabharati of which Nehru was the Chancellor.

On May 11, Nehru proceeded to Bhubaneswar in a car. He halted at Rambha as a guest of the Raja of Khallikote and cruised on the Chilka Lake by boat for one and a half hours. After lunch, he rested for one hour and resumed his journey to Bhubaneswar. Large crowds cheered him all along the 100-mile route from Chatrapur to Bhubaneswar.

JANUARY 1957

Nehru arrived by air at Hirakud at 11.55 A.M on January 13, 1957 and

was received by the Governor Bhimsen Sachar and the Chief Minister Dr. Mahatab. He was presented a guard of honour by the military police. Thousands of people who waited outside the airstrip accorded an enthusiastic ovation. From this airstrip, Nehru drove eleven miles and passed through left dyke of the main dam to the newly constructed circuit house on the right side.

As Nehru pressed a button at the hydro-electric grid on the Dam, the stored-up waters rushed through the sluices and flowed along miles of earthen dykes and canal. Before inaugurating the dam, Nehru met a number of workers who had won prizes for outstanding work on the project.

Declaring that "I dedicate this magnificent project to the well being and prosperity of the people of Orissa," Nehru said that a land of temples had now a new temple and in it a god for the whole country. He said that he wanted electricity to reach all the villages in the country as this would not only give them light, but also opportunities for employment. "We had waged marathon battle for freedom," Nehru said, "but greater fight was ahead of us, not against any foreign country, or between ourselves, but by the people of India against poverty."

MARCH 1961

As Nehru arrived at the Rourkela airstrip in the morning of 28 March 1961, he was given a rousing reception by a large crowd. He then drove in

a car to the Rourkela house.

Before inaugurating the Wide Strip Mill, Nehru went round different plants and visited different departments of the plant. Then he came to the specially erected platform. He pushed a button which started the machine and the hot slabs came winding through the conveyor belt of the Wide Strip Mill, the last and most important link in the Rourkela Steel Plant's production of steel.

Addressing the gathering assembled for the inaugural ceremony of the Wide Strip Mill, Nehru said that the Rourkela Steel Plant had not only enriched Orissa, but also enriched India. Nehru appealed to the people to work hard to uplift the millions of poor Indians.

Besides opening the Strip Mill, Nehru also addressed a public meeting in the evening.

JANUARY 1962

Nehru inaugurated the 49th Session of the Indian Science Congress in the Ravenshaw College premises at Cuttack. In his inaugural address, he appealed to the scientists to spread scientific temper among the people. Nehru warned that unless the power conferred by science was balanced by wisdom, the very existence of humanity might be threatened. People of India, Nehru said, should be pulled out of the old rut in which they had fallen and remained static. This could be done by creating in their minds a scientific temper.

Nehru said that the people of India had

lost that enterprising and adventurous spirit which animated the people of ancient India who went out to foreign countries, especially to South East Asia, spreading Indian culture. He said that the people of Kalinga from the east coast of India ventured out and some of them settled in the Southeast Asian countries. If one visited these countries today, he would find the impress of Indian culture affecting even the language and architecture of the people of those countries. These adventurous and enterprising Indians must have had a great deal of vitality which Indian people lost later. "I believe the process of getting back that vitality would be helped by science," Nehru said. Although India was poor country, the country had retained some virtues too. In spite of their poverty, people in our villages could sing, dance and laugh which was indeed a great virtue in the face of the burdens which life imposed on the people. Nehru spoke of the democratic decentralization of power and the institution of Panchayati Raj to help people become more and more self-reliant. This devolution of authority to the village councils was producing remarkable effect upon the people, Nehru said.

Earlier on the same day, Nehru inaugurated the Paradip Port.

JANUARY 1964

A big jubilant crowd greeted Pandit Nehru as he arrived at Bhubaneswar on 5th January 1964 by a helicopter. Orissa Police Band played the national anthem as Nehru took salute from the 53 Battalion of the National

Cadet Crops. He flew from Tikerpara where earlier that day he laid the foundation of a multipurpose dam across the river Mahanadi. Nehru on the same day laid the foundation of the Talcher Thermal Power Station. Nehru arrived at the plant site by a helicopter and drove to the rostrum in an open jeep. A large cheering crowd greeted him at the airstrip. Addressing the gathering, Nehru called upon the people to toil hard and quickly harness all their resources to enable the nation to fall in line with the modern pace of progress. Nehru hoped that the Talcher Power Station would help accelerate the nation's march towards modernisation and prosperity.

The next day, on January 6, 1964, Nehru attended the Congress Flag hoisting ceremony in the morning on the occasion of the 68th Session of the Indian National Congress at Gopabandhu Nagar, Bhubaneswar. Nehru ceremonially poured liquid fuel to the Flame of Liberty which was carried to the meeting by volunteers cycling all the way with it from Delhi. Nehru who spoke for only two minutes emphasised the need of keeping the flame of liberty alive.

On the morning of January 7, Nehru felt "very tired and weak" with a rise in blood pressure. He was advised complete rest by the doctors. All his engagements, including his attendance at the 68th Congress Session, were cancelled. On January 8, Nehru was much better and he spent most of the day in bed and occasionally reclined against a pillow. On 8 January, Nehru spent a comfortable day. He sat on the terrace for over an hour. He spent most of the time reading books.

Nehru left Bhubaneswar on January 12 after a stay in Orissa for about a week. From Raj Bhavan, he flew in a helicopter to Charbatia from where he boarded a plane. Mrs. Indira Gandhi, who was with Nehru for the whole week, accompanied him. Nehru reached Delhi around 1 P.M.

"YOURS IS A SMALL STATE, BUT YOU HAVE A BIG HEART."

(Nehru's last message to the people of Orissa released by Indira Gandhi on January 9, 1964)



"Incessant action personified..... Atomic pile of energy and vigour."
(Dr. Radhakrishnan)

NEHRU'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS WEAKER SECTIONS

Ajit Kumar Tripathy

Weaker Section did not only mean Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes to Jawaharlal Nehru. He was of the opinion that there were too many backward people in this country and besides the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes there were the Backward classes. In a speech at the Community Projects Conference, New Delhi on May 7, 1952 he had said". As a matter of fact you can safely say that 96 percent of the people of India are economically very backward. Anyhow we have to think more of those who are more backward because we must aim at progressively producing a measure of equality in opportunity and other things."

Jawaharlal Nehru was firmly of the opinion that in the modern world things could not go on for long having big gaps between those who are at the top and those who are at the bottom. According to him, no one can make all men equal but we must at least give them equality of opportunity.

In a speech at the Inaugural Address of the Harijan Convention at Wardha in November 1, 1952 Nehru said, "Giving Government jobs to a few people would not solve the problems of crores

of Indians who are unemployed. It would not be possible for the Government to find employment for everybody. If unqualified people were employed, the country would suffer." He said that, let all those who were engaged in an occupation do their jobs well and production be made proportionate to the work done. In the words of Nehru "We have got to change our mentality. At present we are apt to look down on manual labour and, that tendency is responsible for our present plight. There are two kinds of unemployment in our country : There are people who do not find work and there are those who are not willing to work. During my recent tour of Assam I came across a young girl who was carrying a load of fire wood on her head. I stopped and spoke to her. I was surprised because she spoke perfect English. She had been educated in England. Her parents had lost their all in Pakistan and were reduced to penury. In spite of her background she did not hesitate to do manual work. The most important thing is the will to work."

Jawaharlal Nehru was basically against indefinite continuation of reservation for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. In a speech at Wardha in 1952 he said: "If we want to prosper as a nation we must have to pay premium on efficiency and competency and, therefore, only those who are competent should be given employment in the Government. Nepotism, favouritism or reservation will lower the standard of Government work. It worries me to find our standard of efficiency falling. It will be dangerous to allow this state of affairs to continue. It is

wrong to think that the Government services are there to maintain people. In advanced countries it is no honour to be a Government servant. It is only in backward countries where there is a great deal of unemployment that Government services are given undue importance."

Long before he became the Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru had felt very strongly attracted towards the tribal people of this country. This feeling was not the curiosity of an ideal observer for the strange customs nor was it the attraction of the one who is charitably disposed and wanted to do good to other people. Nehru was attracted to them simply because he felt happy and at home with them. He liked them without any desire to do them good or to have good done to himself. In his own words "to do good to others is a very laudable desire but it often leads to create excesses which do not result in any good to either the doer or the recipients."

In the tribal people of India the following aspects attracted Jawaharlal Nehru :

- (i) Their virility and action mindedness.
- (ii) Their simplicity.
- (iii) Their spirit of comradeship amongst each other.
- (iv) The democratic practices amongst tribes within them with out a written constitution.

- (v) The quality of enjoyment in their life.

Nehru saw in India as well as in other great countries that people were anxious to shape others according to their own image or likeness and impose on them their particular way of living. He had said in a speech at the opening session of the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Areas Conference in New Delhi in 1952, "We rather welcome them to our way of living but why impose it on them? This applies equally to national and inter-national fields." According to him, there would be more peace and harmony in the world if we were to desist from imposing our way of living on other people and countries. Nehru thought that it was grossly presumptuous on our part to approach the Scheduled Tribes with an air of superiority or to tell them what to do or not to do. There was no point, he thought, in trying to make Scheduled Tribes a second rate copy of ourselves.

Jawaharlal Nehru, therefore, had the following prescriptions for change in our attitude and responsibility towards Scheduled Tribes :

- 1) We should have a receptive attitude towards the Tribal people. There is a great deal we can learn from them. We must try to help and co-operate.
- 2) One of the things we have lost in our civilisation is the spirit of song and dance and the capacity for enjoyment which the

tribal people have abundantly. We must imbibe something from the spirit of the tribal folk instead of damping it with our lone faces and black gowns.

- 3) They are our own people and work does not end with the opening of so many schools and so many dispensaries and hospitals. What we ought to do is to develop a sense of oneness with these people, a sense of unity and understanding.
- 4) The basic problem of India taken as a whole is one of integration and consolidation. The greatest problem of India today is not so much political, but psychological integration and consolidation. Therefore we must approach the tribal people with affection and friendliness and come to them as liberating force. If the tribals feel you have come to impose orders upon them or that you are going to them in order to try and change their methods of living altogether and take away their land and engage our businessmen to exploit them, then the fault is ours.
- 5) An Officer to be appointed in Tribal areas should not merely be a man who has

passed an examination or gained some experience on written work. He must be a man with enthusiasm whose mind and even more so, whose heart understands the problem, it is his duty to deal with.

According to Nehru, it is far better to send a totally uneducated man who has passed no examination so long as he goes to these people with friendship and affection and who lives as one with them. The man who goes there as an Officer must be prepared to share his life with the tribal folk. "He must be prepared to enter their huts, talk to them, eat and stay with them, live their lives and not consider himself superior or apart. Then only can he gain their confidence and respect and thus be in a position to advise them."

Jawaharlal Nehru found mainly two ways of approach. What Tribal people do not want according to him could be called the anthropological approach in which we treat the tribals as museum specimens to be observed and written about. This was an insult to them because this approach did not conceive of them as living human beings with whom it would be possible to work and play.

The second approach was one of ignoring the fact that they are something different requiring special treatment and then attempting forcibly to absorb them into the normal pattern of social life. This would be a type of forcible assimila-

tion through the operation of normal factors which would be equally wrong. Therefore, Nehru was of the opinion that we must give them a measure of protection in their areas so that no outsider could take possession of their lands or forests or interfere with them in any way except with their consent and goodwill. Nehru always emphasised that one must always remember that we do not mean to interfere with their way of life but to want to help them live it.

Nehru did not want to perpetuate the designations of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for all time to come. He said in an inaugural address at the Tribal Affairs Conference, New Delhi in December, 1954 that to divide the people as tribals and non tribals and scheduled castes and non-scheduled castes for ever is wrong. The description in our Constitution of the Scheduled Castes was according to him rather arbitrary. Government consideration decided whether a particular caste is scheduled caste or not. It is not possible to draw a hard and fast line. That is why he said that, we must ultimately aim at removal of these descriptions and names which was ideologically and physically separating the people as the depressed class, the Harijans, the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes and so on. The differences in customs and ways of living would continue to remain because they are due to geography and climate. But this barrier that so and so belonged to a Scheduled Caste should not last for ever.

The views of Jawaharlal Nehru all about reservations could be summarised in his own words as follows : "It is not a good thing for castes and groups to be

permanently installed in superior positions. However every individual should have openness of opportunities for advancement. The real problem thus is of raising the level of all depressed humanity in India and not this group or that group. We shall never succeed if we proceed group by group about protection measures." However Nehru had the firm conviction that protective measures should continue because we must prevent the incursion of the Market economy into the tribal areas. He said, "We shall have to prevent rich people from acquiring land and dispossessing the tribal people. We do not want the economy of tribal areas to be upset. We want the tribal areas to advance in peace. They do not like something alien to be imposed upon them. No individual can grow in alien surrounding, habits or customs. The museum approach is as bad as open door approach and we have to find a middle course."

The way out is that we have to train our people and train the tribals to train others. Since training takes time the progress may not be very rapid. It is better to go ahead on a systematic basis than by an odd job approach.

Thus Nehru had a very broad and liberal attitude towards the members of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. He wanted their amalgamation to the mainstream, so that there is no continuing barrier between them and the majority for all time to come. But this process of amalgamation would be done at a pace and in a way which would be conducive to the psyche and ethos of the scheduled castes and tribes, and not according to the ways others would dictate.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU AND THE ARAB WORLD

Dr. Saleem Kidwai



There is hardly any country in the world with which India has better, warmer and more cordial relations than the countries of the Arab world. Jawaharlal Nehru was the main architect of Indo-Arab understanding which has been built up into a solid edifice. He laid the conceptual framework of India's Arab Policy long before India became independent. By virtue of being the undisputed authority on foreign affairs in the Indian National Congress, he prepared the base for Indo-Arab friendship long before independence.

Nehru was basically a historian. His study of world history turned him into an admirer of the creative contributions of the Arabs to world civilization. Besides, he was greatly fascinated by the ceaseless intellectual and cultural contacts

between India and the Arab world since time immemorial. While addressing a seminar on Indo-Arab relations in 1964, he rightly observed : "Throughout the course of history both the regions, representing two great civilizations have equally benefitted from each other."

DEFEATING IMPERIALIST DESIGNS

To Nehru, India and Arab national movements were integral parts of the tide against world imperialism. He was fully conscious of the imperialist designs of Britain not only in India but in countries like Palestine. As a freedom fighter he cherished an emotional affinity with the nationalist stirrings in all parts of the Arab world. Nehru shared with many of his emi-

ment Arab contemporaries the belief that the struggle against imperialism was one and indivisible.

While in prison, Nehru spent a good deal of time in pondering over the events in other countries and seriously analysing the world situation. He had keenly followed the events in Palestine and had a complete grasp of the issue at stake in that conflict-ridden country. Nehru was fully aware of the designs of British imperialism that followed the same policy of divide and rule in Palestine as it did in India. As he pointed out in his famous work "Glimpses of World History", "So England puts Jewish religious nationalism against Arab nationalism and makes it appear that her presence is necessary to act as an arbitrator and to keep the peace between the two. It is the same old game which we have seen in other countries under imperialist domination; it is curious how often it is repeated."

Stressing the need to sympathise with the Arabs, Nehru argued, "India and Palestine have both their national problems, and both struggle for independence. They have something in common in the struggle, and the opponent is the same... We must, therefore, understand each other and sympathise with each other." He thus found something common to the Arabs and the Indian people - the fight against British imperialism. His meetings with the representatives of the Palestine Nationalist Movement at Brussels in 1927 gave him greater insight into Palestinian affairs. He was very much influenced by the struggle of Palestinians against British impe-

rialism. His support for Palestinian Arabs was derived not only from moral considerations but also from his anti-British and anti-colonial sentiments.

THE GREAT BETRAYAL

Nehru viewed the Balfour Declaration of 1917 which favoured the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine as "a gross betray of Arabs by British imperialism." At the instance of Nehru, the Indian National Congress expressed a complete sense of identification and solidarity with the Palestinian people and passed several resolutions (drafted by Jawaharlal Nehru himself) supporting the Arabs in their struggle against the British and the Zionists. For instance, the All India Congress Committee adopted a resolution at its Calcutta Session as far as back as 1937. The Congress party at its Haripur session denounced British imperialist designs aimed at depriving the Palestinian people of their homeland and creating the so-called National Homeland for the Jews. It further resolved that the method of solving the Palestine problem should be an amicable settlement between the Arabs and the Jews. It appealed to the Jews not to seek shelter under the British Mandatory Authority and not to allow themselves to be exploited by British imperialism. Again, the All India Congress Committee at its Wardha session in December 1938 passed a resolution deploring the unholy alignment of the Jews in Palestine with British imperialism. All these resolutions obviously reflected Nehru's sentiments. Besides passing the resolutions the Indian National Congress

had several times sponsored the observance of Palestine Day in order to mobilise mass support, against the anti-Palestinian British Policy.

In an article published in "The Hindu" on December 17, 1938 Nehru categorically asserted that "Palestine is an Arab country and Arab interests must prevail there."

While the national movement in India under the leadership of Nehru sympathised with the national aspirations of the Arabs, the latter realised that their own emancipation was tied up with the outcome of the Indian struggle. This brought India and the Arab world nearer to each other and close contacts were established between the Indian National Congress and the Arab national parties like the Wafd Party of Egypt.

INDIA'S INTERESTS

It is, therefore, not surprising that independent India under the stewardship of Nehru felt emotionally and morally committed to the national aspirations of the Arabs. As the architect of free India's foreign policy Nehru evinced an abiding concern for Palestine which was and continued to be the crux of the West Asian problem. One of India's first priorities in the United Nations was to raise her voice against the Partition Plan that created Israel. India tried her utmost to avert partition. She along with Yugoslavia submitted a Plan for a federal state of Palestine. But unfortunately the plan did not find favour with other countries. As a result, Palestine was partitioned and Israel emerged as an ex-

pansionist state grabbing a lot more territory than was assigned to it by the United Nations resolution.

Nehru was fully conscious of the complications, the creation of the state of Israel had brought into the region. In a speech in August 1958 he pointed out, "Ever since Israel came into existence, it has been a source of constant irritation to the Arab countries. This was because the Arab countries have looked upon Israel as an outpost from which their freedom might at any time be threatened.

Nehru fully agreed with the fears of the Arab countries. Consequently, in the United Nations and its various forums as well as in various Afro-Asian and nonaligned Conferences, India supported the Arab stand. Nehru's opposition to the creation of Israel was based on ideological as well as emotional factors. Ideologically, India knew from its own experience that partition did not solve basic problems; rather it accentuated them. Emotionally, the long standing friendly ties with the Arabs moulded Nehru's attitude. Then there were questions of India's political and economic needs and interests. Undoubtedly the Arab States are the best markets for Indian goods. The Arab countries provide a substantial capital for Indian industries. The Arab markets are a source of much needed foreign exchange. Particularly important is the fact that India's growing need for petroleum crude supply is being largely met by the Arab world.

India under the leadership of Nehru also whole-heartedly supported the

freedom movements in Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia and South Arabia. This support of India to the Arab cause was totally in line with her declared policy of supporting freedom movements in Asia and Africa and her adherence to the principles of secular nationalism.

THE SUEZ AFFAIR

However, it was during the Suez crisis that Nehru made a decisive impact on the Arab mind. Nehru took the earliest opportunity to make it clear that freedom of navigation in the Suez Canal was not contingent upon being run by a foreign-owned company. He justified Nasser's nationalisation of the canal and maintained that Egypt had sovereign rights over the Suez Canal. Nehru's India lost no time in condemning the Anglo-French-Israeli attack on Egypt. Nehru denounced it as "a naked aggression", reminiscent of the "past colonial methods". India further showed its solidarity to the people of Egypt in their hour of crisis by extending a loan of Rs. 50 million to Egypt which was subjected to Western economic blockade.

In broad terms Nehru's Arab policy was rooted in three converging principles: opposition to imperialism; extension and consolidation of the area of peace; and restoration of India's cultural, economic and commercial links with the Arab world. The Nehru era indeed witnessed an all-round development of Indo-Arab relations. It was during this period that the foundations of a sound and viable policy were laid. The acid test of the success or failure of the foreign policy of a country is whether the interests of the country have gained or lost. Viewed in this context, it can safely be concluded that India's policy on West Asia as enunciated by Jawaharlal Nehru is logical and far-sighted. The economic, cultural and political interests of India are inexorably linked with the Arabs both in the short as well as long term perspectives.

(Courtesy : Press Information Bureau)

"I have given up taking rice, not because I do not relish it. In fact, I like it. But I have not been taking rice for long due to acute rice shortage in the country. By taking rice, I would be depriving one who needs it most..."

(Pandit Nehru at Calcutta AICC Session, March 22, 1952)

NEHRU'S VISION OF AGRARIAN RADICALISM AND ORISSA'S CONGRESS MINISTRY OF 1937

Sri Chandi Prasad Nanda

This paper intends to broadly outline the nature and objectives of the Office acceptance by Congress in 1937 following the promulgation of the Act of 1935. This is, however, specifically examined in the context of Orissa. More importantly, this article would attempt precisely to bring out the radicalised Nehru of the late 1930s in so far as he offered an agrarian programme for the popular Congress Ministries of 1937 in India so as to create a "New Order" in the country.

The Congress electoral success and the jubilant scenario under which it accepted office in 1937 as a process of semi-transfer of power forms a major

interesting area in the study of anti-colonial movement in India. The Congress now had to chalk out its strategy in a manner so as to consolidate its strength and remain the leader of a popular mass movement even while working the provincial aspects of Act of 1935.

In the AICC session of March, 1937, the Congress legislators from all over India took the oath to serve the cause of national struggle both within and outside the legislatures. Further, they reiterated the objective of struggle for removing the appalling poverty and exploitation of the masses in the light of Faizpur resolution of 1936.¹ This clearly underlined the nature of reforms to be undertaken by the Congress party in provinces provided it accepted office under the Act of 1935. The basic strategy involved was nicely summed up by a Congress leader as "(we) lead the councils to lead the revolution".² This was done with the objective of fighting colonial hegemony and utilising the "semidemocratic space available under Imperial rule."

The basic policy adopted by the Congress in the legislature was brought out very clearly by Jawaharlal Nehru as its President, when he specifically directed the passing of legislations with a clear-cut pro-poor orientation.³ The Congress thus had to show that a nationalist regime could better represent popular aspirations. Gandhi also came to explain the purpose of office acceptance as that of defeating the objectives of the very Act of 1935 by not working it as per British expectation but for working it so as to create alternative politics which would expe-

dite the process of substituting it by a new and genuine Act.⁴

In order to co-ordinate the programme of the Congress ministries in the provinces and to keep in touch with its implementation, a parliamentary sub-committee was formed in March, 1937.⁵ The central leadership was thus to keep firm control over provincial ministries for prohibiting the reactionary designs of the 1935 Act which had intended to provincialise and localise the Congress movement in the provinces.

The election campaign was inaugurated when U.P.C.C. (Utkal Pradesh Congress Committee) held its first election meeting at Berhampur on 17th June, 1936. Biswanath Das presided over it. It passed certain resolutions detailing the line of action to be followed by U.P.C.C. in the new province. It was also proposed to start a journal which would undertake Congress parliamentary propaganda.⁶ The Cuttack PCC met on 30th June to discuss the undertaking of propaganda for the candidates in the coming election. On 3rd August, the meeting of the Congress election committee was held under the chairmanship of Nilakantha Das.⁷

The election campaign was officially inaugurated with a meeting at Cuttack on 13th September. Nehru visited Orissa from November 10th to 12th. He toured Cuttack, Puri and Ganjam. In the Cuttack townhall, he addressed a gathering of 10,000 peasants. He also addressed numerous mass meetings in the rural pockets like Bahugram, Jagatsinghapur, Salepur,

Chandol and Kendrapara. In Berhampur and Puri town, he addressed a fairly huge gathering of peasants. He was accompanied by Mahatab and Nilakantha Das. Nehru in these meetings specially talked about Socialism and organisations of Kisans. He referred to the need for an attack on the Zamindari system as existing in Southern tracts (Ganjam) of Orissa. In his appeal, he urged all to unite and fight for Congress Swaraj, which in his view was a form of government where ultimate authority vested in the people. He exhorted peasants to further their cause by joining the ranks of the Congress and by supporting Congress candidates during the elections.⁸

It is interesting to note the impression of Nehru on his visit to Orissa. He referred to the state of poverty and unemployment in Orissa where, "Swaraj becomes an urgent and overwhelming necessity to put an end to them and the rest of India more particularly AICC having special responsibility for the comrades of Orissa."⁹

Consequent upon this, the Congress election manifesto which was issued by the P.C.C. pointed out various issues of all India nature and also added a number of items specially designed for Orissa. The following demands were included :

- (a) Abolition of permanent settlement affecting Kanika, Parlakhemundi and a number of smaller landlords in Ganjam and Cuttack and the very important Zamindari of Jeypore.

- (b) Remission of arrears of rent and land revenue.
- (c) Reduction of all rents and water rates by half.
- (d) Graduation of rent on the line of income-tax; families with an income of less than Rs. 250/- a year being excused altogether.
- (e) Amendment of Tenancy Act in various respects to the detriment of landlords.
- (f) Forests to be thrown open to neighbouring villages.
- (g) Securing a living wage for labourers.
- (h) Death-duty on property over Rs. 20,000 and succession duty as well.
- (i) Free primary education.
- (j) Relaxation of the salt-law.
- (k) Religious endowments to be diverted to the upkeep of schools and dispensaries.¹⁰

Such a near-total radical manifesto was condemned by the active forces of reactionary opposition (represented by Rajas and Zamindars for example : Rajas of Parlakhemundi, Khalikote, Kanika, Madhupur, alongwith their ideologies like Mandhata Gorachand Patnaik, and Brajasundar Das). The opposition branded the manifesto as the 'Crudest'. Raja Bahadur of Kanika held that the main objection was be-

cause it would "impoverish the big land-lords and break their influence" and warned "if the Congress Party were allowed to go like this, the landlords would be obliged to make terms with Congress and withdraw its support they had hitherto given to the British Empire".¹¹

The election was held in January, 1937. Out of a total number of 60 seats in the Assembly, (excluding 4 to be nominated) Congress contested 37 seats and won 36, getting 80% of votes in these constituencies - a thumping success all the way. The opposition and the independents shared 10 seats each. Thus Congress gained an absolute majority. The Congress then busied itself with the question of office-acceptance. Mahtab was elected the President of UPCC, defeating Nilakantha Das. Nabakrushna Choudhury (the leader of CSP) was elected as General Secretary of the Party.¹² This marked a clear-cut victory for the progressive forces in Orissan politics in the late 1930s.

With the acceptance of office in 1937, Congress Ministry came to respond to the predominant agrarian tensions of the rural Orissa by initiating a distinct agrarian programme which was quite popular in nature. This attempt by the ministry was in tune with the agrarian programme which Nehru envisaged around 1937 in his diagnosis of the agrarian problem facing the country. Nehru in a letter to leaders of Congress parties in provincial Assembly observed : "The questions on land and rural debt are complicated. If an attempt is made to deal with them thoroughly, some de-

lay is inevitable. But it is necessary that some relief should be given to the peasantry almost immediately. Such efforts should be made on the lines indicated by Congress resolution i.e. the agrarian resolution of Faizpur Congress. This will be an earnest of the better land system that we aim at; and the masses will realise by this if nothing else, a new spirit moves the new cabinet and provincial Government".¹³ Also in an interview to the Press, Nehru stated, "Congress policy on agrarian reform will vary slightly in certain provinces but fundamentally it will be uniform. Different problems will be tackled keeping in view their urgency in particular provinces". Referring to the system of abolition of Zamindari system he observed, "It is always desirable to avoid major conflicts and the cost thereof by giving some compensation. The Congress cannot easily deal with this problem. So, its immediate task (ministry's) will be to lessen the burden on both tenants and petty Zamindars"(7.8.37).¹⁴

This kind of Nehruvian perspective in a way encompassed both anti-colonialism and agrarian radicalism; the later however was to be attained through class adjustment rather than sheer class struggle. This understanding was reflected in various Tenancy Legislations : for example, Madras Estate Land (Orissa Amendment Act) Bill, 1937, Orissa Tenancy (Amendment) Bill, 1937; Money Lenders Bill, 1938, which the Congress ministry of Orissa initiated. The objective of the ministry was to meet the challenges offered by the Act of 1935 by undertaking popular and

ameliorative agrarian legislations. The strategy was to undermine the hegemony of colonial state by redressing rural mass level grievances. This could help the ministry acquiring the status of a popular representative and also help overcome the disillusionment of the post-Civil Disobedience Movement.

It is noteworthy that such agrarian legislation in the sphere of tenancy laws defining tiller-Zamindar relations and rural indebtedness facilitated popular links for the Congress. The ministry put in a systematic effort to integrate the need for agrarian reform with its struggle against colonialism. Office acceptance was utilised for such an integration. The ministry came to represent popular hopes by initiating such legislations frankly admitting its inadequacies in attempting full-scale reforms due to the stranglehold of the colonial state. But within its limited scope, the ministry revealed a certain capacity to undermine the semi hegemonic rule of the Raj by giving the ministries a popular and a representative character.

Nityananda Kanungo, reflecting on the inadequacies of the agrarian legislation, deplored the difficulties in the way of bringing any "radical change in the existing social structure" under the mischievous Act of 1935. He also accepted the fact that such legislations could not be "complete in themselves."¹⁵

Thus the Congress ministry followed the policy of exposing the inadequacies of the Act of 1935 not only by

constantly fomenting popular demands but also trying to satisfy them to a limited extent. The latter was meant to convince the people of the illegitimacy of a foreign rule. Consequently, the leadership far from being co-opted by the reformed legislature used office-acceptance to fight the official policy of co-option underlying the Act of 1935.

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"Jawaharlal is a majestic soul."

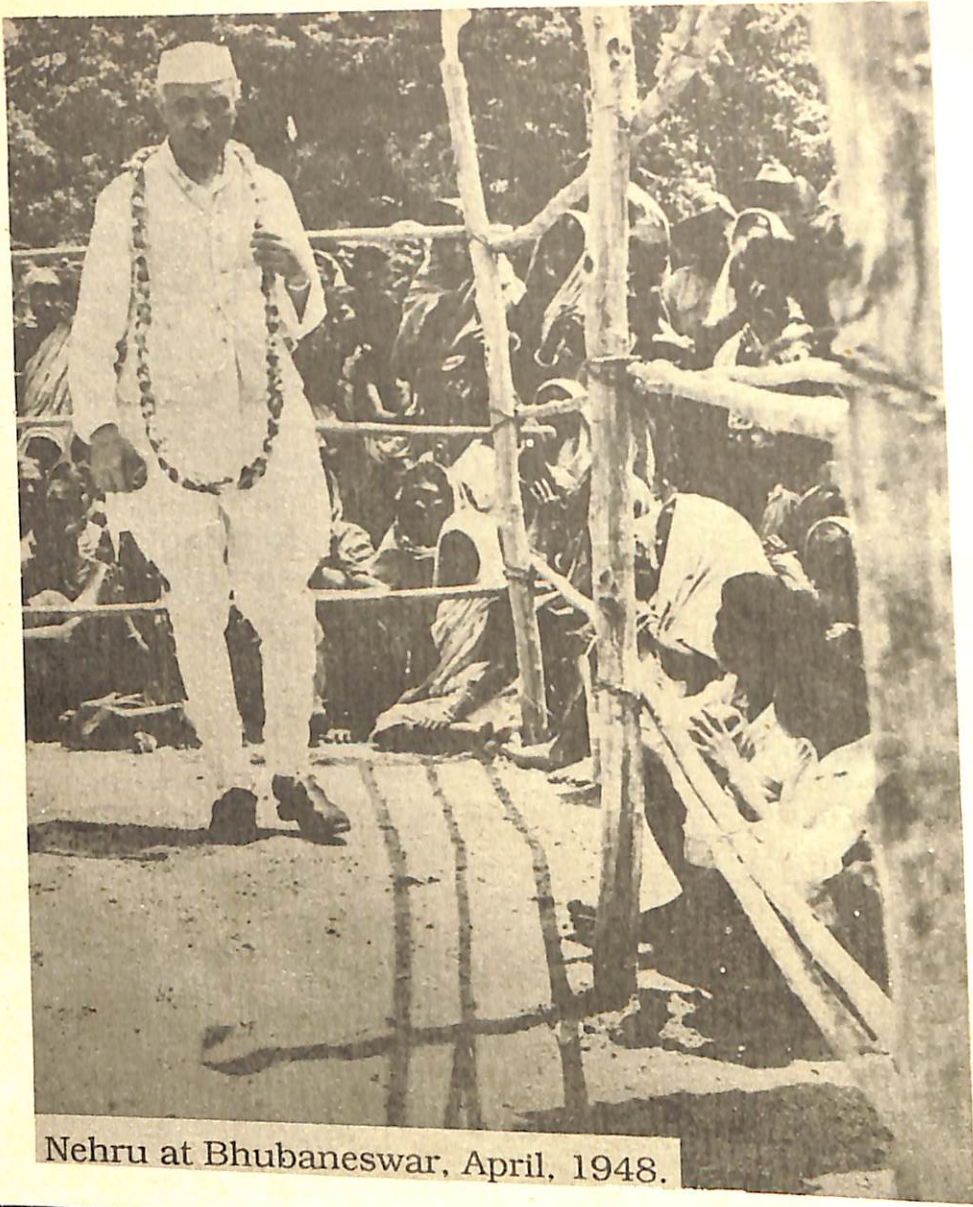
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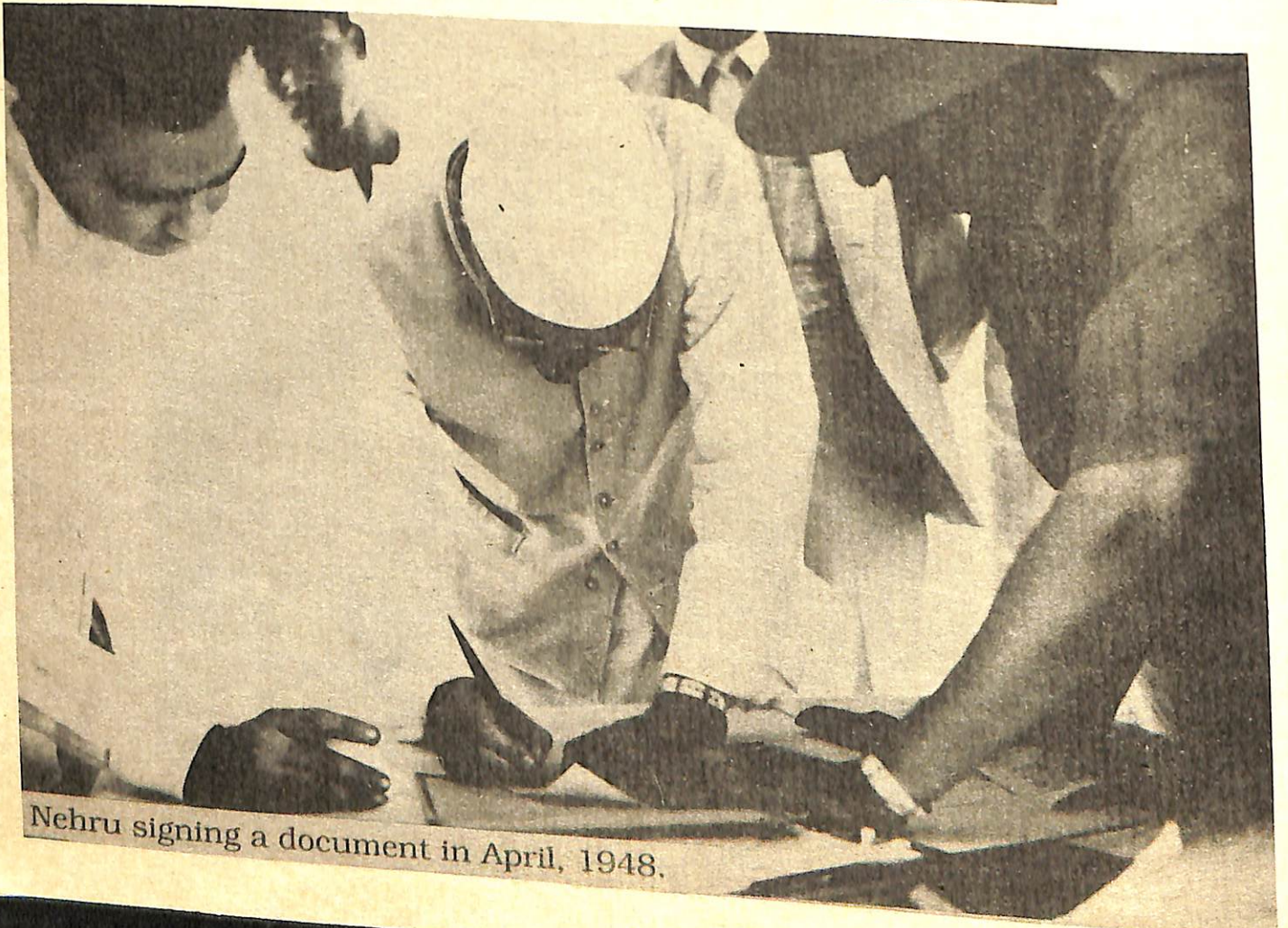
Pandit Nehru at the Bhubaneswar Temple, April, 1948.



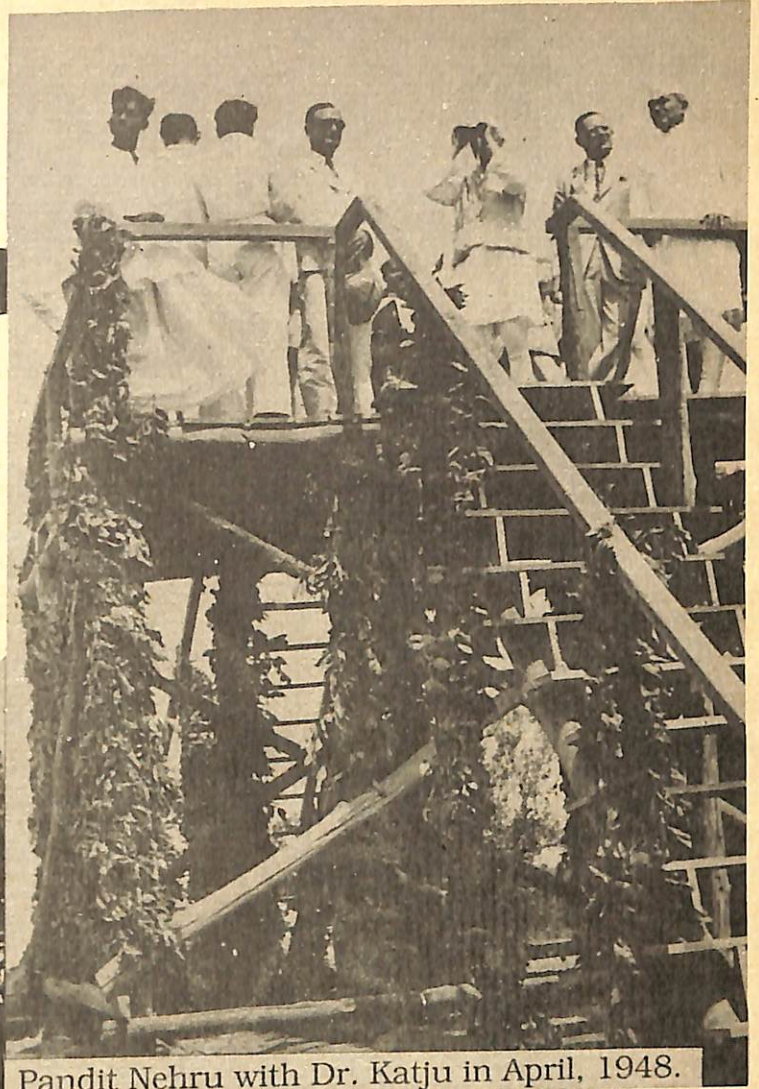
Pandit Nehru with a priest in a temple at Bhubaneswar in April 1948.



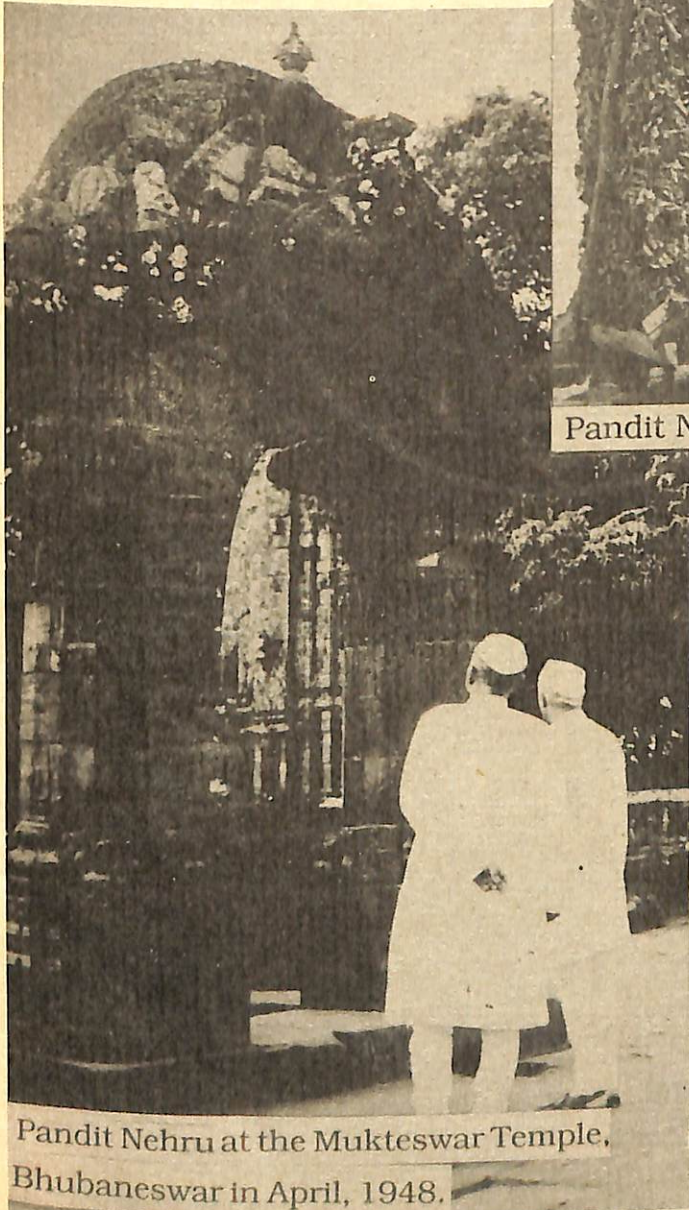
Nehru at Bhubaneswar, April, 1948.



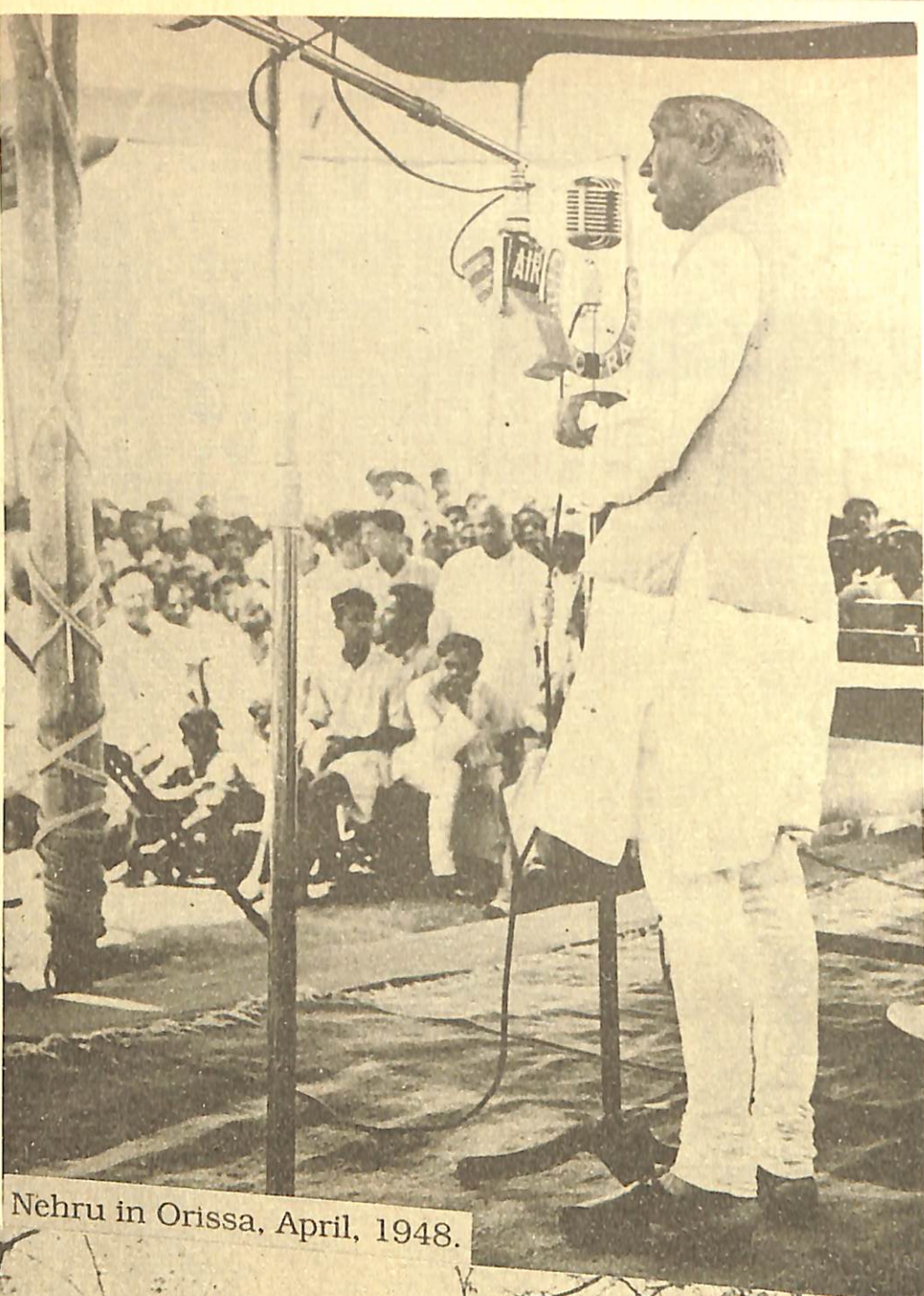
Nehru signing a document in April, 1948.



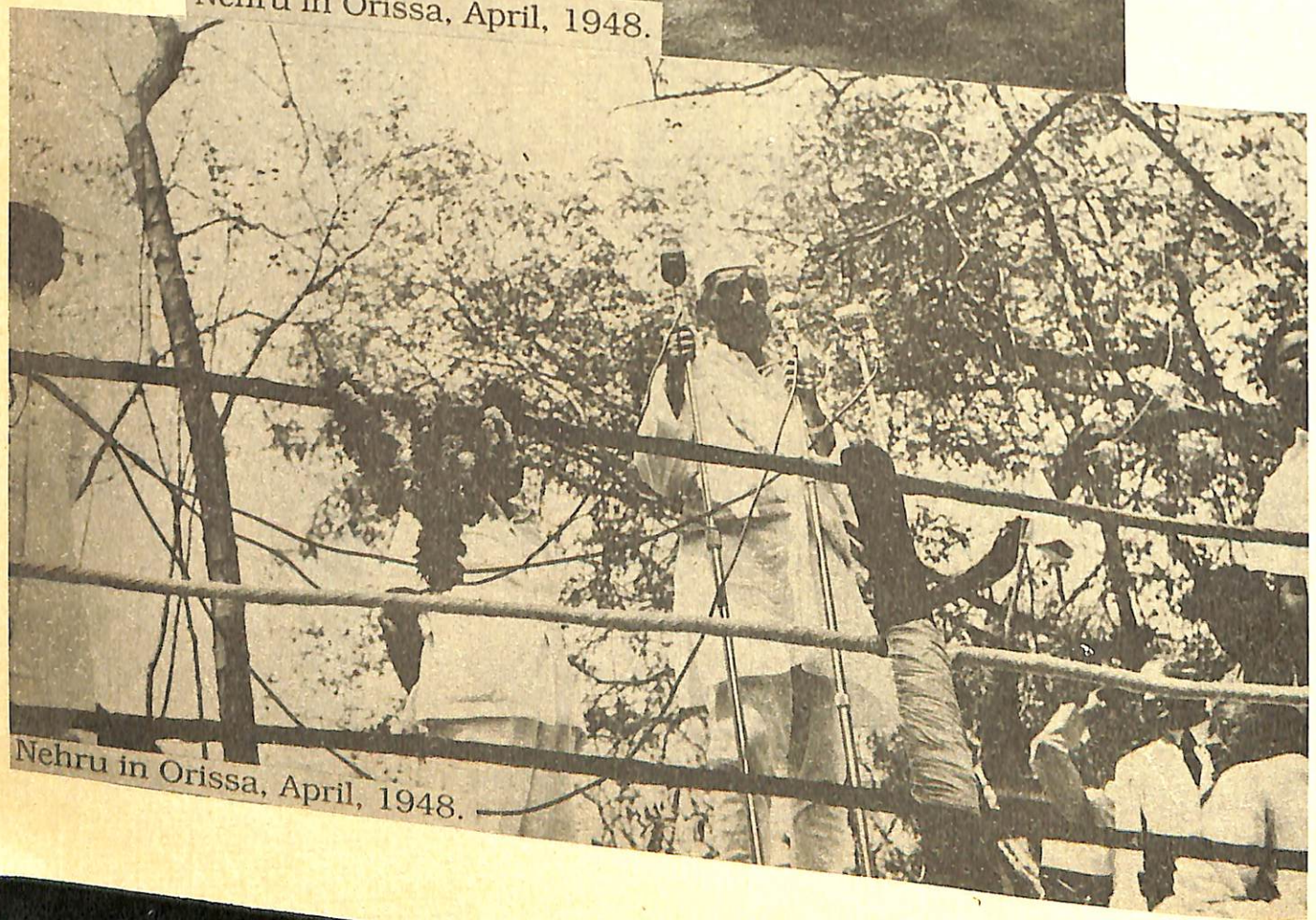
Pandit Nehru with Dr. Katju in April, 1948.



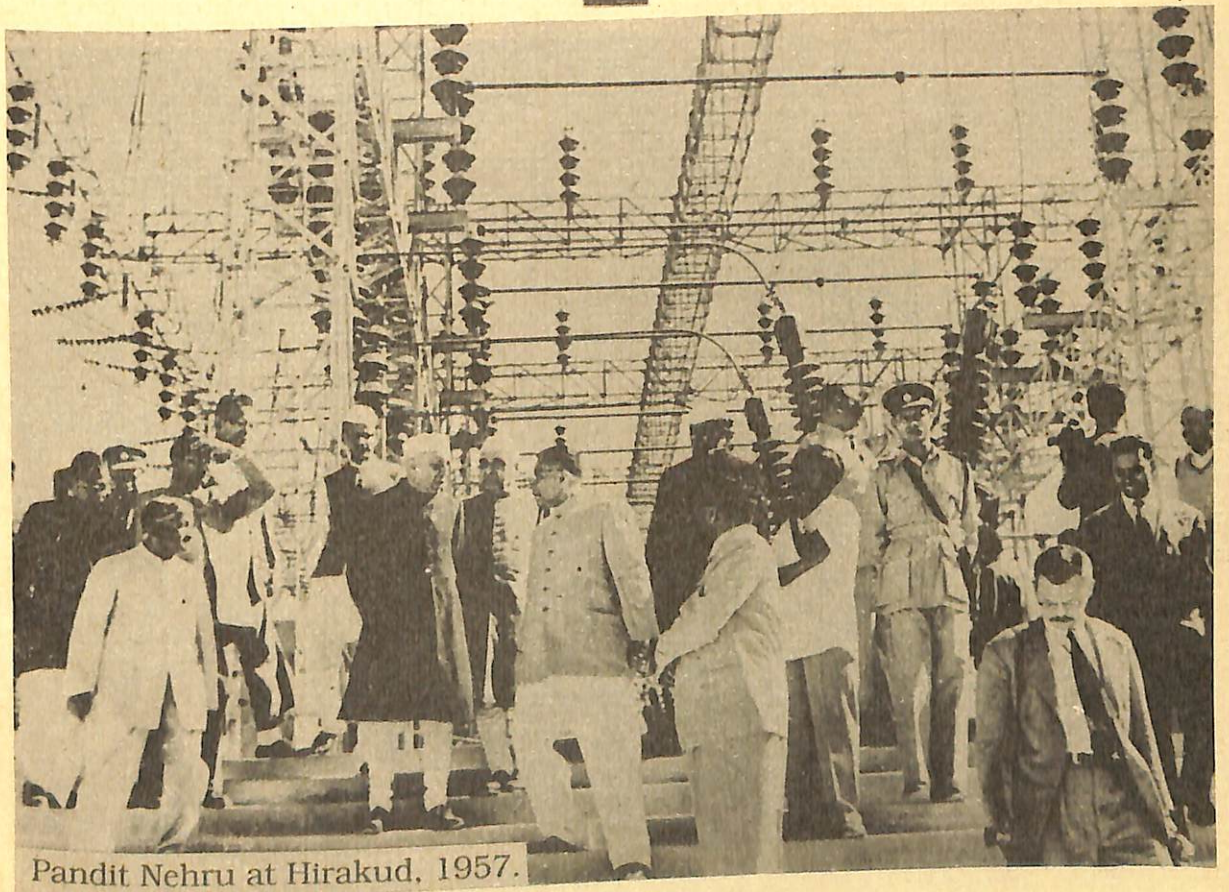
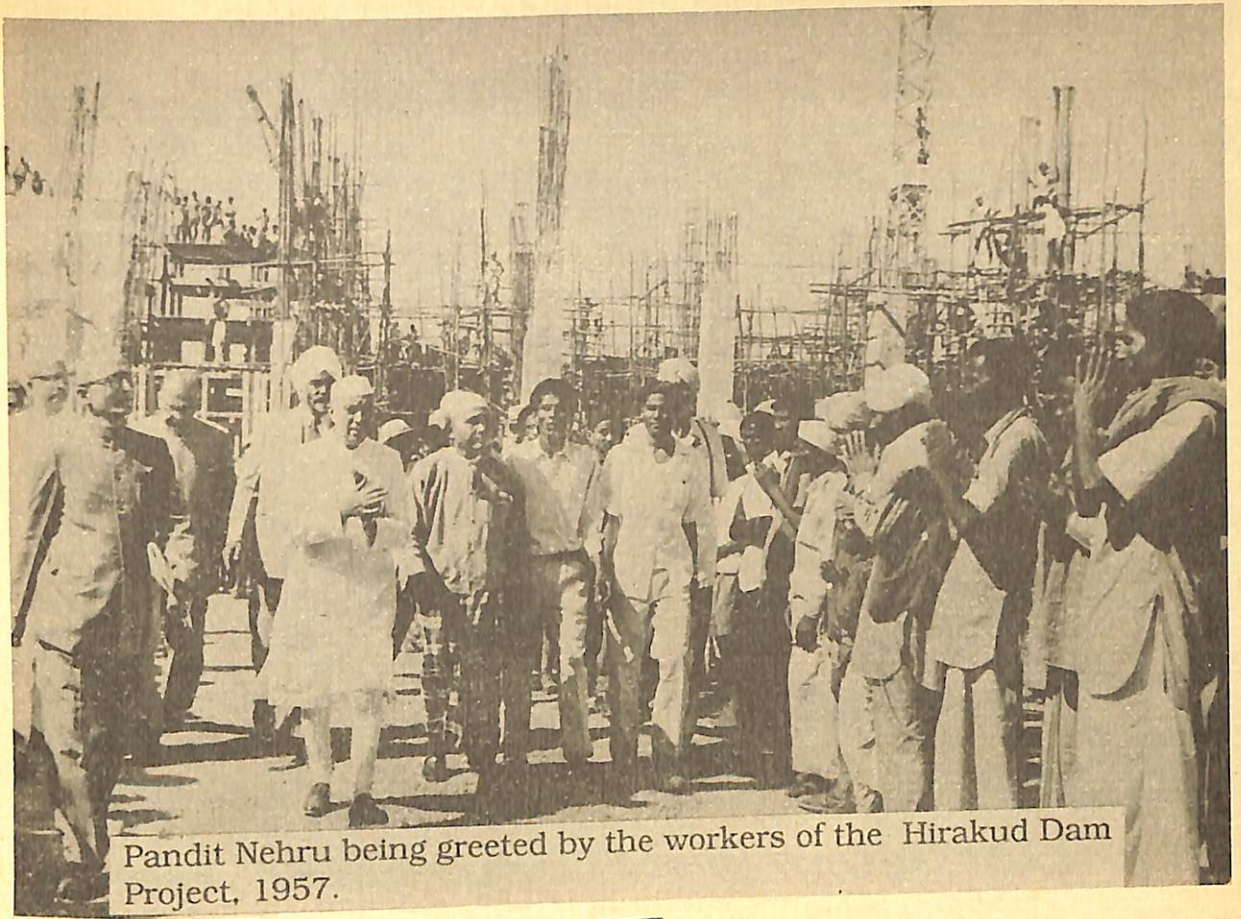
Pandit Nehru at the Mukteswar Temple,
Bhubaneswar in April, 1948.



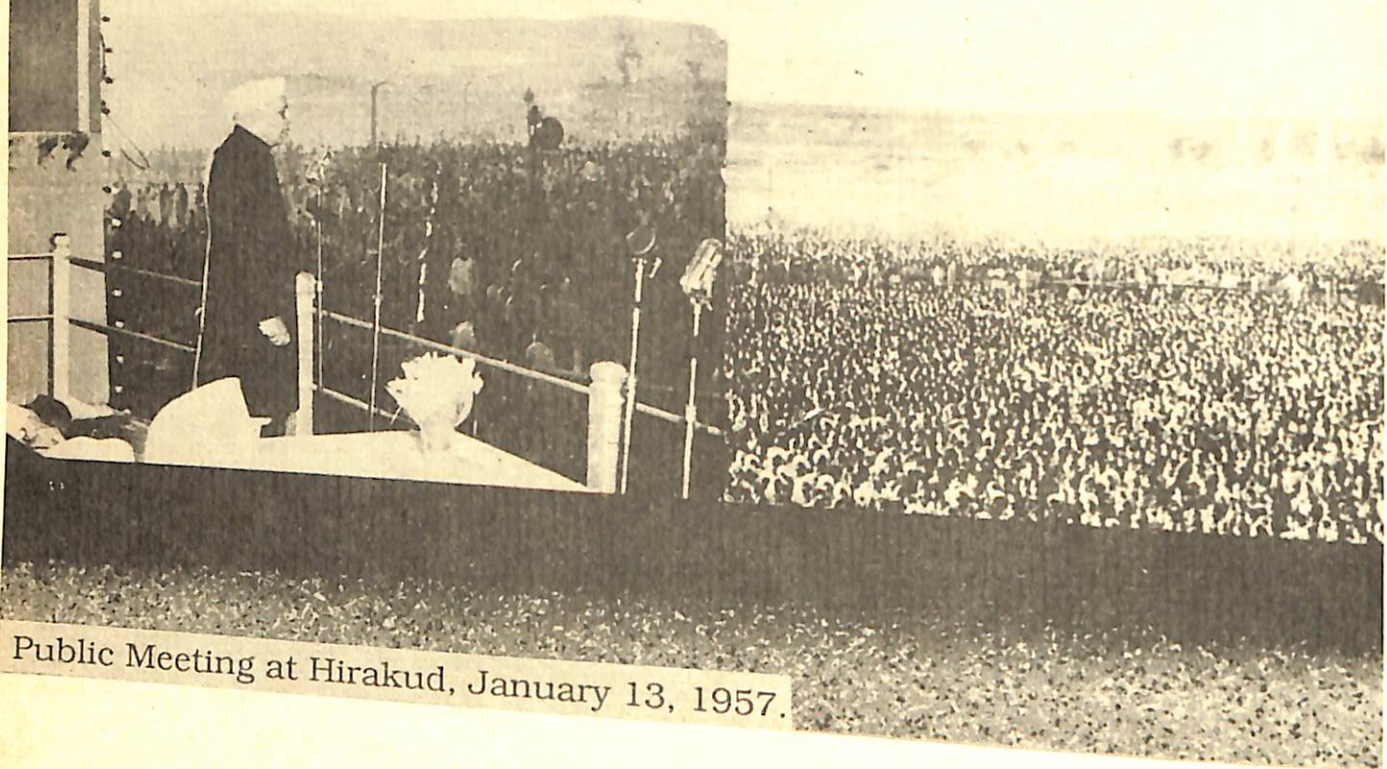
Nehru in Orissa, April, 1948.



Nehru in Orissa, April, 1948.



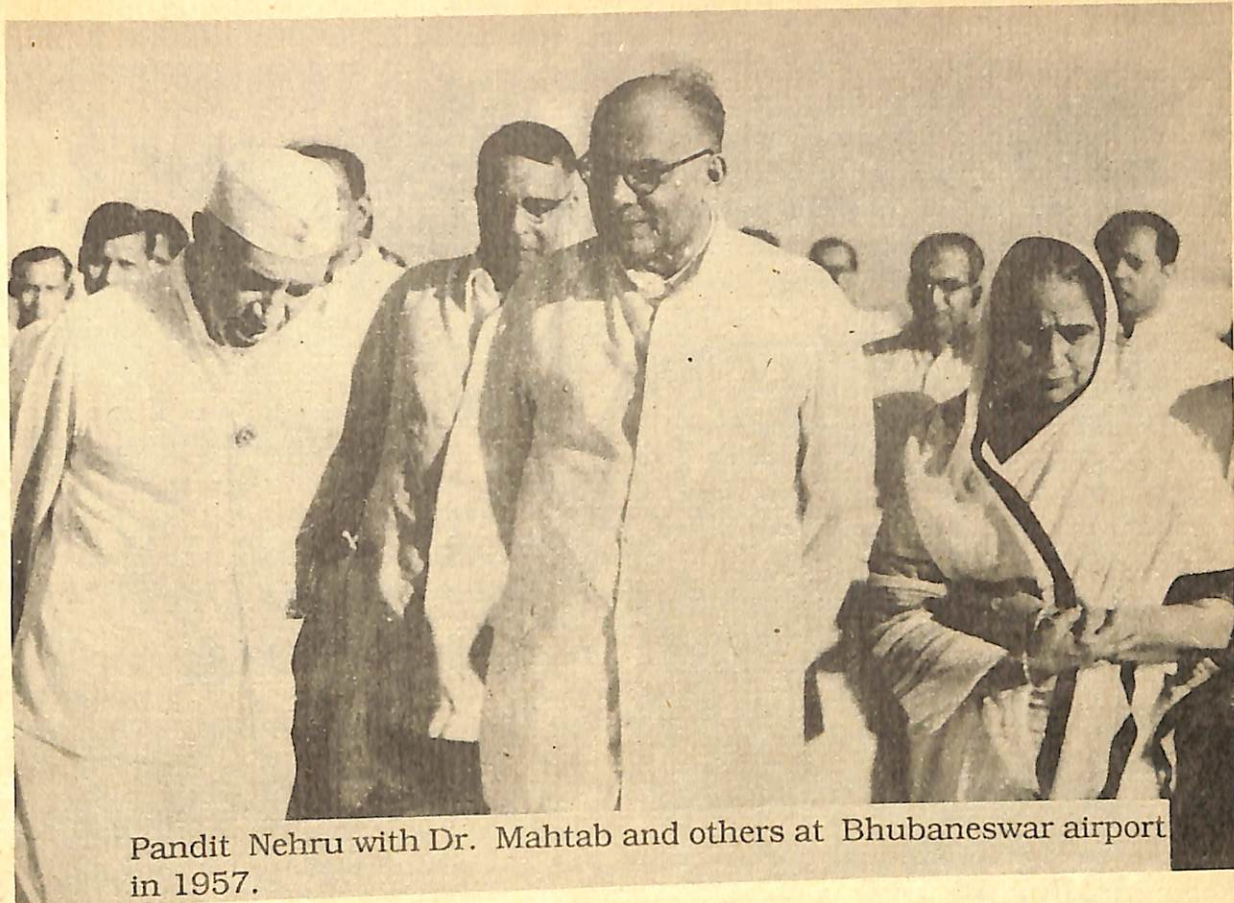
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Public Meeting at Hirakud, January 13, 1957.



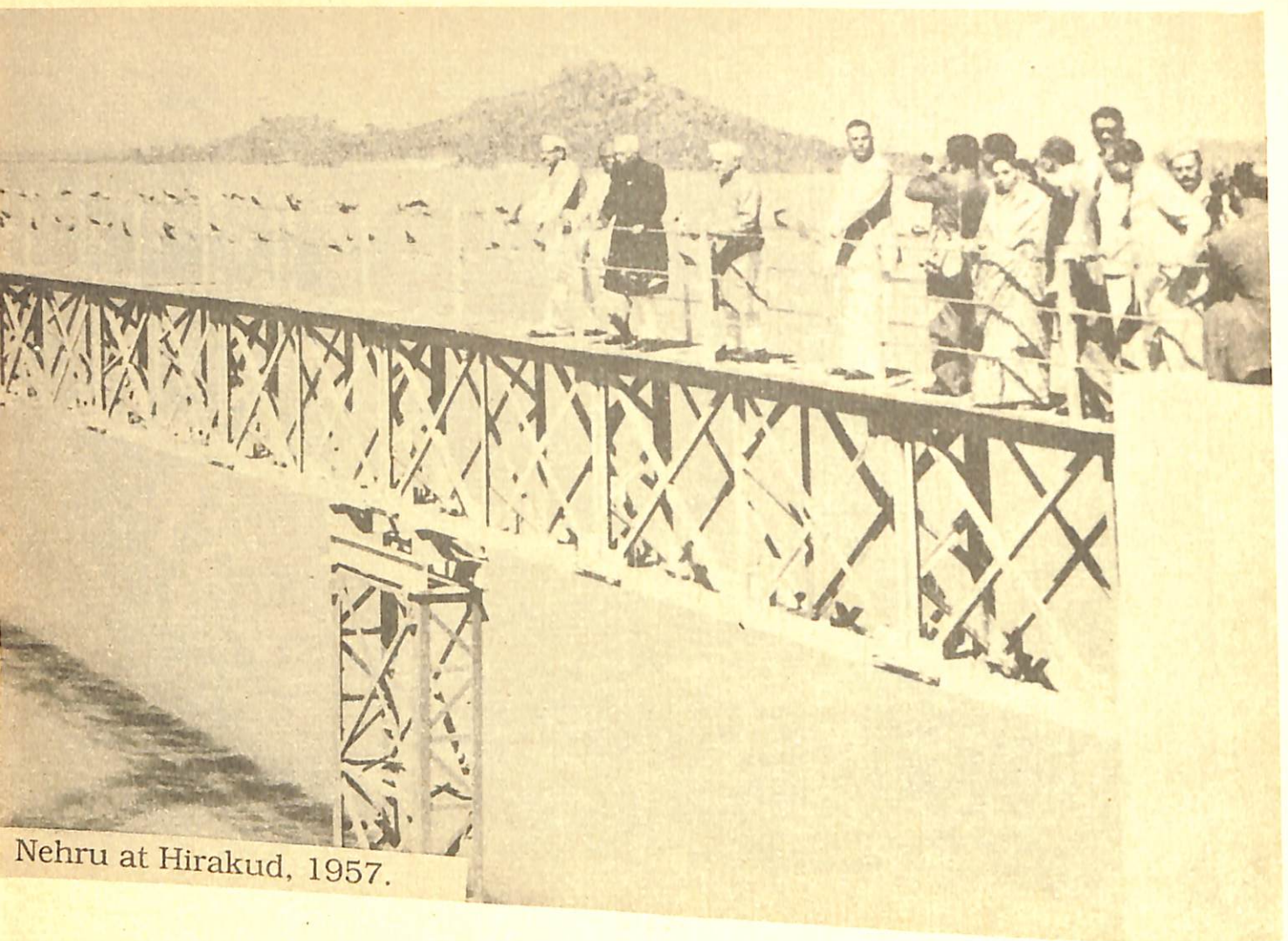
Nehru with Governor Bhimsen Sachar.



Pandit Nehru with Dr. Mahtab and others at Bhubaneswar airport in 1957.



Pandit Nehru being greeted during his visit to Orissa in 1957.



Nehru at Hirakud, 1957.



Nehru in Orissa, 1957.

WHEN I DIE

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

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

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

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

"My desire to have a handful of my ashes

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

"The Ganga, especially, is the river of India, beloved of her people, round which are intertwined her racial memories, her hopes and fears, her songs of triumph, her victories and her defeats. She has been a symbol of India's age-long culture and civilization, everchanging, ever-flowing, and yet ever the same Ganga.

"She reminds me of the snow covered peaks and the deep valleys of the Himalaya, which I have loved so much, and of the rich and vast plains below, where my life and work have been cast. Smiling and dancing in the morning sunlight, and dark and gloomy and full of mystery as the evening shadows fall, a narrow, slow and graceful stream in winter, and a vast roaring thing during the monsoon, broad-bosomed almost as the sea, and with something of the sea's power to destroy, the Ganga has been to me a symbol and a memory of the past of India, running into the present, and flowing on to the great ocean of the future.

"And though I have discarded much of past tradition and custom, and am anxious that India should rid herself of all shackles that bind and constrain her and divide her people, and suppress vast numbers of them, and prevent the free development of the body and the spirit, though I seek all this, yet I do not wish to cut myself off from the past completely.

"I am proud of that great inheritance that has been and is ours, and I am conscious that I too, like all of us, am a link in that unbroken chain which goes back to the dawn of history in the immemorial past of India. That chain I would not break, for I treasure it and seek inspiration from it. And as witness of this desire of mine, and as my last homage to India's cultural inheritance, I am making this request that a handful of my ashes be thrown into the Ganga at Allahabad to be carried to the great ocean that washes India's shores.

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

(Last Will & Testament).
June 21, 1954

ROBERT FROST (1874-1963), distinguished American poet; the last verse of this poem was found by Jawaharlal Nehru's bedside in his handwriting (reproduced below)

Stopping by
Woods on a
Snowy Evening

*WHOSE woods these are I think I know.
His house is in the village though;
He will not see me stopping here
To watch his woods fill up with snow.*

*My little horse must think it queer
To stop without a farmhouse near
Between the woods and frozen lake
The darkest evening of the year.*

*He gives his harness bells a shake
To ask if there is some mistake.
The only other sound's the sweep
Of easy wind and downy flake.*

*The woods are lovely, dark and
deep,*

*But I have promises to keep,
and miles to go before I sleep,
and miles to go before I sleep.*

Robert Frost

DOES SOUL EXIST?

Essentially, I am interested in this world, in this life, not in some other world or a future life. Whether there is such a thing as a soul, or whether there is a survival after death or not, I do not know; and important as these questions are, they do not trouble me in the least. The environment in which I have grown up takes the soul (or rather the atma) and a future life, the Karma theory of cause and effect, and reincarnation for granted. I have been affected by this and so, in a sense, I am favourably disposed towards these assumptions. There might be a soul which survives the physical death of the body, and a theory of cause and effect governing life's actions seems reasonable, though it leads to obvious difficulties when one thinks of the ultimate cause. Presuming a soul, there appears to be some logic also in the theory of reincarnation.

But I do not believe in any of these or other theories and assumptions as a matter of religious faith. They are just intellectual speculations in an unknown region about which we know next to nothing. They do not affect my life, and whether they were proved right or wrong subsequently, they would make little difference to me....

Often, as I look at this world, I have a sense of mysteries of unknown depths. The urge to understand it, in so far as I can, comes to me: to be in tune with it and to experience it in its fullness. But the way to that understanding seems to me essentially the way of science, the way of objective approach, though I realise that there can be no such thing as true objectiveness. If the subjective element is

unavoidable and inevitable, it should be conditioned as far as possible by the scientific method.

What the mysterious is I do not know. I do not call it God because God has come to mean much that I do not believe in. I find myself incapable of thinking of a deity or of any unknown supreme power in anthropomorphic terms, and the fact that many people think so is continually a source of surprise to me. Any idea of a personal God seems very odd to me. Intellectually, I can appreciate to some extent the conception of monism, and I have been attracted towards the Advaita (non-dualist) philosophy of the Vedanta, though I do not presume to understand it in all its depth and intricacy, and I realise that merely and intellectual appreciation of such matters does not carry one far. At the same time the Vedanta, as well as other similar approaches, rather frighten me with their vague, formless incursion into infinity. The diversity and fullness of nature stir me and produce a harmony of the spirit, and I can imagine myself feeling at home in the old Indian or Greek pagan and pantheistic atmosphere, but minus the conception of God or Gods that was attached to it.

Some kind of ethical approach to life has a strong appeal for me, though it would be difficult for me to justify it logically. I have been attracted by Gandhiji's stress on right means and I think one of his greatest contributions to our public life has been this emphasis. The idea is by no means new but this application of an ethical doctrine to large-scale public activity was certainly novel. It is full of difficulty, and perhaps ends and means are not really separable but form together one organic whole. In a world which thinks almost exclusively of ends and ignores means, this emphasis on means seems odd and remarkable. How far it has succeeded in India I cannot say. But there is no doubt that it has created a

deep and abiding impression on the minds of large numbers of people..

The real problems for me remain problems of individual and social life, of harmonious living, of a proper balancing of an individual's inner and outer life, of an adjustment of the relations between individuals and between groups, of a continuous becoming something better and higher, of social development, of the ceaseless adventure of man. In the solution of these problems the way of observation and precise knowledge and deliberate reasoning, according to the method of science, must be followed. This method may not always be applicable in our quest of truth, for art and poetry and certain psychic experiences seem to belong to a different order of things and to elude the objective methods of science. Let us, therefore, not rule out intuition and other methods of sensing truth and reality. They are necessary even for the purposes of science. But always we must

hold to our anchor of precise objective knowledge tested by reason, and even more so by experiment and practice, and always we must beware of losing ourselves in a sea of speculation unconnected with the day-to-day problem of the life and the needs of men and women. A living philosophy must answer the problems of today.

It may be that we of this modern age, who so pride ourselves on the achievements of our times, are prisoners of our age, just as the ancients and the men and women of mediaeval times were prisoners of their respective ages. We may delude ourselves, as others have done before us, that our way of looking at things is the only right way, leading to truth. We cannot escape from that prison or get rid entirely of illusion, if illusion it is.

my dear Jawahar, Aligarh
Resist me always when my 4¹¹/₂₉
suggestion does not appeal to
your head or heart. I shall
not love you the less for it.
But why are you dejected?...
Resume your unflinching cheerfulness
yours
Rajendra

TRYST WITH DESTINY

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

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

Freedom and power bring responsibility. The responsibility rests upon this Assembly, a sovereign body representing the

sovereign people of India. Before the birth of freedom we have endured all the pains of labour and our hearts are heavy with the memory of this sorrow. Some of those pains continue even now. Nevertheless, the past is over and it is the future that beckons to us now.

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

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

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

**From Nehru's speeches
Vol. I pp. 25-26.**

ORISSA REVIEW PAYS ITS
HUMBLE TRIBUTES TO INDIRA
GANDHI WHOSE BIRTHDAY IS
ON NINETEENTH NOVEMBER.



INDIRA GANDHI ON HER FATHER

Like all children I suppose I asked a great many questions and, like all parents, my father chose which ones he should reply to. One of the questions was about the beginnings of the world and man and so on. This is when my father decided to write me a series of letters which were later published as "Letters from a Father to a Daughter". He started writing them in 1928 while my mother and I were in Mussoorie, and later followed them up with a correspondence course in world history written in jail and published under the title 'Glimpses of World History'. Whenever he was at home he usually spent time talking to me. When I asked questions, he would of his own choose to tell me things which he thought I should know about. Much of this was above my head; some things I retained and a lot I forgot.

The same happened with books. I read a lot of books which I couldn't possibly understand. And long afterwards I realised that what I had construed in a very simplistic way was something quite different. In the same way, the letters were a follow-up of our talks.

I think my father was aware that the education one got in schools was very inadequate. For his part, my grandfather didn't believe in that sort of education at all. So, usually I spent the summer in the hills which meant that I missed a lot of the school period, I would arrive in mid-term when they had started new subjects. Some of them-such as history - could catch up with by reading. But geometry is something different you don't even know what it means when you arrive in the middle of the course. But my grandfather's general attitude was that it just didn't matter whether you passed or failed. This is why my father was really educating me through his letters and through his talks.

Compared to other children, I guess my father took me quite seriously. I remember him as being quite stern especially in my early years. But I loved both my parents very deeply and they had a considerable influence on me.

Sometimes we used to read together, I mean the whole family. Either we read plays, each person talking a different part, or we read books, each person reading a different chapter.

Most evenings, when my father was home, there was a little time when my mother and he used to read the Ramayana or something like that. He was always very keen on Sanskrit and my mother was learning it.

My father also believed in physical exercise and in keeping fit, so I had to run every day, and not just run but run with style. He said it didn't matter whether I ran a long distance or not, but I must be graceful while running. Similarly, he was very anxious that I should know how to swim; his method of teaching was simply to push me in and then let me try to get out as well as I could. I did a little riding, but not much, because by that time we had got rid of our horses. And when I was in Europe of course we went skiing. I kept up swimming until a few years ago.

INTERNATIONALISM

NEHRU believed and proclaimed that freedom was the first condition of peace. There could be no peace so long as one nation rules over another or claims superiority by virtue of military might or of race. To Nehru, the end of colonialism and racialism was essential for an enduring peace amongst nations. Years ago, Gandhiji drew attention to a remarkable feature of Nehru's thought, that his nationalism was matched by his internationalism. Neither Gandhiji nor Jawaharlal Nehru ever said, "my country right or wrong." Through the study of history Jawaharlal Nehru was fully aware of the limitations of nationalism and the danger of chauvinistic outlook. He was particularly suspicious of any alliance between nationalism and religious fanaticism or of militarism and nationalism. He often said that it was an irony that new nations have to come into being at a time when nationalism itself has been rendered obsolete by the march of science and technology. It was imperialism which was the cause of this anomaly. Jawaharlal Nehru had wanted nations to rise above circumstances and to look ahead. Mr Attlee called Nehru "the first statesman of the new world to be." Nehru was conscious of the conflicts between nationalism and internationalism. But his efforts were all directed towards resolving that conflict. Through his well-thought-out foreign policy, he proved that India's national interest lay in working ceaselessly for international peace. Ashoka has been described as the greatest king in the world. He proclaimed that the only true conquests were those of peace. Nehru conditioned by Gandhiji's stress on truth and non-violence and by his own study of history, had a repugnance of militarism and he spoke with his whole being when he endorsed UNESCO's declaration that the defences of peace are to be created in the minds of men or when he quoted Euripedes to disapprove of "the hand uplifted in hate."

Excerpt from speech at the presentation to U Thant of the first Nehru Award for International Understanding, New Delhi, April 12, 1967.

MODERNIZER

I think Jawaharlal Nehru's place in history will be that of a great modernizer of our country. Greater than all his other contributions to India was his work to make India cultivate a rational and scientific outlook. He knew without science India could not solve her problems. In himself, he combined the rational scientific outlook with a basic faith. Many ingredients went into this basic faith - the teachings of the Buddha, the Gita,

Mahatma Gandhi, the humanism of the great authors of the East and of social revolution, as well as the investigations of the scientists into the great mysteries of the universe. He once described himself as being attended to the entire thought of mankind, which is perhaps what every civilized person should be. He was happiest when he was among scientists.

Excerpt from speech on the occasion of the Second Nehru Memorial Lecture, New Delhi, April 13, 1968.

VISION OF FUTURE

I knew Jawaharlal Nehru as father and as leader and also as a friend. His special characteristic was his great love for India and her people, and for humanity as a whole. Hence, his sense of personal involvement in the process of change and his intense concern for the future.

He was a student of history. The past was alive to him, and in it he saw the roots of the present and the future. But he looked ahead and into the future, towards the possibility of correcting man's ills and history's injustices. But he knew that redress could not come automatically. Changes had to be willed and worked and fought for. All his life he struggled against tremendous odds to give India a vision and the policies to transform that vision into reality. He dreamt and worked to give India an honourable place amongst nations.

Excerpt from address at the Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, November 14, 1969.

KNOWING JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Jawaharlal Nehru is one of the key figures of the twentieth century. He symbolised some of the major forces which have transformed our age.

When Jawaharlal Nehru was young, history was still the privilege of the West, the rest of the world lay in deliberate darkness. The impression given was that the vast continents of Asia and Africa existed merely to sustain their masters in Europe and North America. Jawaharlal Nehru's own education in Britain could be interpreted, in a sense, as an attempt to secure for him a place within the pale. His letters of the time are evidence of his sensitivity, his interest in science and international affairs as well as of his pride in India and Asia. But his personality was veiled by his shyness and a facade of nonchalance, and perhaps, outwardly there was not much to distinguish him from the ordinary run of men. Gradually there emerged the warm and universal being who became intensely involved with the problems of the poor and the oppressed in all lands. In doing so, Jawaharlal Nehru gave articulation and leadership to millions of people in his own country and in Asia and Africa.

That imperialism was a curse which should be lifted from the brows of men, that poverty was incompatible with civilisation, that nationalism should be poised on a sense of international community and that it was not sufficient to brood on these things when action was urgent and compelling - these were the principles which inspired and gave vitality to Jawaharlal Nehru's activities in the years of India's struggle for freedom and made him not only an intense nationalist but one of the leaders of humanism.

No particular ideological doctrine could claim Jawaharlal Nehru for its own. Long days in jail were spent in reading widely. He drew much from the thought of East and West and from the philosophies of the past and the present. Never religious in the normal sense, yet he had a deep love for the culture and tradition of his own land. Never a rigid Marxist, yet he was deeply influenced by that theory and was particularly impressed by what he was in the Soviet Union on his first visit in 1927. However, he realised that the world was too complex, and man had too many facets, to be encompassed by any single or total explanation. He himself was a socialist with an abhorrence of regimentation and a democrat who was anxious to reconcile his faith in civil liberty with the necessity of mitigating economic and social wretchedness. His struggles, both within himself and with the outside world, to adjust such seeming contradictions are what make his life and work significant and fascinating.

As a leader of free India, Jawaharlal Nehru recognised that his country could neither stay out of the world nor divest itself of its own interest in world affairs. But to the extent that it was possible, Jawaharlal Nehru sought to speak objectively and to be a voice of sanity in the shrill phases of the 'cold war'. Whether his influence helped on certain occasions to maintain peace is for the future historians to assess. What we do know is that for a long stretch of time he commanded an international audience reaching far beyond governments, that he spoke for ordinary, sensitive, thinking men and extended far beyond India.

So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time.

**Foreword to first volume of Selected
Works of Jawaharlal Nehru.**



Pandit Nehru with a group of workers in Hirakud in January, 1957.





Pandit Nehru in Orissa, 1957.



Pandit Nehru in Ravenshaw College, Cuttack, 1957.



Nehru passing through a tunnel of the Hirakud Dam.



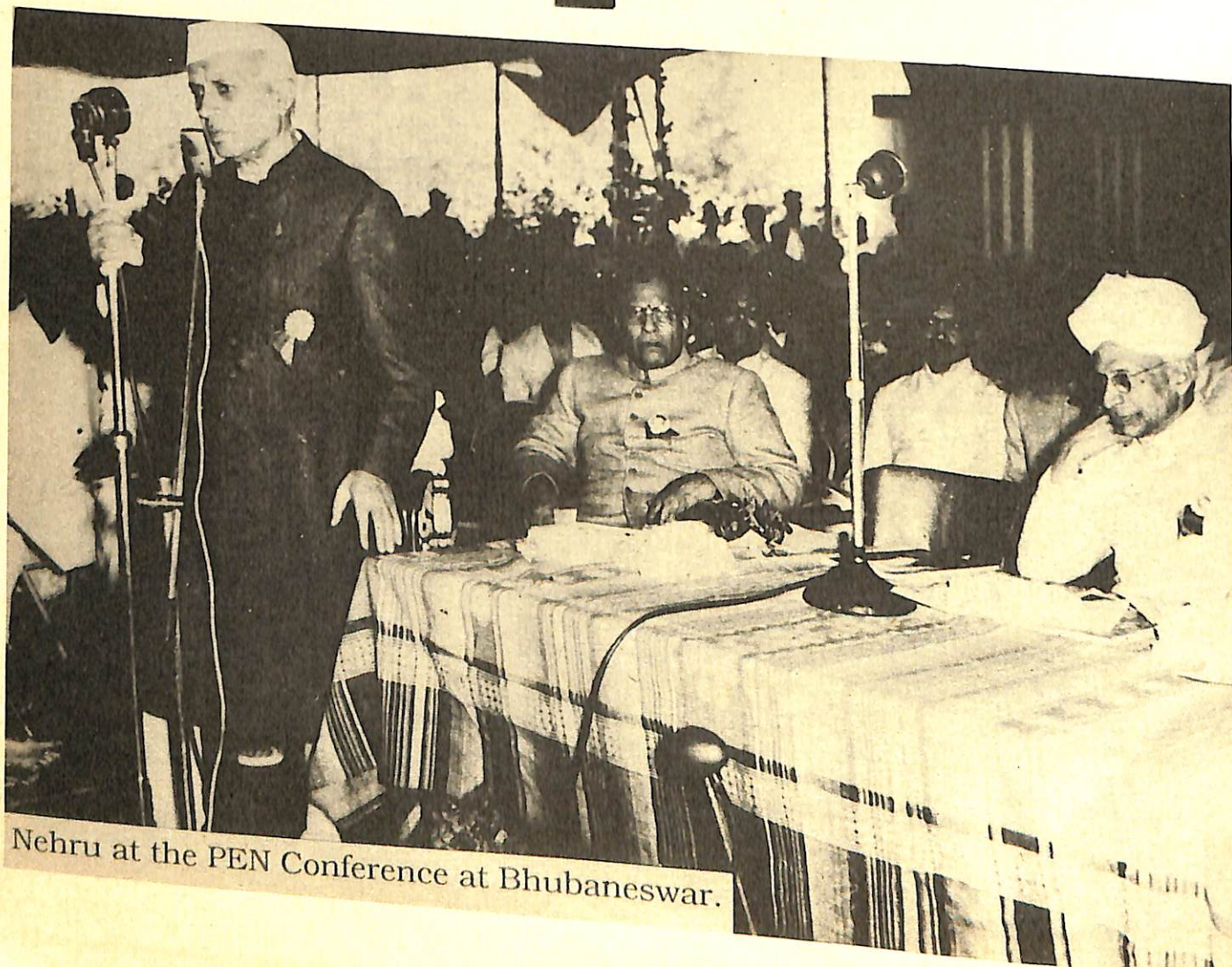
Pandit Nehru in Orissa in 1957.



Pandit Nehru at the PEN Conference at Bhubaneswar



Nehru on the occasion of the PEN Conference at Bhubaneswar.



Nehru at the PEN Conference at Bhubaneswar.



Pandit Nehru with Governor Dr. Khosla and Dr. Mahtab



andit Nehru at the Bhubaneswar Congress Session, 1964.

'PANDIT NEHRU ! WHAT HE MEANS TO ME?'

Kedar Nath Das

An enigma. That is how I see Panditji, even today. Because understanding such a multi-faceted personality is pretty difficult. More arduous is the task of explaining the broad spectrum of his character.

My first idea about the man was that he was an institution. That was when I was about five years old. Any man with a chudidhar, a long coat, a Gandhi cap and a rose was Chacha to me. Midway I thought, I was mistaken to identify the individual as an institution. But as years rolled on, I began to realise that my first idea of Panditji was more accurate.

Amongst the fortunates, who had the privilege of having seen Panditji, I am one. During the AICC Bhubaneswar session in 1964, I had the opportunity to see him from close quarters. My father had the rare privilege of being introduced to the beloved Prime Minister with whom he shook hands. I was thrilled to see it. Later on, when I asked my father as to what were his feelings about Panditji; he summed up saying 'soft and tender and yet very firm'. Only in later years, I was able

to unravel the mystery behind such a contradictory statement.

During my early years, I used to write important dates and events in my diary. I had recorded two events; death of Panditji and assassination of John F. Kennedy. That was how I viewed Nehruji a man at par with Kennedy. Later on I was to realise my mistake. For he was more than that. With tears rolling down the cheeks, we had received his mortal remains and consigned them to the Bay of Bengal at Puri. The pangs of loosing 'Chacha' turned out to be more acute and painful than the separation from some near and dear ones in subsequent years. Well, what was the bond we had with Nehruji? Difficult to say.

To assay an essay on Panditji - what he means to me, is like leaving a laboratory mouse in a blind alley. Where to start from becomes the crux of the problem. He was obedient son, a good and disciplined student, an ardent learner, a dedicated patriot and a sincere freedom fighter. He was a man of words, foresight, political acumen and strong convictions. Label him as a historian; his works will soon prove that he was more. For he was also a flamboyant writer, a gorgeous orator and a great political scientist.

Torch bearer of our freedom struggle, he was also the founder of modern India. He was the medium through whom Gandhiji tried to realise his dreams of Ram Rajya. He was the man through whom every Indian wanted to build the new nation. He was the living legend in whom millions

reposed their faith. And quite deservingly; for he was the man who had borne the brunt of freedom struggle for more than three decades. So much faith we had in him that we allowed him to take care of us for 17 long years till death separated us.

He was a democrat as well as a socialist and yet he left avenues open to talent and merit. He was Gandhiji's disciple of non-violence and yet very firm when the occasion called for. Both in the fields of Green Revolution and the Scientific Temper that is prevalent to-day in the country, the foster father was Panditji.

Nationalist he was and yet championed the cause of internationalism. India was everything to him. Yet he visualised an international order based on friendly cooperation and non-violence. In him, we find a remarkable and wonderful synthesiser of varied ideologies.

He was a scientist and side by side an artist. Methodical and pragmatic, systematic and factual, he encouraged science and technology. A lover of nature, he made efforts to preserve the flora and fauna. The pristine beauty and glory of the mountains and the rivers beckoned him again and again. Hard pressed for time, he was and yet when the opportunity came his way he revelled in the lap of mother-nature.

An admirer of tradition and customs, he was ready and open to new ideas and new concepts. Following the path shown by Raja Ram Mohan Roy and the Mahatma, he too championed the

cause of the weaker sex. He wanted them to be 'Womanly' and not 'Womanish'. Religion, he viewed as something very complex leading to unnecessary chaos and fights. He believed in morals and ethics; in philosophy and theology; in duties and responsibilities in the true sense. Reason was his religion, rationality the idol and science the temple of worship.

Panditji was a loving father. From within the prison walls he tried to educate his daughter. But he was never stingy in distributing his love to children. He dispensed micro for macro and his love for children still remains exemplary. 'Chachaji' to millions and millions was the testimony to the love he gave and got in reciprocation the affection and admiration of them, a no small tribute.

'Discovery of India' and 'Glimpses of World History' still remain as spell-binding narrations of history. The Independence day speech more than the best of patriotic songs and the speech after the assassination of Gandhiji a tribute seldom one can come across.

Immaculate and precise attainment of perfection was his goal. Adaptability was his strong fort. He was at ease with Kings and Queens, with Presidents and Prime Ministers. His concern was same for all.

He was a visionary but never lost sight of the realities. For he viewed castles in air was futile.

May be he was not a dictator. He was

more that. A dictator demanded obedience and subservience. Here was a man who commanded it. People of their own remained loyal and dedicated to him, respected and admired him.

A great parliamentarian, he championed anti-colonialism. In international spheres, his contribution towards 'Panchsheela' signalled for a new world-order based on mutual trust and co-operation. Under his able statesmanship, India was recognised by the world as a new and upcoming force. He was a real sportsman who propagated and practised that game should be played in the right spirit of sportsmanship. A champion of our heritage, he strived for retaining the

originality of our tribal culture. Great was the man, greater were his deeds. Name a field where he has not shown his brilliance perhaps it will be difficult to find. A patriot and a politician, a scientist and a philosopher, a nationalist and an internationalist, a writer and an orator, maker of a nation, father to one but uncle to millions, a historian and a humanitarian all blended nicely in the man whom we call Jawaharlal Nehru. In the age of two-in-ones and three-in-ones it becomes inexplicable how such a many-in-one was possible. So what can he mean to me but an 'ENIGMA'.

**Bank of Boroda
Bapuji Nagar, Bhubaneswar.**

"An intellectual, a historian, a student of world civilisation, a disciple and political successor of Mahatma Gandhi - Mr. Nehru's life is a story of sacrifice, struggle and achievement, in the course of which he has conquered two of the greatest human weaknesses - fear and hate."

(Lord Chamberlain)

INTEGRATED CHILD DEVELOPMENT SERVICES FIRST STEP IN HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT

The personality of a human being takes shape in the formative years of childhood. The physical and mental health of a nation is conditioned largely by the human resource potential obtaining therein. The health of future generations depends on the health of mothers. Mother and child form the focal points in the process of development. A child has his own different rhythm of life and his own laws of biological and mental growth. He follows drives and motivations which are basically different from those which govern adult behaviour. A child welfare programme is important for the child, for the family and for the society.

India's Integrated Child Development

Services, acknowledged as the largest child welfare programme in the world, provides the basic support to human resource development. High infant mortality rate, high levels of morbidity, high incidence of malnutrition related diseases, temporary or irreversible disabilities and low literacy rates are some of the problems facing children under six years of age in India. The Government of India formulated a comprehensive child survival and development scheme - Integrated Child Development Services - drawing on the resources of the centre, states, voluntary organisations and the communities themselves to combat these problems.

A PIONEERING PROGRAMME

Integrated Child Development Services offer a package of services to children and nursing and pregnant mothers. Realising the crucial importance of formative years in a person's development, ICDS aims at improving the nutritional and health status of children in the age group of 0-6 years; laying the foundation for proper physical, social and psychological development of the child; reducing the incidence of mortality, morbidity, malnutrition and school drop-outs, achieving effective co-ordination of policy and implementation among various departments to promote child development and enhancing capability of the mother to look after the normal health and nutritional needs of the child through proper health and nutritional education. These objectives are to be achieved through the provision of a package of

services consisting of supplementary nutrition, immunisation, health check up, referral services, nutrition, health education and non-formal education.

Immunisation is one of the sharpest tools for reducing the frequency of setbacks to the normal development of the child in its most formative years. In the ICDS project area, all pregnant women are immunised against tetanus. All children are immunised against diphtheria, whooping cough, tetanus, poliomyelitis, tuberculosis and measles. Pregnant women and children are examined regularly.

One of the underlying causes of child mortality is low birth weight which leads to low resistance and consequently greater frequency of infection. Under ICDS Scheme, all families in the community are surveyed to identify the poorest children below the age of six and also expectant and nursing mothers. Nutritious food is given to them at the Anganwadi all the year round.

Empowering women by education can have an important impact on the well-being of children. An aware mother is more keen to learn about new ideas and has more confidence to put them into practice. Non formal education in nutrition and health is organised at the Anganwadi for mothers and pregnant women. ICDS also provides non-formal opportunities for pre-school learning to children between the age of three and six. The main objective is to stimulate and satisfy the curiosity of the child, rather than follow any rigid learning curriculum.

THE ORGANISATIONAL FRAMEWORK

The ICDS team of workers comprises the Anganwadi workers, the Supervisors and the Child Development Project Officers (CDPOs). The medical officers, the lady health visitors and female health workers from nearby primary health centres and sub centres form a team with social welfare functionaries to implement ICDS. The nucleus for the project is the Anganwadi run by an Anganwadi worker and her helper. It covers a population of 1000 in rural and urban areas and 700 in tribal and hilly areas. As on March 31, 1989 the number of Anganwadi centres were around 2,21,369.

An Anganwadi worker is a voluntary, part-time, honorary worker belonging to the local community. The training of the Anganwadi worker is organised through training centres identified by the States/Union Territories and run by voluntary and governmental agencies. The duration of training is three months, followed by monthly visits from a medical team and subsequent refresher courses. At present, there are 295 training centres, 22 middle level training centres and three Child Development Project Officers training centres in the country. 146 senior faculty members operating from 71 medical colleges have established 96 zonal centres to deliver orientation and refresher courses to the district and the block level health functionaries.

An Anganwadi worker is at the pivot of the ICDS programme. The worker is expected to monitor the growth of

children, teach mothers how to prevent and cope with common ailments, educate parents to promote their children's normal growth, organise immunisation, distribute vitamin tablets, treat minor injuries and ailments, organise supplementary feeding and refer cases to medical services. At present there are 2,21,369 Anganwadi workers in the country.

The entire expenditure on ICDS, except its nutrition component, is met by the Government of India in the form of grants-in-aid to state governments. The nutrition component, barring the gift food available from CARE/WFP and assistance available under the centrally sponsored wheat based nutrition programme is funded from the states' own resources.

SILENT REVOLUTION

The experience of ICDS indicates that it has the potential of bringing about a silent revolution. The implementation of ICDS is closely monitored at regular intervals. Monitoring and evaluation is done by the health and social welfare sectors. These functions are carried out at the project, district and state levels. Corrective actions at different levels flow from such monitoring. Over 700 surveys have been conducted to assess the impact of ICDS programme since its inception.

These studies indicate that ICDS has become a profound instrument of community and human resource development. Some of the significant results have been decrease in malnutrition and anaemia; improved techniques and better nutrition as-

essment; significant decrease in preventable infant mortality rates and positive results of community participation. The immunisation coverage of children in these areas is substantially higher than in the non ICDS areas. The benefits to the most vulnerable age group consisting of children below three years is higher than in any previous child welfare programme.

LOOKING AHEAD

The success of the ICDS scheme has led to its extension to more areas. Started in 33 blocks on an experimental basis, ICDS now covers 1742 blocks out of a total of 5143 community development blocks in the country. In addition, there are 210 ICDS projects in urban areas. With the opening of 500 new centrally sponsored ICDS projects this year, the total number of projects in the country will rise to 2452, including 216 projects in the State sector. At present, over 11.2 million children and 2.1 million expectant and nursing mothers receive supplementary nutrition from the Anganwadis. They also provide pre-school education to six million children in the 3-6 year age group.

Efforts are constantly underway to improve the organisational capacity of the ICDS scheme. Emphasis is placed on the training of personnel. Review of training curricula and orientation of instructors are undertaken regularly. Training facilities are regularly reviewed and upgraded. Production and distribution of more and better training materials, manuals and guide-books are undertaken. Different ways

of producing appropriate, pulverised foods for supplementary nutrition are explored.

In the growth and development of a child, both heredity and environment play a part. Heredity determines capacities, whereas environment determines the use to which they can be put. ICDS concentrates both on the

child and the nursing and expectant mother. It represents the essence of India's experiences till now. It is one of the most prestigious and successful projects launched in the field of child care and development.

SECULARISM AND SCIENTIFIC TEMPER

Professor G.C. Nayak

Secularism' is a term which has aroused a lot of controversy and confusion among scholars because of the diverse implications and different meanings attached to the term in different contexts. The term 'secular' has been used primarily in a sense opposed to the 'religious', 'other worldly', 'spiritual' and 'sacred'. One need not go into the history of how this term came to be used in the sense of 'anti-religious' or 'irreligious' in the first instance. The Latin term 'Saeculum' which means 'the age, the world' may throw some light in this regard. According to Hackman, 'secularism signifies the kind of life that is lived in complete indifference to God and to religious values'.¹ It has been taken to

mean not only something 'non-spiritual, having no concern with religious or spiritual matters'.² But also 'a movement, intentionally ethical, negatively religious with political and philosophical antecedents'.³ It has also been taken to be 'an attempt to establish an autonomous sphere of knowledge purged of supernatural, fideistic presuppositions'.⁴ From this point of view certain point of contact between secularism and scientific temper is quite discernible. According to Newbegin, "the true secularism has been taken to refer to a system of belief or an attitude which in principle denies the existence or the significance of realities other than those, which can be measured by the methods of natural science".⁵ Scientific temper stands for an attitude of mind that does not take into account anything other than that which is conducive to the search of knowledge. As Russell has aptly remarked, "The scientific attitude of mind involves a sweeping away of all other desires in the interests of the desires to know".⁶ "The kernel of the scientific outlook", according to him, is "the refusal to regard our own desires, tastes and

interests as affording a key to the understanding of the world".⁷ Religion, in so far as it promotes an anthropomorphic way of looking at things and in so far as it takes into account the longings and the yearnings of our heart, seems to be unscientific, at least non-scientific, and secularism, in so far as it revolts against or deliberately dissociates itself from religion, may be regarded as scientific in its temper. Religion and secularism, if not antagonistic to each other, would in that case be regarded as two different approaches in no way concerned with each other.

But this is not all that is there to it. Secularism has also been taken as "a materialistic and rationalistic movement"⁸ and as an "an atheistic and materialistic movement".⁹ This approach towards secularism may be taken in a crude, unsophisticated sense, and secularism in that case may also be unscientific. Materialism, atheism, or even rationalism in its crude variety could be unscientific to the extent to which they lay stress on metaphysical dogma at the cost of genuine search for knowledge or truth, and if secularism identifies itself with any such outlook it can also be unscientific in its temper. I do not think, however, that one with secular outlook must be an atheist or materialist in this crude sense; one may simply have no concern for religion or spiritual matters.

There is a further problem here. Supposing that religious or spiritual matters need to be properly understood in the course of our search for knowledge or truth, supposing that

they are matters of importance in our search for knowledge of the world as a whole, it may so transpire that by ignoring these matters our genuine search for knowledge would be vitiated or misguided to that extent. At least a religious person would think it to be so and that is why the term 'secular' is used in a pejorative sense in the religious circle. If religion is ignored, or if there is a deliberately anti-religious trend associated with secularism, is it not itself unscientific? Are we doing justice to all aspects of life if in our search for truth or knowledge we ignore one of the most vital aspects, viz. the religious one? As Tillich points out, "religion opens up the depth of man's spiritual life which is usually covered by the dust of our daily life and noise of our secular work. It gives us the experience of the Holy, of something which is untouchable, awe-inspiring, an ultimate meaning, the source of ultimate courage. This is the glory of what we call religion".¹⁰ Here one must be very careful. A secular man, though not himself religious, need not ignore religion altogether. He may be a respecter of different religions and may try to understand them, try to see different forms of religious life with a detached look. On the other hand, even if he in his own private life subscribes to one of the various religious forms, he may, in so far as he has a secular outlook, develop respect for the other forms and have a detached and impartial outlook towards all religions. In that case, can we blame him to be unscientific? He may study different forms of religion with a scientific temper, and a secular man in that sense need not be unscientific.

And yet the problem is not over. Can we have an impartial, detached look at religions? And will our understanding of religion be adequate, if we look at it from a distance, so to say? Is it not unscientific if we make a secular study of religion which by its very nature is a matter of self-realisation? How can a secular man understand religion in any case? Secularism can thus be seen to be condemned at the outset in so far as religion is seen to be a matter of absolute and unconditional commitment. A secular man is neither religious nor is he scientific, from this point of view, because he either ignores religion or studies religion with a detached impartial outlook which is out of question in this particular sphere. Understanding religion, it may be said, is possible only by absolutely committing oneself to a particular religious form of life and this the secular man is unable to do because of his secularistic bias. True, there is a real problem here, from the standpoint of religion. But this applies *mutatis mutandis* to the scientific method also. Even the scientific temper can be put to question on the ground that it does not allow any scope for absolute commitment to anything other than an impartial and genuine search for knowledge. The type of knowledge which the scientist seeks is certainly very much different from what is sought for in religion. And once again the link between secularism and scientific temper becomes quite evident in so far as they both stand condemned at the doors of religion which stands for absolute commitment to a particular form of life. Secularism is scientific in its temper and scientific temper in this

sense must be secularistic, but both can be denigrated and condemned by a religious person in so far as his commitment, absolute commitment is to his own religious way of life. In this sense religion and science on the one hand and religion and secularism on the other can be seen to be opposed to each other.

Secularism, according to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, "does not mean irreligion. It means equal respect for all faiths and equal opportunities for those who profess any faith."¹¹ It is no doubt alright so far as it goes. The problem arises from the standpoint of absolute religious commitment when a particular religion claims an absolute loyalty to itself and to no other. In that case, equal respect for all faiths could itself be condemned as a mere sacrilege and down-right irreligious, from the stand point of that particular religion of course. Radhakrishnan speaks of a type of secularism which "does not mean irreligion or atheism or even stress on material comforts. It proclaims and lays stress on the universality of spiritual values which may be attained by a variety of ways."¹² What about this variety of secularism? Is it scientific in its temper? Or is it unscientific? How can we ever be sure of the universality of any spiritual value for that matter and how do we know that it can be attained by a variety of ways? And if this is only a matter of faith, even if it may not be unscientific in a pejorative sense, it is at least not scientific in its temper. For faith is not a matter of knowledge! Or is it a fact that faith gives us knowledge of an entirely different variety which of course is not scientific? But in that

case can we say that this is knowledge? Faith perhaps can give us an insight into the nature of things spiritual, but can we say that this is a variety of knowledge? How do I know that there is one and only one God, and the same God can be attained by a variety of ways? What makes us so certain, as Puspadanta would say, that all ways lead to one goal in religion?¹³

Secularism, then, in certain of its sense, need not be scientific in its temper, though it may not be unscientific in a pejorative sense. Secularism itself can be a matter of faith; for example, a secular man, in this sense, may have faith, as mentioned above, in the universality of spiritual values which can be attained in a variety of ways. To the extent, however, to which rationality forms the kernel of scientific temper as well as secularism both can be seen to be intimately related to each other. "A man is rational, "as Russell would tell us "in proportion as his intelligence informs and controls his desires."¹⁴ The scientific as well as the secular approach can be viewed as rational in so far as both of them do not allow desires, personal likes and dislikes to take the upper hand in any case. "There is no better synonym for 'rational', according to Popper, "than 'critical'. (Belief, of course, is never rational, it is rational to suspend belief.)"¹⁵ The attitudes of science and secularism towards different beliefs, though not identical, can be said to be rational in the sense of being critical in so far as they refuse to take sides in any religious dispute dogmatically. Similarly at another place Popper points out, "The readiness to learn from our mis-

takes, and to look out for them, I call the rational attitude. It is always opposed to authoritarianism".¹⁶ Both the scientific attitude and secularism are anti-authoritarian in one way or the other and are to that extent akin to each other.

There is a form of secularism which I designate as 'transcendental secularism'. The conceptions of *nishtraigunya*, *sthitaprajna*, *gunatita* and *jivanmukta* in Indian culture are secular, according to me, in this sense. These cannot by any stretch of imagination be regarded as involving either a religious' form of life in the traditional sense of 'religious' or being wedded in any way to the speculative dogmas of monism, dualism, pluralism etc. The freedom which is conceived here is unique and it may be regarded as secular in its outlook, provided it is borne in mind that there is no 'secularistic' fad involved in it. As a matter of principle at least the spirit of tolerance for the different forms of worship and devotion is a point to be noted here. It is in a sense both transcendental and trans-secular. It is secular, for it is not tied to any religious dogma or bias what-so-ever. But at the same time it is not secular in the ordinary sense of the term as it deliberately avoids all 'isms' including the so-called spiritualism, secularism and the like and is usually associated with a transcendental variety of monism subscribing to the view of non-duality of existence. This is not a passing phase but a significant and persistent trend in Indian culture which transcends all 'isms' including Hindu-ism, popularly so called. Viewed from the standpoint of

religious and moral values, it may be regarded as a transcendental form of secularism. What are we to make out of this? Is it scientific or unscientific in its temper? To me it appears that the question of being scientific or unscientific at least in certain sense does not arise in this connection. But in one sense at least it is scientific in its temper; the transcendence conceived here is a transcendence of all dogmas and prejudices, all 'isms' for that matter. Scientific transcendence of desires, tastes and interests, personal likes and dislikes has an undoubted affinity with the secular transcendence of all 'ism's, as is conceived in this context.

Now a question may arise in respect of all the above concepts of secularism, scientific temper and rationality etc. vis a vis those of religiosity, unscientific outlook and irrationality etc. Is any one of them superior to the other in respect of value? Is religion a greater value than secularism? Or is it other-wise true? Similarly, why should one prefer rationality to irrationality, scientific temper to unscientific approach?

Philosophers like Feyerabend have a strong apathy for both rationality and science. Feyerabend has drawn our attention to the vagaries of the so-called rationality, to the errors-cum-deceptions behind the phrase of "the objectivity of rational debate".¹⁷ "Rationality", according to him, "is not an arbiter of traditions, it is itself a tradition or an aspect of a tradition. It is therefore neither good or bad, it simply is."¹⁸ Feyerabend goes to the extent of making violently paradoxical

remarks in his statement that "it is always reasonable to introduce and try to keep alive unreasonable views".¹⁹ According to him, "reason, at least in the form in which it is defended by logicians, philosophers of science and some scientists does not fit science and could not have contributed to its growth. This is a good argument against those who admire science and are also slaves of reason. But science is not sacrosanct. The mere fact that it exists, is admired, has results, is not sufficient for making it a measure of excellence".²⁰ This is a question of value preference, according to me, and "with every value proposed", as Popper would say, "arises the problem: Is it true that this is a value? And is it true that it has its proper standing in the hierarchy of values: is it true that kindness is a higher value than justice or even comparable with justice"?²¹ Popper has no doubt raised a significant issue here, but no straightforward answer to the question of value can be given unless we commit ourselves to a particular scheme of values. When we have to choose among different systems or schemes we cannot avoid choice on the basis of our respective commitments which themselves, in their turn, can be subject to further value judgements, and so on. Our deliberations here only show that there is no escape from the domain of value which is autonomous in this sense. One thing, however, which can be said in favour of secularism, scientific temper, rationality, etc. is that they all leave open the possibility of a free debate and discussion about their values whereas religion, in the sense of religious dogma, a deliberately unscientific approach and irra-

tionality close all such discussion on the subject at the very outset. As Russell points out, "The world needs open hearts and open minds, and it is not through rigid system, whether old or new, that these can be derived."²² Far from being superior to rationality, the irrational cannot be at a par with rationality, because it is also opposed, and antagonistic to the intrinsic goal of human beings, viz. the goal of knowledge.

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STARTING OF SUPPLEMENTARY FOOD FOR INFANTS

Srimati Saswati Parichha

Infants in our country depend solely on breast milk alone during the first four to six months of life. And their growth rate during this period is satisfactory as compared to other countries. Mostly mothers produce adequate amount of breast milk during the early months of life. After delivery upto three to six months, there is a steady rise in the output of milk. Subsequently the milk output diminishes after that, except in a few cases, where substantial quantity of milk is secreted even as late as 18 months. Hence breast milk alone is not able to provide sufficient amounts of all the nutrients needed to maintain growth. If the baby is to maintain the expected rate of growth and remain healthy and well nourished, in addition to the breast milk some supplementary foods must be given to the infant. On the basis of unit body-weight, the infant has need for greater amounts of nourishing food than and adult. Extra nourishment is required to provide for the continuous increase in the size of every part of his body.

As the child grows, its range of activities increases. The actively growing tissues and the high energy output demand more of the 'protective' nutrients to regulate the various func-

tions of the body and to keep the young one in perfect health.

It is observed, that often the type of supplement given to an infant is unsuitable and inadequate for its growth.

Growth rate of the infant :

Whether the infant gets adequate nourishment or not is often assessed by following the gain in body weight. An average and well nourished infant doubles its birth weight at the 5th month and trebles at 12 months. As the baby grows, he will not only gain more slowly but also irregularly.

From Harvard standards - Stuart and Stevenson 1959

Age in months	Body length in cm		Body weight in kg	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
At birth	50.6	50.2	3.4	3.4
2) 3	60.4	59.5	5.7	5.6
3) 6	66.4	65.2	7.6	7.3
4) 9	71.2	70.1	9.1	8.7
5) 12	75.2	74.2	10.1	9.8

It is suggested that these figures are used as a guide for observing the healthy growth of a baby and not used as a strict criterion to assess the young one's health. Some babies may gain more while some others less.

How to wean a baby :

All babies are not alike. There are individual differences. Starting of food supplements depend on the digestive power of the infant, his likes or dislikes, his appetite and availability of food during a particular season.

There should not be any rigid rule in the choice of supplement and the time of introduction of the supplement. Weaning is a gradual process whereby breast feeding is substituted by artificial feeding until breast feeding is completely stopped. At the beginning the baby is given small quantity of the chosen supplementary food to reduce the number of feeds of breast feeding. Only the early morning and late night nursings are to be continued until 12 months. After one year the baby is capable of eating and digesting a variety of foods.

Addition of supplementary food :

1) Liquid supplements :

At about 4 months of age the frequency of breast feeding should be reduced to 3 to 4 times per day. Animal milk preferable cow's milk may be used as a suitable substitute of breast milk. 225 ml. of milk per feed and two times a day is an ideal replacement. A small quantity of sugar is added to the milk. Since the proportion of nutrients in animal milk differs from that of human milk in the beginning little boiled and cooled water is added for easy digestion. Gradually the water dilution is reduced to the minimum at about six months. In addition to the milk, fruit juice such as tomato juice and orange juice are strained, sweetened and diluted with water and can be given to the baby. In the beginning fruit juice is diluted with equal amount of boiled water and 3-4 spoons are fed per day. The quantity of juice given is increased and water dilution is decreased as the baby grows. This fruit juice will provide some of

the protective nutrients like Vitamins and minerals. A small quantity of fish liver oil such as cod liver oil or shark liver oil should be given as a daily supplement to the diet. This will provide Vit. A & D in liberal amount. This should first be started from a few drops per day and then increased upto 1 t.s.f. per day.

Solid supplement after meshing :

At around 7 to 8 months of age the child must be provided with well cooked and mashed cereal i.e. rice, wheat or potato etc. A small quantity of milk and sugar may be added so that the final product has gruel or paste like consistency. A little salt and ghee or butter may be added for taste.

Green leafy vegetable and non leafy vegetable boiled in small quantity of water, the extracted soup with a pinch of salt can be given. The boiled water is strained through a cloth or strainer. In case of non-leafy vegetable only the soft pulp is mashed well, discarding the skin and the seeds and fed to the infant.

Other supplements can be given such as half boiled egg yolk. Around one year of age soft boiled egg white or egg whole can be given. Mashed banana, finely minced or ground, well cooked meat, mashed fish, finely cooked and mashed dal or stewed fruit pulp can also be given.

Solid supplement without mashing :

When the baby starts cutting his teeth it is the time to start changing him over to chopped and lumpy food. Soft

cooked rice, chappatti, bits of potato can be given. Fruits can be given as segments. Vegetables chopped into small pieces can be given. After one year green leafy vegetables can be given after soft boiling.

A baby's gum needs exercise for the new teeth to grow. A piece of hard biscuit is ideal for him to chew. 2 to 3 times, boiled cooled water may have to be given a day and more frequently during the hot weather for easy digestion.

Hints on the introduction of supplementary food :

There should not be any rigid rule in the choice of supplement and the time of introduction of the supplement. Generally after the age of six months the baby has need for a diet more varied than only breast milk.

- 1) Introduce only one new food at a time, continue it for a few days continuously until the baby learns to like it.
- 2) At the beginning give only small quantity of new food until the infant becomes used to the taste.
- 3) After a baby learns to take a particular food well, we may start the next one, so that the baby learns to accept a good variety of foods.
- 4) Allow the baby some choice in food. A baby's appetite varies a lot from meal to meal and day to day. The mother should not

be worried when the baby develops a temporary dislike.

- 5) If the baby is refusing or disliking a particular food without any reason, it should not be forced on the baby. Another food may be substituted or the food may be mixed with another food that the baby likes.
- 6) It is better to give food separately rather than in mixtures. By this the baby will be acquainted with the taste of each individual food.
- 7) During hot weather the child may not eat as much as he used to take.
- 8) Foods that give allergic reactions such as rash, swelling etc. is to be stopped immediately.
- 9) Teething, cold and other minor upsets will also take away much of the appetite. Forcing to eat under these circumstances leads to vomiting etc.
- 10) Remember that over-feeding a baby leads to complications. Hence preparations like pulse or meat or fish or egg may be given alternatively, so that the baby receives each of them 3 to 4 times per week.

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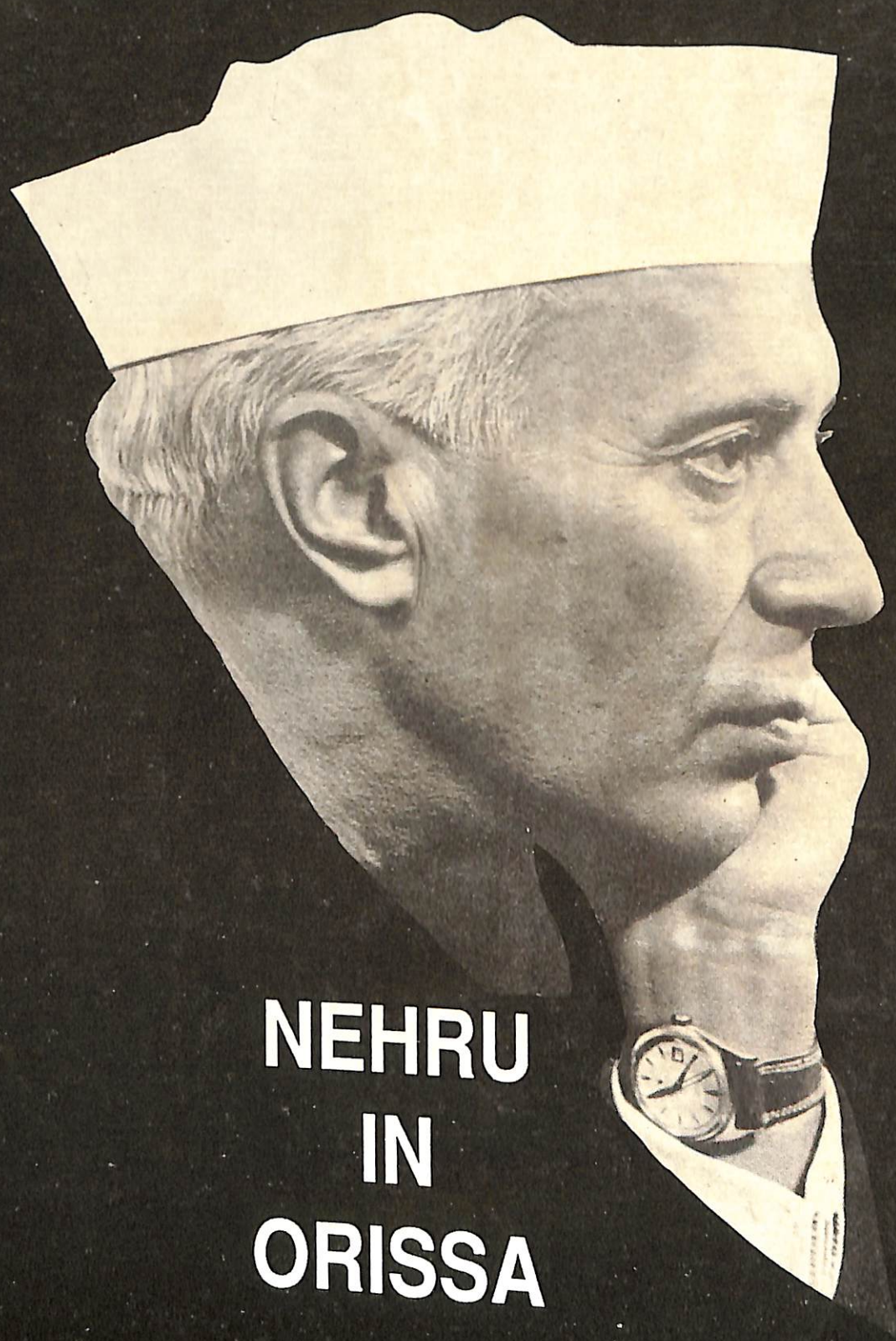
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