THE UNITED NATIONS DAY

On this, the United Nations Day, it is the privilege of the member Governments of this organization to inform the peoples of the world of the aims and achievements of the United Nations and to gain their support for it. The aims are stated in the Preamble of the Charter signed at San Francisco on the 26th day of June, 1945. It reads:

We, the peoples of the United Nations, determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of War, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, and to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and of other sources of international law can be maintained....have resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish these aims.

The United Nations was established for the promotion of these objectives.

We rejoice that there is an institution like the United Nations, for it is the symbol and hope of the new world, of the light dawning beyond the clouds, clouds piled up by our past patterns of behaviour, past ways of speaking, judging and acting, which do not answer to the deep desire of the peoples of the world for peace and progress. We owe it to ourselves to find out why the light does not spread and disperse the darkness, why the sky is still clouded by fear and suspicion, hate and bitterness.

If we look at the international scene where the major Powers seem to be engaged in the initial skirmishes that can grow into a full war, where they are striving for strategic bases, bidding for allies, encouraging subversive movements in the ranks of their opponents, we feel greatly depressed and disturbed. Individuals can debase individuals but Governments which base their policies on power and opportunism can brutalize whole peoples. We cannot go on piling armaments indefinitely and conditioning men’s minds for war without exposing ourselves to the risk of war. Either

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there will be an explosion of a devastating character or we have to settle down, join hands and prepare for an age of peace and prosperity for all. The latter can happen only if the signatories to the Charter earnestly and honestly apply the principles of the United Nations in their internal and external policies.

The services rendered by the United Nations in regard to the problems of Palestine, Indonesia, Kashmir and Korea are well known. The high quality of work of the specialized agencies, especially in the matter of raising the standards of health and education in the world, cannot be underestimated. In spite of these valuable achievements, the United Nations is losing moral authority. There is a general impression that its history since its inception has been one of failure and feebleness, of distortion of its original purpose, of violation of solemn resolutions.

The State Governments in spite of their membership of the United Nations are more nationalistic than international-minded. The growing nationalism of the free nations of the world comes from fear and insecurity. If internationalism brings security, it will remove fear, but little is done to remove the sense of insecurity and fear.

As for the unfree nations of Asia and Africa, their movements for political liberation cannot be bypassed. These resurgent peoples have traditions which are old though their political ambitions are new. They are sensitive and proud though they are weak and subject, poor and hungry. Their passion for freedom from foreign domination increases with resistance to it. The advantages of internationalism cannot be realized by those who suffer from the bitterness of bondage. By refusing to sympathize and assist the movements for freedom, we build up a legacy of resentment in the minds of the colonial peoples towards those whom they rightly or wrongly identify with their oppressors. The leading nations of the United Nations should use their influence not to maintain the status quo in colonial countries, but to make the United Nations an instrument for peaceful change. If we support colonial systems, corrupt, unrepresentative administrations which violate human rights and practise out-of-date feudal economies, and if this support takes the form of military assistance, the danger to world peace becomes extremely grave.

If the Declaration of Human Rights is not to lose its meaning, if it is not to be dismissed as a mere scrap of paper, the United
Nations should not compromise with its own ideals. The bitterness of people who are victims of racial segregation is mounting. Though the racially oppressed may not engage in an open war with their oppressors who have superior scientific armoury, we cannot expect them to love their oppressors. Recent investigations by the UNESCO indicate that there is no innate racial superiority, or inborn antagonism between races. There are no magic solutions to race problems, but apartheid is no answer. We must promote respect and friendship among the people of all races and exploitation of none.

There is an impression that the United Nations is no longer an international body which acts independently. The conflict of power groups dominates its activities. Under its auspices a campaign of abuse and vilification which breeds fear, hatred and enmity, goes on. Diplomacy by threats of reprisals is seldom an efficacious means of conducting negotiations between sovereign States. We need not assume that other people who profess other ideas are quite different from or are more wicked than ourselves. Fundamentally we are all very much alike. In Soviet Russia the State is highly organized and opposition to it is ruthlessly suppressed. We may not agree with the materialist basis of communism or the missionary zeal with which it is enforced. But in countries where communism is accepted, it has meant education, opportunity and living conditions, which, if hard, are not harsher than those which prevailed previously. The communists recognize the necessity for radical social reorganization in countries where abject poverty and selfish luxury exist side by side. To talk to the starving peasant or the oppressed worker about personal freedom and civil liberties does not make much sense. He cannot be expected to prefer the democrat who, having apparently ignored his distress or exploited his labour in the past, now tells him to wait for an undated future before his lot is improved. Fear of communism has led us to a distorted view of the world situation and the forces at work in modern society. The valuable allies of communism are the conservative States and reactionary individuals who struggle against political freedom, social equality and economic progress of the oppressed millions of the world. The attraction of communism to the starving and subject peoples will greatly diminish if democracy takes itself seriously and sacrificially.

There is a Scandinavian saying that the Supreme Court is always
right even when it is wrong. Self-righteousness is our deepest spiritual malady, the belief that we have the whole truth and those who differ from us are not only wrong but wicked. In a moving world we must not cling to frozen attitudes. We should not become prisoners of our own inflexible policies. Orthodoxy is not necessarily a test of integrity. 'Judge not, that ye be not judged.'

The democratic method appeals to the Indian mind with its long traditions of religion, non-violence and individual freedom. We believe that it will be possible for us to work amicably with those from whom we may differ fundamentally in outlook and method. The United Nations is intended to help us to live in harmony with nations whose religion, politics and ways of thought are quite different from our own. This is possible because we have a common humanity and common interests. To build up institutions of peace and substitute them for those of war is a difficult job; it requires patience. The need for understanding and tolerance is fundamental. Only by the persistent practice of these qualities can we hope to substitute for the clumsy, uncertain, cruel weapons of war, the methods of reason and co-operation. We must meet abuse by courtesy, obstruction by reasonableness, suspicion and hatred by trust and goodwill. This is the only way to change the heart of our opponents. This attitude assumes that there is an element of good, a spark of the Divine in every man, to which an appeal may be made. If our aim is to devise ways to relax tensions and not intensify the present cold war, if our policy is to live and let live and not exterminate this or that way of life, we must ourselves show the democratic spirit which we expect from others.

Sir Winston Churchill, on June 5, 1946 said: 'It is better to have a world united than a world divided; but it is also better to have a world divided than a world destroyed.' For some time past he has been pleading for a conference at the highest level among the great Powers. The door to the conference room may well be the door to peace. Even if we are sceptical about the intentions of our opponents, we owe it to the United Nations, of which we are members, to understand them and change their attitudes. The Soviet system is not immune to the laws of change to which the rest of this troubled world is subject. It is not impossible that the communists will realize that while there are certain material
things without which we cannot live, there are other moral and
spiritual values without which we do not care to live. When this
happens, the communist system may democratize itself.

Righteous behaviour is the only sensible practical politics. In this period of crisis and apprehension we should not forget the basic principle of all religions that the way to overcome evil is by doing good.

India by not aligning herself with either of the Power groups, by not committing herself in advance except to the interests of peace, democracy and world society, hopes to make a small contribution to the peaceful solution of the outstanding problems that divide the Powers today. India does not believe that every nation should choose one side or the other in the present cold war. The United States of America should sympathize with this attitude of many Asian nations, for she herself had a long record of neutrality and non-involvement. India’s effort to serve as a bridge-builder has been misunderstood and criticized by both sides, as for instance, in Korea. A bridge, as Benes said on a historic occasion, is likely to be trampled upon by both sides alike.

We realize that the foundations of peace must be laid with patient persistence and goodwill to all. It is because we feel that the admission of the People’s Government of China will strengthen the interests of peace and make the United Nations more representative than it is today, that we press for her admission. It will make for the universal membership of the United Nations, reduce tension, restore hope among the Chinese people.

Mankind is now in one of its rare moods of shifting its outlook. The compulsion of tradition has lost its force. Revolution is not only in the air; it is in the hearts of men. We must recreate and re-enact a vision of the world based on the elements of reverence, order and human dignity, without which no society can be held together. The new world of which the United Nations is a symbol may seem to be a dream but it is better than the nightmare world in which we live. To make this dream a reality, we should do our utmost, without being deterred by disappointments. We do not always undertake things in the hope of succeeding. It is better ‘to fail in a right cause that will ultimately triumph than succeed in a wrong cause that will ultimately fail’. Truth alone triumphs, not untruth. satyam eva jayate, nānṛtam.
VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES' SENATE

Dr Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, Vice-President of India, presented the U.S. Senate on November 17 with an ivory gavel on behalf of the Rajya Sabha, the Upper House of India's Parliament.

*The Vice-President:* The Chair has learned that a distinguished visitor, Vice-President of India, is in the Capitol. If the majority leader would like to make a motion that the Senate take a recess, such a motion will be entertained at this point.

*Mr Knowland:* Mr President, I move that the Senate now stand in recess, subject to the call of the Chair, so that it may receive a message from the Vice-President of India.

*The Vice-President:* Before the motion is put, the Chair will appoint the majority leader and the minority leader to escort the Vice-President of India from the office of the Vice-President to the rostrum of the Senate.

The question now is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from California.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 2 o'clock and 14 minutes P.M.) the Senate took a recess, subject to the call of the Chair.

The Senate being in recess, the Honourable Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, Vice-President of India, escorted by the Committee appointed by the Vice-President, consisting of Mr Knowland and Mr Johnson of Texas, entered the Chamber and took the place assigned him on the rostrum in front of the Vice-President's desk.

*The Vice-President:* It is my pleasure to present to the Members of the Senate and to our guests in the galleries one of the world's great scholars, the Presiding Officer of our sister parliamentary body, the Council of States of India, the Vice-President of India. (*Applause, Senators rising*)

*Vice-President Radhakrishnan:* Mr Vice-President and Members of the Senate, it is a great honour to have an opportunity to speak to the Members of this world-famous Assembly. I appreciate it very much, and I am grateful to you for giving me this privilege.

As your Vice-President just remarked, we have taken quite a number of things from your Constitution; and one of these is the obligation of the Vice-President of India to preside over the Rajya Sabha or the Council of States, corresponding to your Senate.

17 November, 1954
In fact, not only this one thing was taken by us from your Constitution, but quite a number of other things were taken by us from it. Among them is our statement of objectives—justice, freedom, equality and fraternity. This statement echoes the ringing words of Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence:

That all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

These are not mere phrases of propaganda, but they are products of a deep-felt faith which have inspired millions, both inside and outside the United States of America.

We, in India, became free in August 1947. We remember with gratitude the sympathy and the support we had from your Government and people during the years of our struggle for independence.

When power was handed over to us, many persons felt, and so stated, that we would not be able to hold together; that our Civil Service would break down; that with disorganization of the country, there would be no law and order, and no security of life and property. But these doubts have now been dispelled. We have been able to hold the country together. The Civil Service is working as efficiently as it could. Law and order prevail. There is not a part of the country in which the writ of the Government does not run; and travellers from other countries visit our country and travel from one place to another without any insecurity of life and property.

But those doubts merely indicate the colossal character of the task which faces our country. We have 360 million people, and on our voters’ list we have 170 million and in the last general election nearly 106 million went to the polls. That will give you a measure of the immensity of the task which is facing our country. We know that those who are interested in this experiment of democracy will give us their utmost sympathy and goodwill in our attempts to develop a great democracy in India.

We realize that political freedom is not an end in itself. It is a means to social equality and economic justice. In the last letter which Jefferson ever wrote, he said:

The mass of mankind was not born with saddles on their backs, nor a favoured few booted and spurred, ready to ride them legitimately by the grace of God.

The end of all governments is to give a status of social equality and provide economic opportunity for the common people. We,
in our country, are now engaged in the enterprise of effecting a
social and economic revolution. The word ‘revolution’ need not
scare us. It does not mean barricades and bloodshed. It means
only speedy and drastic changes. We are interested not only in
our objectives, but in our methods; not only in what we achieve,
but in how we achieve. Through peaceful, constitutional pro-
cesses we won our independence and integrated our country;
and now we are striving to raise the material standards of our people.
Even if these methods are slow and cumbersome—we hope they will
be speedy and effective—even if we meet defeat in our attempt
to replace force by persuasion, the politics of power by the politics
of brotherhood, we are convinced that the defeat will be only
temporary, for goodness is rooted in the nature of things; kindness
and love are as contagious as unkindness and hate.

Our past traditions and our recent history demonstrate that
lasting results are achieved by peaceful methods. We must not
cut the knots with the sword, but we must have the patience to
untie them. In this atomic age we feel that it is foolish, if not
dangerous, to fall short of patience and a sense of proportion.

No society is static; no law is unchanging; and no constitution
is permanent. Given time and patience, radical changes may happen
both in human nature and in systems of society which reflect human
nature.

When my Government asked me to present this gavel to you,
Mr Vice-President, I looked up some references on the subject.
The Freemason’s Monitor of 1812 contains the following passage :
The common gavel is an instrument made use of by operative masons to
break off the corners of rough stones, the better to fit them for the builder’s
use; but we, as Free and Accepted Masons, are taught to make use of it
for the more noble and glorious purpose of divesting our minds and con-
sciences of all the vices.

The gavel is used by masons to chisel off round corners. To
build a statue out of rough stone was the work of the gavel. Hu-
man nature is the raw material. It is as yet unfinished and incom-
plete. To integrate human nature, this gavel is being used. It is
for the purpose of breeding and training good, disciplined men.
That is the purpose of the gavel.

On behalf of the young democracy of India and of the Rajya
Sabha, I have the honour and the pleasure to present to you,
Mr Vice-President, this gavel, in the earnest hope that the legislators
of the Senate will discuss all problems, national and international,
VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES' SENATE

with calmness and composure, with freedom from passion and prejudice, with the one supreme object of serving your great people and the human race. May this gavel serve as a symbol to strengthen the bonds between our two countries and to promote co-operation, understanding, and friendship between our two peoples. (Applause, Senators rising)

The Vice-President: Mr Vice-President of India, Members of the Senate, and guests of the Senate, the Chair believes that our guests in the galleries, as well as Members of the Senate, will be interested in a little history concerning the two gavels which the occupant of the Chair now holds in his hands. The one on the right is the gavel which, according to tradition, has been used in the Senate since 1789. It is 165 years old. It is made of ivory capped with silver. The Chair does not know whether it was because the gavel was used more frequently than usual during the previous session of the Senate, or because the previous session of the Senate was perhaps a somewhat longer one,—however, it began to come apart toward the close of the session.

As a result, the Sergeant at Arms of the Senate set about to find a new gavel. The problem was to find a piece of ivory large enough from which to carve a gavel similar to the one which the Senate had traditionally used. He was unable to find the proper-sized piece of ivory through the usual commercial sources, and consequently he contacted the Commercial Attaché of the Embassy of the Government of India. From there on, however, the matter was out of his hands. They not only furnished the piece of ivory, but they furnished the gavel, which the Vice-President of India has presented to the Senate today.

For the benefit of those who have been in the galleries in the past, and those who will be there in the future, we shall place the old gavel, which no longer can be used because it is coming apart, in a box which will be kept on the Senate rostrum while the Senate is in session. We shall use in its place the gavel of solid ivory which has been presented to us, it seems to me quite significantly and appropriately, by the largest democracy in the world through the Vice-President, the Presiding Officer of our sister parliamentary body in India.

The Chair is sure that Senators would like to hear responses from the majority leader and the minority leader to the remarks of the Vice-President of India. (Applause)
Mr Knowland: Mr President, Mr Vice-President, I know that I speak for Members of the United States' Senate when we extend to you a warm greeting. You come to us from one of the newest free governments in the world, and also the largest free government in the world, to this Republic of the United States of America. I know that you will extend to your colleagues over whom you preside in your country our appreciation of their thoughtfulness in sending us this gavel, which our Presiding Officers will use in the sessions of the Senate of the United States.

The People and the Government of the United States have an earnest desire to live in cordial friendship with the great nation of India. We have different problems. Our history has been somewhat different from that of India; yet we, too, sprang from a colonial period. We knew what it was to win our freedom, and we are proud of that freedom as we know your own great country is proud of its freedom. We have recognized our responsibilities in helping to maintain a free world of free men. We know that your great country is no less interested in furthering the effort to maintain a free world of free men.

This is not your first visit to our country. You are no stranger here. When you go back to India you will carry with you the friendship and affection of the people of our country for yourself as well as for your country. This affection is expressed in the unanimous voice of the Senate of the United States.

The Vice-President: The Senator from Texas (Mr Johnson) will respond for the minority.

Mr Johnson of Texas: Mr President, Mr Vice-President, and my colleagues in the Senate, it is a great pleasure to have you, Mr Radhakrishnan, with us today. Your nation is rich in history, and has made numerous contributions to the culture of the world which are real and enduring. As we go down the road in this critical hour, searching for the peace and prosperity so necessary to free civilization, we trust that we can march together in a spirit of friendship and mutual trust and confidence. It is good to have you come among us. (Applause)

The Vice-President: The Chair is sure that Members of the Senate would like to greet the Vice-President of India personally. Therefore the recess will continue until Members of the Senate have had that opportunity.

Thereupon Vice-President Radhakrishnan took his place on the
floor of the Senate, in front of the rostrum, and was greeted by Members of the Senate, after which he retired from the Chamber.

INDIA AND YUGOSLAVIA

I should like to express to you at the outset our deep gratitude for your kindness in coming here and consenting to address the Members of Parliament. I should also like to take this opportunity to express to you, on behalf of the Members of Parliament who represent the people of India, and, on my own behalf, our most cordial greetings and good wishes to you, your colleagues of the Government and to the people of Yugoslavia.

Histories generally describe—wrongly I think—a series of dull, barren, listless troop movements or a series of diplomatic shufflings, suggesting, so to say, that man is all savage, greedy, cunning and always fighting one with another. There is another side to human nature, expressing itself in song and dance, art and architecture, philosophy and culture, in manners and customs. They also determine the course of history. The spirit of the age and the genius that focuses these are the two elemental facts of the progress of all history.

Our age is characterized by three things, if I may say so: craving for political freedom, socialist reconstruction of society and international peace.

You, Sir, voiced the dream of your country for these three great ideals which are agitating, not only Europe and America, but the whole East from Egypt to Japan. Your country attained liberation from imperial domination in 1918 after the first World War. Again it suffered in the second World War and now it attained independence under your distinguished leadership. You have saved the integrity of the country and protected its independence from dangers, internal and external.

We prize our liberty which we recently won. We also seek unity of our country. We are trying to resist all the forces that weaken the sense of unity and are attempting to weld this vast mass of humanity into a corporate nation.

Speeches on the occasion of President Tito’s Address to the Members of Parliament, 21 December, 1954
The second point is the socialist reconstruction of society. You, Sir, have paid very generous tributes to our multi-purpose projects and to our river valley schemes by which we are striving to bring more water to more land to feed more people. Please do not imagine that we are satisfied with the progress that we have made. We are chastened by the consciousness of so many things that remain yet to be done—the little done, the vast undone.

Though we aim at socialism—if I may call it—ours is an ethical socialism based on consent, not on coercion. We try to base our social structure, our social and economic revolution, on the fundamental human values. We believe that civilization is not merely advance in technology or increase in wealth. It is a state of mind, a form of society, a condition of human relationships. It is that order of society which we are trying to build up. We aim at not merely material rehabilitation, but social and cultural rehabilitation. We are aware that we are victims of age-old prejudices and allegiances which we are struggling to break down so as to build a more decent society in this country.

The third thing is international peace. It is today democracy that is on trial. We cannot build international peace so long as countries are under-developed, or fighting one with another for the development of their own systems of society, political and economic. If democracy is prepared to assist politically young, economically backward countries, the reasons for mutual strife will diminish considerably. We are happy that you, Sir, are advocating the same ideals which we hold—political freedom for all nations, economic development for all peoples and friendship for all nations, whatever their ideologies may be. You happen to live in a very important age and your country occupies a very vital position. Compulsions of geography and history, leave alone the economic system, the racial composition of your people—all these provide you with great opportunities of leadership in this world for building up peace. We in our country are delighted that you are with us here. This is because you are adopting the same three ideals of political freedom, economic justice and international peace.

We are waiting with keen anticipation to listen to your address, my dear President.*

Dr Radhakrishnan: Friends, we are indebted to President Tito for the excellent exposition which he has given us of the

*Then followed the Address by President Tito.
recent past of Yugoslavia and her present position and policies. He has referred to a number of different considerations.

On one thing, we are all united. Our objectives are the economic betterment of the people. The methods are determined by each country, depending upon its own history. The methods are optional whereas the objectives are obligatory. Whether our methods have succeeded or failed will be judged not by our professions but by our achievements. Therefore, we must be careful to see to it that we speed up the pace of progress towards achievement of social and economic justice among our people.

You, Sir, referred to the lack of universality so far as the United Nations is concerned. Actually we have recognized China. The Chinese Ministers met the American Ministers at the Geneva Conference. Now, the Secretary-General of the United Nations is going to China. We weaken the position of the United Nations by having these negotiations carried on outside the United Nations, and not within its auspices. We are completely at one with you when you deplore the lack of universality so far as the United Nations is concerned.

We again agree with your general stand in regard to co-existence. Co-existence is not to be regarded as some kind of a final settlement among the different systems without any kind of change. Co-existence means co-understanding, co-education, and thereby we will be able to bring about changes in the different systems. In other words, Yugoslavia itself may alter its system; nothing is final in this world. We are in a dynamic world and in this dynamic world changes may take place by mutual adjustment and accommodation.

I do not wish to give another lecture now. I wish only to say that many problems are common to us both and many of our ideals are also common. Therefore, there is a large field for us—two nations—coming from two distinct parts of the world to co-operate, and I assure you that in all these matters we will give you our co-operation.

Dr Radhakrishnan: He wants to give you an idea of how his own language is spoken. Now, we will hear him speak.

President Tito (as interpreted): Friends, I am very thankful for the opportunity given to me to meet you all and especially to meet the Chairman, Mr Krishnan [Dr Radhakrishnan] and to speak about problems of our development and about the problems of our foreign policies.
President Tito (as interpreted) : I should like to tell you that we, the whole delegation, met here in your country a welcome we could not have expected. I should like from this place to extend through you to the whole nation of India our heart-felt thanks for the extraordinary warm welcome we have received from you.

INDIA AND THE COMMONWEALTH

May I extend to you on behalf of the Members of Parliament a most cordial welcome? As a leading representative of a nation which has had an intimate connection with us for nearly two centuries you are specially welcome.

History is not a bare record of the past. It is not what we remember, but what we choose to remember. We remember the political concepts of democracy, love of liberty, the spirit of compromise, politics as the art of making the best of the inevitable, the impetus given to the study of our past and the general awakening—intellectual, social and cultural—and such other positive contributions. Others we have elected to forget. So the relations between our two countries are cordial and friendly.

For centuries our relations with the outside world were interrupted; now we have re-entered the stream of world history. Our Prime Minister recently returned from the Commonwealth Prime Ministers’ Conference. Commonwealth means for us complete independence and informal association, sharing of ideals, though not of allegiance, of purposes though not of loyalties, common discussions which lead to better understanding of our problems and not binding decisions which restrict the independence of the member States.

You have grown up with the chief events of our generation—the first World War, the rise of Communism, Fascism, Nazism, the second World War and now the cold war. History does not seem to give us any moments of relaxation. Look at the problems in this morning’s papers: Korea, Indo-China, Formosa, Gaza. In this age of nuclear weapons our supreme need is peace. To

Speech on the occasion of Sir Anthony Eden’s Address to the Members of Parliament, 3 March, 1955
preserve it, perpetual vigilance is essential, for any mad act of any one nation may throw the world into confusion and set it afame. Man in the grip of fear is the most dangerous enemy of man. To remove fear, to dissipate misunderstanding, to shed off prejudice, to make us feel that we are members one of another, that is the call to our generation. I wish to assure you that our Government and our people will give whole-hearted and unstinted support to you in all your attempts to allay tensions, to build bridges, to search for peace and work for a future which is beyond the present dreams of mankind if we are wise enough to use the recent advances of science for peaceful purposes.

This large and eager audience is waiting to hear you.

INDIA AND EGYPT

We are delighted to have with us today, the Prime Minister of Egypt, Colonel Nasser and the Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Afghanistan, His Royal Highness Sardar Mahomed Naim Khan. We would like to express to them and through them to their Governments and peoples our best wishes for their peaceful progress and prosperity.

When we think of these countries we have to measure their life not by centuries but by millennia. When we stand in the shadow of the great Pyramids where Thucydides, Caesar, Napoleonic and many others stood, fifty centuries look down. Egypt situated in Africa, lies on the threshold of Asia and Europe, at the crossroads of the world. The Pharaohs, the Persians, the Greeks, and the Macedonians and the Romans ruled over her. In the Christian era, Egypt was a Roman colony, then a Christian settlement and after the Muslim conquest and Arab migrations that followed, an Arab stronghold. Though Egypt suffered from external pressures, her spirit was unbroken and she had her freedom struggle along with ours and the names of Makram, Arabi and Zaghlul are well known. She has now emerged independent. It is one thing to break down the old regime, it is another to build the new.

Speech on the occasion of the Address of Col. Nasser and Sardar Mahomed Naim Khan to the Members of Parliament, 14 April, 1955
Political independence is only the clearing of the decks. As in other countries of the East we have on the one side monuments, tombs, and ruins, and on the other poverty, filth, disease and destitution. The leaders of the revolution in Egypt are addressing themselves to the task of lifting these oppressive burdens from the shoulders of the people. They are engaged in a social and human revolution by which equitable distribution of land, industrial progress, religious freedom and democratic liberties are established. We are also engaged in the same exciting adventure and so Egypt has our sympathy and support as the recent treaty of friendship between India and Egypt illustrates.

Our relations with Afghanistan have been close and intimate for centuries. There was a time when India and Afghanistan formed parts of the same cultural region. For a while Indian and Greek sculpture fused in ancient Gandhāra, the modern Kandahar. Even today we find in Afghanistan many relics of Indian culture and influence. Though she has a different system of government, a constitutional monarchy with two Houses of Parliament, she is tackling the same problems of social reform and economic progress. A revolution is not merely liberation from external pressures; it is also a liberation from inward obstacles and unholy prejudices. It is a revolution in the minds and hearts of men. No nation can be built out of an agglomeration of private rights and cynical egoisms where each man is concerned only to do himself justice. An unclean Government, economic discontent, and national incoherence do not make for political stability. We therefore need leaders who, without illwill or hatred, without any love of power or personal ambition, strive to remove the scandalous conditions which prevail. Moral strength and scientific progress are the only answer to the present challenge.

To ensure the success of the revolution in Egypt, in Afghanistan, in India and elsewhere in the East, we need peace. We have similar urges, similar internal problems and similar external interests. That is why there is so much fellow-feeling among us, that is why we welcome you with such warmth and fervently wish that the countries which made such great contributions at the very dawn of history may attain that unity and solidarity, may develop that disciplined energy and sustained power which will help to make Asia and the world rich. A rose which adorns itself adorns the garden also.
A hard struggle awaits us. We want leaders who will give the people fire and enthusiasm without which ideas and ideals cannot be realized. We feel that peace is the essential condition of economic development and social progress in Asia and Africa. Civilization is not something inborn or imperishable. It is a precarious thing, a delicate complex of order and progress, culture and creation which has to be acquired anew by each generation. It may be overthrown at any time by barbarians from within or without. Human survival in this atomic age depends on peace, on active international co-operation. There is no alternative to it. That is why we are alarmed at the language of anger, threats and war preparations. It is time we control our passions.

The Sphinx which we see by the side of the great Pyramid near Cairo with a human head and a lion’s body poses the problem which civilization has yet to solve. It warns us against the brute in us, the spirit of violence, the will for power, the instinct to dominate, the spirit of secret pride, of collective selfishness. There is a strain of irritability infecting human nature, corrupting even the noblest souls. Nietzsche tells us that deep down there is in us capacity, ‘the splendid blond beast that stalks its prey and prowls in search of victory’. From time to time, the latent urge reappears, the animal emerges and returns to the jungle. We are betrayed by what is false in us. There is no point in liberating the intellect if we do not liberate the heart and the conscience. We need to tame the beast. Civilization is the conquest of the animal nature by the spirit in us. I do hope that in the discussions of international relations at Bandung you will adopt peaceful methods which will make for understanding.

MAY I express to you our great joy that you are able to come here and spend a few days with us? We hope that you had a pleasant and useful time in our country and saw something of our struggles and aspirations.

Speech proposing the toast to Dr Hatta, Vice-President of Indonesia, 15 November, 1955
For centuries our two countries have had similar aims and ideals. Your very names remind us of those times. Your music and dance, your village festivals illustrate themes and stories which are familiar to us. The very name of your airlines ‘Garuda’ is an example of our long association.

Our recent history has been strikingly similar. After years of struggle we emerged into independence. That is only a step in our onward march, an opportunity to shape our future and recreate a new society. Gandhiji said that we wanted freedom for the sake of the millions of India, to give them food, clothes, homes and, more than all, a sense of human dignity and self-respect. Like us Indonesia is rich in natural resources: oil, gold, rubber, tin, spices and sugar. Our peoples, however, are poor and backward. This backwardness is due to our lag in scientific and technological progress and we are trying to make up for it.

In the creation of a new society, we are governed by the same ideals. Your Pañchaśīla emphasizes national solidarity, interdependence of nations, government by consent, social justice and belief in the Supreme, along with freedom of religious worship. The declaration of objectives or a change in law does not mean a change in the social structure. This requires determined will and disciplined effort.

We can achieve our goal only if the world is safe from the scourge of war. Our effort on the international front is aimed at preserving peace and attaining those conditions which are essential for peace, namely, freedom from colonial rule, from race discrimination, from economic exploitation. Whether at Colombo or Bogor, Bandung or New York we are co-operating for the achievement of these ends, firmly convinced of the principle of unity in diversity which is the motto of your State. It is the basis of co-existence, a call to us all to dwell together in peace. If we refuse to align ourselves with this or that side in this troubled world, it is because we are profoundly convinced that power politics at any time means misery to mankind, and at the present time in a shrinking world, with the development of nuclear power, it will be a disaster.

Your country served as host to the most important conference of free peoples from Asia and Africa. In the past they all suffered stagnation and servitude and for the future they demand dignity and self-respect, freedom and peace. That conference did not turn out to be a bear-garden or a tea party, but became the expression
of the solidarity of the Asian and African peoples in their common
love for freedom, equality, justice and peace. All those who visited
Bandung are grateful not only for your generous hospitality but also
for your direction and guidance.

If we want our voice to be heard in the outside world, we must
achieve peace within our borders. We must create a new richness
of life not only in material things but in the things of the mind.
We must inspire our people to join together to make something
better of their existence. The eyes of the world are on us watching
whether we have the strength and the courage to challenge, defy
and overcome the obstacles of superstition, regionalism, nar-
rowness of mind and intolerance which bar our path to progress.
We cannot advance as a nation if we succumb to them or even com-
promise with them.

The success of our enterprise depends on leadership. A great
leader kindles in his people the fire that burns within him, and
interprets the growing spirit of a nation to itself. It is fortunate
that Indonesia has competent, determined and selfless leadership.
You have won the affection of the Indonesian people and the
respect of us all. Expressing the hope that your country may have
the benefit of your great leadership for many decades, I propose
your health.

INDIA AND THE SOVIET UNION

MAY I express to you and the members of your Party, on be-
half of Parliament, the people and the Government of India
our most cordial welcome and say how delighted we are that,
for the first time after the October Revolution in 1917, we have
the honour of having the leaders of the Soviet Union with us
though only for a short time? We were all deeply touched by
the very warm and cordial way in which our Prime Minister
was received in your country this June, and I wish to assure—
though my assurance is unnecessary, for you have seen with your
own eyes—that our welcome to you is sincere, warm and friendly.
Informal contacts from such visits make for understanding and

Speeches when Messrs. Bulganin and Khruschev addressed an informal
meeting of the Members of Parliament, 21 November, 1955
understanding casts out fear and suspicion.

Men of my generation have watched with profound interest your steady growth in power and influence. In the conditions of 1917, with an inefficient and absolutist Government, a corrupt Church, with the flower of Russia's manhood scattered in innumerable war fronts, with unspeakably difficult economic conditions of famine and chaos, with the memory of successive defeats by the Mongol Khan, by the Turkish Beys, etc. until 1917, you felt that the revolution such as the one you had was essential for removing the sense of despair and creating a world of hope. You have succeeded in transforming a State, centuries behind advanced nations of Europe, into a powerful modern nation with vast industrial and economic development. The Civil War and foreign intervention which occurred in the early years led to the adoption of certain attitudes of strict control within and suspicion of foreign nations. Such causes have such effects. The conditions today are, however, different. Foreigners are visiting Russia in large numbers and Russians are visiting other countries also. Visitors to Russia are persuaded that you and your people are eager to get on with others and live with them in peace and friendship. It is irrelevant to quote Marxist doctrine or Lenin's theory, for the logic of facts is more powerful than the logic of doctrine or of theory.

As you are doubtless aware, we are attempting to do, in ten or twenty years, work which will ordinarily take as many generations. We are recasting our society on a socialistic pattern in ways which are consistent with our history and agreeable to our tradition. Lenin's observation is to the point: 'All nations will reach socialism; this is inevitable. But all nations will not reach socialism in the same way.' You offer to share your scientific and industrial experience with us. We are grateful to you for it. We are willing to accept it so long as it does not impair our independence in any manner or involve pressure or interference. You trod the hard way and raised yourselves. Our progress depends on our inherent strength, moral fibre, willingness to work in a spontaneously cooperative spirit. We have faith in our people, so confidence in the future. Though our ways are different, our goal is the same and there are many fields in which we can co-operate to bring about a safer and saner world.

History is being made at greater speed than ever before and if we are wise and willing, we can help it forward and establish a
world community. We have to live together and work together. The United Nations is the symbol of what we all desire, a world community. But unfortunately it is not today representative of all the great nations of the world. China, for example, has no place in it, with the result that conferences are held outside the United Nations Organization which itself diminishes the effectiveness of the United Nations Organization.

In your recent speeches you rightly spoke about our age of science and technology as containing the possibility of an earthly paradise or of a breakdown of civilization. Given modern methods of war and technology, what another war means is terribly clear. If by accident or design we plunge the world into it, we will go down in history not as responsible leaders but as lunatics. The verdict on civilization will be: suicide while in a state of unsound mind. What we are suffering from is a sickness of mind and heart. You and our Prime Minister have subscribed to the Pañchaśīla. The five principles are not empty phrases. If we take them seriously, we must turn back on our past, forget our bitter feuds and irrational passions, abandon our fixed ideas and sterile negations, temper our minds with a new vision, a new spirit, a new humanity a new forbearance. Unfortunately, however, there is still too much of egoism in the world, too much of organized selfishness. Nations eager to augment their political power are sometimes rigid, exclusive, suspicious and aggressive. The conditions in the Far East, in West Asia where a dangerous arms race is developing, the disappointing results of the recent Geneva Conference are illustrations. At a time like this we should not higgle about details. Pettiness is irresponsible. Our minds must become large and our hearts big. We have to work for peace, with tenacity and patience, lift the pressure under which we live and let the world breathe a sigh of relief. In this endeavour of civilization, all peace-loving countries can count on our unstinted co-operation. Not by might, not by power, but by understanding and co-operation among nations can we reach our goal.

CONCLUDING SPEECH

We are grateful to you for the speeches you have made explaining to us your domestic and foreign policies.

We are greatly touched by your observations that the writings of Tulāsīdās, Gandhi, Prem Chand and Jawaharlal Nehru are
available in Russian translations and are widely read. I may inform you that we read and profit from the writings of Pushkin, Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, Chekov, Turgenev and Gorki. We hope that we may have greater co-operation in the fields of art and literature.

Mr Khruschev told us about intellectual freedom and religious liberty in the Soviet Union. Of course, they are the best authorities on the subject and we are delighted to hear about these freedoms in Russia, for they are the essential components of democracy. Now that the Soviet Union has consolidated its base and provided its people with the vital things of life without which they cannot live, we hope they will give them opportunities to develop the graces of mind and the virtues of spirit without which life is not worth living. We now look forward to the production of great works of literature and art which will delight and illumine the world.

It is our hope and desire to work as friends and partners in building up a great new world of peace and prosperity, freedom and justice, of real democracy.

\[
\text{sarvas taratu durgāṇi sarvo bhadrāṇi paśyatu} \\
\text{sarvas sad-buddhim āpnotu, sarvas sarvatra nandatu.}
\]

INDIA AND CHINA

WE are delighted to have with us, though only for a very short time, Her Excellency Madame Soong Ching-ling, a great leader of the Chinese revolution and an old friend of our country.

One of the most remarkable things in the world’s history is the relationship between our two countries, of peaceful co-operation across the centuries. We have traces of the influences we have exerted on each other in the literature and art of our two peoples. Our cultures intermixed, our trade flourished, mutual appreciation grew and there has not been a single instance of military conflict. Something precious and unique has been built up over a long past.

Though intercourse between our two peoples was interrupted for some centuries, it has now been revived. We passed through trials and tribulations and have now achieved the power to shape our future and are facing similar problems.

Speech proposing the toast to Madame Soong Ching-ling, Vice-Chairman of the People’s Republic of China, 17 December, 1955
Our distinguished guest was associated for many years of her life with the work of one whose name is honoured in recent Chinese history. Sun Yat-sen helped to free China from the Manchu rule in 1911 and formulated the three objectives of nationalism, democracy and livelihood or socialism. He worked for national solidarity, government by the people and employment and opportunity for all. Soon after his death, reactionary forces came into power and revolutionary purposes, principles and policies were compromised. Twenty-four years after his death, on October 1, 1949, came the New China, a realization of his dream of a free, independent, socialist China. We have also the same ideals of a Welfare State which we are striving to establish through the forms and processes of parliamentary democracy.

We should like our generation to go down in history not as one which split the atom and made the hydrogen bomb, but as the generation which brought together the peoples of the world and transformed them into a world community. The tragic experience of history teaches us that understanding among the peoples of the world is essential if civilization is to survive. If we do not stir up the latent good sense and goodwill of the people now drugged with debilitating hatred, it will only mean that though we teach history, history does not teach us.

To the end of fostering peace and relaxing international tensions, China and India last year, on the 29th of April, signed an agreement regarding trade and intercourse between the Tibetan region of China and India, incorporating in the Preamble the now famous five principles, the Pañchaśīla. Two months later they were reaffirmed in the general statements made by the Prime Ministers of India and China, and of China and Burma. In October 1954, the Soviet Union and China accepted them; and after that many other countries, including Yugoslavia, Poland, etc. It is our earnest hope and desire that all the countries of the world may be persuaded to follow these principles of mutual respect, mutual concern and international morality. For we believe in friendship with all nations, whatever their political, economic and social systems may be. We will without haste and without rest explore every avenue that will lead to better understanding among the peoples of the world. In this endeavour of civilization, we two peoples can work together.

It is a matter of deep sorrow to us that your proper position in the United Nations Organization has not yet been recognized. But the
day is not far off when you will be able to contribute more effectively to world peace through the United Nations Organization than now. The ideals of peace and friendship among nations are not merely the concern of Governments and diplomacy. They must well form the impulses and emotions in the hearts of men and women. It is in this context that the original Buddhist Pañchaśīla becomes relevant—that we should not hurt life, should not take what does not belong to us, lead a life of chastity of body and mind, not tell lies which we often do in the name of diplomacy, and take no intoxicants, and demagoguery is a great intoxicant. These principles of piety, purity and compassion were accepted centuries ago in all Buddhist lands, China, India, some parts of West Asia, Japan, etc. The spirit of Pañchaśīla is the spirit of restraint, of humaneness, of brotherly co-operation, 'with malice towards none and charity for all'. These qualities have sustained for centuries the Chinese civilization. She has survived all the vicissitudes of history and is today a powerful nation because she has preserved them in spite of what the world did against her and what she did against herself.

In the maintenance of cultural traditions the place of women has been very significant. This country in every generation has produced millions of women who have not found fame, but whose daily existence helped to civilize the human race. Their warmth of heart, their self-effacement, their unassuming loyalty, their strength in suffering even when subjected to severe trials have been among the glories of this ancient land. In the few days you are here, you will see for yourself how the women of our country have been striving with success to obtain equal rights with men which is their due, in political, economic, cultural and social life. They are working, I hope they will concede, with our full support and co-operation, for a higher form of family life where men and women regard themselves as equal partners in the pursuit of the ends of dharma, artha, kāma and mokṣa, where the wife is said to be grhinī, the head of the household, sacīvah, a wise counsellor, sakhī, a good friend. I have no doubt they will have an increasing share in the development of a new style of life in the country and friendship among nations.

I would like you to convey to your people and your Government our best wishes in your stupendous adventure of building a New China, where you will be able to save not only the bodies but the souls of your many millions. Your unremitting service to your nation, your friendship for our people, your faith in co-operation
With Sir Anthony Eden, New Delhi, March 1955

With Col. Nasser, New Delhi, April 1955.
Banquet to Dr Mohammed Hatta at Rashtrapati Bhavan, November 1955
Visit of Col. Nasser and Sardar Mohammed Naum to Parliament House, April 1955
Visit of Mr N. A. Bulganin and Mr N. S. Khrushchev to Parliament House, November 1955

Banquet to Madame Soong Ching-ling at Rashtrapati Bhavan, December 1955
between India and China, and your passion for peace have brought you near our hearts. I have now great pleasure in proposing the health of Her Excellency Madame Soong Ching-ling.

ON ARRIVAL IN PRAGUE

I am very happy to be here today in response to the kind invitation of your Government and I am thankful to you for your very generous words of welcome. It is a happy accident that this very day last year you gave our Prime Minister a magnificent welcome. That visit brought our two peoples nearer to each other. I hope that this visit of mine may contribute a little to the strengthening of our friendly relations.

I realize that our two peoples are now striving to build a social and economic democracy. After we attained our independence it has been our constant endeavour to raise the standards of living of our people, and I am glad to be assured of your sympathy and support in this effort of ours. But all our efforts will be blasted if we do not secure peace; that is why we desire peaceful and friendly co-operation among nations. In an age which has learnt to navigate the air and split the atom, there are no foreign nations. If one nation suffers, all will suffer to some extent. We have become irresponsible. We must have less suspicion and more unselfishness in the conduct of international relations. We must develop the habit of thinking in terms of peace.

I thank you once again for your kind welcome and I am looking forward to a very useful time in your country.

REPLY AT STATE RECEPTION IN PRAGUE

I am grateful to you and to your Government for this excellent opportunity which they gave me to come to your country and know a little about it. In three or four days you do not expect

Speech on arrival at the Ruzyne Airport, Prague, 6 June, 1956
Speech in reply at the State Reception given by the President of the Czechoslovak Republic, Prague, 7 June, 1956
to know much about a country. All the same, I see here a country which passed through many trials and tribulations and is now making steady and satisfactory progress in many sides of her national life. As you reminded us, we are in a similar situation, having passed through troublesome times. We now have an opportunity of reconstructing our national life from its foundations. We must live before we can live really well. We have to provide ourselves with the material conditions of life, food, clothing and shelter, before we can develop our cultural life. We believe in a distinction between the mechanics of living and the art of living. So far as the mechanics of living is concerned—the provision of the material conditions which are essential for any nation to progress—we believe in control, planning and regulation. So far as the art of living is concerned—literature, philosophy, religion, meditation and worship—we believe in absolute freedom. So, taking our stand on that fundamental distinction between the mechanics and the art of life, we plan our economic and industrial life, we try to provide education for our people and to bring within their reach sanitary and medical facilities. So far as the cultural life is concerned, we wish to give our citizens absolute freedom to think, meditate and worship as they choose.

You, Mr President, referred to our work in Korea, Indo-China and at the Bandung Conference, things which we undertook under the inspiring leadership of our Prime Minister, but the little done there should not blind us to the vast that remains to be done. You referred to the Pañchaśīla as the new code of international morality: peaceful co-existence, non-aggression, non-interference, mutual assistance, etc. It is one thing to subscribe to these principles, quite another to implement them in actual life. We have all subscribed to the United Nations Charter which asks us to adopt the principles of racial harmony, economic and social equality and political freedom. But the mere subscription to the Charter of the United Nations has not enabled us to work out those principles in international life. What is necessary, therefore, is the development of a new spirit. We need not a programme but a new vision and a new outlook. That is why the original Pañchaśīla, announced by the Buddha 2500 years ago, wished to endow us with a new outlook. He believed that the individual must change before society can change. The great
Chinese thinker Confucius tells us how to reform the world: We can reform the world by reforming the states. We can reform the states by reforming the families. We can reform the families by reforming ourselves. So the root of all improvement is self-improvement.

So, if these Pañchaśīlas of the international code are to become a functioning reality, human individuals will have to change their outlook and look upon the problems of the world with a different vision.

You, Mr President, referred to the integration of our country and wished us success in achieving that. We note with great satisfaction the way in which the hitherto French possessions of India were integrated in fact and in law during the last fortnight. We cannot expect anything else from a country like France which has given to the world the great ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity. I have no doubt that the remaining problems of our country will also be similarly solved and that other people will follow the example of the noble French.

You spoke to us about cultural and economic co-operation. Politicians may differ, our economic interests may clash, but when we stand before the masterpieces of art and literature, we do not ask to what country an artist belongs or what nationality he comes from. When we stand before a Shakespeare or a Kālidāsa, we are overwhelmed by the excellence, by the perfection of the work, which devastes and overwhels our whole being, makes us different from what we happen to be. On the plane of spirit there are no racial or national barriers. The great people belong to the whole world. They are the contemporaries of all ages and of all countries.

I have no doubt that we will be able to establish closer co-operation on the plane of culture, art, literature, etc. You referred to the beautiful flowers which are now aglow in the light of spring and you forecast that, even as they blossom, our relationship might also blossom. We, in India, have used the lotus more frequently than many other countries as a symbol of what we expect humanity would be. From mud and dirt, beautiful flowers can spring. From nations which are today oppressed, which are today suffering from political, economic, or racial bondage, we may have great developments and contributions if only we give them a chance.
UNITED NATIONS

If there is any phenomenon which is characteristic of our age, it is the growing unity of mankind. What happens in one part of the world affects the rest of the world. The time when each country ran its own life without much interference from others is long past.

From the beginning of the world, prophets have dreamed of the unity of mankind. The Hindus speak of svadeśo bhuvana-trayan. The Buddha sought to establish the kingdom of righteousness in the whole world, dharma-rājya. Confucius said: ‘Under heaven one family.’ Christianity speaks of peace and goodwill on earth. We are members one of another, according to St. Paul. All religions affirm the oneness of man, that in the sight of God we are all one. They affirm the sacredness of human personality. Every human being has innate worth and dignity. We believe that all relations between teachers and students, parents and children, employers and employees should be governed by love. Man is not made for hate and destruction but for love and life.

Dreams cannot become realities unless there are material factors by which we can implement them. Today the forces of science and technology have supplied the material conditions.

As the world becomes smaller, man’s mind must become larger or else conflicts will occur. We cannot attribute wars to circumstances. They are not what insurance companies call acts of God. They are acts of men. We are today facing a challenge and we have to respond to it adequately, if we are to advance the endeavour of civilization. We must change the axis of our thought and life.

We have grown in the past with faith in military methods. If we gain more military strength than our adversary, we will preserve peace. If the adversary is wise, he will not provoke war; if he is foolish and provokes war, he will suffer defeat. On this basis, we have acted. Marx says that force is the midwife of every old society pregnant with a new one. Some of his followers feel that force is not merely the midwife but the mother of the new society. The Communist Manifesto has this: ‘The history of all society hitherto has been the history of class struggle.’ Sir Winston Churchill observes: ‘The story of the human race is war.’ Today

Address to the University of Cracow, 13 June, 1956
the conditions of warfare have so altered that defeat and victory
cannot be so simply interpreted. A nuclear war will mean the ex-
termination of the enemy and of ourselves. The destructive
effects of nuclear weapons will be felt in so-called neutral countries
as well as in belligerent areas. Another war will be suicidal folly
for both the belligerents and the onlookers.

There are some who imagine that if we ban nuclear weapons,
we may have the luxury of little wars such as the two we have had
in this century. This banning will be futile, for no system of inspec-
tion can ensure that bombs are not being manufactured secretly.
Besides, even if at the outbreak of hostilities neither side possesses
secret weapons, they will start manufacturing them immediately
after war breaks out. We may presume that in any great war both
sides will employ the most dreadful and destructive weapons which
science has devised.

We cannot be sure that wars will not break out. It will be wrong
to imagine that men are rational enough to reject errors when they
see them and adopt enlightened ideas. If nerves are frayed and
temper high, rational considerations do not prevail. If the
universal destructiveness of war is to deter us from engaging in
conflicts, conflicting vital interests will have to be settled by other
means. Peace-making and military preparedness do not go well
together. We cannot prepare for war and make peace at the
same time. By emotional engineering we train the mass mind and
make it long for war. A new kind of diplomacy which does not
depend on war or threat of war has to be organized. New principles
and new machinery will have to be devised.

The possession of unlimited powers of self-annihilation should
impel us to develop humanity and idealism. Man has the instinct
for self-preservation. It is this instinct that led us to develop the
League of Nations after the first World War and the United Na-
tions Organization after the second World War. This organization
and its specialized agencies have much to their credit, but on the
fundamental political issues our hopes have not been fulfilled.
What are the causes of the inadequacy of the United Nations?

(i) It is not universal.
(ii) It is divided into blocs. It is not always justice but the pres-
sure of power blocs that sometimes decides issues in the U.N.
(iii) It is not effectively bringing about peaceful changes. The
major problems in Asia and Africa are those of poverty,
hunger and unemployment and they are to be solved by mutual aid and co-operation.

The United Nations must become all-comprehensive. All nations which have Governments which exercise power and authority in their areas, so long as they are willing to subscribe to the United Nations Charter, should be admitted. It is a matter of satisfaction that sixteen countries were admitted to the U.N. last year. A large country like China is still out of it. Many of our negotiations have to be carried on with China, and so long as she is not within the U.N., these negotiations have to be carried on outside the U.N. To this extent, the usefulness of the U.N. is greatly diminished. It is, therefore, imperative that the U.N. should become a world organization in a true sense. China, Japan and other established Governments should be admitted to the United Nations.

The East-West conflict has prevented the U.N. from functioning properly. At any time military pacts and alliances are dangerous; at the present moment, with the development of nuclear weapons, they are disastrous to humanity. Again, we cannot go on piling up armaments indefinitely and conditioning men’s minds for war without exposing ourselves to the risk of war. Highly advanced and democratic nations are obliged to acquiesce in policies which are anti-democratic and opposed to the U.N. Charter. Even after the first World War we announced the principle of self-determination. The United Nations Charter assures to all nations, great and small, the right to be free. But those who wield power in the U.N. are not in a position to sympathize with the pleas of Asian and African nations. Cold war commitments take precedence over the just demands of oppressed countries for liberation. We are obliged to sacrifice considerations of rightness on the altar of cold war strategy. Democratic nations, in spite of their own convictions, are obliged to oppose the demand for independence of Asian and African peoples, the liberation of Latin Americans and Asians from the economic bondage in which many of them live. There is no doubt that the United States of America, as a former colony which gained her independence after a struggle, sympathizes with the aspirations for freedom of all dependent and colonial peoples, but she is unable to express her sympathy with nationalist groups in Asia and Africa, for she does not wish to embarrass her allies. This policy of ambiguity has cost her many allies in the East.

The United Nations was originally conceived as a forum for the
peaceful settlement of disputes, with possible forces of its own to back its decisions. As the cold war developed, it tended to become a collective military instrument for use against aggressor nations. Giving up its role of mediation and peaceful settlement, it adopted the method of collective security. Even this concept was applied only when it conformed to the demands of the Power-groups. In Korea collective action was invoked, in Guatemala it was discouraged, though in both cases aggression had taken place. The United Nations wishes to contribute to peace and security not in the spirit of the Charter of co-operative effort towards mutual restraint, but by the precarious balancing of mutually opposed groupings.

If India and some other countries hesitate to align themselves with either of the two blocs, it does not mean that they are unwilling to decide between right and wrong. We are committed to peace, democracy and the U.N. Charter. It is the groups which compromise with these ideals. If we are convinced that war is a total disaster, then we should re-double our efforts in the peaceful settlement of our problems. The settlement of a dispute by agreement is more advantageous to the disputants than the continuation of it. Even if there were not such powers who have not aligned themselves, they will have to be invented. We are the States who can influence both sides to look at each other with discrimination. We are not attempting the impossible, to reconcile evil with good. We are asking all those who have control over nuclear weapons to discard them. We feel that the conflict between the two groups should be resolved through peaceful means and not catastrophic war. We believe that States which adopt different political systems can exist together. We believe that peaceful co-existence will help to educate totalitarian systems to a perception of individual dignity and the importance of civil liberties, and the democratic systems to care more for social justice, racial harmony and political freedom. India’s adoption of the democratic outlook is sufficient proof that we are not neutral between peace and war. We are positively on the side of democracy and of peace. We are unhappy that the democracies do not work out the implications of democracy and are suffering from certain fixed ideas. They seem to be more the guardians of the status quo than the champions of the oppressed. Millions are living under primitive conditions, suffering from hunger, disease and denial of advantages which modern science provides.
We are not prepared to reduce armaments and thereby diminish the crushing economic burden and the diversion of years in the life of the young to pursuits which have merely a destructive purpose.

Recent happenings in the Soviet Union show that the system is still fluid and has not assumed a final form. Changes are being introduced. The Soviet people seem to have given up the fanatical intolerance of other systems of economics and politics. Other than communist ways of achieving a socialist pattern of society are recognized. Liberal tendencies now slowly manifesting themselves will be encouraged by a process of peaceful, mutually educative co-existence. If we work for a new social order, a co-operative commonwealth, communism and capitalism should be regarded as alternative means to it, each with its values and defects. When they interact on each other, their defects may fall out and a new order of justice and freedom may be eventually established.

We need today a sense of humility. We must give up the attitude of self-righteousness, that we are right and our opponents wrong or the attitude that we may not be perfect but we are certainly better than our opponents. We must abandon the sense of moral superiority. We must realize that we are slaves of fear, of unlimited egotism. 'He that is without sin among you, let him cast the first stone.'

The United Nations should become an instrument for peaceful changes. World co-operation is possible only on the basis of equality and mutual welfare. We believe in freedom not only for ourselves but for other people. No nation should tolerate exploitation by another. No people could be indifferent to their own poverty. All those who believe in democracy profess that they do not believe in political or economic exploitation or racial discrimination. Yet when questions arise in the U.N., when proposals are made to liberate oppressed nationalities, to terminate racial discrimination, the democracies hesitate to support them. They oppose these proposals or abstain from expressing their views. If the suppressed peoples suspect the motive of the democracies, we cannot blame them. If the peace of the world is to be secured, it can only be on the basis of political freedom, racial harmony and economic justice. Those who have subscribed to the Charter of the U.N. should be the opponents of colonialism and racial oppression. Unfortunately national unselfishness is much more difficult than individual
unselfishness. Even unselfish individuals, when they become leaders of their Governments, do not behave in an unselfish manner. We practise 'My country right or wrong'. We have not developed the sense of a world community.

The East-West struggle derives its strength from the fact that half the world's population is living in a state of hunger, below the minimum for existence. In Asia they have awakened. In Africa they are awakening.

Mass hunger and other social evils lie at the root of war. The military approach to the struggle should be transformed into a competition for economic and social leadership. The advanced nations should, out of their own self-interest and not out of fear or sense of guilt, come to the help of the under-developed, for peace ultimately depends on raising the level of the life of the sick and hungry millions, and if we desire peace, we must serve those who are in need. We must believe in international interdependence. Nationalism is not enough. Let us remember the words of Edith Cavell, just before she was shot by a German firing squad in October 1915: 'Standing as I do', she said, 'in view of God and eternity, I realize that patriotism is not enough. I must have no hatred or bitterness towards anyone.'

We must change human nature to foster wider sympathies and imagination. We must enable people to look upon the happiness and suffering of other people as our own. We must affirm that truth prevails and love endures. We must reject reliance on methods of force. 'Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy. But I say unto you, love your enemies........'1 No nation can live in independence in the modern world. We are all dependent on one another. We must work in a friendly partnership. A world brotherhood is our ultimate ideal in human affairs. This is possible only by a partnership in peaceful co-existence. People's freedom in the management of their own affairs should be absolute. They will develop the form of government which suits their genius. They should be protected from military or political aggression, overt or covert. We believe in co-operation, not conflict, love, not hate. Reason, not force, should govern human affairs.

As in a democratic state, in a democratic world we should settle our differences by negotiation, discussion and reach decisions which

1 Matthew, V. 43-44
reconcile conflicting interests by a process of mutual give and take. Out of the turmoil and trouble of our time there may emerge a new social order based on moral principles and spiritual values which will draw together men of alien races and varied traditions. We may develop a sustained way of living as members of the world community. With a common conscience, a common understanding, we will establish peace and prosperity in the world. Wars between nations will then become as obsolete as duels between individuals.

ON ARRIVAL IN MOSCOW

I am happy to be here on the invitation of your President and renew my acquaintance with this great city and the people of the Soviet Union. I spent over two years here from September 1949 to April 1952. Since I left the place great things have happened. Our Prime Minister came here last year and received a royal welcome which touched us all. We had the honour of receiving your Prime Minister Mr Bulganin and Mr Khruschev. Besides, there were delegations, cultural and trade, which were exchanged between us. All these have contributed to bring our peoples closer, and helped to strengthen our friendly relations.

I am here at this important moment of vital developments in the Soviet Union. There has been a re-assessment of old policies and a drive towards new values. With the acceptance of the socialist objectives by many countries and liberalization of the Soviet regime, the differences which divide us may fade away and the nightmare world in which we are tossing and turning may become a thing of the past. It is evident that the Soviet Union wishes not to die for its doctrines but to live for its ideals.

In spite of differences, our two countries are one in so far as we are engaged internally in re-planning our society on a socialist pattern, and externally in working for peace which, I dare say, is the objective of all nations. There is much that binds us together, and I hope that we will work together for our mutual advantage.

Speech on arrival at the Moscow Airport, 15 June, 1956
SPEECH AT KREMLIN RECEPTION

I am thankful to Your Excellency for your kind words of welcome. I appreciate your generous remarks about my work in Moscow when I was Ambassador here. As I was not a professional diplomat, I approached my duties here in a friendly and human way and I did not find any great difficulties. I was able to explain to your leaders the fears and apprehensions of the outside world about your policies and I did not find any iron curtain of incommunicability. I expressed the fear, whether real or imaginary, which the outward world had—it was the same to which Palmerston gave voice a century ago: 'The policy and practice of the Russian Government have always been to push forward its encroachments as fast and as far as the apathy or want of firmness of other Governments would allow it to go, but always to stop and retire when it met with decided resistance.' The NATO is the product of this fear. Now that you have declared your faith in peaceful coexistence and shown by some of your deeds that your faith is not a pretence, the fear of the outside world may diminish.

We are grateful to you for your sympathy and support to us in the period of our struggle for freedom and assistance thereafter in the development of our economy.

You have focussed the attention of the world on the inequalities, the burdens which bear down the hopes of the people. A system where the happiness of a few is built on the misery of the many calls for change.

Whatever differences there may be in our methods of approach, the objectives remain the same. My country is engaged in the gigantic task of reconstructing our society on a socialist pattern and we adopt democratic methods and processes which are congenial to our background and traditions. This reconstruction requires peace in the world. We are, therefore, keen on the prevention of war and the preservation of peace. We cannot have peace in the world unless we have freedom and justice, unless men are able to walk upright in the lands where they are born and are free to use the fruits of their labour. Your insistence on the removal of every world by nuclear weapons by the end of the century, we may

Speech at Reception in the Kremlin given by President Voroshilov
15 June, 1956
kind of exploitation is correct. There are grave injustices, political, economic and racial, that block the way to an enduring peace. Those who stand for the present order of society with its masters and slaves are by no means the friends of peace. We should not believe in the invincible inferiority of some peoples and support the present injustices and cruelties. We should not trace all the troubles in Morocco, Algeria, Cyprus and Singapore to the machinations of the Soviet Union.

The State exists for man and not man for the State. Karl Marx complained about the capitalist order that for the enormous majority it gave mere training to act as machines, that it destroyed the humanity of the proletarian, that the individual was deprived of his privacy and right to personal development. Any system which suppresses the individual conscience is un-Marxist. If we give people education and economic opportunity, they will demand freedom of inquiry and criticism. Now that the Soviet Union has consolidated its base and secured stability, what was necessary in earlier years may not be needed now. Recent developments in the Soviet Union diminish the distance between the two systems of democracy, parliamentary and people's. You have lifted the blanket of fear and ended the dread of the police. You have admitted past mistakes, reduced somewhat armed forces, released from prison social democrats, abolished concentration camps, though you still have labour correction camps. Marx complained about the 'superstitious worship of authority' and stressed the role of the people in the making of history. As collective leadership increases, there will be more democratic control of State policies, open discussion of them first within the party and then in public. In a complex and increasingly diversified industrial economy, individual initiative will be encouraged and the Soviet State will grow into a Welfare State with free elections and opposition parties. If we are to encourage the liberal trends in the Soviet Union, we should bury bitterness and join together in a common endeavour to establish peace. The great issues which divide us may be solved more easily by patient understanding among the Powers than by rival blocs which face each other with suspicion and hostility.

History is being made at greater speed than ever before, and if we are wise and willing, we may help it forward and establish a world community. If by accident or design we do not blast the
world by nuclear weapons by the end of the century, we may have an efficient world organization. If we temper our minds with a new sense of forbearance, we may yet achieve the dream of all history, 'under heaven one family'. We earnestly hope that you will co-operate in the building of a new world based on justice and freedom.

TELEVISION BROADCAST FROM MOSCOW

I am happy to have had this opportunity of spending a few days in Moscow and meeting your leaders. In the Soviet Union we seem to be at the turning of a chapter. Both within and without, considerable changes are noticeable. There is a relaxed atmosphere within the country, and more freedom of movement and thought. In international relations the changes are marked. The courageous confession of past mistakes and excesses, the conclusion of the Austrian Treaty which grants freedom and independence to Austria, the settlement of the dispute with Yugoslavia, the return of the Soviet base of Porkalla to Finland, the dissolution of Cominform, the reduction of the armed forces and the proposals for disarmament are indications of a changed outlook. If the other Powers do not recognize this, if they do not encourage these developments, I am afraid they will be unfair to themselves as well as to the Soviet Union and may even be responsible for continuing the cold war, the arms race and conditioning men's minds for a conflict which, in this nuclear age, will be a grave disaster. In the present crisis the Soviet acts call for sympathy and understanding.

Any insistence on past wrongs will not help us. There is no nation whose record is clean. When minds are obsessed by malignant fears, there is no remedy except patience, forbearance and understanding. This is a time for humility and self-examination. Let us turn our back on the past and destroy the power of fixed ideas in a fluid world. Let us cease competing in making allegations against one another and concentrate on using the immense energies which are at the disposal of man for human welfare and progress.

18 June, 1956
ON LEAVING MOSCOW

These few days which I spent here with great pleasure and profit gave me an opportunity to see something of the changed atmosphere of the country and feel a little the spirit of the Soviet leaders. There is a consciousness of strength—military and industrial—and consequently a great sense of security. Now that security is safeguarded and material conditions are provided to some extent for the common people, there is an eager attempt to raise the quality of the human being and to establish the conditions for that. I hope that the leaders of the Soviet Union will go on undeterred in their march towards a progressive, humane, liberal Welfare State.

TASHKENT BROADCAST

I have been these two days in the two well-known centres of Uzbekistan, Tashkent and Samarkand. Uzbekistan has had a long history in which it was subjected to many cultural pressures. Centuries before Christ, we hear of the Uzbeks as sowing wheat and keeping cattle. Darius, the Persian Emperor, carved the world’s biggest sign-post out of the rock showing the way between Samarkand and Iran. Both Uzbekistan and North-West India were parts of his Empire. In the fourth century B.C., Alexander brought Hellenic influence to bear on the Uzbeks. He also came to parts of India. The Buddhist missionaries spread the message of the Buddha in Uzbekistan. Islam was imposed on a Buddhist community when the Arab invasion took place in A.D. 728. Then came the disaster of the Mongols followed by the renaissance of Timur and his successors. We in India also felt their impact. Ulubeg built the one and only observatory in Central Asia near Samarkand, the remains of which I visited today. I am told that those who built the observatory in Jaipur in Rajasthan learnt a good deal from the Samarkand observatory. Then began a long decline of Uzbekistan into feudalism and economic decay. Till a generation ago,

Speech at the Airport on leaving Moscow, 19 June, 1956
22 June, 1956
we found here, as in some other parts of Asia, ancient monuments and ruins and people living in filth and disease, ignorance and superstition. Today, we see the forces of modernism at work. We have technical schools and universities, medical institutes, hospitals, theatres, operas, concert halls, cinema houses and parks of culture. There are many signs of agricultural prosperity and industrial advance. People who were regarded as primitive till the other day are now teachers, doctors, administrators, ministers. It is good to know that 75 per cent of the State budget is allotted to what we call social services, education and health, art and culture. In these Asian Republics of the Soviet Union, standards have risen out of recognition.

We see here a country which is in a hurry to get somewhere. I dare say that liberties of the mind, which are as important for healthy human lives as comforts for the body, will follow. We must recognize that material progress unhelped by moral and spiritual values brings its own revenges in spiritual disquiet and impoverishment. The pursuit of truth, the enjoyment of beauty and the practice of goodness are also necessary for the mental health of the people.

Latterly, there have been cultural interchanges between India and Uzbekistan. Yesterday evening the Uzbeks gave us not only their national dances, but some Indian dances which their artists who visited India learnt. A Ceylonese girl who happens to be with us gave two dances which were greatly appreciated. There is an eagerness to learn from India and give to India in matters of art and culture.

Our Prime Minister spent two days here and Mr. Rashidov, President of the Presidium of the Republic of Uzbekistan, visited India on two occasions. These have helped to increase interest in India, and I hope these connections will grow in the years to come.

ON EARTH ONE FAMILY

On this last day of my visit to the Soviet Union, may I take the liberty of expressing my gratitude to President Voroshilov, members of the Government of the Soviet Union and the authorities.

Broadcast on Kiev Radio, 25 June, 1956
of the different Republics which I visited, for their uniform kindness, hospitality and attention to me during my present visit? So far as one can judge from brief acquaintance, one can say that the Soviet people are hard-working, friendly, good-natured, eager to learn. They have great pride in their country and faith in its future. Their love for peace is sincere.

The remarkable material progress which the Asian Republics have made will impress any unbiased visitor. If we compare their position thirty years ago with what it is today, we will find that these Republics have grown out of recognition. Of course, material progress by itself is not all. If unchecked by the higher values of the mind and spirit, it brings about its revenge, resulting in spiritual disquiet and impoverishment. In this city of monks and monasteries, I may be pardoned if I refer to those disciplines which make for the humanizing of spirit. I should like to do so, for there is a good deal of confusion about the Soviet attitude in the matter.

The Soviet people adopt the scientific method and look upon truth as something objective to the pursuit of which man has to dedicate himself in a spirit of disinterestedness. Their enthusiastic encouragement of different forms of art, painting and sculpture, song and dance, architecture and literature, shows that they are votaries of beauty. Their eagerness to make the good life available for the ordinary man, to accomplish the conditions which will make it possible for them to lead human lives, easy, free, rich and dignified, is an illustration of their fundamental humanism. Truth, beauty and goodness are not dreams of the mind or fancies of the heart. They are extra-mental values which man has to establish on earth. Many of us regard the Divine as Truth, satyam, Beauty, sundaram, Perfection, śivam, and Peace, śāntam.

When we are sometimes called upon to conduct a crusade against communism, which is regarded as the great enemy of religion, we seem to forget that the religion which the communists attack is the one based on incredible dogmas, which divides man from man, which robs man of his initiative and supports social inequalities and vested interests.

If religion is treated as an inward integration which each one has the freedom to achieve for himself, without interference from others, and a call to establish an equitable social order, there is not much in such a religion for the communists to complain about. In its essence religion is reintegration of human personality
Arrival in Moscow, June 1956

With Mr N. A. Bulganin and Mr N. S. Khruschev in Moscow
With President Zapata at State Reception.
With the Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia on arrival in Prague
Receiving an Honorary Degree of the Free University of Brussels, June 1956

Arrival at Salisbury, Central African Federation, July 1956
and redemption of human society. When the Hindus speak of jñāna or wisdom, the Buddhists of bodhi or enlightenment, the Christians of meta-noia, they are all thinking of a change of consciousness, of a growth of personality. This integration of human personality is an essential factor of all types of humanism.

In spite of the Marxist doctrine that all social phenomena are directly or indirectly determined by the economic conditions of society, the Marxists did not exclude the supremacy of the critical mind and the free will of the individual. We need not wait for the social conditions to become ripe. We can take a hand in controlling the drifting stream of history. The feeling that our action is in conformity with the higher purpose of the universe inspires the followers of Marx to energetic, sacrificial living.

Religion, again, correctly interpreted, gives value and dignity to the individual. When the Hindus speak of the in-dwelling divine, antar-ātmā, the Buddhists of the possibility of rising to the stature of the Buddha, when the Jews affirm that the spirit of man is the candle of the Lord, when the Christians proclaim that ‘the Kingdom of God is within you’, ‘Know ye not that ye are the temple of God and the spirit of God dwelleth in you’, when the Prophet of Islam tells us that God is nearer to us than the very artery of our neck, they all in different ways indicate that the divine is not an external despot, a sort of Sultan in the sky, but is the inward principle of self, the inner light, antar-jyoti. We are sparks of the divine and it is for us to be co-creators with God, to battle with circumstances, to overcome evil and iniquity and raise the quality of human living.

Such a view of religion demands the repudiation of all injustices and inequalities and the establishment of a social order which is in conformity with the sanctity of the human individual. The universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 10, 1948, condemns all distinctions based on ‘race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status’. Though this Declaration cannot be made operative unless its provisions are accepted in specific conventions, the directives to nations are quite clear. Article 28 states that everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in the Declaration can be fully realized. This conception of a universal Welfare State, where we look upon the whole world as our sacred home, vārāṇasi medini, is
the dream of religious seers. On earth one family. Truly religious people are called upon to strive for and serve this world community. Religious men will be revolutionaries as long as there are errors to be corrected and evils to be overcome. Their ambition would be to remove the greatest burden of man, namely, the exploitation of man by man. If men are dissatisfied with religion, it is because religious organizations happen to be advocates of external piety and not spiritual life and are often the champions of the status quo.

Let us remember that not merely in the Soviet Union, but in many other parts of the world also, there is a rejection of the stories which are taken literally by the common people about the lay-out of Paradise, the nature of the kingdom of darkness and the psychology of God. Many people are repelled by the dogmatic creeds and the artificial practices of organized religions. Many intelligent men, whatever may be their political views, radical or socialist, conservative or liberal, are inclined to adopt some form of scientific humanism. Aversion to dogma and lack of moral indignation against social injustice are responsible for the present indifference to religion.

It is true that in the earlier years, propaganda for atheism was adopted in the Soviet Union. When religious reaction supported Tsarist tyranny, the communists tried to throw out the baby along with the bath-water. When, in the second World War, the Church supported the Soviet stand, a reconciliation was effected. Today the churches, mosques and synagogues in the Soviet Union are not badly attended. The State does not support any religion but does not bar the practice of religion by the people. Whether we are humanists or religious men, we have faith in democracy. The constitutions of the advanced nations state this faith and call upon their members to implement it. The Charter of the United Nations demands it, but we all compromise in some degree with these ideals in our actions.

A new Asia, a new Africa, are striving to throw off foreign domination, are anxious to catch up with the twentieth century and achieve tolerable conditions of life for their oppressed, ill-nourished, ignorant, illiterate fellow-beings, the right to be themselves and be answerable to themselves, subject to considerations of general human welfare. It should be the duty of all advanced nations to assist these communities which are struggling to raise themselves.
Instead of competing in the making of diabolic weapons, they should co-operate in giving political and economic aid to subject and suffering peoples. This is not always done.

In spite of our professions to the contrary, racial discrimination is practised in many parts of the world. The Soviet Union has achieved racial harmony. Members of different races get on well with one another and feel that they are all members of one community. We know how in different parts of the world racial justice is sacrificed at the altar of race pride. Even in advanced democracies we find a superior attitude, apartheid, the exclusive clubs, the subtleties of a real, though disguised, colour bar. There can be no peace in the world so long as racial oppression, producing great resentment and illwill, continues.

It is true that in the Soviet Union we do not have a parliamentary system of government. There is a saying attributed to Bukharin: ‘We might have a two-party system, but one of the parties would be in office and the other in prison.’ Opposition parties used to be treated as forms of counter-revolution. Lenin intended to lift the ban on the opposition parties when social and economic conditions of the country became stable. Today we can say that the State has attained strength, stability and security. The cult of the individual is repudiated, but the possibility of dictatorship is always there so long as the nation is said to elect the party; the party the organization; the organization the Central Committee; and the Central Committee the leader, who often becomes a dictator. The present hatred of dictatorship, the emphasis on collective leadership, the freedom of discussion within the party may well be regarded as the first steps towards the liberalization of the Soviet State.

We need not think that parliamentary democracy is un-Marxist. Marxism is a spirit, not a programme, a method of social analysis, not an interpretation of texts. The goal of socialism is obligatory, but the method of attaining it is optional. Whatever the system may be, the ideals are the same, directing the future towards the broad horizon, beauty and joy, peace and happiness. History will judge us by our deeds, not by our beliefs.

The greatest problem facing us today is the prevention of war. Improvement in the means of communication has reduced the world to a close neighbourhood. We can use the scientific advance to make the world a common home for men to live in as members
of a fellowship in art and science, in commerce and industry, or we may destroy ourselves. Both these possibilities are open to us. In an atomic war, there will be no front and no rear. There was a time when we engaged in wars in the conviction that it is better to win wars than to lose them. Today the difference between the victor and the vanquished has lost all its meaning. In the modern context, war is mass suicide. We must prevent it at any cost. We must bring about the conditions necessary for peace. The world must be shaken out of its egoism and its conscience roused from its slumber.

The differences between the two blocs have produced an atmosphere of suspicion, fear and hatred. Many of our judgements are too emotional to be safe or reliable. If we are to take a reasonable view of the present situation, we must rise superior to our emotions and take note of the re-thinking and re-acting that are taking place in the Soviet Union. Our passionate hatreds, our frozen attitudes should be cast away. We must not slander even our enemies. We are living in a period charged with history, and the two blocs must view the problems in a restrained and reasonable way. I have no doubt that wisdom and statesmanship will prevail.

**COMMONWEALTH IDEALS**

This is my first visit to this country, and my acquaintance with it is very brief, and you do not expect me to speak much about the problems which you are facing.

I thought there were two points in which I had some relationship with this part of the world. We are members of the Commonwealth, and we have some settlers of Indian origin in this part of the world. These two things bring us together.

As for the Commonwealth, I notice in the Press that your Prime Minister is trying to get the Federation included with full status in the Commonwealth. Status is something we all worry about, and here he is attempting to get the Federation included as a full member of the Commonwealth.

Address at an Inter-Racial Asian Reception in Duthie Hall, Salisbury, 4 July, 1956
When we talk about the Commonwealth, we are reminded of certain ideals which bind the peoples of the Commonwealth together. The nations which are members are fully free, absolutely independent. They share no allegiance, but they share loyalty to ideals. They have a common spirit of compromise, getting things adjusted by mutual discussion and agreement, equality before the law for all citizens. Some of these things are the cardinal features which bind the different members of the Commonwealth together. No decisions are adopted in Commonwealth Prime Ministers’ Conferences which restrict the liberty of action of the members of the Commonwealth, but the discussions tend to bring about a better understanding.

So far as the ideals of the Commonwealth are concerned, they insist on the extension of democratic principles to all peoples who belong to the Commonwealth wherever they may be. We have, first of all, independence granted to nations which were European in their descent: Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Eire. Later on, we have countries like India, Ceylon, Burma, Pakistan granted independence, and now the centre has shifted to Africa, where the same process of achieving self-government is at work and very soon it will be possible for us to say that there are many countries in Africa which are full members of the Commonwealth. That is the goal that the Commonwealth should set before itself. It attempts to achieve a harmony of mind and spirit among those who belong to the Commonwealth.

There may be difficulties, but the goal is clear, and without haste and without rest it is the duty of all of us who belong to the Commonwealth to work for the implementation of those great ideals.

We talk about peaceful co-existence, the concept of Pañchaśīla; active, peaceful co-existence. It affects not merely international relations but it also has a bearing on domestic relations; also on national problems; and if a policy of peaceful, active co-existence is promoted in countries which have their own problems to face, there is no doubt that we will be able to reach the goal. But this peaceful, active co-existence requires a larger understanding, a wider imagination. Unless we develop a different outlook altogether, this peaceful co-existence cannot function either in the national or in the international field.

This very concept of Pañchaśīla was enunciated 2500 years ago by the Buddha in a different way. He said men must be more
humane and civilized if they wished to be called human beings. He first of all gave us the principle—Do not injure other people. Practise non-violence. In almost all these problems let your approach be a democratic, peaceful, non-violent one. That is the first principle he spoke to us about.

The second principle he told us was—Do not be greedy. There is such a thing as greed of the individual or greed of the group. Selfishness may take different forms; individual or collective. As far as possible, do not aspire to other people's property or possessions.

The third thing he said was—Develop self-control. Unless we learn to govern ourselves, we will not be able to govern others. Self-control is essential for every individual. If we have fear, we have anger. Anger leads to hysteria. Hysteria leads to all sorts of actions. So, if we want to avoid these things, it is essential for us to develop self-control. We must be able to rise superior to our emotions. Avoid all passions. It is difficult. We want to develop sanity, but as Erasmus said: 'Look at Providence; He confined reason to the cells of the brain, but allowed the passions the whole body to range over.' So to control passions by reason, which is confined to the cells of the brain, is not an easy thing. We are, therefore, asked to exercise self-control.

The fourth principle was—Do not resort to untruth. Do not shrink from truth for fear of offending powers or principalities. Try to live up to your conscience. Do not act in an untruthful way.

The last was—Avoid intoxicants. Demagogy is a great intoxicant. People lose their heads when appeals are made to them in the name of some kind of group loyalty.

So, the five principles that the Buddha enunciated 2500 years ago are these: avoid violence; avoid greed; adopt self-control; do not resort to untruth; avoid intoxicants. He made out that a human being becomes truly human, his emotions become refined and his purposes civilized if he is able to adopt this Pañchaśīla which is for the re-making of the individual. Unless the individual is re-made, society cannot be re-made.

It was Plato who told us that constitutions reflected the dispositions of men. Unless we alter the dispositions of human beings, we will not be able to alter the constitutions. Even after the constitutions are drawn up, we will not implement them; we will resort to subterfuges by which the constitutions are circumvented. In this world, which is becoming smaller every day, it is essential
for us to make our hearts big and our minds large. We must widen our imagination, extend our sympathies, look on other human beings even though they may be unfortunate, poor, sick, uneducated, as our kindred, not as inferior beings—we must be in a position to give them status, dignity.

So, when we talk about the Commonwealth—our membership in the Commonwealth—we mean the adoption of certain ideals. These constitute the soul of the Commonwealth, the basis, the values without which the Commonwealth would fade away.

We live not because of our earthly possessions but we live on account of the ideals we cherish, and when we say we are members of the Commonwealth it is essential for us to adopt certain basic values and implement them in our daily life.

The second thing I mentioned was that we have settlers of Indian origin in this country. They are doing their work, I dare say, quite well, but it is essential for them to regard themselves as members of this society, of the society where they are placed, where they are making a living. Parties, when they are formed, as far as possible must be formed on the basis of political principles, not on the basis of racial relations. It is one society to which we all belong here and it must be our endeavour to promote the progress and prosperity of all the people of this society. It does not mean that you have no interest in your culture or heritage. India is not a geographical expression—it is a living spirit. It stands for certain ideals. It tells us that this world of space and time is not all; it is something which is perpetually superseding itself. Anyone who looks at the Indian flag will see the rotating wheel of time—that in this world of time nothing is steady; all is movement. One thing leads on to another, and we give it the blue, indicating the colour of the sky and of the sea. The cosmic process is symbolized by the cakra you find in the centre. Is that wheel of time self-maintaining? Does it stand by itself? No; it depends on a vast, eternal background which we do not wish to define in any particular sectarian or dogmatic way, and we give to it the colourless white; what Shelley calls the white radiance of eternity. If the cosmic process is a perpetual movement, if it depends on an eternal background, the colour white tells us, 'please do not quarrel about the way you define eternity'. Do not think you have captured the truth, standardized it, codified it. Truth is a perpetual adventure. Religion is itself a perpetual quest, so there is no
such thing as your having attained the truth. We are pilgrims, and truth cannot be regarded as having been captured by this or that particular form. The Eternal Spirit is superior to any kind of halting definitions thereof. The white background is an illustration of that fundamental truth. We are struck by the empirical variety of religions, but if we attend to the goal, we will notice the transcendent unity of religions. By putting the white background, we try to indicate that man exists for something more than earthly existence. There is a higher purpose. His life is not to be regarded as a repetition of the mechanical round of animal existence—being born, growing up, mating, producing offspring, passing out. He has another function to fulfil. How can we live in this world with the perspective of the eternal? We put at the top the orange colour; the colour symbolizing renunciation, the sweat of the heart. That is the only way to the goal, through suffering, through austerity, through discipline. By means of these we can live in this world with the perspective of the eternal. If we do so, it is not for withdrawing from the world; it is for the purpose of building a green paradise on earth. The lowest green tells us that the fruits of contemplation and discipline are to be poured into the energy of action. The world is a rotating process. It depends on an eternal background. Man can reach the truth by discipline and suffering. If he attains it, he will help to make this world into a beautiful garden.

That is the heritage. It is universal. It is not a question of your belonging to this country or that country. It is a question of your cherishing these values and the values can be cherished under whatever sky you are working, and if you are able to bring these values to bear on your daily existence, you will make a very effective contribution to the world, to the life, progress and prosperity of the people of this country.

CO-EXISTENCE

I am glad to be here today and see so many of you assembled for this function. I thought it was a reception and so the attraction of a reception when we sit down and have some tea and sandwiches.

Address at the Commissioner’s Reception at the Indian Sports Club, Limbe, Nyasaland, 7 July, 1956
must have brought you together, but I understand that receptions
in this country mean speech-making.

Here there are people from different parts of the world who have
all adopted this Nyasaland as their home and who are now working
for the wellbeing and the prosperity of this country; yet when
you come from different countries, you carry something of the spirit
of the countries from which you come, and our Commissioner has
said that you have here some settlers of Indian descent also.

India is not so much a geographical expression as an attitude
of mind, an orientation, a particular outlook. Professor Childe
of the University of London, writing about ancient India, makes a
remark that in 3250 b.c., India confronted Egypt and Babylon
with a distinctive civilization, a definite pattern of life which still
endures. It is the basis, he said, of modern Indian civilization.
Modern Greece is different from ancient Greece, modern Egypt is
different from ancient Egypt, but modern India is not fundamen-
tally, so far as the outlook is concerned, different from ancient
India.

Among the relics of the Mohenjo-Dâro and Harappa excavations
you find an image of a prototype of the god Śiva seated on a lotus
throne with his eyes shut, in a posture of meditation, with the animal
creation around him. There you have the fundamental outlook
which has dominated the spiritual landscape of the country. From
the beginning it was felt that he who, by the power of his medita-
tion, establishes supremacy over his own appetites and emotions, is
greater than one who is able to win the battles of the world; in other
words, self-conquest is more important than conquest of countries.
We believe that the greatest conquerors are those who overcome
their enemies without the use of force.

From that time down to our own we will find in India this image
of one rapt in meditation. You find it in the Upaniṣads, you find
it in the Buddha. The statues of the Buddha indicate to us how he
was victorious over illwill, bigotry, etc. Every generation and every
part of the country produced people who incarnated this ideal.

Religion is not for us so much doctrinal conformity or cere-
monial piety as the re-changing of our nature, the transforming of
our personality—becoming something different from what we are.
It is a participation in the ultimate mystery of the world.

When we identify religion with such an outlook, doctrinal rivalries
and credal conflicts become irrelevant. From that day to this
there have been different pathways recognized for the realization of the religious goal which is the fulfilment of our true nature. So the idea of a peaceful, active, mutually educative co-existence has been with us for ages. When it is said that India is a secular State, it does not mean that India worships material comforts and luxuries or does not recognize that there are higher laws of the universe than those which govern the physical world of space and time. It only means it does not stand for any particular religion but deals impartially with all religions, that it adopts the philosophy of active co-existence among the religions of the world. That is the meaning of a secular State.

So long as we regard doctrines as pathways to the realization of the Supreme and not final statements of the truth, there will be no conflicts, disputations, or controversies. Religious wars arise when we exalt dogma and regard it as infallible. The Aryan and the Dravidian, the Hindu and the Buddhist, all the races which poured into the country have been, relatively speaking, welded into a corporate unity.

There are other views, also, which have come down to us. If we turn to the West, we find the distinction between the Greek and the Barbarian with which European history started. Actually, however, Greece acquired a great deal from the 'Barbarian' countries of Egypt, Babylon and Iran. If we go a step forward, we will find that Justinian closed down the schools of Athens, thinking Greece and Galilee could not co-exist, but we know that Greece has entered into the history of Christianity. Augustine is full of Plato and Plotinus; Aquinas is full of Aristotle. Again, we have the philosophy of either this or that when we come to the Crusades; either the Cross or the Crescent. We have discovered that the Cross and the Crescent could live together, educating each other. The modern European Renaissance is the product of the enlightenment brought to Europe by the Arab translators of the great Greek works, and those Muslim theologians, Avarroes and Avicenna, have contributed a great deal to the development of Christian thought. We had centuries of conflict between the Catholics and the Protestants. Again, it was thought either this or that. We find now that the Catholics and the Protestants can live together, can be of assistance to each other and can educate each other. We have the conflicts between the blocs today. We are now thinking of having a policy of active co-existence. Whereas the tradition of either this or that
has led to conflicts in the world, the tradition of this and that is likely to bring about a healing of the nations of the world. The tradition of 'either-or' is derived from the acceptance of doctrinal exclusiveness, a kind of finality that we have attained the truth and we have got it and it is necessary for us to dispel the darkness among those who have not found the truth.

The philosophy of this and that indicates that God has not left Himself without a witness among any people, whoever they may be. They will all stand as witness to the working of God's love. There are no people who have been orphaned or left forlorn in the world. The Qurān says: 'Unto every people did we send a messenger, to teach them to worship God.' So, if we adopt the policy of the universality of the Supreme, from it follows the philosophy of active co-existence.

Today, we have come to realize the unwisdom of the policy of this or that. There was a time when military methods were able to result in success for our views. Those days are over. An aerial bombardment today makes no distinction between the combatant and the civilian. A thermo-nuclear bombardment will not make any distinction of nations. We have, therefore, come to a state when it will be possible for us, by merely pressing a button, to destroy a whole continent. By trying to win leadership in the development of these diabolical weapons we are not likely to help our own views. We have come to realize that we have to live together or die together, and if we are to live together, we must have tolerance of other people's views; religious tolerance, ideological tolerance, and these are the things which have become inevitable in the interests of self-preservation. Forgiveness is love at its highest power.

If we, therefore, wish to adopt a philosophy of active co-existence, our fundamental attitude that we are the possessors of light and others are grovelling in darkness will have to be abandoned. India has suffered on account of that policy of co-existence, but that does not matter. We are bound to suffer if we stick to truth, but that does not matter.

The great symbol of Christianity is the Cross where Jesus suffered material defeat for the sake of spiritual victory. If we feel that we are on the right lines, it is essential for us to adopt the attitude that we do not undertake things in the hope of succeeding but we undertake things because they are right.
Here, then, in this Federation you have men of different communities, of different races, of different religions all brought together. If we adopt the philosophy of either this or that, it means conflict, chaos and anarchy. If we adopt the philosophy of this and that, then each one can go his way, adopt his views and make his contribution to the upbuilding of this country. We will then have a great future when the different communities will make their own contributions to the wealth of this land.

I have no doubt that the philosophy which now dominates this country is the philosophy which does not believe in either extermination or segregation, or assimilation, but it does believe in achieving racial harmony, and if racial harmony is to be achieved, your whole outlook on life must be different. You must respect every individual. He may not be as great as we are; he may not have the intellectual achievement or the educational gifts or the vast experience which some of us may claim to possess, but that does not mean that the unsuspected possibilities and potentialities of people have all been explored. There is so much unknown to us that may yet come out.

I do hope this land will adopt a philosophy which says: 'God is assisting everyone to grow to his fullest stature, and it is our duty to provide the atmosphere and circumstances which will help each individual to grow to his utmost.' The world as a whole demands the philosophy of co-existence, not merely passive, neutral co-existence, but active, mutual, educative co-existence.

Military solutions to political problems are good for nothing. Ultimately they will leave bitterness behind. Political solutions will have to be devised for political problems, and I do hope that those who are in authority in this country will work towards racial harmony in this great land.

**ON ARRIVAL AT DJAKARTA**

It is a joy for me to be in this beautiful and live country. For a visitor from India, your country has a great appeal. Indonesia and India have not been strangers to each other. Our countries

26 September, 1956
have had long and intimate connections for centuries. In recent times our two peoples passed through many trials and tribulations. A few years ago we both emerged from colonial subjection. We are now attempting to break with the misery and poverty of the past, raise living standards and remove the slums and build a stable Welfare State on principles of democracy. We had the honour of receiving recently in India your Vice-President and your Prime Minister and have learnt to appreciate the great efforts you are making to make your State a liberal, Welfare State. We are engaged in a similar effort, and if our efforts are to succeed, we must bring new minds to bear on the new tasks that face us. Thus we are bound by ties of past history and present endeavour. I have the great privilege to convey to you the friendly greetings of our people and their best wishes for your progress and prosperity.

BOROBUDUR

It is an honour for me to be here, make your acquaintance and see something of the great temple of Borobudur, the monastery on the hill, one of the greatest Buddhist temples in the world. The huge temple rises on a grassy slope, massive and still, spread over many acres. Mounting up in nine terraces to a height of well over 100 feet, the temple is capped by a huge, inverted bell-shaped dome called a stūpa.

The fortunes of this temple must induce in us a mood of detachment. The temple was built over a thousand years ago when a great civilization flourished in Central Java. Thousands of builders worked in a spirit of devotion and dedication. They carved the terraces with innumerable beautiful figures of the Buddha and the events of his life. The temple was completed and soon Central Java became deserted. As the years passed, the jungle advanced on Borobudur, creepers spread up the terraces, trees grew up all round and the temple was lost to memory. An English explorer, Sir Stamford Raffles, at the beginning of the last century stumbled on this monument buried deep in the forest. It is today restored,

Speech at Djogjakarta, 27 September, 1956
though an overwhelming loneliness seems to hang over the temple. It is something almost outside of time.

Even as this great temple is restored, your country is being reconstructed. Djogjakarta was the first capital of the Republic of Indonesia. It was the centre of your political struggle. The Parliament of the Republic met here. Your President was sworn and installed here. It has become the centre of a great university where the teaching is through the medium of bahasa Indonesia. Djogjakarta is the centre of your great culture, of your drama and dance, of your handsome silver work. It is my hope and wish that even as the Borobudur temple was under an eclipse for some centuries and has now come into its own, your great nation which was under subjection for some centuries may thrive and flourish for the good of the Indonesian people and the world at large.

VISIT TO BALI

We have heard a great deal about the religion and art of Bali and it is, therefore, a matter of great satisfaction to me that I am able to visit this island and make my acquaintance with the people of Bali. There is a similarity between Bali and India so far as social customs and laws, religious practices and amusements go. The Balinese believe that beauty and art nourish the soul and spirit even as food nourishes the body. Each man here is an artist and each woman a dancer.

This island has preserved for centuries Hindu religion and culture. The Balinese ceremonies and festivals, their beliefs in karma and rebirth remind us of Hinduism. Cremation is the usual form of disposal of the dead.

The Republic of Indonesia, being a democracy, has allowed a variety of customs and cultures to flourish. That is why we have in this country a brightness and loveliness, a constant play of colour in their religious and artistic life, which are not to be found in standardized nations. I do hope that the genius of the Bali people will never be overwhelmed.

28 September, 1956
PARTNERS IN PEACE

On the eve of my departure from Indonesia, I should like to express to your Vice-President, your Government and the very friendly, smiling people of Indonesia my deep thanks for the excellent time, instruction and entertainment they provided for me in this my all too brief visit to this country. I have visited some parts of your country and am leaving with warm impressions of your past achievements and future possibilities.

We, in Indonesia and India, happen to possess common springs of inspiration. Your pre-historic culture has been greatly influenced by the waves of Hindu, Buddhist and Muslim thought. Your life, thought and art manifest the influence of these great waves. Yet out of all these you have developed your own Indonesian culture, which is distinctive, interesting and attractive.

Besides, there is a kinship among all those who suffered in recent times from foreign domination and freed themselves from it. We rejoice at the attainment of your freedom and the way in which you have been helping other struggling nations. From the time in September 1950 your Republic was recognized as a full member of the United Nations, India and Indonesia have been working together for the achievement of freedom by other peoples suffering from colonial subjection. In the Bandung Conference held in April 1955, leaders of 29 nations representing more than half the population of the world met and took a decisive stand against colonialism in all its forms.

The directives in our Constitution and your Pañchaśīla have much in common: (1) Belief in God, (2) Nationalism, (3) Democracy, (4) Social Justice, and (5) Humanity.

Your first principle makes out that in the task of rebuilding your country, you recognize that there are other laws than those which govern the physical universe. It is an act of faith with you to work for the rebirth of your nation. This is the task assigned to you in the divine economy and you wish to accomplish it in a spirit of humility and dedication. You believe in God who is the one God of the whole universe. He is not a Hindu God or a Muslim God or a Christian God, but the one Supreme Lord of the Universe approached differently by different people. You allow

Broadcast on Djakarta Radio, 29 September, 1956
freedom of belief and practice. The Muslim and the Christian, the Hindu and the Buddhist live here in peaceful co-existence and friendship. Only all citizens should feel the inspiring presence of the Supreme, look upon this soil as holy ground and their work as a sacred duty. While we do our duty, we must leave the issue to the vision and wisdom of the Supreme.

Your principle of nationalism is not aggressive or chauvinistic. It is an endeavour to integrate your country and build its future undeterred by others. You wish to develop among the people of Indonesia, scattered over different islands, a sense of nationality, a sense of oneness, of belonging to one whole. You wish to foster the unity of your country and harmonize the different peoples, languages, customs and cultural levels. These differences were used in the past to keep you down in subjection. Diversity need not mean disunity or discord. The people must be educated politically and emotionally to feel that they are nationals of this great State and they should work together for the common good, for national welfare. Local loyalties and national responsibilities should be reconciled.

Your coat-of-arms bears the motto, Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, unity in diversity. The ancient Greeks were a mongrel people who borrowed freely from Crete, Egypt, Phoenicia, Babylonia, Lydia and others. The British people, for example, are not a single race and their cultural tradition owes so much to so many people. They are debtors to the Greeks with their spirit of intellectual inquiry, to the Jews with their conception of one God and their passion for social righteousness, to the Romans with their love for law, to the Saxons with their sense of broad equity and to the Normans with the love of order. Into each Briton something of all these has entered and is a part of his heritage. Take the case of Indian culture. It bears the marks of the Aryan and the Dravidian, the Hindu and the Buddhist, the Muslim and the Christian. We must listen to all the voices coming from all parts of the world though we should speak with our own voice. We must seek, examine and express our own character. Imitation should not displace free creativeness.

Freedom is possible only in a democratic society. Unfortunately, the spirit of individual liberty seems to be on the decline. Many of us have become slaves to systems, victims of orthodoxies, prisoners of organizations. The anonymous collectives prevail
over the spirit of man. Democracy affirms that every man has an inner light within him and he must live his life by its guidance. Islam, for example, affirms that man does not need any intermediary priest between himself and God. This gives every man the feeling of basic human dignity. Democracy means equal opportunity for all people. The secret ballot, the free press and freedom of religious belief and practice are its expressions. The will of the people should be ascertained by peaceful democratic processes.

Political violence is inconsistent with democracy. It is an evasion of democracy, an escape from it. Each one of us has it in his power to shape the future to some small extent. We must contribute to the upbuilding of society by our work and effort, by our sweat and toil. At a time when the decencies of life are being assailed from many quarters, we must stress the freedom of the human spirit. Democracy means restraint, discipline. We should subordinate our self-interest to the public good. An unclean government, a divided leadership make for instability, dharmo rakṣati rakṣitah, hato hanti. Your future is assured if you have an honest, effective and patriotic Government.

So long as we have illiteracy, ill-health, intellectual serfdom and spiritual slavery, we have no true liberty. We must remove these impediments to human life and raise the quality of human living. We desire better standards of living. Advanced nations have become prosperous and powerful because of their technical know-how, scientific and technological development. Wretchedness is not a law of nature or the will of God. We should learn all that is essential for the improvement of the material conditions of life, for freeing our world from want. We are interested in results, not ideologies. Socialism is democracy in action. In a Welfare State, physical health, social security and cultural progress should not be left to chance. They must be organized by the Government. If people visit us, they should do so not because of our ancient monuments but because of our present achievements. We are not to be treated as archaeological curiosities or museum pieces. Time does not stand still and we have to modernize ourselves.

Thanks to the advances of science and technology and the growing inter-dependence of nations, we are moving towards a world order based on freedom for all, peaceful settlement of international disputes and the liberty of the individual subject. India and
Indonesia are not neutral with regard to freedom and colonialism, peace and war, democracy and dictatorship.

We are convinced that any war in the present context will be disastrous to humanity. We believe that freedom and peace are inseparable. As we are anxious to avoid war and as peace can be based only on justice, we wish to see all subject peoples liberated. We want freedom not only for ourselves but for all others. A happy mankind is the ultimate end of human development. We are committed to the establishment of a human society in which there will be no discrimination based on race or colour. We wish to work for a genuine, all-inclusive fellowship based on economic prosperity, social happiness and cultural greatness. We believe in a partnership among nations in which disputes are settled by conciliation, not coercion; understanding, not violence.

In all fundamental matters, in domestic policies and international affairs, we seem to think alike. The same principles guide us in our political life and behaviour. We are natural partners in world affairs. By working together we may help each other and help the progress of humanity. Long live the Republic of Indonesia. May the Garuda, the emblem of your State, carry you safely and speedily to your goal.

FAREWELL RADIO SPEECH AT TOKYO

I have spent a delightful week in your beautiful and great country, thanks to the warm and generous hospitality of your Government and people. I have met some of your leaders of thought and public life. I have felt the subdued spirit of confidence in the future with which your people and your Government are working.

We, in India, have always had a great admiration for your people and their achievements. You were the first Asian nation to acquire technical modernity and become a modern nation. You were an inspiration to many other countries of Asia who lost their independence through their political apathy, lack of organization, petty

8 October, 1956. The speech could not be delivered on account of a sudden call from India.
jealousies of rival interests, lack of unity and resistance to necessary changes. Unfortunately, when your policies took a wrong turn, you suffered a setback. Today you stand at the end of one epoch and the beginning of another. You have adopted a Constitution which, when implemented, will make you a prosperous, progressive, democratic Welfare State.

A new Constitution will have no life without a new birth, without a change in the minds and hearts of the people. You are passing through the travail of a new birth. While preserving your national heritage, your distinctive way of life, you are adapting yourselves to the new world, with its demands and challenges. The new atomic age started with a portent. You were the first people in the world to suffer an attack from atomic weapons, and it is only natural that bitter experience has engendered in you a general reluctance to rearmament. In this nuclear age the military road is the wrong road. It can only lead to the death of our children and the extinction of all hope. If war occurs again on the scale to which we are accustomed, with the weapons which we are assiduously preparing, not only will society as we know it disintegrate but even life on our planet may be annihilated. We cannot accept war as an intrinsic part of human nature. That would be to acquiesce fatalistically in our own destruction. We must take another road leading to a better world than any that has existed in the past. If you, with your discipline and devotion, loyalty and idealism take to it, you will have a great future. We are convinced that you will attain an eminent position in the world and be a source of great strength to the community of nations. Your past is not only a memory but a concrete part of your life. You have learnt that nationalism is not enough. You have made your cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki international cultural centres to promote the cause of world peace.

All nations in the world require to pass through a rebirth, through a vast moral revolution. A civilization is safe when its different elements, economic and political, ethical and social, artistic and spiritual, what are called in India dharma, artha, kāma and mokṣa are in balance or harmony, even as an individual is said to be integrated when his animal, human and spiritual interests are held in harmony. When any one of them preponderates to such an extent that it crushes the others, the principle of unity is broken, disequilibrium starts, discord sets in and the civilization breaks
down. During the last few centuries, the economic, the material, the technological approach to life has been steadily rising and a mechanical view of life is becoming predominant. The Welfare State is being interpreted as a material Welfare State. A demand for higher wages is not wrong. Poverty is not essential for spiritual elevation. Wealth is not a drag on spiritual life. What is of concern is the gradual substitution of material values, of mass and quantity for standards of quality. Size and speed are material values; art, literature and religious life are spiritual values. A mass civilization has the tendency to crush the individual, reduce him to the average and produce a level of mediocrity. Education becomes an instrument for training docile, passive, obedient servants of a bureaucracy ready to accept whatever is handed out, from philosophy to aspirin tablets. This tyranny is more crushing and demoralizing than any political or religious despotism. It destroys the root of all aspiration and freedom.

Your country has been famous for its temples and lovely inns, for the charm and courtesy of your people, and for their smiling tradition of living. Your people have made outstanding contributions to mathematics and the physical and biological sciences. If you are to continue these great services to humanity, the freedom of the individual spirit has to be preserved. For, we owe the masterpieces of art and literature, the discoveries of science to the solitary geniuses who work in their cells and cloisters with concentration of purpose and intellectual vigour. The sanctity of the individual is the basis of democracy and the fundamental principle of all religions.

Our two countries have had intimate cultural relations for centuries. Buddhism happens to be the main faith of your people, though other religions also have their followers. It insists on silent meditation, dhyāna. Religion is an inner change of consciousness, a revolution in mind, an intensity of understanding. The Buddha, whose name is truth, saccanāma, asks us to practise universal love. If we are not to destroy ourselves we must live like members of a single family. We should acknowledge every man as our brother, for there are no strangers in the world. Karuṇā or compassion enables us to bear and forbear, to suffer injury without being maimed thereby. Man alone, among the creatures of the world, is capable of compassion, endurance and sacrifice. Courage, honour and sacrifice have been the glory of your past. In the new world these qualities are to be used not in warring with other
nations but in co-operating with other peoples, in fighting the evils of human life, disease, poverty, famine, crime and, indeed, war itself. These evils spring from our own nature. That is why we are asked to develop understanding, prajñā, and practise compassion, karunā or love. To love men is to see in them not competitors or rivals or obstacles to one's advance but co-heirs of the grace of life, fellow-members of the spiritual household. It is to accept them as they are with all their faults in the faith and hope of what they may yet become.

In the great problems of life, we should not take upon ourselves all the burdens of the universe. We should do our duty and leave the results to the Divine Providence in whom we profess to have confidence. Our two countries have many affinities of thought and aspiration. I do hope that in years to come our mutual relations, which are already intimate, may grow strong and abiding.

**POLAND**

**MAY I**, on behalf of this Parliament, the people and the Government of India, extend to our distinguished guest, His Excellency Mr Josef Cyrankiewicz, a most cordial welcome. We are delighted that he is accompanied by his wife who is a well-known figure in Poland's theatre world. She told me that before she left for India she acted as St. Joan in Bernard Shaw's play. I hope she will see something of our theatre while she is here.

Our distinguished guest played a notable part in the underground resistance movement in the war years when it was not so much a question of liberty or death but liberty through death; he was for four years in a Nazi concentration camp. In post-war reconstruction, Poland has reconstituted her cities, factories and communications which were ravaged more fiercely than in any other theatre of the Second World War, and our guest took a leading part in this work.

Poland has had a history of over a thousand years. She had her days of glory and of gloom. She was often defeated but never conquered. Since I met our distinguished guest last June, Poland

Welcome Address to His Excellency Mr Josef Cyrankiewicz, Prime Minister of Poland; and Concluding Remarks, Parliament House, 26 March, 1957
has passed through a silent revolution, and if it happened to be
bloodless, it is due to no small extent to the moderation, wisdom
and tact of our guest. Some of the changes brought about which
corrected the shortcomings of the Polish economy, the dispropor-
tion between industry and agriculture, between centralized heavy
industries and insufficiency of consumer goods have lessons for us.
We note the importance of the new agricultural policy, economic
changes and the Church-State relations. Poland is a Catholic country
and does not believe that ‘there is no God and Marx is his prophet’.

If we wish to understand the foreign policy of any nation, we
have to take into account the background of its history and the
compulsions of geography. Poland suffered a colonial status for
centuries and is today free. Her progress, like our progress, is
bound up with the preservation of peace. So we both have the
same goal. She is situated between two great nations, the
Soviet Union and Germany. She wishes to live in friendship with
both of them and the rest of the world. Friendship with the Soviet
Union does not mean hostility to others. As a matter of fact she
is today negotiating aid from the U.S.A. The mortal enemies of
peace are fanaticism, unreasonableness, contempt of truth, love
of power and belief in force. Every nation thinks that it is infall-
ible, progressive and incapable of committing any injustice. We
must give up this attitude, admit our shortcomings and do what
is right, whatever the cost may be. Peace may ask for its price,
and we may pay it, however high and heavy it may be, but there
is one thing for which there is no price and that is honour.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

We have listened with great interest to the address given by our
friend, the Prime Minister of Poland. It may be of interest to you
to know that there is today a cultural agreement between our two
countries. We both recognize the importance of the human spirit
in history. So long as this spirit lives, though States may perish,
people do not die. It is the Polish literature that has influenced
the national spirit of Poland. As in the past, even today, it is the
Polish writers who kindle the spark of the Polish revolution.
We honour not only their great leaders of the past, Romeniers
and Copernicus, but their present writers; we express to the Polish
people sympathy in their attempt to establish a genuinely demo-
cratic political, economic and social system.
ON LEAVING PEKING

I have spent a few happy and delightful days in this beautiful city and on the eve of my departure from here, I should like to express my gratitude to Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the Government and people of China for their very warm hospitality to us during our stay. We have had a memorable experience.

By your sufferings and sacrifice, efforts and exertions you have wiped away the pain, the bruised pride, the humiliation and the insults which you endured for generations. From what little I have seen, your people have a lively vision, a buoyant outlook, an eagerness for action and a capacity for hard work. Disciplined enthusiasm has become a part of your national ethos. I have learnt a great deal and am impressed by the drive of the Government and the determination of the people to work for their economic, social and cultural betterment.

We, in our country, are facing problems of social and economic reconstruction which you are tackling. The submerged peoples of the world are asking for a tolerable life not merely for the few but for all. They do not accept the evils of famines and floods, drought and disease, ignorance and superstition as inevitable. The feeling of resignation has given place to hope and expectation. If we overcome poverty, raise standards of living, we add an entirely new dimension to human life.

Both our countries believe in democracy. The binding principle of democratic societies is spontaneous conformity, not enforced obedience. The people’s will should prevail. We cannot crush their wishes, cannot trample on their dreams. Through mutual education the government and the people get near each other till the interests of the rulers and the ruled coincide as in Rāmārājya or the ideal state of the Indian conception. As I walked round the Physics Wing of the Chinese Academy the other day, I saw wall papers freely discussing political problems of fundamental importance. One discerns in the people’s thought a strongly antibuereocratic accent, greater freedom of expression, an insistence on fallibility of governments. These features are in the best traditions of democracy. Democracy is government by moral standards and your civilization for centuries has been a moral one.

27 September, 1957
A nation which is cut off from its roots cannot last long. You have always accepted whatever was valuable in the past and rejected what was injurious. All life is transformation. It is the adaptation of the old to the new challenges. You are even today accepting whatever is helpful to you from other cultures and discarding what is unhelpful. It is true of your country that the more it changes the more it remains the same.

That the soul should soar and mingle with its own infinitude is the spirit of Taoism. To Confucius humanity is God and the harmony of social life is the goal of man. Infinite compassion is the spirit of Buddhism. The supreme canon of life is the subordination of the individual to the good of the community. Your great teachers insist on social consciousness and development. Your Constitution grants freedom of religious belief. Study and research in religions are encouraged and the result is likely to be a rejection of obscurantist superstitious beliefs and the acceptance of a reasonable and ethical account of the supreme ends of life.

There is a popular view which treats the whole being of man as social, a function of his methods of economic production and the social relations they produce. There are different sides to the human being; there is the biological man, there is the social or socialized man, the member or component of the political group, nation, the economic man. There is also another dimension to the human being, where he is alone, where he has the chance to change himself and become a member of the new society. It is only in freedom that man can discover what he really is. It is the individual who feels pain and joy, who bears responsibility, does good or evil. If we overlook this side of human nature, we turn the subject into an object. The objectification is at once the necessary condition of freedom and a perpetual threat to it. Man must limit the objectification to what is essential for his freedom. As his fellowmen should be equally free, each individual has to submit to certain limitations. This submission is not servitude, as it is accepted in the freedom of the spirit. A good society should lead to self-enhancement and not self-obliteration.

It is possible for a modern State to use all its energies and resources for promoting the life and health of its citizens which would have seemed incredible a few years ago. But this very scientific and technological revolution is capable of producing instruments which will destroy all human life whatsoever. Man is
now poised in uncertainty and agony between the death of an old order and the birth of a new one. Conflict and tension are in the air. After the two World Wars and the rise of new regimes, we have become hardened, dulled, numbed. Too many dreadful things which once seemed incredible have happened. These are not aberrations peculiar to some people. They are the consequence of some deep-seated derangement in our minds and hearts. A tendency to objectification, a lapse into mindlessness are responsible for this situation. To despair of the future is an act of treason. We must win through.

The technological revolution has helped us to conceive the whole of mankind as one being. If we look at the areas in the world where there are tensions and conflicts, Germany, West Asia, South-East Asia, we sometimes feel that mankind has forgotten its vision of humanity as one and is in the grip of an insanity which is generally the prelude to self-destruction. If our passions get out of control, the world will be plunged into a dark age. It has happened before in the chequered history of mankind. We must make the choice which will ensure the survival and progress of mankind. We are at one of the crossroads of history. We cannot reduce man to nature, history to a natural process. It is a moral drama in which human individuals participate.

Thinking men all over the world are profoundly alarmed lest man should now, in the lust for material power, lose touch with the spiritual forces which could transform human life into better social forms and holier inward living. Only these forces can save man in this hour of need and set his soul towards higher ranges of being.

You are now busy building your new economic order, which will tax all your strength and resources for many years to come and you can do so only if there is peace in the world. I have no doubt that you will soon be able to make valuable contributions to the endeavour of civilization to build a happy human home on earth.

A great American President as long ago as 1856 stated clearly America’s policy on the whole question of recognition of other nations. He said: ‘It is the established policy of the United States to recognize all governments without question of their source or their organization, or of the means by which the governing persons attain their power, provided there be a government de facto accepted by the people of the country.’ The United Nations Organization admits into its membership all peace-loving States which accept
the obligations contained in the U.N. Charter and in its judgement are able and willing to carry out its obligations. There are some in the United Nations who have not carried out their obligations. There is an increasing world opinion in favour of the admission of the People's Republic of China into the U.N.O. It is our hope and wish that the People's Republic of China will soon find her due place in the United Nations Organization.

The U.N. Charter requires us to turn away from the military road and set to work to reconcile our differences in a peaceful way. We must eschew every trace of pride, learn that all men are brothers. He who hurts others hurts himself. The interdependence of mankind is increasingly forced on our attention by political, economic and even military happenings. Given a period of peaceful co-existence, every social system, every political structure will shake off its weaknesses and develop on lines which are suited to its conditions. In the not distant future we will find ourselves together as members in a peaceful family of nations.

Before I conclude, I may say that our two countries have had centuries of cultural exchange untroubled by any unhappy incidents, political or military. We have grown richer by each other's offerings. The foundations of our relationship were laid by our ancestors, Chinese and Indian, with infinite patience and sacrifice nearly 2000 years ago. The road built by them across the barriers of race and language in the pursuit of truth, love and co-operation should be an inspiration for our future comradeship. I wish to convey to the people of China our best wishes in their great enterprise of building a new China, liberal, democratic and socialistic.

PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY

I am the fifteenth speaker today but it is a comfort that I am the last. You are members of different Parliaments and are therefore trained to listen even to speeches which do not interest you. So I have no doubt that you will put up with me when I say a few words. We have had recently two additions to the group of free nations in the Commonwealth—Ghana and Malaya, whose representatives we

Address to the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference, New Delhi, 2 December, 1957
are delighted to see here. After the end of the second World War, five hundred million people of Asia and Africa have secured independence from colonial status through peaceful processes and with goodwill between the free countries and Great Britain. It is our hope that other countries which are still under political subjection will attain freedom which is the heritage of all men in all lands.

Membership of the Commonwealth provides opportunities for discussion of problems of common interest. The Commonwealth has no written constitution; it is based on a community of ideals, freedom and dignity of the individual, rule of law, economic opportunity for all citizens and love of peace.

The basic principle of the dignity and freedom of the individual is common to all religious faiths, if I may say, even of political systems. Marx denied God because he believed in the potential divinity of man. The Jain thinkers hold that man can attain divinity, and that God is only the highest, noblest and fullest manifestation of all the powers that lie latent in the soul of man. We have a verse in the Mahābhārata which tells us that there is nothing higher than man on earth—

\[ guhyam \ brahma \ tad \ idam \ vo \ bravimi \]
\[ na \ mānuṣāt \ śreṣṭhataram \ hi \ kīνcit. \]

Pascal tells us that man is a thinking breed superior to all the unthinking forces that fill the universe. Though they may crush him, they do not know what they do but he knows. Man is subject, not object. This subjectivity gives him inwardness and freedom. If he loses himself in the objective, he lapses into routine, rigidity, mindlessness. Democracy requires us to respect and develop the free spirit of man which is responsible for all progress in human history.

Parliamentary democracy is a political arrangement which helps us to be governed by our chosen leaders. It does not adopt the view—if you do not agree with us we will hit you. We try to persuade others by the force of logic and not the force of arms.

In non-parliamentary systems, every succession becomes a crisis marked by internal upheavals and frequently by outward disturbances. In the non-parliamentary governments, leaders tend to become laws unto themselves and try to impose their will on their people leading to the corruption of minds and the degradation of souls. Rightly, the cult of the individual is repudiated by all political systems. It is not the individual whether he is good or bad,
powerful or powerless, but the cult that is repudiated. If we accept the infallibility of any one, persecution becomes justified; men who refuse to flatter are silenced. Opponents become criminals. No society can progress if it demands hypocrisy, punishes truth and stifles the growing mind. Dictators are critical of over-praise of others, but are pleased with over-praise of themselves. The former does no harm but the latter may be their ruin.

Parliamentary democracy is likely to be adopted even by countries which do not have it now. With the maturity of leadership, political systems will alter. Even the Soviet leaders are eager to change their system; they do not wish to relapse into rigidity. Democracy is also a method by which we attempt to raise the living standards of the people. When a country attains political freedom, there is a great release of energy which till then was consumed in the struggle for freedom. Great expectations are roused and people are lifted out of the torpor of centuries and pass through all the pangs of a new birth. Many of the people in Asia and Africa live very little above starvation level. If political democracy is to be sustained, economic development has to be speeded up. We have to crowd the sweat and tears of centuries into a generation, reduce inequalities, shake up social relations which are unjust and free ourselves from hallowed abuses and archaic customs. We have so little time to do so much. In a democratic society the rich have to accept social obligations for the poor and so is it in the world community. The advanced nations have to assist the less advanced.

In our Constitution we have pledged ourselves to international co-operation and peace. There is no isolation any more, geographical, political, economic, or cultural. The spirit of co-operativeness is to be carried beyond the nation to the community of nations. Democracy means respect for the opponent. If we believe in a certain cause and find that there are nations which do not agree with us, the democratic way requires us to try to persuade them to agree with our point of view. Even as the democratic way forbids in internal problems, direct action, mob rule, or resort to violence, in international problems also we have to assume the reasonableness of human beings and adopt the methods of negotiation, discussion, adjustment and agreement.

Unfortunately, as the world happens to be divided at the moment into two groups, we have great fear of the future, fear of the unseen peril which is subject to unlimited exaggeration.
When the internal combustion engine, wireless, and aviation were devised, they were welcomed by all as creditable achievements of science and technology. The penetration of outer space by the Soviet scientists, which is a great attempt to push back the frontiers of the unknown, would in normal circumstances have been received with joy and pride; but actually we have fear and foreboding, for in the present cold war atmosphere we look upon these artificial satellites from the military point of view, because from them nuclear missiles can be despatched to long distances. So the sputniks have caused confusion and intensified the race for nuclear armaments with its fearful prospects. No people or government wish to bring about the extinction of the human race on earth; yet the unrest in the heavens has caused confusion on earth.

All governments which are democratic admit that we should give all the people of the world the opportunity for a full and fruitful life. The American Declaration of Independence states eloquently that all men have a right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. We are imperilling these rights and darkening the future of the world, by our war preparations.

The democratic way, as our Prime Minister has just said, requires us to adopt peaceful co-existence and co-operative living. It asks us to strive patiently and persistently for mutual understanding, explore every avenue to reach agreement. We do not ask for submission which is the product of despair, or appeasement which is the result of demoralization. At the same time we should not be governed by fixed ideas. We should admit the fallibility of man as a constant factor in human affairs. In an equitable settlement neither group will win or lose absolutely. There should be a good deal of give and take.

The basic issue is no longer the victory of this or that nation, of this or that group. It is the survival or suicide of man. It is a time for decision, not despair. The choice is either extinction or human brotherhood. It cannot be left to the vagaries of chance. The test of a nation’s right to survive today is measured not by the size of its armaments but by the extent of its concern for the human community as a whole. We must support the concept of a United Nations with adequate authority under law to prevent aggression, to compel and enforce its decisions, to settle disputes among nations according to the principles of justice. If we develop a higher loyalty to the world community, the greatest era of human history will be
within our reach. This requires us to re-discover the power of the spirit in man and re-define our purposes. Democracy, if it is to survive, must be born again. It must unlearn its national and economic idolatries, cease to be self-seeking and recapture its soul by returning to its inmost ideas.

Historians tell us that destiny hangs over individual lives as well as over States. Herodotus writes: 'As I go forward in my story, I will make notes of cities, great and small, for those that were once great, most of them have become small and those that are great in my day were formerly small. Knowing therefore that human prosperity never abides in the same place, I shall write of both alike.' Prosperity leads to arrogance, to what the Greeks call *hybris*, to disaster. Love of power is dangerous. It is not the weak nations of the world that are responsible for the present situation in the world. The political leaders of the big Powers threaten to bring the human race to the edge of disaster. They should recast their policies and ask for a suspension of nuclear tests and work for the achievement of disarmament.

Gandhi spelt out the moral principles on which civilizations rest—truth and love, *satya* and *ahimsā*. Civilizations are saved only to the extent to which they respond to these principles and it is for us to work while yet it is day. Evil can be broken only if we respond to it with good. It is no use cursing darkness. We must increase the light which dispels the darkness. We must have faith in the spirit of man, the spirit capable of suffering and compassion, of endurance and sacrifice, the spirit which has inspired human progress all these centuries. If we in the Commonwealth produce a few leaders of courage and conviction, the conscience and goodwill of the many will support them.

**COMMONWEALTH AND PEACE**

We in this country feel greatly honoured that the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference is meeting here. You are aware that an Act of the British Parliament entitled the Indian Independence Act passed in 1947 registers one of the great recon-

Speech at Banquet to the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference, New Delhi, 5 December, 1957
ciliations in history. That was the beginning of a number of a similar achievements.

This Conference gives us an opportunity to meet the distinguished representatives of other nations of the Commonwealth. The free nations of the Commonwealth use the same political language though they adopt different dialects suited to their past history and background.

The Commonwealth consists of peoples of different races and religions and may well serve as an example for the future commonwealth of all the nations of the world. The new world will not be a uniform one but a united one, where each nation will lead its own life and yet contribute to the welfare of the world. We applaud the valour of men who lay down their lives for the country. We have to encourage the spirit of nations which surrender some of their sovereign rights for the sake of the world order. After we attained our independence we wished to retain freedom of action in regard to international problems. That is why we are not aligned with this group or that, but we are not aligned against this group or that. We are aligned with the U. N.; we are committed to its ideals of freedom, democracy and peaceful settlement of international disputes. We strive to make the U.N. universal and effective. Its lack of universality and division into two antagonistic blocs vitiate much of its work. For, the basic issue is no longer the victory of this nation or that, this group or that, but is the victory or defeat of man. We must work for victory. Humanity is hanging breathless on our decision.

He who loveth his life loseth it. If we are to be a great people we must lose ourselves in something larger than just ourselves. There is no way to true greatness without first forgetting our immediate interests. Pericles was a great Athenian but a bad Greek. It is possible that we may be good Russians or good Americans but bad world citizens. We must get rid of national idolatries.

All this requires a democratic frame of mind which is the direct opposite of fanaticism and bigotry. The world is again and again plunged into flames by men who are uncivilized, undemocratic, who have hatred and contempt for human beings, men possessed as it were, who do not argue or persuade, but spellbind and intoxicate people. No zealot can be a democrat. Leaders of democracy should possess greatness of spirit and humanity of disposition. When Providence wishes to raise a nation, it endows its leaders with
humility and liberality of mind. Those with loud voices, brave faces, foul tempers and hysterical passions ruin their countries and the world.

There is one type of great man who makes everyone else feel small, and another who makes everyone feel great. Gandhi gave the ordinary people of our country manliness and dignity, intellectual enlightenment and a sense of public duty where they did not exist. He kindled a spark of hope in the hearts of millions of down-trodden and despairing men and women.

Happiness does not stem from the mere possession of material goods. We are tempted to think that a rising standard of material living, and mass communications will improve the quality of human nature. Happiness is the outcome of sound human relationships. In his Fifteenth Satire Juvenal writes: 'When nature gave to man the gift of tears, she meant him to be gentle, and to cultivate the virtue of compassion which is our finest quality.' Without compassion, understanding of and consideration for others, there is no civilization. Those in whose hands the future lies should realize that the people who differ from us are not different in their human constitution. Horns do not spring from their heads. We must maintain channels of communication. This is essential if democracy is to survive. The members of the Commonwealth must note that democracy is not a mere theory but an attitude of mind, an outlook.

It is my fervent hope that our visitors from abroad will have a pleasant and useful time here, will understand our hopes and aspirations, efforts and difficulties and will go to their countries and work for the strengthening of this multi-racial and multi-religious society and prepare in due course for the commonwealth of man.

DEMOCRACY

Mr Prime Minister, Mr President, Mr Speaker and friends,
I am grateful for this opportunity which has been afforded to me to visit your country on this festive occasion of your celebrating the tenth anniversary of your Independence. The

Speech at Luncheon given by both the Houses of Parliament of Ceylon, 3 February, 1958