

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

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### **Equal Opportunity for Progress<sup>1</sup>**

...We are assembled here at a sacred spot where thousands of years ago, our ancestors lived and thought great thoughts and did mighty deeds. Their thought and philosophy spread to the whole world. There was a big Vidyapeeth here headed by Acharya Nagarjuna whose name and fame survive to this day, not only in India but in China, Tibet and Japan. Even if we have forgotten him somewhat, his name continues to be famous in other countries. He was a great soul. So we are on this sacred spot on which once flourished a city called Vijayapuri. It had been built by the great kings of those times. The name itself is beautiful and the task that we are starting today is for victory, victory of the people and their welfare and alleviation of their distress. What greater victory can there be?

I hope that another city will now come up here around the big dam that is going to be constructed. Perhaps, it will be proper for you to name that city Vijayapuri too. Victory over what? In the olden days, kings and emperors used to fight with one another but, as you know, our principle is to fight with no one. The only war that we shall wage is against the poverty in the country and not against any country or individual. So let the new Vijayapuri that will come up here, be a symbol of victory in our war against poverty in India. Let us root it out of the country.

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<sup>1</sup> Speech while laying the foundation stone of the Nagarjunasagar dam on the right bank of the Krishna river in Andhra Pradesh, 10 December 1955.

## **Books for Common people<sup>2</sup>**

The Federation has not made a happy choice in asking me to inaugurate their meeting, for I am an author. Every author regards the publishers a bad lot. There is always a potential war between the author and the publisher. This is not only in India but in every country. In certain countries authors are advised never to go to the publisher directly but through agents who know all about this business. I know of several reputed authors being treated badly by publishers. Some of the finest writers and poets have been treated very badly by some Hindi publishers who, taking advantage of their distress, gave them paltry sums and exploited their books and made enormous profits. This kind of thing does not always happen, but even an individual case of this kind is a bad thing and it affects the reputation of the profession.

These practices should be deplored and healthy relations should be developed between the author and the publisher, for it is the author who makes the creative effort. Without the author's creative effort, there would be neither the publisher nor the bookseller. It is clear that the publishers and booksellers depend on the author in the sense that they publish and sell the author's books. The creative effort comes from the author and therefore, ultimately, it is the author who has to be encouraged. The rest is very important. But the rest, nevertheless, is secondary to the effort. The creative effort must be encouraged in every possible way.

The great publishing houses in Europe encourage authors and have developed most intimate relations with them. This relationship between the world of authors and the world of publishers and more especially of booksellers is very important as it is to their mutual advantage. All the

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<sup>2</sup> Speech while inaugurating the second annual general meeting of the Federation of Publishers and Booksellers Associations in India. New Delhi. 7 December 1955, From *The Hindustan Times* and *The Hindu*, 8 December 1955.

three should respect each other and more, particularly the publishers must protect authors and must not exploit them. Unless there is cooperation between the publishers and the authors, it would not be possible to have the best out of authors and to have large scale consumption of books on all types of subjects.

The other point is, making books available for a large number of readers. This is advantageous both to the authors and to the publishers and booksellers. But this should not be done at the expense of the author as it sometimes happens. The plea put forward is that the price of a book could be reduced by not paying the author his due or his royalty. Nobody thinks of reducing his profits.

There are certain institutions which are in the nature of trusts and the like — non-profit making — which never think that the author, who has written a book with his blood and tears, also has to be supported. Some of my own books have been published in translations by some of these institutions and I have been told that it is not their custom to pay royalty. It does not make much difference to me but I take the strongest objection to the principle of not paying the author his due. These institutions who claim to have some social purpose may say that they must not exploit the public and so the author should not have anything. You might as well say that the printer might not have anything for the high social purpose and the bookseller also should have nothing. But nobody dare say that to the printers or others. I do not understand this kind of thing. I think, this must be done on a strictly fair basis and the labourers-the author and the printer-must get their dues. Because ultimately-I do wish to impress on you this particularly-the whole book-selling and publishing trade, apart from your translations of books from England, Germany, Russia, America, or even Tibet, depends on the author.

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### **Preserving the Remains of Nagarjunakonda<sup>3</sup>**

...6. A unique site was that of an open air amphitheatre or, as it is called now, stadium. Presumably, this was used for discourses. There is no such thing in India elsewhere.

7. Thus far, very little work has been done. Even so, there have been valuable finds of statuary. Probably, all the hillocks round about cover remains of this ancient city. In particular, mention is made of a great palace which has yet to be discovered.

8. One interesting find was a vihara which, according to inscriptions, was specially meant for people from Ceylon. It appears from the inscriptions that there were other viharas probably meant for people from China and Japan and Burma. This place became a great centre of Buddhist culture in the first century A.D. under Acharya Nagarjuna, whose fame spread as far as Tibet and China and Japan. Indeed, most references to him have been found in China and Tibet. He was a great exponent of the Mahayana doctrine of Buddhism.

9. From the historical and cultural as well as from the archaeological points of view, this site is very important. Buddhists, of course, attach great value to it, and there have been protests that the new lake will cover it up. A relic, supposed to appertain to Buddha himself, has been discovered there and sent to Sarnath.

10. The question now is what we should do to remove everything that can be removed from this site before it is submerged. There is a hill nearby which is itself part of the old city. The top of this hill will remain above the level of the water in the lake. On top of the hill there is a plane about a mile and a half in length and about half a mile in width. This hill will become an island after the dam has been constructed. I think, that this hill top will be an excellent place to keep all these remains of the old city. Indeed, an attempt should be made to

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<sup>3</sup> Note to Abdul Kalam Azad, 10 December 1955

reproduce them there as they are now, including the stadium. The whole hill top may be made into a national park. All this, however, can be considered later.

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**To Bhagwan Sahay<sup>4</sup>**

New Delhi

8 January 1956

My dear Bhagwan Sahay,<sup>5</sup>

I understand that Professor Tucci<sup>6</sup> has been or is still in Nepal. He has been to Nepal previously on many occasions and also to Tibet, and he has a reputation of carrying away valuable manuscripts and other articles. In fact, I think that he took as a loan many manuscripts from Nepal long ago and has not returned them since in spite of repeated requests.

I now understand that the Nepal Government are going to entrust him with some archaeological work in Nepal. I do not know how far this is true. But a man of this type has to be carefully watched. Otherwise, he would take away the best finds. Indeed, I have a little doubt that if he is given this work, he will somehow carry away the most important things that he finds.

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<sup>4</sup> JN Collection.

<sup>5</sup> Indian ambassador in Nepal.

<sup>6</sup> Giuseppe Tucci (1894-1984); Italian Orientalist; leader of several scientific expeditions to Tibet and Nepal; Professor of Religions and Philosophy of India and the Far East, Rome University, 1933-65; Honorary member. Society Asiatique (Paris) and Delhi University; awarded Jawaharlal Nehru Award for International Understanding (1976); author of several books on Tibet.

But I am not writing to you about this aspect of the question. What I wanted to tell you was that we are reliably informed that Professor Tucci is connected with the American Intelligence Service and works on their behalf. It is they who finance him in his visits to India and Nepal. Probably, it is they who are financing the archaeological work in Nepal. This archaeological work is really a cover for other activities. Tucci, of course, is greatly interested in archaeological work, but it is fairly certain that he is connected with other people who are directly serving the American Intelligence Service.

I thought I would let you know this so that you might, in such a way as you think proper, inform the King<sup>7</sup> about it. You need not, perhaps, mention my name in this connection.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

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<sup>7</sup> Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah.