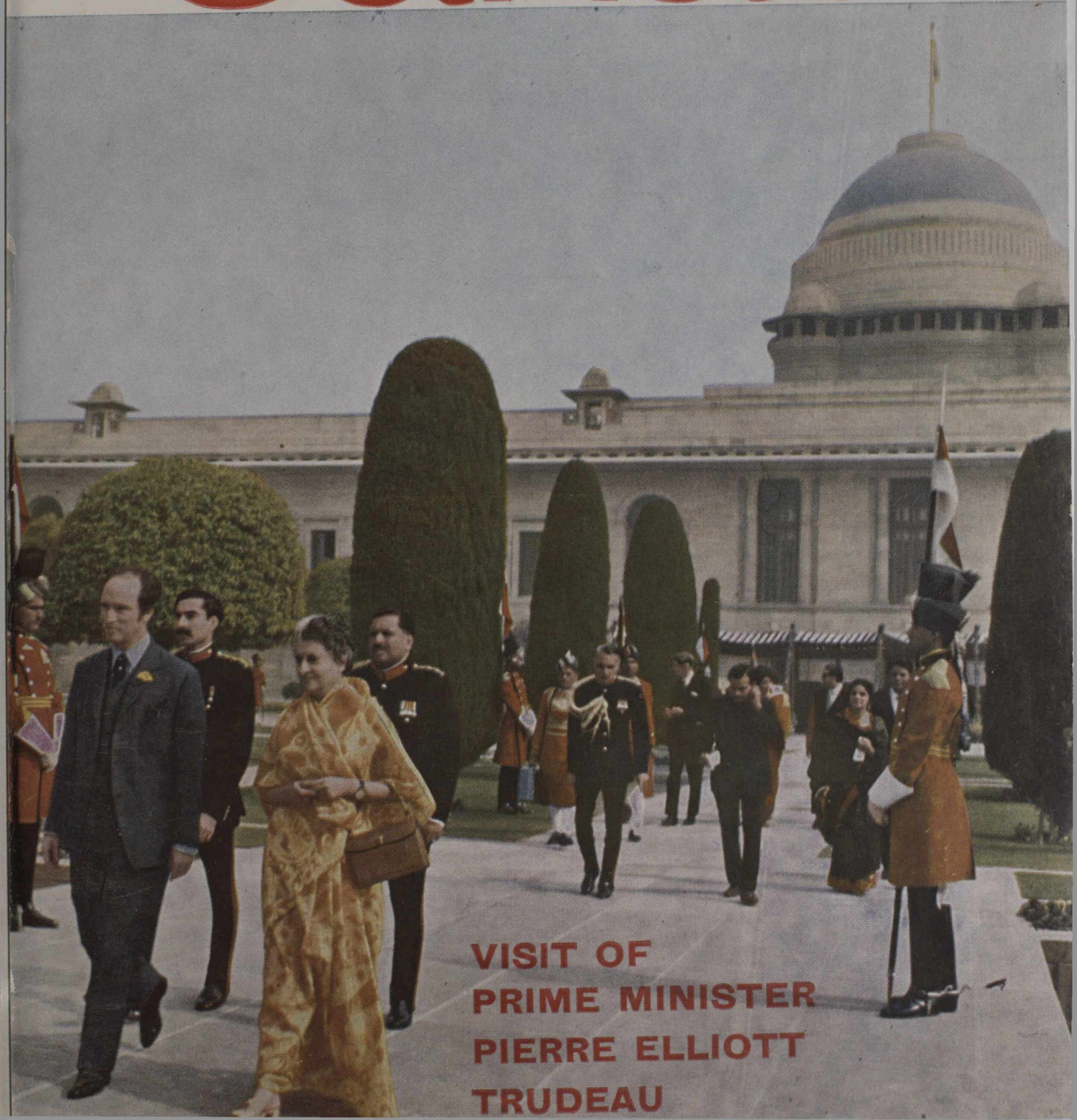


January—February, 1971

New Delhi

Canada



**VISIT OF
PRIME MINISTER
PIERRE ELLIOTT
TRUDEAU**

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Welcome in Agra.

Shahjahan's Tomb in the
Taj Mahal.

Cover:
The Prime Ministers,
Mr. Trudeau and
Mrs. Gandhi in the
Moghul Gardens of
Rashtrapathi Bhavan.
Photo: Baldev—New
Delhi.



MR. TRUDEAU IN INDIA

9-13 JANUARY, 1971

The Greeks have a word for it: "Only the mountains never meet." When Mr. Pierre Elliott Trudeau came back to India as Prime Minister of Canada he could not, of course, have quite the same kind of contacts with the people of India that he had had on his previous visits more than twenty years ago, but, as the following pages of this record of the visit attest, he did meet people of all ages and stations not only in Delhi but outside. He saw something of village India. He made his bow at shrines and monuments close to the hearts of each of the main traditions of India. He met one of India's great teachers in her ashram. He revisited a Canadian Christian mission and met again some of the Fathers who had befriended him in 1949. And at the Diesel Locomotive Works in Varanasi (Benares) he saw something of the contribution Canada has been making to the most modern Indian achievements in industrial technology.

Whether with the Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi, or with her Foreign Minister Sardar Swaran Singh and their senior officials, or with the students of Jawaharlal Nehru University, or with the press, there was a dialogue, an exchange, a real relationship. In the transcript of the main speeches and interviews of the visit which are here presented for the record, something of Prime Minister Trudeau's own spontaneity and of the warmth with which he was everywhere received comes through on these pages. Even the camel in Umraha Village, near Varanasi seemed happy to carry him though not to let him go.

History will judge the importance of Mr. Trudeau's visit to India as a preliminary to the Singapore Conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers where the Commonwealth survived one of its most severe tests. The visit was also an opportunity of clearing away any possible misunderstandings between two countries that, although far away geographically, have been close together on many world issues of the past 24 years and in economic terms have been important partners in development. It is not too soon, however, to say that whatever else the visit may have achieved it has certainly brought India and Canada closer together. It was garlands, garlands, all the way.

Highlights of Mr. Trudeau's Program

Saturday, 9 January	5.45 p.m. Arrival at Agra. Briefings and staff consultations over dinner at the hotel followed by a visit to the Taj Mahal by moonlight.
Sunday, 10 January	A.M. Visited the Mathura Museum and temples in the Mathura/Vrindavan area returning via Akbar's Tomb, Agra. Lunch on the plane to Varanasi. P.M. In the surroundings of Varanasi-Sarnath Museum and Stupa; Mahabodi Society Temple, Canadian Catholic Mission.

Monday, 11 January

Evening. Exhibition of brocades and other handicrafts; music and dance recital after dinner.

A.M. Visited Umraha Village; then up the Ganges by boat to visit Anandamayee Ma's Ashram. Stopped at St. John's School before visiting Diesel Locomotive Works.

Departure after lunch for Agra. 4.30 p.m. Arrived Delhi; to Rashtrapathi Bhavan. Mr. Trudeau called on Mrs. Gandhi and Sardar Swaran Singh then called on Mr. Trudeau.

Mrs. Gandhi presented a gala concert of music and dance at the Fine Arts Theatre in honour of Prime Minister Trudeau and Prime Minister Heath.

Mr. Trudeau and Mr. Heath then dined privately at the British High Commissioner's residence.

Tuesday, 12 January

After laying a wreath at the Gandhi Memorial, Raj Ghat, Mr. Trudeau returned to Rashtrapathi Bhavan for the main session of official talks, first privately with Mrs. Gandhi and later with officials.

After calling on President V. V. Giri, Mr. Trudeau attended a luncheon in the gardens of Rashtrapathi Bhavan given by Mrs. Gandhi and then went to the Canadian High Commissioner's residence to meet the Canadian community. He then visited the new Canadian Chancery which is under construction.

He then held a lively dialogue with the students at Nehru University followed by a press conference and an All India Radio TV interview.

In the evening Mr. Trudeau gave a dinner for Mrs. Gandhi at the Canadian High Commissioner's residence. Ustad Vilayat Khan and Pandit Samta Prasad gave a recital (sitar and tabla) after dinner.

Wednesday, 13 January

Mr. Trudeau left for Singapore at 9.20 a.m.

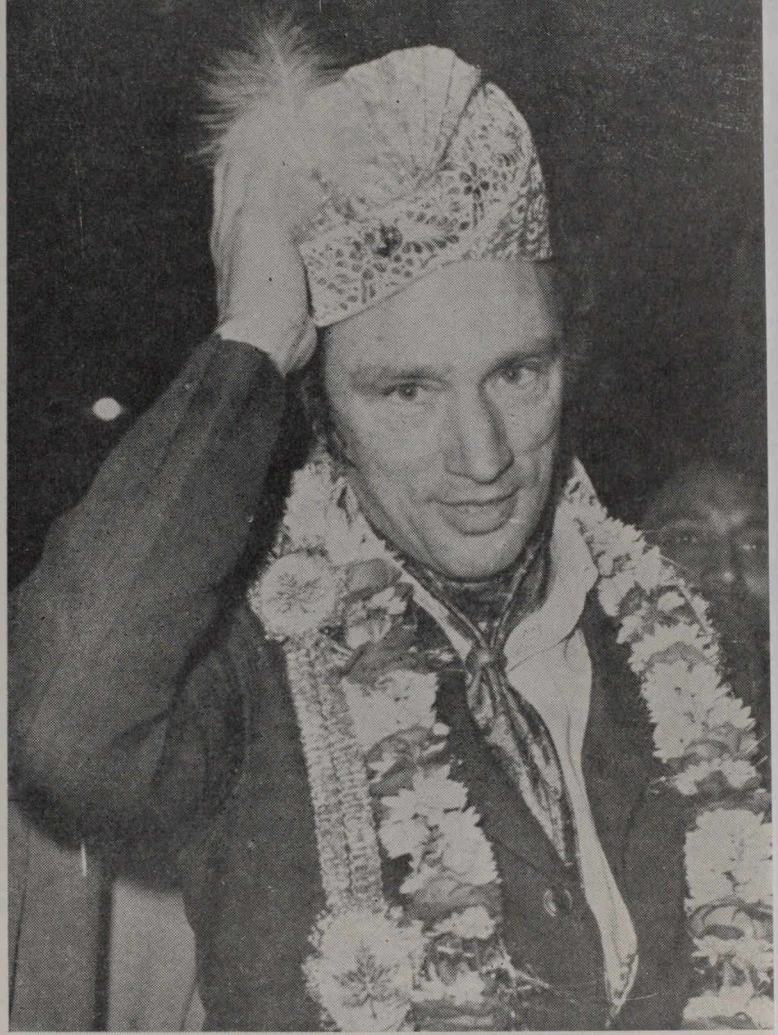


At Shri Ranganathji Temple,
Vrindavan. Mr. Trudeau and
his Parliamentary Assistant,
Mr. B. J. Danson.

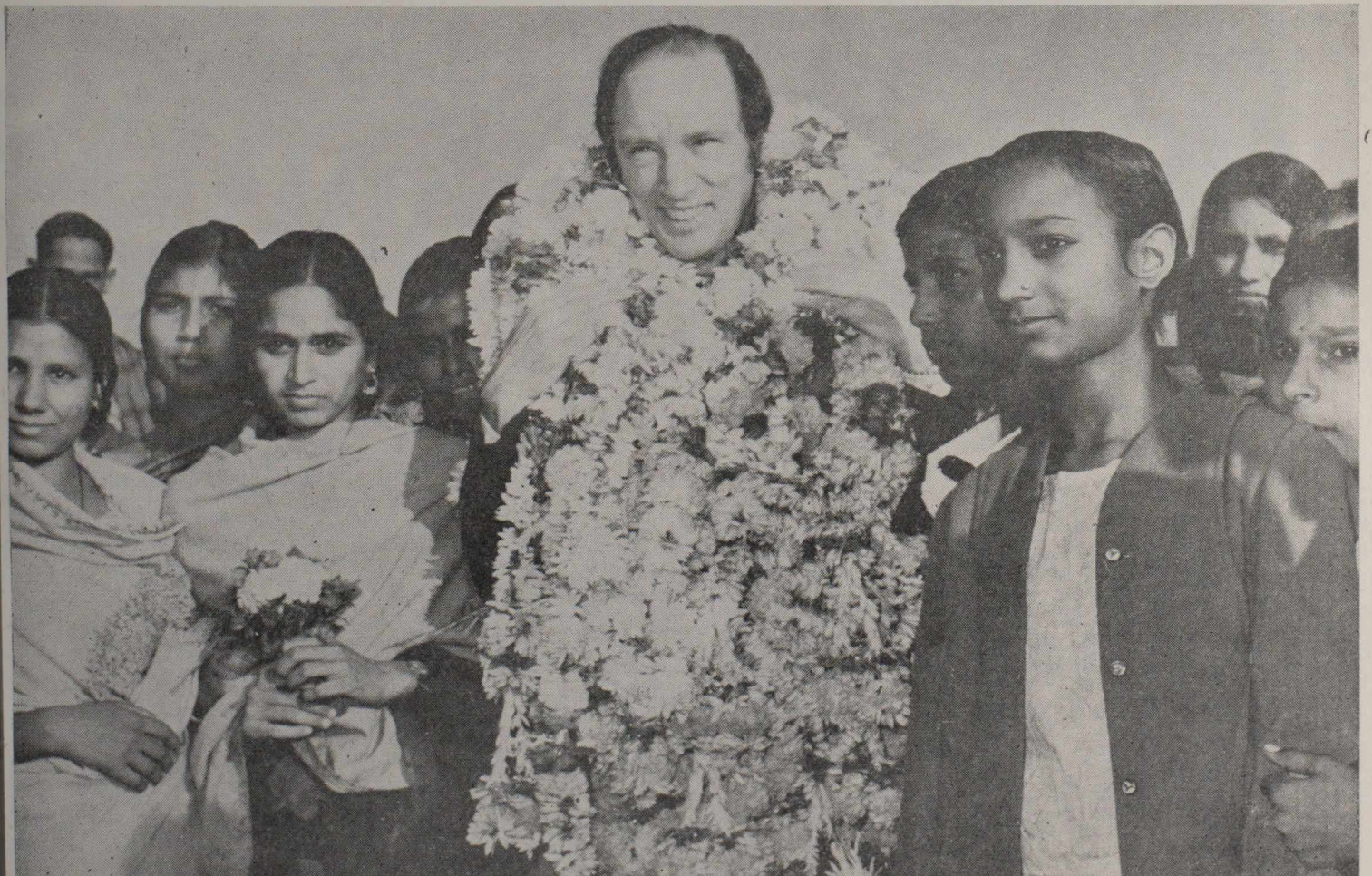


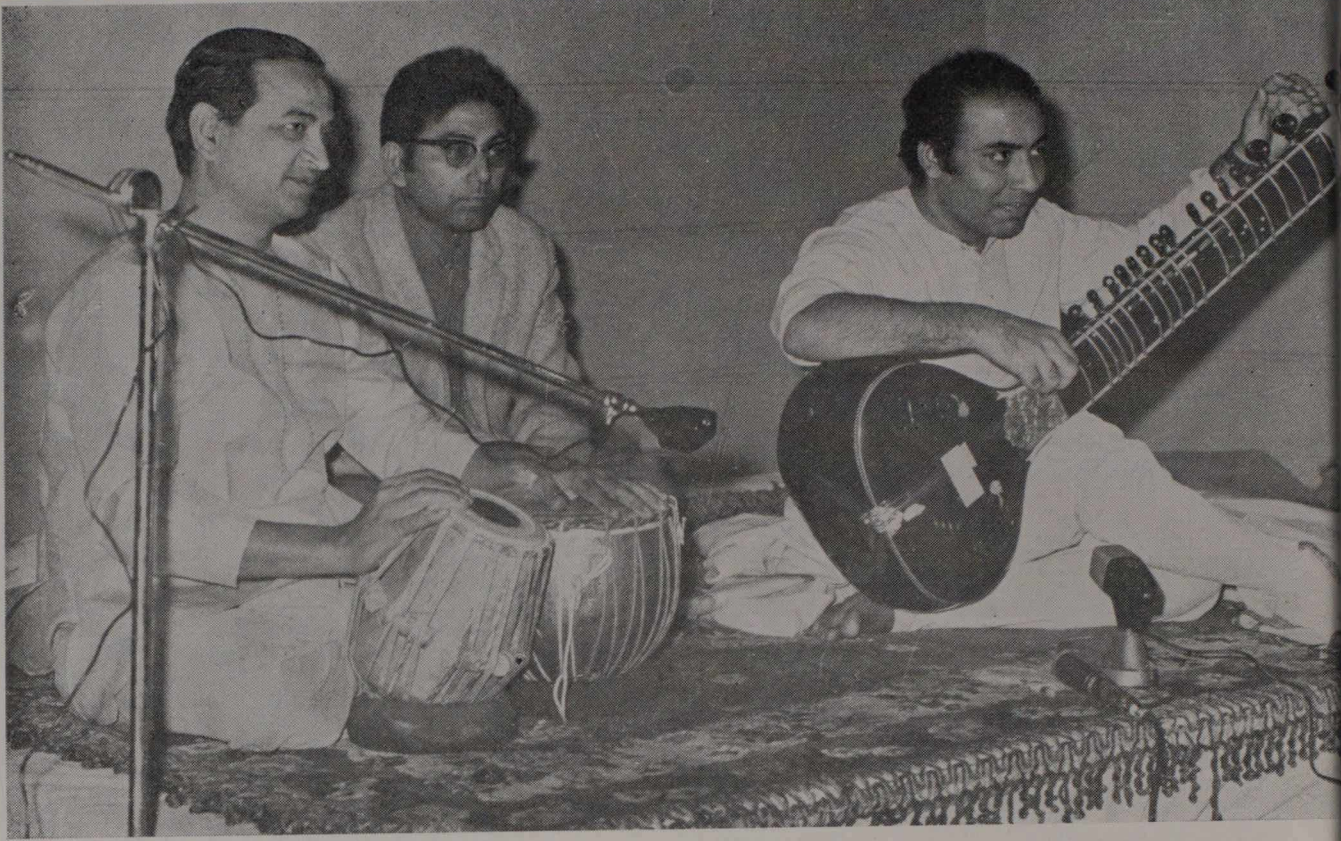
Geeta Temple,
Mathura.

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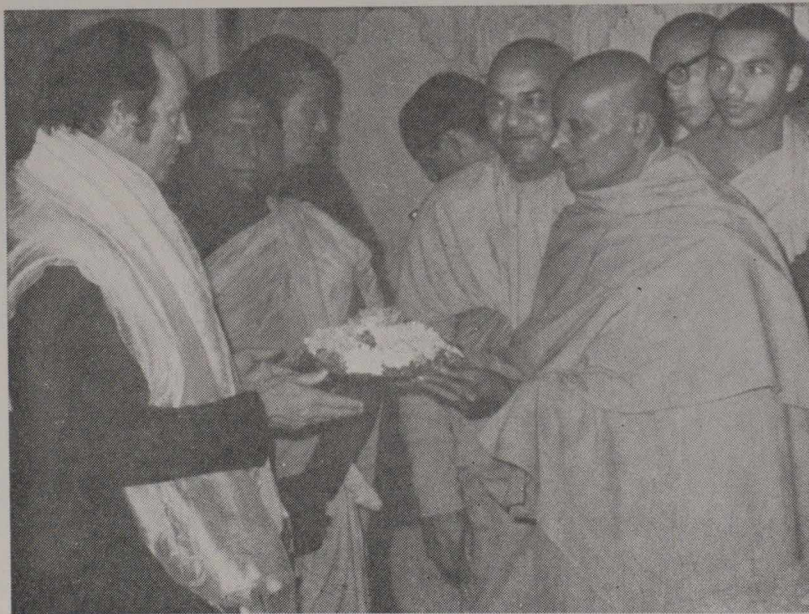


Welcome





Ustad Imrat Hussain Khan at a sitar recital for the Prime Minister in Varanasi. His brother, Ustad Vilayat Khan, played for Mr. Trudeau in Delhi.

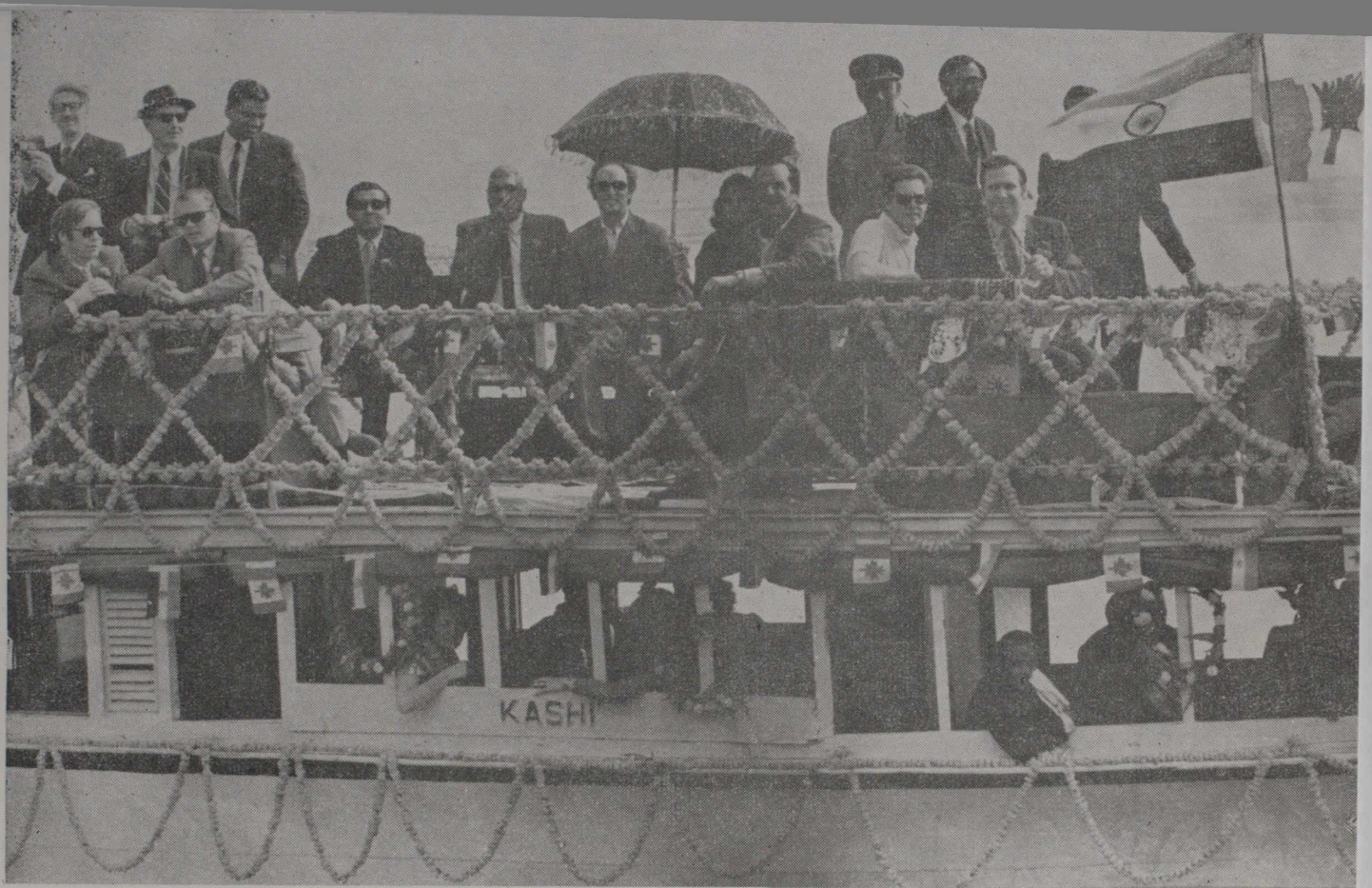


Receiving Biessings at the Maha Bhodi Society Temple, Sarnath.



Ashoka Pillar, Sarnath Museum.

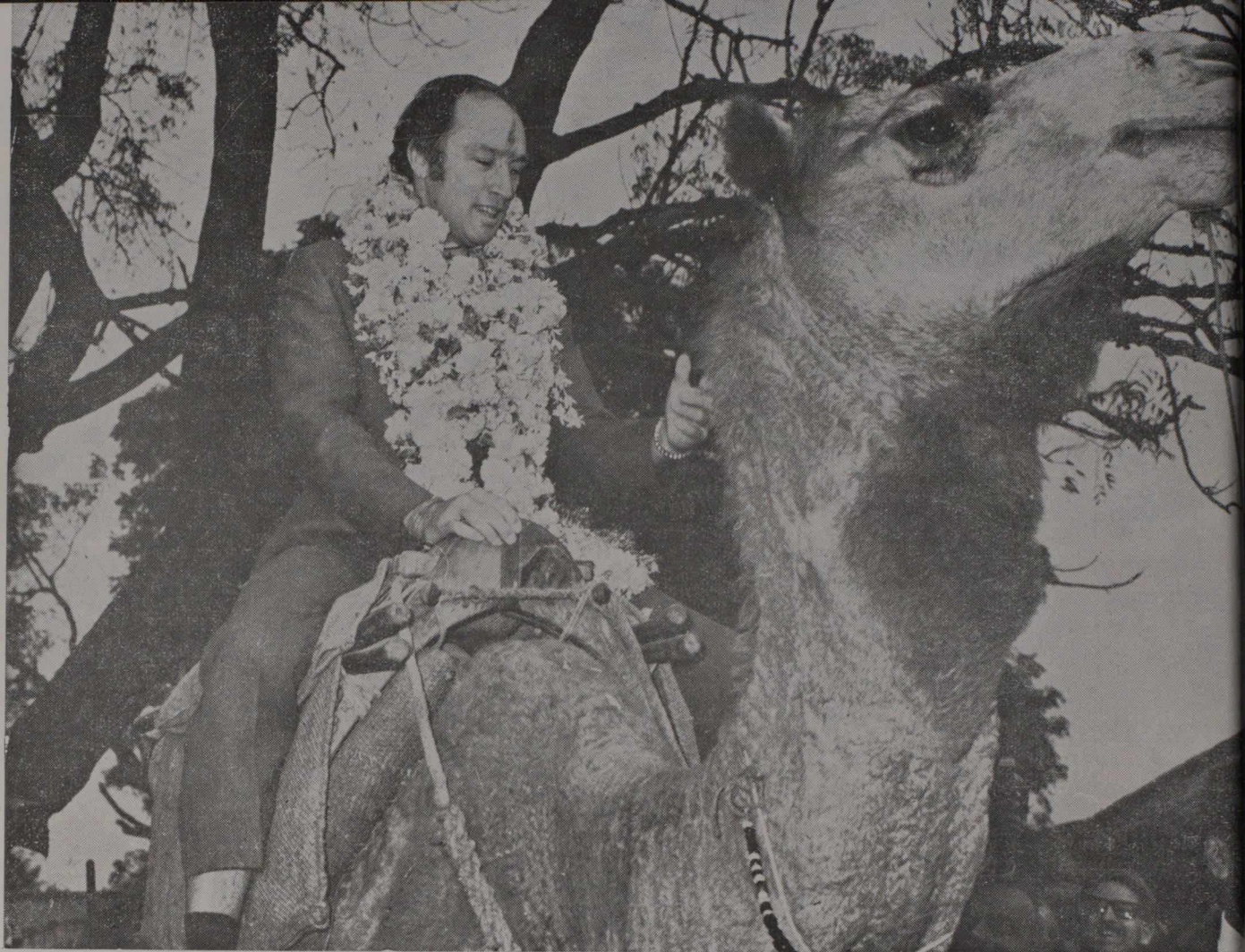




Up the River Ganges
by boat.



Arrival at Hanuman Ghat,
Varanasi, to visit Ananda-
mayee Ma's Ashram.

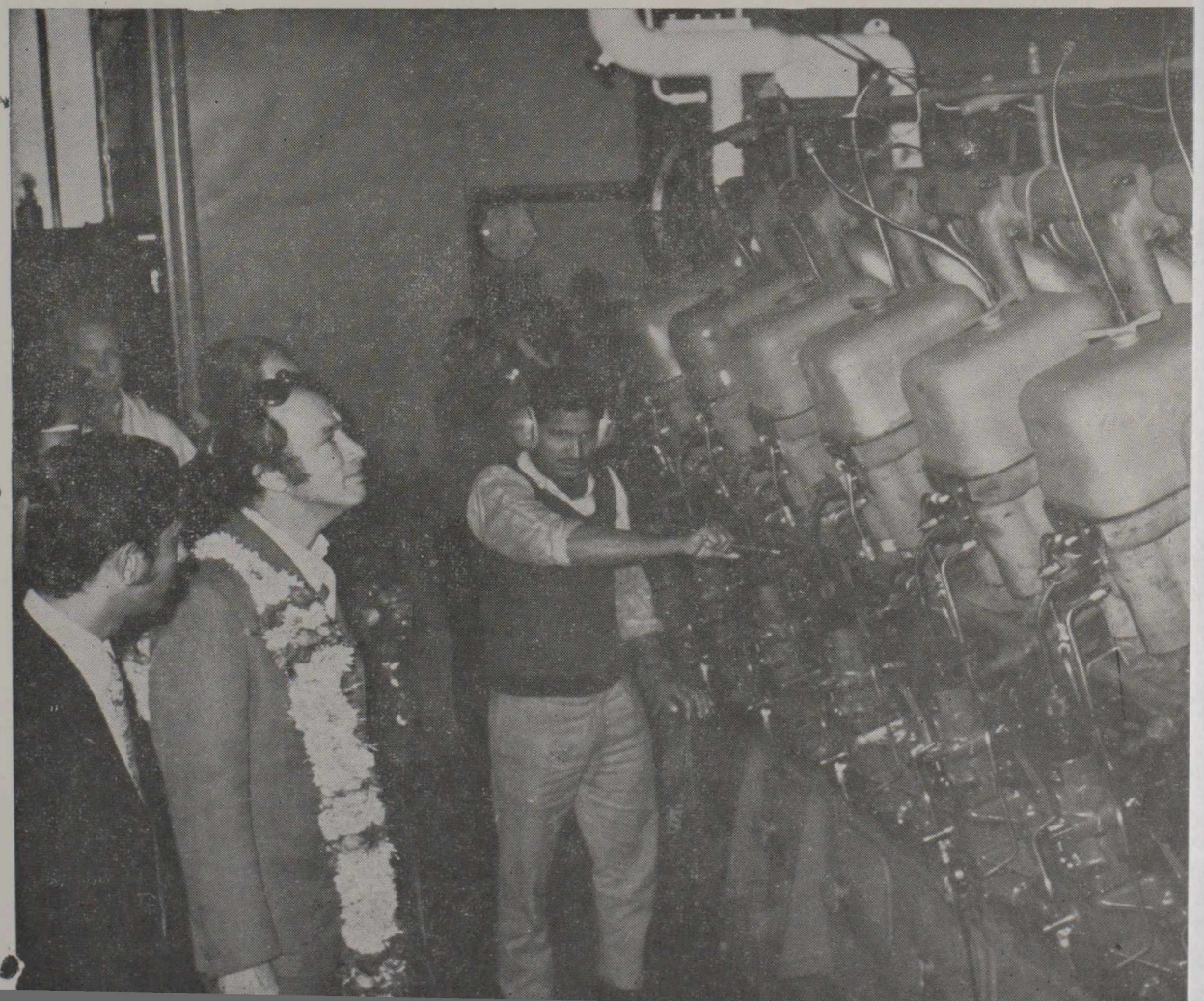


Umraha Village, near Varanasi.





Diesel Locomotive Works
Varanasi.

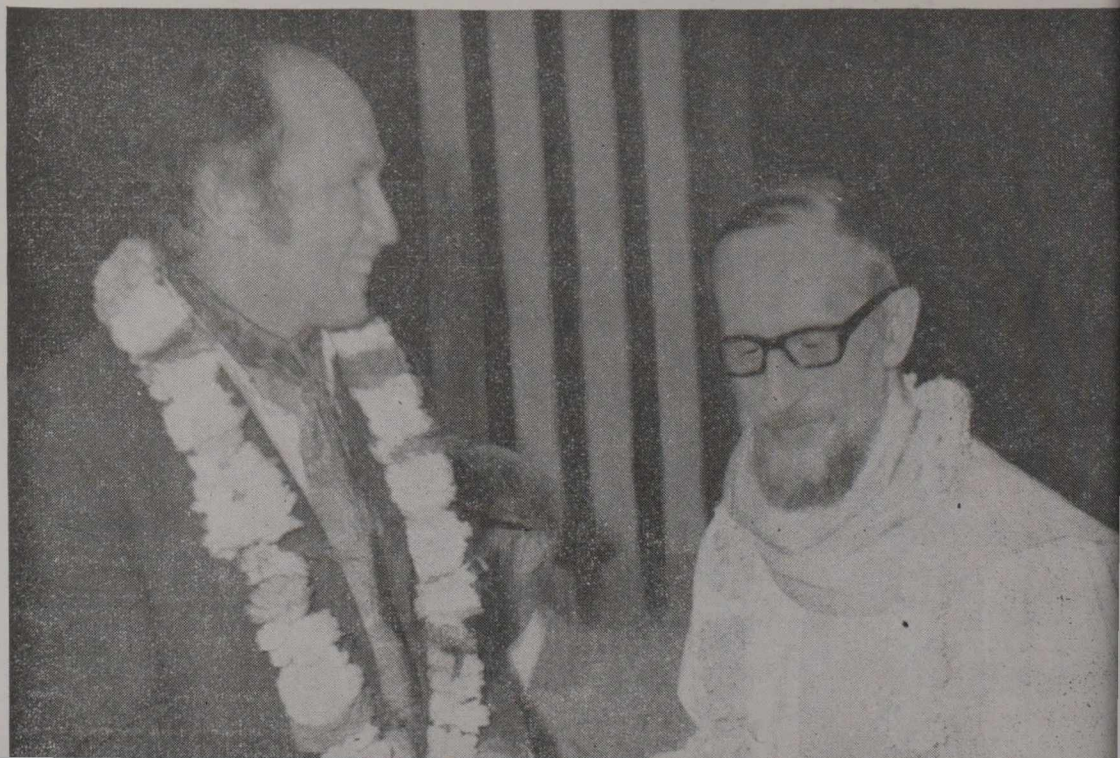




THEN . . .

When Mr. Trudeau was in India in 1949, he visited Varanasi and stayed with Father Malenfant. The picture above shows Mr. Trudeau hand wrestling with Father Reid while Father Yvon looks on. Below: Mr. Trudeau and Msgr. Malenfant together again during his visit to Varanasi in January.

AND NOW







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Welcome.

Guard of Honour.





**Welcome by Canadians:
Prime Minister Gandhi, Mr. B. J. Danson,
the Prime Minister, Miss Brenda Thomas
and Mr. G. A. H. Pearson.**

**Mr. James George, Mrs. Vickie Henry
and Dr. E. Moulton.**



ARRIVAL STATEMENTS

It is indeed a pleasure to greet you in New Delhi. You have seen India perhaps as no other outsider has, travelling third-class and doing many things which others normally don't. But in these last two days perhaps you have sensed something of the change and excitement through which this country is passing today. The tasks which confront us are of incomparable magnitude because of our numbers, and also because we are at a time when all the inevitable conflicts; the conflict between the generations; the conflict between tradition and modernity; the conflicts generated by disparities and inequalities; are at their peak. We welcome you as a leader of a nation with whom we have a warm and growing friendship and as a statesman whose vision, dynamism and perceptive involvement with the future have a relevance beyond the borders of Canada. Your visit brings Canada closer to our people. We have been looking forward to your coming and we wish you and your party an interesting and enjoyable stay with us.

Prime Minister Gandhi



AT PALAM AIRPORT

May I first thank you for your very warm words of welcome, Madame Prime Minister, and also for calling to mind the very happy visits I had to India on previous occasions. I only wish that at this time I had more opportunity to see the cities, the villages, the temples, that I saw at much leisure in previous trips, and also to meet the people who were so kind to me, who were wise and friendly and made my passage in your country such a warm one.

This, as you know, is the third visit of a Canadian Prime Minister to India; Mr. St. Laurent was here in 1954 and Mr. Diefenbaker in 1958 and I know you will take this as an indication of the lasting interest that Canada has in India and the lasting friendship which we know unites our people.

You mentioned, Madame Prime Minister, the problems we have in common. We also have in common a great number of other values. We are committed to the preservation of democracy. We believe in freedom under law and we know that our two very large countries will be united in their desire to meet the problems we have in common and that is one of the reasons I am very happy to be visiting with you and to have the opportunity over the next days to have longer talks with you and your Ministers.

So thank you very much for your hospitality. In the name of all the Canadian party I want to tell you how happy we are to be here.

Prime Minister Trudeau

Official Talks: High Commissioner James George, the Prime Minister and Mr. Ivan Head, Special Assistant to the Prime Minister.



Prime Minister Indira Gandhi: State Luncheon

It is a pleasure to have you, Prime Minister, with us this afternoon. A vast distance separates our two countries. In history and tradition, we do not have much in common. But the political objectives of our people are similar. We stand unflinchingly for the causes for which we in India have been striving. Like you, we seek to build a multi-lingual, multi-religious society based on participatory democracy. But the people can be persuaded to keep alive their faith in democracy only if it gives a promise of results; otherwise they will feel compelled to look elsewhere. Time does not wait, nor do vast numbers who are emerging from the apathy of ages.

You have been quoted as saying that you dream all the time, dream of a society—and I quote—“Where each person should be able to fulfil himself to the extent of his capabilities as a human being, a society where inhibitions to equality would be eradicated.” We can understand you for we share this dream. Much that has happened in India is proof that dreams do come true and that dreams are the stuff of what is most worthwhile in life. But dreams have to be made real.

We are here faced today with unprecedented social change. The question is not merely of fully utilising our resources, or augmenting our production, but of ensuring that the benefit from these has the widest possible distribution, so that social and economic justice reaches down to the weaker sections of our society. It is our endeavour to narrow the disparities in our society, against which you also have expressed a feeling of repugnance, and the discrimination which have caused so much hardship to vast numbers of our people and which have prevented us from sharing in man's progress towards a better world.



Official Talks: Shri T. N. Kaul, Foreign Secretary, Sardar Swaran Singh, Minister of External Affairs and Prime Minister Gandhi.

You know India from before. But even a brief visit is sufficient to recognize that it is not an easy task for the whole people to step out of old habits and customs which have hardened over the centuries. Everywhere, the static and the dynamic are in conflict and those who see the shape of things to come, who are willing to adjust so as to make the transition smoother, are usually in a minority. The experience of the past can at best be a preparation for new challenges. We need the capacity to ask questions; we need vision to grasp the problems of the future; we need courage to act. Answers come from those who care enough to seek for them, and often from rebels. But rebellion has to be distinguished from violence or from recalcitrance, for you know from experience that violence creates more problems that it seems to solve. Throughout history when one age is ending and another coming into being, there has been great upheaval. Violence is a part of life. But men of goodwill have always attempted to control it. If this was desirable before, today with the world for our neighbour, it has become imperative. Change can and must be brought about by peaceful and democratic means.

Many years ago, our poet Rabindra Nath Tagore sang of a world which was not divided into fragments by narrow domestic walls. We feel that every international body for co-opera-

tion is an instrument for the lowering of such barriers. That is why after we attained Independence, my father devised a formula to preserve the Commonwealth with added dignity and purpose, as an association of free and equal nations to advance the welfare of all its members.

Canada and India work together to ensure the total condemnation of **apartheid**. I am sure that we shall oppose all measures which would imply support for any form of racialism.

Prime Minister, may I take this opportunity of expressing India's warm appreciation of Canada's enlightened approach to aid. We are touched by the care and thought which you have given to our problems and difficulties. This is the attitude of peace that each nation should recognize that its own interest is closely bound with that of the world around it. I know how deeply aware you are of the compulsions of an interdependent world which is in the painful throes of upheaval. You have shown sensitivity, courage and vision. You have overcome the constraints of convention and given a new dynamism to your country and to its role in the world community.

Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, may I request you to drink a toast to the health and happiness of Mr. Pierre Elliott Trudeau, Prime Minister of Canada, and to friendship between India and Canada.



Luncheon
Rashtrapathi Bhavan.



Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau : State Luncheon

I have never before had the extreme pleasure of attending a State lunch in such beautiful surroundings. I want to thank you particularly, Madame Prime Minister, for the warmth of your hospitality and for the very very pleasant way in which you have received your Canadian guests. This is something which we cannot reciprocate when you come, as I hope you will, to visit us in Canada. We won't be able to provide this kind of lunch in January at any rate. But I do want to say that in spite of that very obvious difference, there are many many similarities between our countries and I was delighted to hear you—not only point out many of the developments which we have in common, but to realize that even in the themes of your very warm welcoming speech to me, you dwelt on some of the subjects that I would want to touch upon briefly today.

I have not yet been in India three full days on this visit yet the ambience of this country is so insistent, the sensations so pervasive, that in this short time I have been impressed again with the wisdom, the perception and the devotion which are the heritage of this ageless land. Three days are so many grains of sand in the hour-glass of a lifetime, but they have renewed for me many of my memories of India—and given me a glimpse of much that I had not seen before. Three days have left me, as on my previous visits, with an intense desire to return, to see and to learn what this society and those that have preceded it offer to the world beyond your shores.

One need not journey to Arunachala to celebrate the triumph of light over darkness; that triumph is evident in many parts of India, and it is recorded in a variety of ways. The day before yesterday at Agra, Brindaban and Mathura and again at Sarnath I saw testimony of man's devotion to ideals so pure in concept that their appeal

is eternal. And yesterday in Varanasi—and I expect this afternoon when I go to Nehru University—there is evidence of a different sort, evidence of a determination to employ technology and science for the betterment of the peoples of this great country.

If it is possible to marry the ageless understanding of the East with the application of modern technology from the West, as I believe it is, then it may well be in India that the espousal will occur. Even if we in the West possessed no other activation or no other motivation for our economic assistance programs, to which you referred in kind words, Madame Prime Minister, the repayment of the immense legacy of wisdom, of art, of philosophy, of knowledge—those elements that distinguish civilised men from the savage—would by itself be more than sufficient reason to do what we can to share with you those skills with which we have been favoured by geography and circumstance. The immensity of the challenge—raising the economic base of the second most populous nation in the world—should no more deter us in our task than did the immensity of the task which faced your philosophers and teachers and no more should it deter them in the pursuit of their goals. The material poverty of India in the 20th century is nothing as compared with the spiritual and artistic poverty of much of the world in centuries past.

Our common task cannot be accomplished without co-operation from both of us. In saying this, I do not underestimate the problem that faces you, Madame Prime Minister, of encouraging your peoples to improve their own lot, any more than you, I am sure, underestimate the problems that faces some Western leaders in encouraging their electorates to support assistance programs. The people of both our countries could benefit from an honest acceptance of the reality of the world as it is today and not as it was in yesteryear.

Amrita Pritam has written of the past; two of her lovely lines read:

“Thy eyes are heavy with dreams,
Dreams of days gone by”

Amrita would not ignore the past, any more than we would. But neither would she avoid the future. Nor should we. Both India and Canada must seek and benefit from the windows on the world which are available to us. One of those

windows is the Commonwealth. That unique association, possessing no structure and little of an institutional nature, permits us to meet, to visit one another, and to exchange views on an entirely informal and frank basis. The Commonwealth is a product of man's desire to live in peace with his fellow inhabitants of this planet, and of his genius for pragmatic arrangement. I regard it as valuable and worth preserving.

In our partnership for development with India, Canada has learned, and is learning, much about the development process. To assist us in this respect we have recently created in Canada the International Development Research Centre which is designed to find answers to many developmental problems. It is an exciting project; the Chairman is a man well known to India. He is my predecessor in office, the Right Honourable Lester B. Pearson. His knowledge and understanding of the vital development process is supplemented in the Centre by the skills and experience of a number of experts from many parts of the world. Among them, I am happy to note, is a distinguished Indian, Mr. A. L. Dias. Our common task is the transfer of resources, skills and technology, our goal is the acceleration of the developmental process and the avoidance of the costly errors and problems encountered by the industrialized nations in their laissez-faire experience. We have learned, as one important example, of the heavy penalty for progress that many of us have paid in the form of environmental pollution; we have learned too, that this penalty is one that need not be paid.

Pollution is not a necessary by-product of industrialization. Pollution is a matter of concern for all countries. On this planet—this planet which we all share—there is an absolute limit to the available quantity of fresh water, pure air and the necessary elements for the recycling of oxygen. Should those quantities be over-taxed, either by the greed of thoughtless developed nations or by the ignorance of ambitious developing nations, the human race will be the loser. Without an understanding of this problem—and the assignment to its solution of the highest priority—all our development programs will be for naught. We shall find that in our common quest for a better life we shall have poisoned the very biosphere upon which we depend for life.

Development, the new Commonwealth, pollution—these are all variations of a fundamental

reality which faces all governments in all countries. That reality is as evident in New Delhi as it is in Ottawa. And you yourself Madame Prime Minister, touched upon this this morning in our talks and here again today. I refer to the "reality" called change. Whatever our political ideology, whatever our economic or social system, whatever our geographic location, the phenomenon which is common to all of us is change. I have not the slightest doubt that the decade which has just begun will be witness to more changes in most spheres of human activity than has any other decade in history. Changes of this order bring with them problems, and in most instances they are problems for governments.

Democracies offer every facility for change. Political and judicial processes are, or should be, geared for change. Yet in this turbulent age in which we live, nation after nation is learning that these processes are too slow, that the rate of expected change outpaces by far the rate of actual change. In that event, as in an electrical system designed in an older, less demanding time, the pressure of the new load becomes so intense that fuses blow and the apparatus breaks down. All too often the flash point is accompanied by violence. Violence is no stranger to this decade, either in my country as we have learned to our sorrow in recent weeks, or in yours from which has come the important lesson that ahimsa, non-violence, is not weakness. In dealing with violence, governments must be firm, but never should they fall into the trap of the extremists and—through the employment of counter-violence—inflame still further the activities of the dissidents. The lesson given us by India is the lesson of attempting to understand, of probing beyond the symptoms, of seeking out the root causes of dissatisfaction, and of administering to the basic illness.

It may well be that the violence which is so widespread in our time is a product of the mind; of the subconscious clash between the forces of desire and the forces of reaction. Should this be the case, then the solution will be found through a combination of factors; the comprehension of the East plus the technology of the West. Did not the Maitri Upanishad point out more than 2000 years ago that the source of man's bondage and of his liberation are both in the mind?

Perhaps this will be the most important result of the co-operation of the East and the West that

I mentioned a few moments ago. As partners in development we share the responsibilities for the success of our endeavours as we shall benefit from the dividends which success will bring. Measured in those terms, our enterprise is as breathtaking in its scope as it is exciting in its concept. Our contributions are to a world order within which all nations, and all men, can live in

freedom, dignity and decency.

To that end, Madame Prime Minister, I am confident that our most worthwhile talks this morning contributed. Thank you for your most generous hospitality, thank you for your gracious toast. May I respond by proposing a toast to you, kind lady, and to the people of India. To India, and to her Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi.



**With President
V. V. Giri.**

**With Sardar Swaran
Singh, Minister of
External Affairs.**



**AT CANADA
HOUSE WITH
THE CANADIAN
COMMUNITY.**



**Arriving with the High
Commissioner and
Mrs. George.**

**Mr. George introduces, Mr. Marcel
Tremblay, Senior Canadian
Engineer, Idikki Hydro Electric
Project, Kerala.**

**With Mr. & Mrs. Malcolm Kears,
Ontario Hydro Commissioning
Team, Rajasthan Atomic Power
Project.**



Meeting With Students From Jawaharlal Nehru University

Mr. Trudeau: Vice-Chancellor, ladies and gentlemen and friends, I want to say specially that I am honoured and moved to be talking to a group of students from a University named after the late Mr. Nehru. He was a great man, he was also an inspiring figure for people in many lands including my own and for many people including myself. So it is a great occasion for me. I am glad that your Vice-Chancellor talked about the possibility of a dialogue, I hope it will be essentially that this afternoon. We are a bit numerous, I am afraid, to hope for a real seminar type of engagement, but I hope that I will learn as much from your questions as you might be able to learn from some of my answers.

I am particularly interested in knowing in what frame of mind students of the various political sciences approach their problems nowadays. I remember when I was a student, pretty many years ago, with my friend Narayanan in London and in other parts of the world we were, in those days, when we talked political science, we were mainly concerned with studying the institutions of the past and present, comparative governments, we were interested also in studying ideologies, past and present, the political philosophies, and the more daring amongst us engaged in analysis of present trends, of sampling and trying to assess the political realities as they moved. But we were not at all concerned with problems of the future, except as they might reflect themselves in rather doctrinaire ideologies. We were not concerned with the challenges which might come to our societies ten, twenty years thence. And I think that is perhaps one of the great poverties we have as governments, and I suspect it is true of most universities. I know of the text books written about Canadian government, for instance. They describe a very static thing, and I think I can generalize by saying that they are very far removed from being able to impart upon students of government the realities of government, for a very simple reason. It is that governments today can no longer be reactive; they can no longer try to solve problems as they arise; they can no longer try to meet each particular crisis as it develops.

For thousands of years, I suppose, this has been the technique of government to answer problems, challenge and response. But it is quite obvious now in our rapidly changing societies and at the speed with which expectations

are created and frustrated, it is quite obvious that if there is not to develop that well-known credibility gap between the governed and the governors, if there is not to develop a lack of faith in the ability of governments to solve their problems, we can no longer merely respond to problems as they arise; we have to think of problems years before they arise in order to begin solving them before they reach the crisis stage. Because if you wait till the crisis breaks out, then you're finished; you cannot possibly solve it. Many examples come to mind, I suppose one of the dangerous ones is pollution. If governments don't plan to eradicate pollution today, they will not in ten years from now be able to meet that challenge. Another example is urban growth. If we only try to meet the problems of

With Shri & Shrimati R. K. Narayanan. Mr. Narayanan attended the London School of Economics with Mr. Trudeau.



urban growth as they develop, whether they have to do with housing or hygiene or sewers or street development or mass transportation, it is too late to tackle at once, the thing has got out of hand. Because then you have the violence which come from unfulfilled expectation.

So, this is just the preoccupation of the Canadian government, of trying to set its priorities and define the problems sufficiently in advance to hopefully come to grips with the most important of them. I do hope that in your schools today, there is some attention given to those few social scientists who are talking in terms of futurology, and so on. That is all I think I should talk about, and let some time for the questions.

Q. Mr. Prime Minister, what are the chances of Canada's withdrawal from NATO and if she does withdraw, do you think her security needs will demand the development of an independent nuclear deterrant?

P.M.: I can't talk about too far in the future, but our present policy, with as much knowledge



With Vice-Chancellor Parthasarathi of Nehru University.

Students





With Mr. & Mrs.
C. M. Shaw and
Miss P. Marsden

of the future as we could command, has been just announced less than a year ago believe, as regards NATO, and I have no reason to think we will be changing it in the near future. It is not withdrawal from NATO; it is the reaffirmation of our belief in alignment with certain nations in NATO, but it is, at the same time, accompanied by a reposturing of our military forces, a cutting in half of the number of Canadians we had posted in Europe, but the leaving in Europe of more than a token force, but something which we defined as a light mobile force, which can be used in Europe, in case of need, but which can also be brought to other theatres if they are needed for other means, such as peace-keeping operations. So on the general question, we stand in NATO, for perhaps more reasons that I have time to develop. However, if there are supplementary questions, I don't mind answering. There was another part to your question? Whether we would develop an independent nuclear role? The answer to that is a categorical no. We are a signatory of the Non-Proliferation Treaty and we intend to adhere to it in every respect.

Q. Everybody recognizes today that many of the problems of youth arise out of what is called the generation gap. Would the Prime Minister like to say how this gap could be bridged on either the political level, the university level and the family level? For example, I would like to know whether any conscious efforts are being made in Canada to give more and more opportunities to youth to serve as members of provincial and federal legislatures.

P.M.: How to bridge the generation gap. I think you mentioned the political, university and family, and particularly how to permit youth to represent in parliament or in the legislatures. You are giving a little bit the answer in the final part of your question. I think we will bridge the generation gap to the extent that more and more young people participate in the task of government or of legislating. In strict descriptive terms what we have done in Canada is to lower the voting age to 18. The next federal election will be the first one where the vote will be at 18 instead of 21. We feel very much that the youth of the country should be encouraged to participate in the governing of the society in which they live. The very important distinction which is not always made, I believe, by young people and other groups in society, is perhaps a wrongful definition of participation. Too many people define participation as decision-making, and I think that is the cause of a great deal of dissatisfaction and of accusations against governments. It is true also in other fields. People feel they should be consulted; they are consulted, but if the decision isn't the one that they said it should be, then they say there has been no participation and, of course, it is not true.....

But you have to apply the other rules of the game. If you are in a representative or parliamentary form of democracy, the decisions have to be taken by the representatives or by the Cabinet. They cannot be taken in the streets by the mobs, they cannot be taken by all those pressure groups who have made their points of view

known, and I think it is this misunderstanding which very often causes dissatisfaction and often violence because they say "governments don't listen to us." It is true that governments perhaps don't listen enough but it is a mistake to conclude that they haven't listened just because they haven't taken the decision that youth said they should take.

We are faced in our society, and I am sure you are in yours, with very rapidly changing values and when this happens it is sometimes impossible to reconcile the extremes of those who represent the changed values. In other words, I believe that in previous generations values changed, but rather slowly so that between a father and son there was, of course, opposition but the whole society was not stretched as it were between very very opposite values. But with the advent of the technological age and the mass media, television and radio, and instant communication around the world, you find societies in which a small group of people are in the vanguard, they are way ahead of everybody else and you find other small or sometimes much larger groups that are way behind everybody else, because the change has been very rapid it has not hit everybody at the same speed. And governments are faced with the problem of trying to preserve a consensus, a willingness to live together, in a society which has these absolutely irreconcilable extremes and if either one extreme or the other says, "this government is not relevant because it is not listening to us," then the society breaks up. And I think this is one of the great dangers which is facing societies and the example you take about the generation gap is an excellent one indeed, because that is perhaps the most typical example of a section of the society which can be far out, way ahead of the rest of the society. Now, I say you brought the answer in your question. If they are willing to participate in the responsibility of governing, by running for elections and by participating in the political process, not only by exercising the vote but participating in the political parties and founding others if they don't agree with the ones that exist, then they will have to come to grips with the reality of irreconcilable extremes and they won't make their own extremes so irreconcilable. Now that is general. How it applies to universities and to families I think, follows from that.

Q. Has Canadian external assistance to other countries been affected in any way by the recent

changes in Canadian foreign policy?

P.M: No, in our recently tabled White Paper on Canadian foreign policy and in the changes, we reaffirmed our commitment to external co-operation, to international development, and we reasserted that it was our goal to set aside for that purpose a constantly increasing percentage of our gross national product. So, if anything, the recent changes are in the direction of increased aid rather than in the other direction. This also is a reflection of our belief in dialogue, which must exist not only within countries if peace and harmony are to prevail but it must also exist between countries, and we have all kinds of evidence that dialogue and exchange and fraternal feelings are not possible if there is not a willingness to extend co-operation between countries. If anything, the fact that we have frozen our defence budget for a period of three years means that there are more assets, a greater part of our budget which is available for external aid.

Now, I won't try to pretend that they are all that generous and all that mighty. Governments everywhere have to contend with the problem of convincing their electorates that it is important to help perhaps agricultural projects in distant countries of the world rather than build more houses, and replace their slums in their cities by better housing, or to give more generous pensions to the old people in our country, or to give more generous family allowances to families with numbers of children in our country. We are meeting conflicting priorities all the time and one of the realities of government is that you have to choose between these, and it is obvious that we cannot do as much in foreign aid as we would like, but I think that what we are doing is done without any spirit of domination; it is just done because we believe in the need to share.

Q. Mr. Prime Minister, what is the Canadian stand on the proposed British arms sale to South Africa?

P.M: Well, we have taken the position that every country is entitled to decide its own policies whether they be military, defence, social, or economic; that it is not for other countries to tell us what our defence needs are and what our policies are. Only our government, responsible to our electorate, can be entrusted with that. Therefore, if we believe that of ourselves, we believe that of others also. And in this, Canada's position is no different from President Kaunda's, or President Nyerere, who have stated that Mr.

L—R: Mr. Ken Watson, Mrs. Margaret Finlayson, Miss Helen Duplaga and Miss Ann Dale-Harris.



Heath is perfectly entitled to decide what their Britain's strategic needs are. But we go on and I believe they go on also to say, that each country, when it does decide its own internal policies, must take into account the effect of those policies on other countries. And it is because of that that we have pleaded with the British Government to not take steps which might endanger the existence of not only the Commonwealth but perhaps progress of peace and democracies in the African continent.

Q. We believe, Mr. Prime Minister, that Canada like India faces problems of a multi-lingual society, where different strands of culture have to be integrated. Would the Prime Minister say what steps the Canadian Government is taking to promote cultural and national integration in Canada?

P.M: This is another example of the kind of extreme which can develop in a society if ways are not found to bring groups closer together. We talked about the generation gap. In Canada, there is, as you are pointing out, a language gap also; there is a situation which developed since the birth of Confederation, 100 years ago, in which the French-speaking Canadians were more or less obliged to live in one province if they wanted to be able to be educated, to work, to participate in government or business, in their own language. Now the result of this, of course, was a trend towards increased nationalism, culminating in a movement for separation. The argument went that if the French-Canadians can only fulfil themselves and express their identity in one part of Canada, then why should they belong to the rest of Canada where they cannot fulfil themselves.

The way in which the previous government and the present government have attempted to correct that centrifugal tendency is by various measures. I think the most typical of them is the Official Languages Act, which makes it an obligation upon the Federal Government to deal with citizens in either of the two official languages, which means not only verbal and written communication but which means that French and English Canadians should be able to work in government in their own language, not only through translators. Which means that in time, all officials who are working in areas where both languages are used will have to know both languages themselves if they want to be promoted to any height within the Civil Service. Now, this principle also applies to government services abroad, in embassies, it applies to all services where the government comes in contact with the travelling or consuming public, like through post offices, railway stations and so on and so on. And also I should say that we are attempting to enshrine in the Constitution this principle of the two official languages.

I said just now that we have an Official Languages Act which is law but which applies—since it is federal law—only in the federal areas of jurisdiction; what we would like is to see it applied, through the Constitution, to all levels of government in Canada. Now this is not an impossibility if you realize that the demand for bilingualism is not that everybody should speak the two languages—where in your country, I suppose, it would mean multi-lingualism, everybody should speak many languages. We talk not of individual or personal bilingualism, in the sense that every individual must speak two lan-

guages—which is perhaps not impossible but certainly it is an unrealizable end within our time and it is perhaps also, apart from cultural reasons an unnecessary goal—but we talk about institutional bilingualism which means that the institutions themselves should be able to operate in two languages, but not necessarily all individuals. And that is how we have, for instance, simultaneous translation in our Parliament, more and more in our courts and more and more in our federal administration. Now, how do you apply that in your country.....

Q. I'll read out part of an article which appeared in an American magazine: "On October 7, 1969, when Montreal's police went on strike, burglary, bank holdups caused (inaudible). Looters went wild. Canada was a grim lesson in what can happen to any civilized city without police on its streets." Does that mean that civilized men without police guidance go wild?

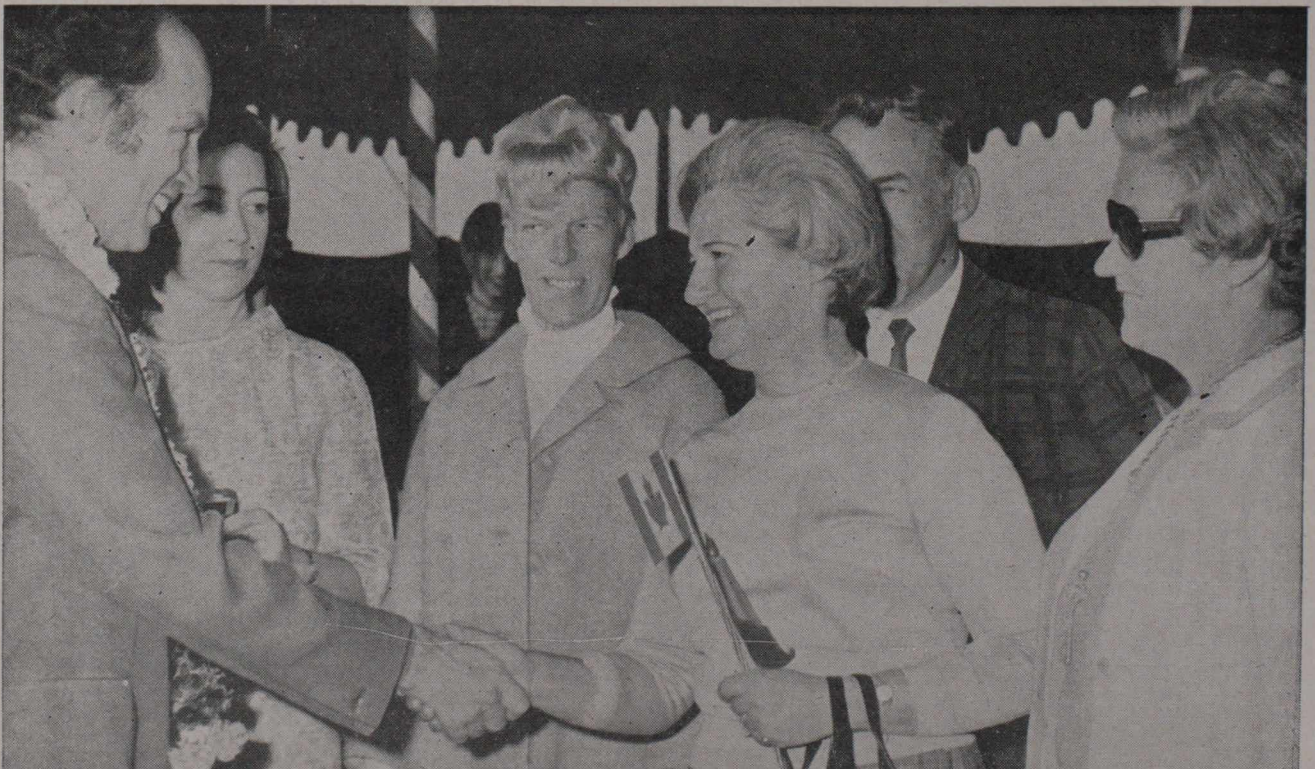
P.M.: It doesn't mean that and I hope it shouldn't mean that. The police in Canada are generally regarded—and I have the benefit of a very recent survey, a very recently completed survey made by a Canadian public opinion survey which said that a very high percentage, I think it was 95% of the people, had confidence in the police, relied on the police and were on friendly terms with the various levels of police. I think most Canadians still consider the police as friends and assistants rather than as people who have to be there in order to preserve freedom under the law. But what happened at this

particular day when there was a police strike is that some groups used that occasion to pursue their own ends. You asked the question of civilized societies; the answer is no. Most of the citizens remained peaceful and quiet on the day of that particular strike. But there were a few who used the absence of the police as an excuse to, in this case, besiege an establishment which was connected with public transport, it had to do with a long-standing grievance of taxi drivers, and then we had the usual contingent of riff-raff and students who thought it was a good time, a good day, to have a big time and they went down and broke some windows and made a general nuisance of themselves. But, we have had this happen before in Canada and I am sure it has happened also in your country, and not necessarily when the police strike. Two of the greatest civil disorders in Canada happened, one in Montreal and one in Vancouver, over some decision they didn't agree with that had been taken by the referee of in one case a hockey game, in the other case, a football game. And the police were not on strike but these so-called civilized people went out and gave everybody a bad time.

Q. The largest number of crimes take place in the most civilized societies. Crimes and civilization, does it go hand in hand?

P.M.: I suppose the more laws, the more taboos, the more regulations that exist, the more crimes you have, and if nothing is forbidden, then nothing is a crime and you can do anything. But

L—R: Miss Pat Russell, Miss Marlene Thompson, Mrs. Helen Terrill, Mr. James Gilmore and Mrs. Peg Williams.



if you want to establish order in a society which is increasingly complex, you need more than a few taboos, you need a whole structure of legal apparatus, and the more complex the structure, the more likely it is that people will infringe some precept which follows from it.

Q. You mean some men are born criminals?

P.M: No, but I think we all have a streak of individualism in us which revolts against the whole concept of society. I believe that political philosophers have, for more than 2000 recorded years of political philosophy, have brought this basic paradox into play that the individual wants free and he doesn't want to be fettered by laws, and on the other hand, he needs order in order to be secure and in order to develop his particular civilization. And it is not surprising that, from time to time, the streak of disorder overtakes the need for order. Simply, it is the obligation of governments to modify the law and to adapt the structures of society, the framework within which we live in order that these constraints are always up to date, as it were, that we don't oblige on societies of today the prohibitions and rules which were only made to order societies of yesterday with different values.

Q. Mr. Prime Minister, you said that the active participation of youth in politics can solve many of the problems. But in a period of social change and rising expectations, is the Prime Minister confident that democratic and constitutional methods can achieve the objectives of progress and development, particularly in developing countries?

P.M: Well, you know the well hackneyed phrase, I think it was Churchill who popularized it, that democracy is the worst form of government—except all the others. I think—I am of course not entitled to talk for developing societies—but the very idea of consultation and of communication is a way of expressing democracy. I believe it is only possible to order men in society for long periods of time if you do it with their consent. You can use authoritarian methods for a short period to help societies progress but they cannot hold the society together for long periods without their consent, and I think this applies to all forms of politics. We cannot hold our country together if one very large province doesn't consent to live within it. We cannot hold our country together if one-third of the population which is of French origin doesn't consent to live within it. And it is the purpose of governments to ensure the permanence of this

consent and, in order to do so, they must have constant contact with the needs of the people. Now, democracy is one way to ensure that governments are aware of the needs of the people in the sense that every two years or every four people can throw the government out if that government hasn't met the needs of the people. So, in that sense, I am a believer in democracy, but I wouldn't say that parliamentary democracy is the only form of democracy. There may be other techniques existing in other lands or which may be invented in other times, whereby you will be able to poll the citizens and obtain their consent without the type of political institutions which we have today and which result in representative democracy. You may have more valid forms of plebiscitary democracy in the future than existed in the past, because in the past, they tended to be identified with a form of authoritarianism. But it is perhaps possible that in a technologically developed society, you could be able to poll all the citizens at a given time, on one given question, and govern in consequence. It is not a type of democracy which I preach and in which I believe, but I am not saying that the type of democracy in which I believe is the only one which is valid for other countries.

Q. Sir, if Uganda, Tanzania and Zambia withdraw from the Commonwealth on arms sales to South Africa, will Canada withdraw from the Commonwealth and if you want to continue the Commonwealth, what are the reasons for that?

P.M: Well, that is the type of question which under our parliamentary system we can say it is hypothetical and therefore I don't have to answer it. I don't mind attempting to. I think that it is wise for every country which is going to Singapore to keep its options open. If everyone knew exactly how the other one were going to play the game, then you would be limiting the chances you had of influencing the other person. And I don't think for practical reasons that it is very wise to promise you what Canada will do if somebody withdraws. I know one thing, and perhaps this is half an answer to your question, it is that if a sufficient number of countries do withdraw from the Commonwealth because of the arms sale to South Africa, then a chain reaction will set in and a number of countries, probably including ourselves, will want to be at least as pure as the other person.

Q. Sir, some American magazines write something about yoga (inaudible). If that is true what is your opinion about yoga, please?

P.M.: Talk about coals to Newcastle! I surely can't be expected to talk about yoga in front of an audience of Indians and I am sure of expert yogis. I personally have drawn great benefit from it when I have been faithful to its practices, but I am sorry, I don't think I could do justice to the question.

Q. Mr. Prime Minister, is it the view in some Commonwealth countries that the Commonwealth is weak and has outlived its utility. If you agree with this view, then what measures do you suggest to strengthen it?

P.M.: I have suggested some measures. I have in fact put one item on the agenda which may give you an indication of the kind of answer that I would attempt to give to your question. I think that the Commonwealth, like all other institutions, will only survive if it is useful, if it is relevant, and I believe in the Commonwealth as an extraordinarily useful forum where you can meet heads of state or heads of government from vastly differing countries from different continents and talk frankly. It is a type of seminar between some 25 or 30-odd people where you can really get to the bottom of things, and say... you can't, as I would perhaps say in the United Nations, get away with making great statements of principles and making a speech and then sitting back and somebody else makes a speech—

what we call in French a dialogue between deaf people. You know, we all speak to each other. In the Commonwealth, you sit down and there is the head of state right opposite you, and if he says something you don't agree with, you say "where did you get that? and why do you say this? and what makes you believe the next thing?" You know, you are really being tested in your own ideas and you can't get away with too much humbug and I believe that this is the value of the Commonwealth. Now, in order to make it relevant, I think we will have to more and more discuss—perhaps I get back to my earlier, my first statement—discuss questions of the future. Many of them have to do with the kind of question I have had today, techniques of government. I benefit a great deal every time I meet a Prime Minister either personally as I have in this country, or collectively as I do at Commonwealth meetings, by learning about their techniques of governing. How do they learn to plan ahead; how do they establish priority as between their defence budget and their social security budget and their education budget, and how do they ensure that the values in which that particular government believes are brought into reality through the laws and policy? For instance in Canada, we are trying to make sure that the society of the more is replaced by a society of the better. It is not an invention that we have made but we



realized that our own citizens, and particularly the young are saying "we don't just want more motorcars, and more frigidaires, and more coke bottles, and more houses, and bigger cities with faster cars and so on. We want something called quality of life. We want a better life and it may mean that instead of having two motorcars, you will have only a bicycle but you will live longer." And I suppose that is why many Canadians are travelling to the East because they want to see how you can get along with less things because perhaps you have greater insight through

yoga or other means into the wisdom, into the spiritual self. So, how do governments come to grips with this new set of priorities? And as I say, in my discussion with these Prime Ministers, this is what I try to find out, and also some practical questions: how do you get rid of ministers without cabinet revolts, how do you satisfy all the backbenchers who would all like to be ministers and who can't? And so on, and so on.....

Thank you, Mr. Prime Minister.



Kumari Rachna, a Delhi artist, presenting the Prime Minister with a copper wire portrait. Shri P. K. Chopra, Secretary-General, Indo-Canada Society, New Delhi, looks on. He also made a presentation to the Prime Minister.



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Q. Mr. Prime Minister, you had a talk with Mr. Heath about the arms to South Africa. You and Mr. Heath disagree on this. I wonder if you could enlighten us on what you plan to do at the Singapore Prime Ministers Conference.

Prime Minister: I'm afraid not. I've attempted to answer this question as best I could in other circumstances. I don't come to Singapore with a particular plan of action or a strategy. I am hoping that the positions of the various heads of government or heads of state will be capable of some form of accommodation which will permit everyone to remain in the Commonwealth. So I really have nothing up my sleeve. I can't talk to you about any particular plan I have. As you know, there are other heads of government who disagree with Mr. Heath and I think perhaps other heads of government who agree with him. All I can say is, I hope that will not be the only subject that will draw attention at the meetings in Singapore and that the other items on the agenda will be found to be very useful and helpful for all other members.

Q. I wonder if the Prime Minister can make some general observations to us before we ask questions:

P.M.: What would you like me to make observations on?

Q. Whatever you want to.

P.M.: Oh, I don't know; there's such a variety of subjects.



With Shri M. Bhargava, Principal Information Officer.

Q. As you like.

P.M: It's your time. I don't mind. I can talk about philosophy and smoking tobacco.....

Q. Mr. Trudeau: Following your talks today with Mrs. Gandhi, do you think that India and Canada can do anything to reconcile opinion between Britain and the Black African nations on this issue at Singapore?

P.M: I don't know. I'm sure that Indian representatives and the Canadian ones will attempt just that, to, I repeat, find accommodation between divergent views. I think all countries, even those who disagree with Britain's policy, recognize that it is the right of Britain to define her own defence and strategic needs. They all point out, as I did myself as early as last summer, that in defining their needs in a military sense the Government of Britain should also take into consideration the effect of any such decision on their friends and neighbours, particularly those in the Commonwealth.

Q. Can you give us any sort of report of your conversation this morning with Mrs. Gandhi?

P.M: Yes, I could briefly run through the various subjects we dealt with. We talked of course about the Commonwealth and the Singapore Conference. We talked about the role of India in Asia and the way in which they saw relationships between the great powers in this area developing, the question of security of the Indian Ocean, the question of India's relations with her neighbours, Pakistan and China. We talked a little bit about Vietnam, about the problems there, and we went on also to talk about bilateral questions, particularly those which arise for both our countries as a result of the possible entry of Britain into the Common Market, the effects this would have on our trade with this block and ways in which we could help each other to make sure that the effects of such an entry were as little unfavourable to us as possible. I can't think offhand of any other subject we dealt with. Bilateral trade; we did touch on some technical questions of trade between Canada and India. We looked at assistance programs and didn't have much to discuss there.

Q. Mr. Prime Minister, what are the topics on which you are in full agreement with the Indian Prime Minister, and what are the topics on which you disagree?

P.M: It might be easier to look for topics of disagreement because, I think, there is a great measure of agreement between our countries. So, looking for areas of disagreement.....I wish I could find some that made good headlines. I don't suppose there are any areas of disagreement between our countries. In the topics I just mentioned, we exchanged points of view. For instance, I was interested in knowing the assessment of the Indian Government of shall we say, any possible threat to her security by various countries. But, it is not for me to agree or disagree. It was a matter of me getting information from the Prime Minister. I wouldn't be able to say that I subscribed to every one of India's policies whether in the internal or external fields. But I really can't say that we had a heated argument about anything.

Q. You met with Mr. Heath last night. Could you give us an idea of the subjects you discussed and as much detail as you think fit?

P.M: Well, one comment I made was that I thought the food was very good. I went to the British High Commission not suspecting I would eat so well. Apart from that, we just continued the discussions we had at our previous meetings in Ottawa.

Q. I wonder whether you agree with India's assessment about the Soviet threat in the Indian Ocean, about the existence of the Soviet threat?

P.M: What is the Indian assessment?

Q. India's assessment is perhaps that it is not as real as it is sought to be made out. That is what we gather here.

P.M: Well, Canada of course is so far removed from this area of action that I cannot pretend that we have any expert opinion on it. My reflections on that threat are that if it exists, it is certainly not immediate and, in the longer run, I must confess that I can't get too excited about it, because it doesn't seem to me that that would be in any kind of a major war a telling factor in the destinies of mankind. In other words, if there is a real major war between the major powers, I suspect that atom bombs will be going off in other parts of the world and not too many will be wasted on the waves of the Indian Ocean. In this sense, I don't think that from the Canadian point of view, we can be very much concerned with what happens in the Indian Ocean. We don't have the responsibility of a world power, and therefore, we don't have to make these hard

decisions. But I would think that if the Soviet Union were to develop her naval strength in any very significant way in this theater, in this eventual theater of war, that the opposing force would be more likely to come from the United States than from the United Kingdom or from South Africa.

Q. Sir, how is Canada's position with regard to the European Common Market? Is it different from Australia and New Zealand which are primary producers of wool and foodstuff?

P.M.: It is different from New Zealand to the extent that New Zealand's foreign trade is overwhelmingly dependent on the United Kingdom market because it is mainly agricultural exports. Canada's concern is much broader and wider. It has to do with agricultural products and raw materials, but it has to do a great deal also with processed and manufactured goods which are exchanged between the two countries. Therefore, it is different from New Zealand in two ways: the volume, the percentage of our international trade with Britain is nowhere as important and also the content of it is quite different. But we are not in too different a position from Australia, or from India or Pakistan for that matter, in the sense that we all have a very great common interest in ensuring that the entrance of Britain into the Common Market doesn't lead the world in a direction which would set up hermetically closed trading blocks on the outside of which we would find ourselves. In other words, if the European Common Market should develop into a highly protected Market, we as Canadians, you as Indians, would find ourselves on the outside looking in and we wouldn't be able to defend ourselves—we, because we are a small country and you, because you are a developing one—as well as the United States for instance which is much more self-sufficient. So in that sense, there has been a great deal of discussion between countries like ours and Australia, and New Zealand, in an effort to ensure that if Britain enters the Common Market, as is her right to do of course, that Britain and all the other Common Market countries will, at the same time, take steps towards greater liberalization of trade through a new round of agreements in GATT for instance, and this is the burden of most of our representations in Europe and in the United Kingdom that in the establishment of the Common Market they, at the same time, make sure that they are not

establishing a highly protected block but they are leading the world towards more and more multilateralism and lower and lower trade barriers.

Q. In your discussions with Madame Gandhi, did you discuss the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and did you make any representations that India might reconsider its position?

P.M.: We did talk about the NPT. I think I've lost the exact question you asked—whether we asked the Indian Government to reconsider its position in keeping out of the NPT, was that the question? Yes, I did indicate that Canada hoped that more and more countries would sign the Non-Proliferation Treaty. There was some speculation as to what would happen in years to come with the development of nuclear power in various countries. I cannot say truthfully that I did any more—that as regards the NPT—any more than say that Canada was a signatory to it, that we did stand by our obligations under the NPT, and that in all matters which had to do with proliferation of nuclear arms, we opposed them and that we also stressed the fact that the use of nuclear energy should be peaceful use and in this, of course, the Indian Government has agreed with us. The bilateral agreements we have with India on nuclear energy all are directed towards peaceful use of nuclear energy.

Q. The question is what is Canada's attitude to India's proclaimed desire to explode nuclear devices underground for promoting its economic activity?

P.M.: Well, I am not aware that there is a proclaimed desire of India to explode nuclear devices underground. On the contrary, I have the impression that the Indian Prime Minister left that channel open in the sense, if I understand her correctly, she stated publicly, in Parliament I believe, that one of the reasons why they didn't sign the NPT is that they wanted to leave that channel open, but that there was a lack of technological ability in India and indeed I suppose in most countries to use nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes. Our position, as you know, is the one of NPT that there is no distinction between peaceful atomic explosions and nuclear bombs; that the country that develops one has the wherewithal to explode the other, and for that reason, we are against the use of atomic devices for peaceful explosions as it were and we adhere to the NPT trend of think-

ing that there should be an international agency developed which would put its knowhow, its technology, at the disposal of countries who would want to explode nuclear bombs for peaceful purposes, for engineering, or moving mountains and so on. But it is fraught with dangers, the technology isn't advanced and the dangers of fallout and pollution are great and so on. We are nowhere near the point where that might be done and I believe that is also the position of the Indian Government. I repeat, my impression of their position is that they don't want to close that avenue and that is why they haven't signed the NPT. But there is no expressed desire on their part to explode such a device nor I believe the technological ability to do so.

Q. Mrs. Gandhi in one statement last year did leave this option open that India may go ahead to explode an underground nuclear device. The possibility that India may do this—does this give you any misgivings about the continuing transfer of Canadian nuclear technology and make you think there should be tighter controls on this aspect of Canadian aid to India?

P.M: Yes, that is a very difficult question which we did deal with. And as I had occasion to explain in Pakistan where I was answering this type of question a few days ago, we have no evidence that the Indian Government is doing anything which would lead to that—in the sense that, as of now, there is no use of plutonium from the Canadian type reactors at all. Now what will happen in the future, of course I can't speak for the Indian Government, but in reply to your question, we have stated to the Indian Government that we must find some way of respecting our obligations towards India, because we have signed some bilateral agreements with this country before the Non-Proliferation Treaty was signed and at the same time respect our obligations towards the NPT, and it is this that is the problem for discussion now. We think that it is possible to reconcile them and we have discussed together as governments ways in which our officials should reconcile them and both Mrs. Gandhi and myself this morning expressed optimism that it would be possible, in other words, that the safeguards system would be applied by the NPT agency. There may be a supplementary question here.

Q. As of now, the existing agreements on this point of your aid program, they are under review?

P.M: No. What is clear in our bilateral agreement with India and what is accepted as clear by India is our atomic energy program must be strictly for peaceful use. This is understood between us. But the type of safeguards which we negotiated back in 1962 and 1966, before signing the NPT, don't go quite as far as the NPT safeguards do, and it's in order to bridge this gap that we are discussing now. But there is no disagreement on peaceful use, as I said in answer to the previous question, even by leaving that hypothesis open. It is still a hypothesis for peaceful use. India in no way has said, nor does it seem to intend to want to have an atomic bomb for war purposes. So there is agreement on the principle of peaceful use, but the fact that the two treaties came into being at different dates does cause a problem of reconciliation at which we are working.

Q. Do you find any desire from the side of Pakistan to settle the dispute with India?

P.M: Yes, of course I don't speak for the President as well as he can speak for himself. But as an interlocutor of his, I did hear him distinctly express the desire that both your countries would find ways to settle this dispute. I heard him regret the percentage of his own budget which is devoted to military purposes and his hope that in days and years to come, the need for defence between the two countries would not be as great. So there is obviously the desire on his part.

Q. Mr. Prime Minister, to return for a moment to the question of arms sales to South Africa, can I ask you whether in your discussions with Mr. Heath last night did he strike you as being possibly more flexible than he was when you were talking to him in Ottawa? Do you have any impression whether Britain will be receptive to an accommodation in Singapore?

P.M: Well, you know the rule I like to apply to others, and which I hope they apply to me is not to speak for other governments. So, with regret, I would prefer not to speak for Mr. Heath in the full knowledge that he can do it for himself. I did in my discussions repeat the Canadian point of view.

Q. Honourable Prime Minister, Pakistan and China, our neighbour countries, are always aggressive towards India. Suppose if there is any military aggression against India, what would be the role of Canada at that time?

P.M: Well, we are not a member of any military alliance with India and, therefore, we would not have any automatic role. If the United Nations were seized of the conflict and the Security Council decided on some actions, and if peace-keeping operations were indicated, I am sure that somebody would think of Canada as volunteers. We have been in every other peace-keeping operation barring one, I believe, since the United Nations has been set up. But this is so hypothetical that I think the simplest answer is that I hope it doesn't happen and if it does, don't count on us, brother. I should say that it is our policy when there is a war going on to suspend trade of a strategic nature with all countries involved.

Q. Sir, in view of your developing relations with China, could we ask you to evaluate Chinese threat to the free countries in Asia?

P.M: Well, I have been trying to do that by my discussions with Asian leaders both on this trip and on my previous trip to the Pacific rim countries last May. I don't think I can contribute anything very substantial to the field of existing knowledge on this. I can't easily see why a country like China with the teeming population that it has and with very great problems of development in its own country, would of itself be inclined, anyhow at this stage of its history, to spend too much of its energies, strength and people on territorial pursuits outside of its own frontiers. That is about all I can say. I can't too easily see China creating a navy to come and land on the shores of India or of Pakistan or of some East African country.

Q. Sir, in the Asian countries, we think that the Chinese want to subvert this area through infiltration and other things. They are already doing that on the northern borders.

P.M: Well, there is a question of a border dispute of course between your two countries, but I am inclined to think that the Chinese have not much to gain by trying to subvert order in the various countries of Asia by relying on the overseas Chinese because all they result in doing is creating communal hostility between the native populations of those various countries and the Chinese populations, and this is a disservice to the Chinese cause and therefore, it seems to me, it is counter-productive. Now, it is obvious that that phenomenon known as Maoism is a cause

of subversion not only in other parts of Asia but indeed of Europe and America, and I think it is quite obvious that the leader of the Chinese people, Mao Tse Tung, is a believer in permanent revolutions and I believe that as a matter of ideology, he is trying to export that revolution. But, this is very different from military aggression.

Q. Regarding the question of South Africa, Mr. Prime Minister, your views on arms supply to South Africa, this intended arms supply by Britain you have explained very clearly and you are opposed to (I assume that is based on this racial question) the policies of the South African government. Now I understand your government still promotes trade with South Africa. Don't you see that there is some contradiction in your position?

P.M: Yes, there is a slight contradiction, but it is part of the Canadian approach to trade in all parts of the world. We have never taken the position that we would only trade with those countries that agreed with us, in ideological or in political terms. We have traded with the Soviet Union at a time when many Western nations felt that that was the ultimate crime. We have traded with China, long before we recognized the People's Republic of China. We have traded with Cuba, which subscribes to an ideology which is completely foreign to ours. We have traded with dictatorships in various parts of the world. We view trade as not only in the interests of our population but we view it also as a link between countries which is not to be broken without dire consequences. One of the reasons why we have early believed in trade with the other countries that I mentioned, even at a time when it wasn't a popular thing to do, at least on our side of the Atlantic, is that trade is a form of communication and we felt it was useful to keep these links open. Now, our position in South Africa is the same. We don't agree with the apartheid policy there; we have supported the decisions taken in the United Nations to condemn apartheid; we have applied the sanctions that were decided in the Security Council against Rhodesia, but we have not gone beyond that. We have done what I think practically every other country in the world—I believe India is an exception, but probably a solitary one—we have traded with South Africa and indeed with other countries with whom we were in disagreement. I might add what you well know, that many Black Afri-

can countries themselves traded with South Africa and we don't feel it necessary to be purer than they are.

Q. David Van Praagh, Toronto Globe and Mail. Sir, on the . . .

P.M.: Could I just add, in case the gentleman doesn't know in answer to the previous question, that of course we have no trade of a military nature with South Africa; it is purely trade in civilian goods. We have stated our policy along the lines of the United Nations resolutions banning trade of a military kind with South Africa and it is on that that some of our disagreement with the United Kingdom decision is based.

Sorry—David Van Praagh of the Toronto Globe and Mail. What are you doing here? (Laughter).

Q. You're not supposed to ask that. On the basis of your talks with Mrs. Gandhi, do you anticipate active support from the Indian delegation at Singapore for your attempts to reach an accommodation between members of the Commonwealth?

P.M.: I would hope so. I have the impression that India isn't particularly anxious to see the Commonwealth break up. Mrs. Gandhi has said, with complete justification, that India and Canada co-operated at the very beginning of the foundation of the new Commonwealth, when we went into the multi-racial Commonwealth, India was there as a founding member, and in complete agreement with Canada. Therefore, I think it's not saying too much to express the hope that I think India will do what she can to prevent the Commonwealth from breaking up. But of course India, like Canada, like many others, would be in a difficult position if this chain reaction of which I talked earlier were to begin.

Q. Mr. Prime Minister, talking of friendship between India and Canada, what place do you give to aid as compared to trade? If you believe that trade is more important for cementing our friendly relations, what steps do you propose to have more trade, particularly your importing items from India?

P.M.: Well, we did talk about that in our bilateral discussions this morning. We talked about particular tariff questions, dumping questions and so on. I think the hope that you express about increasing imports into Canada from India is exactly paralleled by the hope that I expressed of increasing imports from Canada into India. We do have a favourable balance of trade with India at this time but as you know that favourable balance is because of the aid program which permits you to buy in Canada—if I may say so, with our money—more than we buy in India. So there is nothing unfair to India in this particular situation. On the contrary. We are hoping that India will come to realize that Canada is not just a producer of agricultural products and basic materials but that we have a great deal to offer in fields of advanced technology, in services in the communications trade, in the transport fields, in the servicing and construction of airports and production of short takeoff and landing aircraft. You know, this is the pitch that our Trade Commissioners give here. We very much hope that increased trade will be the fact in both directions between our two countries and we have resolved to have our High Commissioners and our Trade Commissioners work at it.

Q. You started your journey with Agra, Benares and Mathura. Will you say what are your impressions of your visits to these three cities?

P.M.: Well, I visited those cities for reasons of accommodating to a schedule which was acceptable to both our governments. I didn't want to have trilateral meetings in New Delhi. But I must say that it was my desire to go there at some time, either before or after my meetings with your government leaders because I have a very great interest in the institutions, in the traditions, of wisdom, of love, of knowledge, which are characterized by at least Mathura and Brindaban, and the origins of Hinduism. For the same reasons I went to Sarnath because I think that we in the West have a great deal to learn from the eternal truths that have been expressed so strongly and so lastingly by the people who lived and loved in those parts of India.

INTERVIEW: ALL INDIA RADIO FOR TV

Mrs. Malik: Mr. Prime Minister, you first visited India 22 years ago. As a young student you hitch-hiked from Europe with a knapsack on your shoulder. You have travelled third class in India; you roughed it out in dharam salas and I gather on railway platforms, and you saw India in the raw through the eyes of a young student. And now you have come back as the Prime Minister of your country, as an honoured state guest, and are seeing it through the perspective of a world politician. Now what are the differences which have struck you on arriving here again?

Prime Minister: Well Mrs. Malik. I think the main difference is my inability now to have the exact kind of feeling and contacts I had in those days. I felt that I learned a great deal about the realities of India by living in that way in those days. Now, as you point out, I am meeting at the other level, at the level of the Establishment,

and I am thankful that I can interpret one by my knowledge of the other. I have not seen enough of India this time to be able to make many comparisons. The things I did see indicate to me that India is coming to grips with the problem of change in a very dramatic way. I have seen entire cities transformed, buildings have sprung up, technologies which have developed, in a way which makes me very grateful for having had this experience in previous times. I am able to see the progress; I am able to see the desire and the intensity with which your people are coming to grips with the problem of change.

A.M: Now, you represent an entire new generation of world politicians, younger politicians, who one feels are getting away from splitting ideological hairs. For instance, you once said that "the real challenge of the age is to accept values in other people," and you have also said that "we are not so much threatened by communism or fascism or other ideologies nor even nuclear bombs so much as the fact that two-thirds of the world goes hungry to bed every night." Now, are you younger, forward-looking world leaders now in a better position to achieve these ideals or are you still bogged down by the difficulties of world political life?

P.M: I think we are bogged down, if at all, not so much by our administrative inabilities. I think there is still a great need to convince populations, the society in general of our respective countries, that these values which are foreign to them are indeed worthy of respect. The quotation you had of me is indeed a feeling I have. But I would be, I think, mistaken if I said that the



**With Shrimati Amita Malik
during AIR interview for TV.**

population in Canada is massively prepared to accept values which are different from its own. Therefore, whether you are a young or a middle-aged politician, you still have to deal with that basic reality of a society moving at a given pace. I repeat, it is not so much because of the bureaucracies, or the red tape, that we move slowly towards progress and greater justice. It is because the whole psychological framework of a given society is slow in changing. Admittedly it is changing much faster now than it could in previous days, with the mass media, with television and radio and instant communication between countries of the world, increased travelling, the jet age, it's possible now for people to see other societies and to, hopefully, understand the values on which they are built, and therefore the processes of change can be accelerated. But there are still difficulties; making people in Canada, for instance, accept that instead of increasing, shall we say, social benefits to our poor and our old people and our retired civil servants and our slum dwellers—because we have all this in Canada, Canada is not exempt from its own poverty—it's sometimes difficult to explain to them that we should use some of our tax money to help people who are even poorer than us in other countries. I have tried to repeat a phrase when talking about these things that it is our duty

The Prime Minister with the Indian Airlines air crew that flew him from Agra to Varanasi and return.



to help first those who need help most. And this applies not only within our own country in establishing priorities between, as I say, the conflicting demands of the various parts of the population, but also in establishing our priorities in cooperating with other nations. We try to help first those who need help most, and that is why we always break our budgets when there is some particular disaster which calls for special assistance, because people who have been caught up in a particular disaster like the recent one in the Sunderbans obviously need help before those who are perhaps in misery but who are not in instant peril of death.

A.M: Then sir, this whole problem of adjustment to values sometimes gets confined within national boundaries. For instance, both in your country and ours we have had this tremendous problem of religious and linguistic minorities. You have had a tremendous crisis in your country recently and you had to apply rather stringent measures to control the situation. Surely there are long-term, constructive measures which apply to any country which has linguistic and religious minorities because it all arises from a sense of insecurity, surely, which again derives from certain genuine social or economic grievances. Now what in your view would be those long-term measures?

P.M: Well, we have begun applying several of them in Canada. The main difficulty to which you allude is the linguistic one, the fact that almost a third of the Canadian people are of

French-speaking origin, in other words, their mother tongue is French. The main difficulty has been that when they leave their native province they are not able to communicate with the authorities, whether governmental or otherwise, in their own language; they can't have their children educated; they can't have the services that the government extends to them be extended to them in their own language. What we have done to correct this is to not only make both languages official in Parliament, which they always have been, but to ensure that all services of the Federal Government would be extended in both of the official languages according to the demands made upon them by the populations where these services existed. This has been a very fundamental and basic reform. I am convinced, and indeed the electoral results show, that this has the support of the overwhelming majority of the people. But the incidents of violence to which you allude, and which we had to quell with strong police measures, were that of a fringe group, a group which is equivalent to those who in all societies today use some grievance or other—and generally they are true grievances, they may have to do with poverty or inequality or racial discrimination or linguistic inequality—but they use these grievances to seek for violent change, or change by violent means. And it is these people who have no place in our societies. We have a democratic society where, if the people are disenchanted with the speed with which a government is correcting the injustices, they can throw it out by the electoral process and they can put in a better group. They can run themselves for Parliament, as happened to me a few years ago when, after years of criticizing the government, I decided I would try to do it myself. And I find that I can't perform magic any more than the other people. But the important thing is that we use the democratic institutions at our disposal in order to accelerate the pace of change. But those who would use these very real grievances, not to bring in changes and improvements by way of law, but who want to do it by blackmail and assassination obviously can't be tolerated in our societies.

A.M: I think you said there was no room for dynamite in a democracy.

P.M: Something like that.

A.M: Well, another universal problem in which you sir have taken a lot of interest is that

of students. You make it a point to meet them wherever you go and have stimulating exchanges with them. Now, during your three days in India you have met two completely contrasting groups of students: one the extremist left students who were demonstrating outside your hotel in Varanasi and whom you met and calmed, and the other, what I would describe as our academic elite at Jawaharlal Nehru University here in Delhi. Now, you have often expressed the thought that the reason there is conflict between students and governments is because there is a complete lack of communication and that students don't get a sense of involvement in the running of their country. Now, lowering the voting age as you have pointed out has often proved that students are the most conservative voters when it comes to it. It certainly happened in England. Now what is the practical way in which governments can involve students in democracy?

P.M: Well I think perhaps the common trait between the group that was demonstrating in Varanasi and the group of elite students I met today is that they are both equally concerned with the redress of injustices. The group in Varanasi, it seemed to me, was protesting against what I think, and what I believe they were convinced eventually, to be an imaginary injustice perpetrated in Canada against some Indian nationals. I think that the whole thing was a misunderstanding and I believe that they recognized it. But what remains is that they were protesting against some injustices that they thought existed. Well, the group I talked to today had a more sophisticated approach but their concern was the same, and it's reflected in your question. It is, how can we make the world a better place to live in; how can we make justice prevail a little more in our societies? And in both cases my answer was a little bit the same. You used the word communication; I sometimes use the word dialogue. I believe that the advantage of government leaders meeting with all groups of the population, not only students but all other forms of organized or unorganized lobbies, is giving them the conviction that they can participate in the process of government. Not necessarily as legislators; we can't all be elected nor do all of us want to be elected. And not necessarily as members of an executive; we can't all be members of a cabinet. But we can all participate in government in some way. Now the traditional way was to vote every three or four years at a general

election and to throw out the party you didn't agree with generally, and so on. It's obvious now that this is no longer completely satisfying to the youth and to other dissident groups. They feel that change has to come more rapidly, more quickly. They feel that they have to participate more directly than just by voting once every four years by putting a mark on a ballot. And it is this that we are trying to solve as a problem. We are trying to ensure that there is much greater communication, much greater participation, involvement, by students and young people generally in political activities. Not necessarily through organized parties but through all forms of meeting. We have in Canada a great many initiatives for trying to involve the young. I think our time is running short.

A.M: No, I think we have enough for a feminine question if you will permit it. I was once on a television panel in Canada and I had two women colleagues from the Canadian press with me and what we were discussing was whether there could be a woman prime minister in Canada. So I naturally said yes, and they most emphatically said no. So I said, why not? They said, well for one thing no woman would vote for her. Well what does the bachelor Prime Minister of Canada have to say about this?

P.M: It's rather strange. At that time did you have a woman prime minister in India?

A.M: No, but we had Mrs. Bandaranaike in Ceylon.

P.M: Well, I think it is a paradox but that countries like yours in a sense give greater political equality to women than we do in Canada—not in a legal sense. I believe legally women are

not too badly discriminated against. But psychologically our societies haven't freed women as well, and I asked this kind of question of Mrs. Gandhi herself today; I asked her how this could happen, and she had what I think is a plausible explanation, that you went through the fight for Independence, and husbands and wives went through it together, and fathers and daughters went through it together, and rather than fighting each other as perhaps Women's Lib is attempting to do in Canada, they fought together for a common cause and it was also I believe the preaching of Mahatma Gandhi that wives and women should assist in this struggle for liberation, and therefore women achieved a greater political maturity in India than they did in Canada. But don't despair; I hope it is still not too far in the future when we will have a woman prime minister.

A.M: And I hope she won't replace you. That would be rather sad. Thank you Mr. Prime Minister.

P.M: Thank you, Mrs. Malik.



Back cover: The Prime Minister at Raj Ghat, New Delhi, assisted by Mr. W. F. Hoogendyke and Col. M. F. MacLachlan.

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