

ADDRESS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
INDIA LEAGUE OF AMERICA DINNER FOR MADAME PANDIT, AMBASSADOR OF INDIA
WALDORF ASTORIA HOTEL, NEW YORK, MAY 24, 1949

I take particular pleasure in joining the members of the India League of America this evening in welcoming Madame Pandit, India's new Ambassador in Washington.

Madame Pandit brings a wealth of talent and experience to her new assignment; a staunch follower of that apostle of peace, the immortal Mahatma Gandhi, she was an active worker in the Indian National Congress for many years. She was the first woman to be appointed minister in one of the first elected Provincial governments in India during the 1930's.

Her keen interest in the cause of international peace was effectively expressed in her leadership of the Indian delegation to the last three sessions of the United Nations General Assembly. In this international forum her active leadership for those principles of truth and freedom for which Gandhi had given his life, contributed to the process of building the United Nations as the firm bulwark for the international peace we all desire. For the past two years she has served her country as India's first Ambassador to the U.S.S.R.

We in the United States have watched with sympathy, affection, and understanding, India's long struggle for independence and we welcomed her with cordiality when, her immediate objective reached, she joined the family of independent nations two years ago.

The imagination of the American people had been captured by that struggle and by the strength and high purpose of Gandhi's leadership. Since Gandhi's tragic death, which so shocked and grieved the whole world, our eyes have been focused on the most highly esteemed of his disciples, the Prime Minister of India, Pandit Nehru, who is guiding the great Indian people through these difficult, early days of their newly regained freedom. We look to Madame Pandit, who is not only India's Ambassador, but also the illustrious sister of Prime Minister Nehru, as a faithful interpreter of India's leaders and people.

Madame Pandit is no stranger to these shores. She has visited the United States on several occasions in the past, and two of her children spent part of their school years in this country. Her return to the United States now, in this high official capacity, I feel to be sincere evidence of her desire to promote mutual understanding among our two peoples.

There already exist many bonds which bind us in friendship to India. The traditional love of freedom and democracy held by the Indian people strikes a similar chord in us. We likewise believe that this democratic freedom can flourish only in a world at peace, a world in which the fruits of the earth and of man's ingenuity are freely carried to all peoples.

Like India, we believe that a free democratic political system exists for the benefit of its citizens. These ties between India and the United States now exist. It is now our pleasant duty to work for their strengthening.

In recent weeks events have helped to focus our eyes primarily on Europe. In Asia we have all been concerned and puzzled by the enigma of China. No such puzzling situation obtains in India. She is a great and rich country, a nation which fought beside us in the second World War and which has associated itself in the cause of peace since the war. India is a nation of ever-increasing democracy, whose leaders today are among the great and wise men of our times. Her government, under such leadership, is emerging as a politically and economically stable administration, despite the tremendous difficulties imposed by partition of the sub-continent and by the economic dislocations which India shares with most of the rest of the world. It is in India and the rest of South-East Asia that the real struggle for men's minds is now taking place.

There, newly enfranchised peoples will soon be able for the first time in modern history to go to the polls and determine the sort of government which will administer their countries. Many of these people are illiterate. Their knowledge of the democratic system is composed solely of a fundamental, instinctive love for freedom. The problems of these governments

in education and in the maintenance of a standard of living above starvation level, are therefore enormous. And there is the ever present danger that totalitarianism, in one form or another, may step in where men and women lack the necessities of decent living.

In the South Asian area we recognize India as an essential element in the maintenance of political and economic stability. Without stability in South Asia it is no exaggeration to say that there can be no real peace in the world. It is in our interests therefore, in the cause of that peace which the American people so desire, to work in effective collaboration with the people and the Government of India.

The sub-continent has been the source of many great and ancient civilizations. We are now happy to be associated with a new India as she resumes her place in world affairs. I know that, working closely with other like-minded nations, she can be a powerful factor in our efforts to attain that common purpose.

Yes, I repeat, in South Asia we recognize India as an essential element in the maintenance of political and economic stability in that area. Without stability in Southern Asia, without freedom for Asiatics, without education for the people of Asia, without food and nourishment for the children of Asia - there can be no real peace in the world.

India is not a question mark. In every way she belongs to the family of free nations. Her needs are no secret; they are all too evident. Her aspirations are not hidden; her ideals are not camouflaged.

With these needs, aspirations and ideals in mind, our task here in the United States is clear if we would help build a free world:

First, we must recognize the needs of India as being equally crucial as those of Europe. With this in mind, we must understand that vast numbers of her peoples are poverty-stricken and uneducated, that India's national economy is only \$13,636,300,000 for her 337,000,000 people as compared to our approximately \$224 billion in 1948 for our 140,000,000 people. Her per capita income therefore is about one-fortieth of ours. It would be in the best interest of world peace and world order for America to extend direct financial assistance to India under the same terms as our Marshall Plan program for Europe.

To be sure, India can and will use the facilities of the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization. These are the facilities which have been made available in this postwar period for the relief and rehabilitation of peoples who are recovering from the ravages of war and who are attempting to develop and improve their economies. Yes, these facilities are not only available but it is to the interest of all nations that they be effectively utilized. This, however, does not minimize our opportunity for direct assistance through grants and loans under terms similar to the E.C.A. to our friend, the Republic of India.

Secondly, we must recognize the legitimate self-government aspirations of the countries of South-East Asia and avoid aid or comfort or encouragement to any European nation now attempting to maintain an old, antiquated colonial system by continuing to subjugate the peoples of Southeastern Asia.

Thirdly, we must recognize that there are many areas in which our two countries can co-operate to our mutual benefit in the development of commerce and industrial techniques in the advances which are obtained from scientific progress.

India needs help to bring her riches out of the ground, to extend her industrial production, to feed her expanding economy. India needs our support in that venture quickly and adequately. In 1947/48 India reclaimed 32,306 acres of land for agriculture. She is now working to reclaim 100,000 acres more. Her industrial production is increasing. She is now producing electrical supplies, Diesel engines, bicycles, superphosphates, caustic sodas, soda ash, sugar, hydrogenated oils and soaps at a new high peak. We must help her.

American private capital will find a welcome market in India. The government of that nation has indicated its friendly attitude toward private investment and industrial development. In view of the great potentialities for a mass market and the possibilities of development of the natural resources of India, it should be expected that American private capital will flow to India

in ever-increasing amounts. We must remember, however, that the days of capital exploitation or of economic imperialism are over. Capital has a moral obligation to serve the people and not to exploit them. Private capital has every right to expect a reasonable profit. It also has an obligation to be reasonable in its relationships with the people and the government.

Fourthly, we must strengthen the ties that bind us and I suggest that we give serious consideration to the formulation of a program for educational opportunities and advancements, and in which Indian students are given an opportunity to make use of the educational facilities and opportunities in our country on the basis of scholarships provided by our government. In turn, it is important that we encourage American students to go to India so that we may know each other and grow to respect one another.

Finally, we must recognize that America must redeem itself in the eyes of the people of India, and must earn for itself again the position of world moral leadership. The birth of a new India should lead us here to rededicate ourselves to the principles of human equality which gave the early sustenance to our new nation. We must remember that we were the nation which gave to the world the political ideal that all men are equal, that men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights - that all men have these rights. To do that, it is altogether fitting and proper that we forcefully demonstrate again our belief in these principles by acting to ensure a climate and an atmosphere in our society which would allow our brethren and fellow citizens of whatever color, race, creed or national origin, to walk again with heads raised high and with dignity.

The future of the world, my fellow Americans, lies across the Pacific. Let us not allow that future to escape us. Let us understand that fact; let us understand that the Asiatic peoples are rising to greatness and strength. Let us understand that they wish to be our friends; that they can be our friends; and that they will be our friends if we welcome them as friends. Let us act like friends. Let us act towards them like fellow citizens in one world. Let us help them in their struggles for stability, for maintenance and sustenance. Let us in our attitude toward them and in our demonstration of that attitude, through our laws - including our immigration laws - prove the sincerity of our convictions.

The interests of the United States and India are interdependent. Together we can help build a world order and a world society based on freedom and democracy. Madame Pandit, in the agony of the world's crisis today, we urge you, your brother, your country and your people, in your zeal for democracy, in your incisive, cool thinking, to help give us a vision which will blaze the path toward the realization of the great ideals we share.



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