freedom and economic justice are two sides of democracy; both are essential. We should lay stress on the improvements of the economic conditions of the people as well as on liberty and freedom. No society can claim to be democratic if it does not permit political liberty, freedom of conscience, freedom of choice between parties, and opportunities of peaceful and orderly changes of Government. No true democracy can remain satisfied merely with conditions which safeguard political liberty and freedom of the individual. It must secure the economic conditions which will validate this faith in the dignity of the human person. If our professions about the dignity of the individual are to be taken seriously, we must do away with all sorts of discriminatory practices; we must admit the independence movements in colonial territories, recognize that poverty in any part of the world constitutes a danger to prosperity in any other part. We must not acclaim racial extermination, enslavement or segregation, but work for racial harmony. In large parts of the world there are millions of people who, on account of their race, have no share in the civilizations surrounding them. In this Organization we must try to look within ourselves, to find out our insufficiencies, remedy them and get together in a spirit of humility and understanding.

The international situation is somewhat better. The difficulties are many, the hazards are great but there is hope in the air. We find that the situation has improved to some extent. In Korea the war has stopped. Anxiety, however, is felt that there is the unification of Korea yet. It must be brought about on the basis of free elections. The Indo-China war has ceased and it is the general hope that the three States of Laos, Cambodia and Viet-Nam may become independent and answerable to themselves. Any outside interference with these States may spoil the chances of a democratic settlement. The Anglo-Egyptian agreement about Suez is a considerable step towards peace in West Asia. In regard to the colonial problems many are still unsolved, though marked advance is noticeable in regard to the future of the Gold Coast, Nigeria, Tunisia and Greenland. I may be pardoned here for referring to a small colonial problem, the matter of the French possessions in India. It has been solved in a peaceful, democratic, civilized way. I should like to congratulate the Government and the people of France and their great Prime Minister, who has been acting with rare courage, vision and foresight on international questions.
France, that gave the world the ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity can do no other.

The ticklish problem of Trieste has also been settled with the goodwill of the Powers concerned. The other one of the Saar is, I hope, nearing solution. Even in regard to the problem of disarmament, we see some signs of revived hope. While we are glad that the outstanding questions are being tackled, it is unfortunate that in many of these matters the United Nations Organization has been by-passed. In the Geneva Conferences about Indo-China, we had discussions with the People’s Government of China, and their attitude was co-operative and helpful and yet that Government is still unrepresented in the United Nations, so the Indo-China Conference had to be held outside the auspices of the United Nations, thereby weakening the strength of the United Nations itself.

In spite of all its defects, the United Nations is a symbol of the human hope for unity which we have been seeking for centuries. The spark of the spirit of man has compelled its creation. Science and mechanical ingenuity have been busy for more than four centuries in knitting together the whole habitable surface of the planet by a system of communications. Every form of human intercourse is rendered possible. The political unification of society is inevitable. The present system of a world broken up into sixty or seventy national States is an anachronism in an age which has discovered the technique of flying and the making of the atom bomb. Will unification be brought about by force, which, in this atomic age, will mean not only material but moral devastation, or will it be by the alternative method to war, voluntary co-operation without the use of violence and coercion? The United Nations asks us to learn to live in a world community and not die of the disease of chauvinistic nationalism. We may be French, we may be German, we may be American, we may be Russian, but we are essentially human beings. Let us not overlook that fundamental fact.

The weakness of the United Nations is the human weakness. If it is not able to function better it is not because there is anything wrong about the Organization, but we members working this Organization are deficient in our moral capacity. We still believe in nationalism, though we aspire to be members of the international community. Powerful nations in the world are attempting
to use the United Nations and its Agencies as instruments of their national policies. If we are to develop an international outlook, it is essential that member nations should, at any rate in their relations with international organizations, subordinate national considerations to international obligations, which they do not always do.

I am afraid that in our attempts to defend democracy, we are throwing away the content of democracy. Governments are becoming more centralized, more thorough in their administration, more coercive on their citizens, more effective in their control of thought and opinion, even in democratic States. Oliver Wendell Holmes, the great liberal, who was Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, once wrote that 'freedom of speech is freedom for the thought we hate'. There is no freedom in allowing freedom to express whatever we desire. If we allow freedom to the people who express undesirable, even poisonous thoughts, it is then that we are the advocates of freedom. To attempt to compel persons to believe and live as we do is not a feature of democracy and has been a perpetual source of strife in the world. Evangelism in politics, in business, in religion, will have to be restrained if we are to live together in this world. We should not punish people for holding opinions which are unpopular or distasteful, we can punish them only if they commit offences or violate the laws of the land. We must assume people to be innocent unless they are proved to be guilty, and not hold them to be guilty until they prove themselves to be innocent. If the drift to totalitarianism in democracies continues, there will be nothing left for democracies to defend.

The Programme and the Budget of UNESCO will come up for detailed consideration in these three or four weeks. I do not wish to anticipate or prejudge your discussions and decisions. In considering the different items on the agenda, the main objective of the UNESCO, education for living in a world community with all that it means by way of fundamental education, international understanding and co-operation, economic development, improvement of health and community development, will have to be borne in mind.

The gross result of the Second World War was not the defeat of the Axis Powers—they have all been regaining their former positions and we welcome that—but the real result of the Second World
War was the rise of Asia and Africa. A large number of countries in the East have gained their independence—China, Pakistan, India, Burma, Indonesia, Ceylon, etc. The outstanding fact of these countries is their mass misery, and the redeeming feature is their anxiety to rescue themselves from the backward conditions in which they found themselves. What they are attempting to do is to raise their standards, standards of literacy, standards of health and sanitation; it is here that UNESCO is helpful. If we help to remove destitution and despair, we safeguard better the interests of peace. It is the one way of demonstrating that we are members one of another.

This Organization has been concerned with the spread of fundamental education. It regards illiteracy as the main disease from which millions of people in the world suffer. We are using all the mass media for the spread of literacy. But fundamental education is not to be confused merely with the acquisition of information and skill. We have to impart scientific habits of mind. The immense impact of mass media in our lives encourages passivity, acquiescence and conformity. Young minds are exposed to surface objectivity, to slogans and catch-words, to the acceptance and elaboration of the obvious. We all eat, think, hear and read substantially the same things. We are developing stereotyped attitudes of mind. We are resisting independent thought, individual creativeness or contemplation. But these are the ways by which we can best contribute to human welfare. The greatest works of scientific genius, metaphysical insight, these are all done in those few moments when individuals sink into themselves and try to contemplate and meditate. These great achievements have all been made by individuals who have been able to resist the current of the crowd and have been able to sit alone and still and reflect for themselves. If these mass media are going to make our minds automata, if they are going to kill our spirit, then they are the gravest danger. Essential as they are, educators must be on their guard so far as the disadvantages of these things are concerned. Please do not imagine for a moment that I am trying to discourage the use of mass media, I am merely warning you against the abuse of mass media, which reduces human individuals into robots. That has to be prevented.

The most essential need of our age is the spirit of religion—religion not in the small sense of the term but in its largest sense.
Think true, live love—they constitute the essence of religion. The pursuit of money and pleasure, the technological civilization is killing the power of mind and spirit. T.S. Eliot said, when we pass away, the wind will blow over the ruins of our homes saying:

Here were decent godless people,
Their only moment the asphalt road,
And a thousand lost golf balls.

That would be the comment on this civilization if it becomes merely technological and ceases to be moral.

In UNESCO we should make fundamental education, to youth and adults, to all of us, base itself on the twin principles of truth and love. Reverence for all life should be created in the minds and hearts of the young. Education, to be complete, must be humane, it must include not only the training of the intellect but the refinement of the heart and the discipline of the spirit. No education can be regarded as complete if it neglects the heart and the spirit.

We live today in a state of cold war, that is, armed fear. It is not peace that we are having, but a precarious equilibrium in which dissension does not declare itself because of mutual fear. It is not a state of order; there is no inward tranquillity. We have to build up loyalty to the world community in men's hearts and minds. Only then shall we have a human society bound by love of one and the same end; then the outer order will be the spontaneous expression of the inward peace. To build that peace in the minds of men is our task.

No nation in this world can hold its place of primacy in perpetuity. What counts is the moral contribution we make to human welfare. Let us, therefore, try and develop the qualities of charity in judgement and compassion for people who are suffering. If we adopt such an approach, the tensions of the world will diminish rapidly. There are many misunderstandings. We can build peace even on the basis of misunderstandings. When once peace is built, misunderstandings will diminish. In the words of St. Paul: 'If it be possible, so far as it depends on you, live in peace with everyone.'

I have great pleasure in declaring open the Eighth General Conference of UNESCO.
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

MAY I, on behalf of the Universities of India, express to you on this auspicious occasion our deep gratitude for the outstanding services to science and scholarship which this great University has rendered in the last 200 years?

The contemporary world situation brings to my mind a significant short story. ‘Christ came from a white plain to a purple city and as He passed through the first street, He heard voices overhead, and saw a young man lying drunk on a window-sill. “Why do you waste your time in drunkeness?” He said. “Lord, I was a leper and you healed me, what else can I do?” A little further through the town He saw a young man following a harlot, and said: “Why do you dissolve your soul in debauchery?” and the young man answered: “Lord, I was blind and you healed me, what else can I do?” At last in the middle of the city He saw an old man crouching weeping upon the ground, and when He asked why he wept, the old man answered: “Lord, I was dead, and You raised me unto life, what else can I do but weep?”

Health, wealth, leisure and life itself which science can further are the opportunities for a higher life. Our distressed generation is obscurely aware that the present crisis is a spiritual one and what we need is a healing of the discord between the outward resources of power which are assuming frightful proportions and the inward resources of spirit which seem to be steadily declining.

To redeem and re-create our civilization we need a recovery of spiritual awareness, a new and transforming contact with the inner springs of life, a sense of value. It is my earnest hope and prayer that this great University may send forth in the years to come men and women of skill and ability, of vision and courage, of wisdom and virtue, who are incapable of fear and impatient of injustice.

BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
150TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATIONS

I am grateful to the management of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for their kindness in asking me to

Charter Day Dinner, 30 October, 1954
Presidential Address, 4 December, 1954
preside over this meeting which concludes your 150th anniversary celebrations. It was on November 26, 1804, that a few enlightened Englishmen started the small Society which has developed into this great organization. I am glad you had on this November 26th a public meeting to celebrate the event, which was presided over by the great jurist, scholar and educationist, Dr Jayakar. Twenty years previous to 1804, in 1784, the Bengal Asiatic Society was founded; and 20 years after 1804, in 1825, the Asiatic Society of London was established. The initiative in all these three movements was taken by a few Englishmen who, for different reasons, took to Asian studies.

Whether it is the consciousness of the responsibility of government or the urge for evangelism or the spirit of exploration, enquiry, widening one's horizon by bursting the bonds of one's own limited culture or the pure joy of contemplating the wondrous works of man under distant skies, whatever be the motive, we owe to these English pioneers an immense debt of gratitude not only for their impressive achievements, but for the impulse they gave to the study of our past. Warren Hastings defended in his Council Charles Wilkins' rendering of the Mahābhārata—a work which I have not come across—as a work that 'may open a new and most extensive range for the human mind beyond the present limited and beaten field of its operations'. He wrote an introduction to Wilkins' version of the Bhagavadgītā, noting privately that it was 'part of a system which I long since laid down and supported for reconciling the people of England to the natives of Hindustan'. When he took some steps for the protection of the pilgrims to Banaras, he said that he did so for 'conciliating a great people to a dominion which they see with envy and bear with reluctance'. Though his interest in Indian classics grew out of a political purpose, he eventually developed an admiration for the classics of India like the Bhagavadgītā which, he declared, would live 'when the British dominion in India has long ceased to exist and when the sources which it once yielded of wealth and power are lost to remembrance'.

The universality of interest which this Society has acquired is obvious from the fact that it counts among its precious possessions not only several Sanskrit, Persian and Urdu manuscripts but also European classics such as an early edition of Dante's Divine Comedy and the first folio of Shakespeare. Despite all differences of colour, race, religion, climate, there is a deep affinity
of mind and spirit between the East and the West which transcends all variations. Terence’s statement is well known: ‘I am a man; I reckon nothing that is human alien to me.’ If we are to shape a community of spirit among the peoples of the world which is essential for a truly human society and lasting peace, we must forge bonds of international understanding. This can be achieved by an acquaintance with the masterpieces of literature, art and science produced in different countries. When we are in contact with them, we are lifted from the present and the immediate passions and interests and move on the mountain tops where we breathe a larger air.

samsāra-viṣa-vrksasya dve phale amṛtopame
kāvyāṁṛta-rasāsvādah sallāpah sajjanaīs saha.

An affectionate regard for the past and an imaginative interest in the life of other times give us a sense of perspective, an equipoise which is so essential in times of tension. Whatever our immediate exigencies may be, we should not abandon moral values.

Though the Society was started by a few British members, its gates were thrown open to Indians in 1840, the first Indian to be elected being Mr Maneckji Cursetji. The Society has enjoyed the patronage of the progressive and prosperous community of the Parsees. A large number of distinguished Indian scholars have made notable contributions to our knowledge of the past. The names of Bhau Daji, Mandlik, Yajnik, Bhandarkar, Bhagawanlal Indraji, Telang, Ranade, J. J. Modi, Sukhtankar, Belvalkar and Kane spring to our mind. They have built bridges from the past to the present and served as cultural intermediaries between India and the rest of the world. I hope the present generation of students will be stimulated by the examples of these great scholars and keep the torch of learning alight to continue the supremacy in scholarship which has been so well established by this Society for over a century.

The activities of your Society illustrate Indo-British co-operation in the field of Asian studies, more specially Indian culture. Your membership includes men of all races, cultures and nations. Even the honours you bestow commemorate British and Indian names, Campbell and Kane. Recipients of these honours also belong to different nations.

The world is my country,
All mankind are my brethren,
To do good is my religion,
I believe in one God and no more.—Thomas Paine

The intellectual renaissance which we see in our country today
is due to no small extent to the activities of the members of the
Society. Many cultural movements of this part of India were
stimulated by them. Historic events are not always shaped by the
acts of statesmen. They are moulded by the hidden currents flowing
beneath the surface of political history of which we cannot predict
the outcome. We influence these hidden currents only by chan-
ging opinion. We change opinion by affirming truth, unveiling
error, dissipating hate and enlarging men’s minds and hearts.
This essential work is the special function of this Society.

One of the most significant political facts of our time is the
rise of Asian countries—China, India, Pakistan, Indonesia, Burma,
Ceylon—and their increasing influence in world affairs. The need
to understand the Asian mind has become important and the work
of societies like this will be of great importance in promoting
understanding between Asia and Europe.

It is said that the excellent work of the Society is hampered by
lack of funds. You are unable to have printed catalogues of books
and manuscripts, which are essential for any research work. In
a prosperous city like Bombay, with influential persons on your
management, with a sympathetic Government in power, and above
all with solid work to your credit, I have no doubt that financial
difficulties will be soon overcome. We cannot pride ourselves on
our love of learning and allow such institutions to languish.

There is a story in Greek mythology. The Greek Eôs, answer-
ing to the Vedic Uûas, the immortal Goddess of the Dawn,
fell in love with the mortal king of the Ethiopians. She besought
her fellow Olympians to confer on her human lover the immortality
which she and her colleagues enjoyed. Though they were jealous
of their divine privileges, they yielded to her importunity. She for-
got, however, that the immortality of the Olympians was matched
with perpetual youth. Eôs and her aging human mate were cursing
their fate, for the merciful hand of Death could not come to their
rescue by putting an end to his growing senility and affliction.
Unless we preserve the spirit of youth, keep an open mind and
change our beliefs and practices we cannot endure. India has
endured for centuries; it is because she has kept her spirit of youth.
She can keep alive only if she does not idolize her institutions.
does not turn them into ends in themselves. To preserve the thought, spirit and inspiration of this ancient land and let them inform our customs and institutions are the tasks assigned to this generation of scholars. May this Society continue to do its useful work for many years to come.

EXHIBITION OF CANADIAN PAINTINGS, DELHI

It is very kind of you to refer to my recent visits to Canada where I found a good deal of sympathy and understanding of our efforts, national and international. Your great Prime Minister by his visit to our country, by his courage and forthrightness, strengthened the close bonds of goodwill and friendship between our two countries. We appreciate the assistance which we have received from Canada through the Colombo Plan, and we are now co-operating in the difficult and delicate task of the Supervisory Commissions in Indo-China. All these, however, belong to the political and economic plane and history is not all politics and economics. Therefore, we are specially glad to welcome this exhibition of Canadian paintings.

Canadian art, like Canadian thought and life, was for a long time derivative in character, reflecting the influences of the United Kingdom, France and the United States of America. Today, she has attained cultural maturity and this exhibition of paintings manifests the artistic development of a resourceful and gifted people.

If art is national in its roots, it is universal in its significance. Great art has in it the suggestion of a good life, not merely for the members of its nation but for all men. It is a search for a deeper and more complete understanding of man. It enlarges our sensibility, purifies our instincts and lifts us above the harsh realities of everyday life and gives us a sense of mental and spiritual refreshment.

It is generally said that art is an expression of a higher order which supervenes on the natural activities of man. If happiness is like the bloom on the cheeks of youth, if grace is the perfection

Inaugural Address, 13 January, 1955
of nature, art manifests the deeper impulses, the poetry residing in the hearts of men. An ancient Vedic saying points out that art is born of excess, that creative activity arises whenever physical and vital needs are satisfied. It is born out of our superfluity. Whereas it is the function of the State to provide clothing and shelter, it should not socialize intellectual and artistic endeavour. The highest work of genius is individual, free, unregimented and uncontrolled. The artist walks where the breath of spirit takes him. He cannot be told his direction. He does not perhaps know it himself. The State can give art courage, confidence and opportunity. It is to be a patron, not a mentor. The mechanics of living must be organized but the art of living should be entirely free.

The individual today is beaten by organization. He is dwarfed, imposed upon, brushed aside by his group or party, business or propaganda. Governments are becoming more and more centralized and more effective in moulding the minds of people. Freedom of the human spirit is difficult and fragile and unless we preserve it no great art is possible. It is the result of the disciplined intelligence of free men and I hope that while our democracies will do everything for feeding, clothing and housing our people, they will leave the spirit of man free.

We had an exhibition of Indian paintings in Canada and this exhibition of Canadian paintings here which I have the honour to inaugurate will help the growth of mutual understanding and friendship between our two countries.

**DELHI UNIVERSITY**

It gives me great pleasure to take part in this function and confer the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Science on Sir Cecil Wakeley, formerly President of the Royal College of Surgeons of England. In his life and work we see a combination of profession with passion; and his forceful personality has played a great role in inspiring our young men and women to achieve the high standards of surgery which now obtain in this country.

Chancellor’s Address at Special Convocation admitting Sir Cecil Wakeley to an Honorary Degree of Delhi University, 22 March, 1955
In India we have been aiming at the improvement of our standards of health because we believe that without physical fitness the wellbeing of mind and spirit are not possible.

dharmārtha-kāma-moksānām ārogyam mūlam uttamam.

I hope, Sir Cecil, this country will have the guidance of your genius for many years to come.

DELHI UNIVERSITY

It is a great happiness for us to count you, Miss Helen Keller among our graduates. If the quality of greatness consists in the triumph of the human spirit over apparently insuperable obstacles, we have a notable example of greatness in our new Graduate. Physical handicaps generally result in an impoverishment of life; but they have been used in this instance for the enrichment of life with an implacable faith and a concentrated purpose. When two of her senses were cut off others became more powerful. Physical blindness opened her inward eyes to the light within: pratyagāt-mānam aikṣad āvṛtta-caksuḥ.

The message of her life has been a message of hope. Her tour in the country has moved us to expand the facilities for the relief of the sightless and the hard of hearing. We know how great a force for good a single human being can be. May she continue to dispense hope and happiness to the physically handicapped for many years to come.

THE INDIAN SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
NEW DELHI

I am happy to be here and inaugurate the Indian School of International Studies. I should like to congratulate the Chairman, Dr Hridaya Nath Kunzru, and the Governing Body of the

Chancellor's Address at Special Convocation admitting Miss Hellen Keller to an Honorary Degree of Delhi University, 16 April, 1955
Inaugural Address, 1 October, 1955
School on their enterprise in establishing this School which will fulfil a real need of the University.

The programme of a university is expected to keep pace with the development of life and the progress of society. Our students should be trained to live in a world where international relations dominate all human concerns.

All religions have proclaimed the oneness of the human community. Though it was the implication of all religions, the conditions and forces for realizing this dream of ages have not been available till our time. Today, mankind in all parts of the world are being steadily and inevitably moulded by the forces of history and geography, science and technology, into a single human community. There is a growing sense of international interdependence; the Hague Court, the Workers’ International, the close industrial and financial ties that bind the different countries, the League of Nations, the United Nations Organization itself, they all demonstrate that the order of social life based on the concept of an international society is being slowly established.

This growing international society involves us in international relations which are tackled by statesmen and diplomats. In a university, however, we treat these problems from an academic or scientific point of view, study relations of nations, the laws, principles, tendencies, forces which come into play when nations get into close and intimate relations with one another. Social and political sciences which were hitherto viewed from a strictly national point of view are to be studied from a broader angle. The field of International Studies covers several subjects from natural sciences to moral philosophy, from geography to metaphysics. While the different international organizations deal with problems as they arise from time to time, university students must consider the play of ideas, the variety, the discursiveness, the simultaneity of the world, the different national traditions and their interactions. We should become aware not only of facts, needs and peoples but of goals, norms and values. While we should study the actual relations of Governments and peoples, we should also know how we should behave towards people who live outside our national boundaries.

What we see in the world today is the struggle between the still powerful tradition of national sovereignty and the emerging international order based on the concept, not only of the unity of mankind but of the community of mankind. The many acts of
aggression, of violations of the rule of law among nations such as it is, of over-emphasis on national sovereignty are the main obstacles to international co-operation. But if we look at the direction of the evolution of mankind, the present agitations, conflicting interests, divergent ambitions of peoples must be solved by peaceful methods. Nations of the world are profoundly convinced that another war would mean the collapse of present-day civilization. The development of nuclear power and its concentration in two groups have brought us to the end of the military road for the settlement of international disputes. It is clear that the alternatives are mutual survival or mutual destruction. Crush or conciliate your enemy, said Machiavelli. The perception of this obvious truth has resulted in an improvement in the international situation. While we combat for peace in this period of vacillation, we should reaffirm the concepts of international community, co-operation and the reign of law. Diplomacy has had till now a some what dubious reputation. What was said of logic by a well-known master of Balliol may be said of Diplomacy. ‘Is it a science? no; is it an art? no. What is it then, a dodge?’ It has not thus far been linked to moral principles which regulate dealings between individuals.

If we are to help the present society to grow organically into a world order, we must make it depend on the universal and enduring values which are implanted in the human heart, that each individual is sacred, that we are born for love and not hate. We must recognize the worth and inalienable rights of the individual as supreme and proclaim that sovereignty resides not in the State but in man. This is the meaning of the Declaration of Human Rights. The State is the servant of the people. If these principles are to guide us, we must try to settle disputes peacefully, protect nations against the use of lawless force, and develop modes of communication which will permit various civilizations to enrich and not destroy one another. We have learned to live peacefully in larger and larger units. The concept of a community has grown from a narrow tribal basis to the Nation State. There is no stopping short of a world community. We must replace anarchy by order in the international community.

Our Pañcaśīla focuses attention on the main objectives of the U.N. Charter:

1. Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty.
Cf. Article 2, Clause 4: ‘All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.’

2. Non-aggression

Cf. Article 2, Clause 3: ‘All Members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered.’

3. Non-interference in each other’s affairs

Cf. Article 2, Clause 7: ‘Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter; but this principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII.’

4. Equality and mutual benefit

Cf. Article 2, Clauses 1 & 2: ‘The Organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members.’

‘All Members, in order to ensure to all of them the rights and benefits resulting from Membership, shall fulfil in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the present Charter.’

5. Peaceful co-existence

This is covered by the Clause in the Preamble: ‘To practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours.’

As war is the climax of international misunderstanding, so is peace the outcome of proper understanding among nations. We must achieve international accord by co-operating in solving problems of an economic, social, cultural and humanitarian character by promoting and encouraging respect for the human rights of all, irrespective of race, sex, language, or religion.

Naturally this School will lay stress on the study of the political, economic and cultural organizations of our close neighbours. A new Asia, which is eager to throw off foreign domination, anxious
to catch up with the twentieth century, determined to achieve tolerable conditions of life for their oppressed, ill-nourished, ignorant, illiterate fellow beings, the right to be themselves and to be answerable to themselves is the principal feature of our age. Our great neighbour China after centuries of unrest, chaos, strife and oppression has now emerged as a strong Power, eager to develop her resources and raise her standards. We ourselves gained our political independence eight years ago and are engaged in the task of economic and social reconstruction. The backwardness of Asian and African nations has been a perpetual source of economic rivalry and strife among the advanced nations of the world. If they become economically and socially advanced, one great source of conflict will be removed.

Historians tell us that there is no visible pattern in human society. It only means that there is nothing inevitable in human affairs. Our future depends on the way in which human beings will act and I hope that those who are working in this institution will develop a world-mindedness. Whether we like it or not we live in one world. We require to be educated to a common conception of human purpose and destiny. The different nations should live together as members of the human race, not as hostile powers but as friendly partners in the endeavour of civilization. The strong shall help the weak and all shall belong to the one world of free nations, a community catholic, comprehensive and co-operative. May this School and its workers help to bring this day nearer.

GUJARAT UNIVERSITY

I thank you all for giving me this opportunity to come here and speak to you. A Convocation Speaker is expected to give advice to the students. I don’t suppose students generally relish advice. Apart from students even elders do not relish advice.

Graduation marks the end of one stage and the beginning of another and the graduates of this year have my very best wishes for a useful, happy, prosperous career. They are entering life

Convocation Address, 8 October, 1955
at a very significant juncture in the history of our country. Eight years ago, we won independence. That independence has been only political. We are not constrained by any external authority to behave in this way or that way, the entire initiative rests with us. Before independence, whenever anything went wrong, we had the excuse 'it is all due to foreign domination.' That excuse has disappeared. As the Buddha has said, we suffer from ourselves. None else compels. Today we have freedom to shape the future of our country in any manner we choose. If we are able to shape that future with knowledge, with vision, with courage, we may have a great future. I should like to tell the students that what they have learnt here, intellectual habits, moral character, these things will stand them in good stead and they will be able to make effective contributions to the upbuilding of our country when they enter life.

I wish to congratulate this University on the progress that it has made. I am informed that last year the University started two Departments: of Gujarati Language and Literature, and Social Sciences. There is a wrong feeling about Social Sciences, which I should like to dispel. There are many people who think that just as Physical Sciences give us control over material nature, Social Sciences give us control over man's nature. A very distinguished educationist, Lord Beveridge, said: 'Just as we control through natural sciences the physical world, hereafter we will be able to control human nature by a study of social sciences.' This is not quite correct. You will find also Lord Adrian addressing last year the British Association of Science at Oxford say: we have come to a time when by pressing a button it will be possible for us to obliterate two-thirds of the world and if we understand the nature of human behaviour, we may be able to avert that catastrophe. Mere understanding of human behaviour, of the manner in which man acts in society, is not enough. There have been people in this world who took hold of the weapons of science and the techniques of psychology, organized the cupidity of men into gigantic and terrifying systems of material power.

Today, the forces of geography, history, science and technology are making the world interdependent. They are welding us into one world and the concentration of nuclear power in two great centres constitutes a challenge. Either we may enter life or death. We have either to live together or to die together. That is what
Social Sciences tell us. It depends on our behaviour. But Social Sciences do not educate the human mind with regard to the norms, the goals, the purposes. If we want to use our knowledge, physical and social, for the regeneration of humanity, Social Sciences by themselves are not enough. They supply us with instruments, but those instruments may be used or abused by man. So the transformation of man is more essential than mere acquisition of knowledge. Statistics, economics, politics, psychology—they are all empirical sciences. They give us facts, they give us principles, they tell us how men will behave when confronted with certain circumstances. But how men should behave, what attitude they should adopt, what behaviour they should impose upon themselves, what self-control they have to insist on—these things are not given by Social Sciences. When we have a Department of Social Sciences, let it be understood that Social Sciences will have to be supplemented by Social Philosophy, Social Ethics. These are the disciplines that we require.

There is another danger with regard to Social Sciences. The moment we use the word ‘science’, we at once think that society acts in obedience to certain laws, that there are certain predictable features, that it is possible for us to make society conform to certain principles. The Marxist view of history holds that there is such a thing as dialectical march of events. Spengler, for example, tells us that cultures are organisms and that world culture is a collective biography; birth, growth, age, decline, decay and death are all phenomena which apply to social institutions. Then again we are making the mistake which raises the age-old problem whether history makes man or man makes history. Our answer has been: rājā kālasya kāranam. We have always said that the individuals of genius incite revolutions, change the course of history. They start new epochs. It is the individuals who mould society. A great historian of Europe, H. A. L. Fisher, said a few years ago: ‘I see no predetermined plan, no pattern, no rhythm in history.’ There is the play of the contingent, the play of the unseen, the play of the incalculable, of the unpredictable, that’s how he put it. He meant that the human factors determined the course of history. We should not think that the events are overwhelming and man is just a petty, puny creature unable to cope with the forces of the world. That has not been our view of life. We have always believed that it is possible for individuals of genius to mould the
course of history. We can remould the pattern of society. We can refashion our social structures and organizations. In this city with which Gandhiji has been associated, it is unnecessary for me to dilate upon the importance of the individuals so far as the historical progress is concerned. People may remain outside history, but they make history in a very real sense by the very attitude of withdrawing, so to say, from the work of society. So there is no point in our saying: what can we do, the circumstances are too much for us, therefore we have to succumb. There is no such thing as inevitability in history. There is such a thing as the play of the human factor in the recasting of society. Our students must go out with faith in the free spirit of man; they must go out with the faith that it is open to them to remake themselves every day. Every day we are recasting our own nature; for the worse or for the better, we are recreating ourselves perpetually. If we want to transform possibilities into actualities, what is necessary is the exercise of this freedom, of the subjectivity which the human individuals have. As I said in the beginning, it is our hope to convert the political freedom into true freedom in the social, cultural and the economic sense. We cannot bring about this conversion by merely sitting down with folded hands. We can do it with our brains, with our hands, with our sacrifice, with our sufferings. These are the means vouchsafed to us for transforming our aspirations into actualities, possibilities into realities. Universities are expected to prepare young men and women with not only information, knowledge and skill but also spirit of dedication and detachment. These qualities are essential for the stupendous task of remaking the history of this great country.

I do hope, Mr Chancellor, that your University is turning out boys and girls not merely possessed of learning but also endowed with purpose and vision. Universities are not mere places of learning. They are homes of culture. They are centres for the making of men and women. Man-making is the task that has been assigned to the universities in our country today. Are we making men, are we merely turning out people who can repeat parrot-like certain passages, or are we giving them a refinement of feeling, a civilizing of their purposes, a ripening of their understanding, both of nature and of society? That is the supreme test of the functioning of any university. And if we are not able to fulfil this purpose we are responsible for the failure.
You, Mr Chancellor, referred to the distemper which prevails in certain places in our country. I have been a teacher for over forty years of my life. I want to tell you there is nothing radically wrong about our students. I want to say that we are not giving them the opportunities which they should have. Look at our teachers: no man is a true teacher, if he has not love for his subject and enthusiasm for transmitting his zeal to the pupils. They should of course, be placed above the verge of want. But we cannot have teachers who feel that they are first and foremost members of a party, or a clan, or a caste, or a community; who are not able to rise above all these considerations and serve the interests of the society as a whole. We should strive to make our boys and girls citizens of this great country. It is essential that the teachers of a university or a college should be selected with the utmost care. They must be selected not merely for their intellectual competence, but for their love of the subjects, their enthusiasm for making the students grow in their hands. These are very essential.

Again, we have got unwieldy classes. A class room which can accommodate about 150 people is supposed to contain 500. What are we encouraging in such a class, if it is not indiscipline? It is impossible for us to make a class room of 150 contain 500 by any amount of congestion which we can bring about. Then again, are there any extra-curricular activities? In most of the colleges, which are overcrowded, the teachers are few, the boys are many and there are no opportunities for them to express themselves in free, artistic, emotional, or intellectual activities. In other words, unless we have scope for the expression of the individual's full personality, our college or our university will be a failure. I know that there have been some cases of boys lapsing into moral and spiritual dissolution. If we are not to imperil the future of our country, priority number one must be given to education. There is no point in our bringing about material rehabilitation, having large dams, etc., if the men we turn out are small and petty-minded. Unless the men themselves become large-hearted, vigorous in their intellect and refined in their minds, they will not be able to utilize all the conveniences and comforts which we are placing at their disposal. What's the good of bringing about a change in the environment if we do not bring about a change in mind? We must change ourselves and if we have to change ourselves, we have to start this process in the institutions which cater to the needs
of students. Therefore, greater attention requires to be paid both by the State and the Central Governments to see to it that colleges have restricted admissions, have adequate staff, and there is a living communication between the teacher and the students. A conversation across the table with a wise teacher is much better than a long course of study. Have we opportunities in the present ill-equipped and ill-staffed colleges for that kind of personal intercourse between the students and the teachers? So long as we do not have it, what's the good of our saying that students are suffering from a distemper or the university standards are falling? I want the youth to be given a fair and square deal. It is essential for us, for the Government, to bring about an altogether different orientation, so far as the educational reconstruction of our country is concerned. And I do hope that those in power, those who are governing the country will take these things into account.

The States Reorganization Committee Report is to be published the day after tomorrow formally, though it has been substantially released already. That again shows the lack of discipline in high places. Anyway, there is going to be a redrawing of the boundaries of our States. In all this we have to remember that this country has been for centuries a single country. When the Chinese pilgrims came here, they went to all parts in this country, to the North, to the South. When our people went out as representatives of our culture to China, they did not go from any one part. They went from different parts of India to spread the message of the Buddha or of Shaivism. So from those early centuries, when our Mahābhārata talks about Anga, Banga, Kalinga, Kashmir, etc., and when Śaṅkarāchārya established his four Mathas in the four corners of India, the one thing that they wanted to impress on us was the unity of this great land. Whatever may be the minor differences or adjustments that may take place, they must not militate against this sense of the oneness of our great country. Whenever we suffered in our history, it was because provincial, caste, communal differences came to be exaggerated; whenever we succeeded, it was because such differences were ignored and we stood up united to win our goal. Unity means strength and progress. Linguism, provincialism, caste consciousness, etc. will mean dispersal of our energies and the downfall of our country.

It is essential, therefore, that we should take into account this one great fact that whatever our provinces may be, whatever
differences may take place in them, we belong to this great land, which was responsible for much of the art and culture of the whole of the East. It is Shaivism, it is Buddhism, that went out there. Shiva, the *Mahā Yogi*, the Buddha, the great Compassionate One—they constitute, they symbolize for us the essence of religion.

Deepen your awareness, extend your love. *abhaya*, freedom from fear, *ahimsā*, freedom from hate: one is the inward, the other is the outward aspect of true religion. All other things are embroidery, paraphernalia. They do not touch the essentials of religion. If we harbour in our thoughts evil, greed, malice, violence, spirit of superiority, pride, we are not religious men. If, on the other hand, we are able to rid our mind and our thought of these impulses and if we always behave with generosity and with love, we have the spirit of true religion.

Our people say, the one important purpose of all universities is integration of the individual and the society. The question was raised in the Upaniṣad: ‘What is tapas?’ Different answers were given. Ultimately someone said *svādhyāya pravacana*, that is *tapas*. *svādhyāya*, study, reflection, research, advance of knowledge and *pravacana*, communication of it, transmission of it to others. We must advance knowledge and communicate it. Love of learning has been our precious possession all these centuries. Let us cling to it.

**THE DELHI SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS**

From the previous speeches it is clear that this School interprets the concept of a Welfare State in a broad and human way. Welfare is not to be confused with merely physical or material welfare. One of the great economists, Alfred Marshall, in the opening chapter of his work, *Principles of Economics*, said: ‘The two great forming agencies of the world’s history have been the religious and the economic. Here and there the ardour of the military or the artistic spirit has been for a while predominant, but religious and economic influences have nowhere been displaced from the front rank even for a time and they have nearly always

Inaugural Address, 18 January, 1956
been more important than all others put together.' The divorce between the two has done great harm to society. The sickness of our society, its unease, lies deep in our soul. Conflicts in the world are conflicts in the human heart writ large. The outer conflicts between men will cease if men are at peace within themselves. This School is the outcome not of a bright idea, but of a deep faith that study and research in economic thought should be controlled by wisdom. Those who work in it are expected to be imbued with a social vision, a social awareness, a social purpose.

We should work for the improvement of the material conditions of our fellow-beings. The face of our society is scarred by the extremes of wealth and poverty, of affluence and want. Power corrupts a few, but poverty corrupts millions. If the latter challenge the existent order, it is not due to malice, greed, or resentment, but to a sense of utter inadequacy and helplessness, the realization that these conditions are not inevitable but are preventable. Society is a single whole. If one part of it exploits another, the whole suffers. If we hurt one hand with the other, it is the individual who suffers. That is why our democracy should become socialistic if it is to save itself. If it does not in a few years effect improvements in the material standards of our ordinary people, the future of our democracy will be in peril.

There are no statutory methods for the achievement of socialism. We are not prisoners of any ideologies. We are not inhibited by any doctrinaire considerations. Take this School. It is due to the initiative, energy, enterprise, public spirit, strength of emotion and power of mind of Dr Rao. Though it gets Government aid, it is not under Government control. It is, therefore, in a position to undertake independent investigations and offer competent advice and criticism to the Government. We do not claim that our Government can do no wrong. It may not do so consciously or deliberately, but as human institutions Governments are also fallible, and we require free, honest, dispassionate, constructive criticism to help Governments.

This day's ceremony marks another stage in the progress of this School. The reputation of a school depends not on its buildings and equipment, necessary as they are, but on the solid work which its members do. We should judge our work by the highest academic standards. I hope that members of this School started under such high auspices will work hard, will work honestly, will
work with pleasure and pride in their work and help the economic thinking, planning and progress of our country.

This School has had from the beginning the inspiring guidance of our Prime Minister who is the President of the fraternity. His presence here today is another indication of his deep interest in the School. We are grateful to him for finding some time for this function. I propose a very hearty vote of thanks to him.

WORLD UNIVERSITY SERVICE HEALTH CENTRE

I am happy to be here and declare open this health centre built by the World University Service with the help of the Government and the University Grants Commission. It is one of a number of activities promoted by the World University Service in this University as well as in others.

The World University Service is one expression, small but significant, of the growing unity of mankind. A University by its very definition has a universal outlook. For it nothing human is alien. Its function is to develop a world community. This Service helps people in different parts of the world to understand one another.

In this country with its variety of regions and languages, the integrating factors of a national society are shared respect and affection for common ideals. Society is a partnership between the past, the present and the future. In a vast geographical region like India, diversity is only to be expected, but this diversity has to be subdued to national unity if we are to make any progress in the world. Here in Delhi University teachers and students from different parts of the country are brought together and get to know each other and develop a broad national outlook.

Those who work in the University should aim at acquiring not only learning but culture, that refinement of the soul which we define as ātmasaṁskṛti. This refinement helps us to conquer the forces of greed and arrogance and develop a way of living, a standard of behaviour which requires us to take the interest of other members of society.

Inaugural Address, 30 January, 1956
Today, which is the eighth anniversary of the martyrdom of Mahatma Gandhi, it is essential for us to undertake an inward searching of hearts. With many of us our culture is thin and superficial and at the first crisis it falls away and exposes our callousness, cruelty and lack of feeling for others. We justify what we do on account of some alleged injustice and make our reason the servant or the instrument of our passion. Violence is a cowardly escape from patient negotiations and peaceful settlement of differences. When we urge the world to adjust the differences among nations by peaceful methods, if we resort to violent methods for vindicating what we regard as our rights we should not be surprised if the world puts us down for hypocrites, mithyācārins, talking one thing and practising another.

It is essential therefore that we must search our hearts, and discover the narrowness of mind which threatens our unity, diminishes our horizons and hampers our progress. Each one of us in the privacy of his own heart and soul must find out what is wrong with him. We must work at tasks wider than our scope and range. We must commend our hurrying years to the care of a great cause, the welfare of this country and the world. With strength and faith we must work for building up a nation which will be invulnerable to the schemings of small men. I do hope that those who study in this University and who are members of this World University Service will develop a largeness of outlook and generosity of heart and view the problems which face us with courage, strength and patience.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF EDUCATION, BENGAL

I am happy to be here and take part in the Golden Jubilee Celebrations of the National Council of Education, Bengal. The fifty years from 1906 to 1956 have been an eventful period in the history of our country, and Bengal has contributed very effectively to our many-sided renaissance. Its contributions to art and literature, politics and social reform, religion and philosophy have been outstanding. The people of Bengal have been distinguished

Golden Jubilee Celebrations, 17 March, 1956
by their intellectual vigour, emotional intensity and sacrificial devotion to noble causes. In this National Council the torch of freedom was kept burning in the days of darkness and subjection.

The movement for liberation from alien control had different aspects. This National Council of Education is one expression of our endeavour to free ourselves from alien control. Many eminent leaders of Bengal were associated with this Council, Rabindranath Tagore, Aurobindo Ghosh, Asutosh Chaudhuri, Gurudas Banerjee, Rash Behari Ghosh, Surendranath Banerjee, among others, and they took part in the establishment and development of this Council. Its aim was ‘to organize a system of education, literary, scientific and technical, on national lines and under national control’.

The prevalent system of education suffered from two serious defects, that it was mainly literary in character and that it ignored the national tradition. It is relatively inexpensive to train students in arts, law and commerce, but it costs a great deal to train them in sciences, engineering and technology which are essential for the development of our resources and raising our standards of living. The National Council tried to correct this imbalance. The most valuable contribution the National Council has made to the industrial development of our country has been in the fields of engineering and technical education. Though the students trained here had not the advantage of Government recognition and patronage, by the quality of their work they established a reputation for themselves. Their training was recognized by the Government of the country and universities abroad, like Harvard, Yale and Michigan. The Council had a comprehensive scheme of education in all stages, primary, secondary and collegiate, and in the different branches of learning. The mother-tongue was used as the medium of instruction.

Though the main emphasis here was on engineering and technology, there was provision for the compulsory study of history, politics and literature. No one can be said to be truly educated if his knowledge is limited to one special branch. The evils of specialization can be combated only by a course in what is now called general education.

There have been in the past glamorous and powerful States; when they were separated from their roots, they became petrified. They swirled through the spaces of history like brilliant phenomena
and burnt themselves out like meteors since they were torn away from the fire that generated and fed them. The National Council of Education was, therefore, anxious that its students should be given a national outlook, educated in the national spirit. When we speak of national education, it does not mean that subjects like physics and chemistry, engineering and technology, change with the boundaries of nations. It means that there is a national heritage, a tradition of values into which the students should be initiated. India is not a geographical abstraction but a living spirit. The outlook associated with this country has been a spiritual one, that there are higher laws of the universe than those studied by sciences and technology, that the world is more than what we see, feel, touch and measure.

The results of science have been so impressive in their practical applications that we are tempted to believe that the material world ruled by its laws is the only world that exists. The changes that have been effected by science in the last fifty years have been greater than those which took place in the last three or four thousand years. Radio, telephone, aeroplane, penicillin, plastics, high explosive shell and the atom bomb, whether they work for our good or evil, all stem from science. But all this does not suggest the omnipotence of matter. It discloses the omnipotence of the human spirit. It is the spirit in man that has penetrated the secrets of nature. Again, the scientist, if he is to be successful, should develop the qualities of disciplined devotion and disinterestedness. He must possess tolerance, open-mindedness, freedom from prejudice and hospitality to new ideas.

Science reveals to us the inexhaustible richness of the world, its unexpectedness and wonder. Science does not profess to solve all problems. There are regions where its writ does not run. When all is said and done, the world remains a mystery. The Bhagavadgītā says:

\[
\text{avyaktādīni bhūtāni vyakta-madhyāni bhārata} \\
\text{avyakta nidhanāny eva tatra kā paridevanā.}
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The ultimate questions are too deep or mysterious for science. We should recognize that we understand and control only a tiny fraction of the universe.

A scientific study of the world does not give us a complete knowledge of the world. There are limits to the knowledge given by science. From physics to chemistry, from chemistry to biology,
from biology to psychology, from psychology to logic, ethics and aesthetics, we seem to have an unbroken, continuous, logical chain, a series of causes and effects ending up with parliamentary governments and large universities. But the mystery of the emergence of life from a non-living environment, of consciousness from an unconscious environment, the emergence of the ideas of truth, goodness and beauty from an environment which does not have them are blank spaces in our knowledge which cannot be filled. There are problems like the relation of body and mind, the nature of self-consciousness which are puzzles for science. Belief in a realm of spirit is not based on the gaps in knowledge but on the sense of mystery in the very heart of creation, inherent in the way in which the world works, obeying a certain order and yet emerging into novelties. God does not reveal Himself in nature and history by fits, only in crises and catastrophes. Where scientific knowledge ends and the realm of mystery begins may shift, but there are two spheres, one capable of scientific explanation and the other not, which will always remain. There is a mystery in the heart of the world. To deny it is not to destroy it. We cannot weigh and measure the beauty of Meghadūta or the value of saintliness. The world of truth and falsehood, right and wrong, beauty and ugliness, is different from the world of science. The world of scientific facts and the world of values are two different worlds. They belong to one whole controlled by a presence greater than we are and is called Absolute Reality. Towards it we have a feeling of awe and humility and we should try to act in this world in conformity with the spiritual direction of the universe. Religion is right belief, right feeling and right action. It is all the three. It is not intellectual conviction, emotional ecstasy, or social service. It is all the three. The passage from the intellectual to the spiritual is not a quantitative accumulation but a qualitative leap. The transition from vijñāna to ānanda is a leap from one orbit to another.

A scientific attitude requires us to be open-minded in regard to different facts and values. Man’s awareness of himself, as living in a world which is at once terrifying and fascinating, his feeling of awe and reverence, humility and joy, are basic experiences which religion studies. They are derived from a sense of the holy. We cannot take a part of our experience and make it the whole. Nor can we mix up scientific descriptions of facts with speculative
hypotheses. Marxist sociology or Freudian psychology mixes up facts with interpretations.

If, in spite of the great knowledge we have accumulated, we are still in a perilous state, in an unhappy predicament, it is because we are indifferent to the higher laws of the universe. What is it that prevents the use of the great inventions for making the world into a happier and better place than it is? The passions of the human heart, stupidity, cussedness, vileness and wildness. We must tame the savageness of man. Even if a nuclear war is prevented, without sufficient progress in human nature, we will stagger to a stand-still, a stalemate. It is here that the tradition of our country is of value. We must restore the truths of spirit to the central place in the minds of men. They must transform us, give us liberality, understanding, freedom. The minds and hearts of people require to be altered. We must be able to make the right choice. This depends on the perceptions and ideas of men and women, on the moral judgements of the community, on the inner compulsions which control us. We must train not only the intellect but bring grace into the heart of man. \textit{tejasvināvadhītam astu}. If we are truly spiritual, we will cut off with a drastic hand so much that has come down to us in the name of religion which is repugnant to our mind and heart. I sometimes feel that no people preached truth more vigorously and practised it less effectively.

In another sense national education should equip us to act as citizens of this great country which stretches from the Himalayas to Kanyakumārī, from Cutch to Assam. Our great leaders have impressed on us the concept of the unity of the nation. Our epics, our literary classics, our religious pilgrimages proclaim the unity of the country. Aśoka’s edicts, for example, are found in all parts of the country, from Mysore and Andhra in the South to Delhi and Takṣaśilā in the North. From the beginning of our history we have been a people pledged to peace and goodwill to all. The Aśokan lions are the watchers of the four quarters and his \textit{dharma-macakra} symbolizes the triumph of virtue over vice. In a reborn India we have revived these ancient symbols. Our laboratories established in different parts of the country, our cultural festivals point to the ideal of oneness of our country. They warn us against the danger of breaking up the nation into fragments. Across the centuries of our history are written the evils of internal clashes, racial and religious, linguistic and regional. They brought us.
shame and subjection. Even the partition of our country was the result of our defective sense of nationhood. The strength of our country is in proportion to its unity. Your lives should be clean, noble and dedicated to selfless work.

**JADAVPUR UNIVERSITY**

I am glad to be here and address the first Convocation of the Jadavpur University. When the National Council of Education was formed, it was expected that it would 'lay the foundations of a national university'. Today you must be happy that that expectation is fulfilled and you have now a unitary teaching University.

A college does not become a university simply because we change the name, make the Principal the Vice-Chancellor and the Superintendent the Registrar. The change of name must imply a change of character. To deserve the name of a university, there are certain minimum requirements. A university should make provision for advanced study and research in the subjects taught. We must have professors who have done outstanding research work and are able to guide others. For this they require detachment and freedom from the worries of daily existence. It is not necessary for academic men to live in luxury; but they must be able to live in comfort. The world has become so hurried and so insistent that the pursuit of science and scholarship has ceased to be a leisurely pursuit, bringing its own reward and has become instead a breathless chase after material rewards. The highest of all pleasures is the feeling that we have added something, however small it may be, to the sum of human knowledge, of having assisted, even if only a little, the progress of humanity. I hope you will have limited numbers and adequate staff and of quality here. Intimate fellowship of students and teachers is possible only under these conditions.

A university should not be a technical institute. It is good to know that you will have colleges for arts and sciences and the students will get liberal education. The students should be not only intellectually competent and technically skilled but also civilized in their emotions and refined in their purposes. Only then will they have a liberal outlook, develop compassion and understanding.

Address at First Convocation, 18 March, 1956
Nations become back-numbers if they do not reckon with the development of the times. We suffered defeat in the past through our scientific and technical backwardness. Our problems are modern and our methods cannot be primitive and archaic. Today the methods of peace and war have both altered basically. If we are to grow industrially and increase productivity, we have to think in an ordered way. Other countries may give us guidance but we have ultimately to depend on ourselves. Even advanced nations like America and the Soviet Union are entering a new age, the age of the atom, and are re-thinking their economic, industrial and military policies.

We are pledged to the effecting of social and economic revolution by democratic methods. We must avoid concentration of power in private hands, effect more equitable distribution and disperse social benefits. We are not doctrinaire in our approach, not prisoners of any rigid doctrine; our approach is pragmatic. We wish to gain our objectives without encroaching on individual liberties. The dignity of the human individual is the central principle of democracy. It is the teaching of all religions and is embodied in our Constitution.

The great achievements of science seem to suggest that there is a law of necessity such as governs the physical world in historical affairs. Historical processes are represented as the outcome of superhuman or impersonal forces working independently of the wishes and efforts of individuals. Three centuries ago, the French Catholic writer Bossuet stated that the concatenation of events which is history is ruled by God's secret decrees. If we say that we are not able to see the decrees of God in the ways of men, Bossuet remarks: 'How the action of our liberty is comprehended within the decrees of Divine Providence remains hidden to us mortals.'

I do not think that divine dialectic or scientific determinism is adequate to explain historical events. Events do not take their course independent of human control. We see in history the play of the contingent, the unpredictable. From the time of Aristotle, a view has prevailed that events move by an immanent impulse towards a telos or end. This purpose does not work out automatically. It is thwarted by and has to struggle against many forces. The course of history has many blind alleys and setbacks, but all the same it moves on. The pace is determined by man's effort. If civilizations decline, there is no necessity about it. It is the result of
shortcomings not decreed by any laws. They are human failures. Man has the freedom to respond to the challenges which life presents. If the people lose their flexibility of mind, suffer from exhaustion of spirit, they become incapable of creative effort. The future of our country as of human civilization is an open question. Progress is not inevitable. A determinist view of history saps the sense of individual responsibility. It engenders acquiescence in uncontrollable forces and removes the sense of choice with its feelings of hope and despair from human life. In the making of history, man has a real part. He can make a choice from a number of possible alternative developments. Even in personal life, each individual should regard himself as free, as capable of doing something original. What man has done, he can undo. Freedom and necessity are bound together. They condition one another. When things happen, we may relate them to the past; till they happen we cannot foresee them. One age does not follow another in normal succession; sometimes the bond of continuity is snapped in human life; we have continuity and innovation in history. If we deal with the laws of history and ignore the responsibility of individuals, we will get a distorted picture. There are no rigid, predetermined patterns in history. It is true that ideas and beliefs influence men's minds and actions. They have a life of their own, get developed or distorted when they enter the world of accidents and personalities. The salvation of mankind is possible only through the efforts of individual men and women and not through the amorphous, anonymous mass.

The history of civilization is one continuous effort of man to battle with circumstance and overcome it. It centres round those great figures who dared to take up responsibility for their insights into truth, goodness and beauty, who made their own choices and decisions even at the peril of their lives. To the extent to which we are moved by the fear of authority, by the pressure of public opinion, by the force of circumstance, our behaviour is under external pressure. Our actions are not personal in the strict sense of the term. They are not the expression of our free choice. The choices are made by others on our behalf or dictated by events. Creative responsibility is acquired painfully as we emancipate ourselves from the dominion of external forces or the passions within us. Man is not the sport or victim of circumstances. We have to struggle against superstition, ignorance, cruelty, oppression
and the intransigence of fear. We have it in our power to save our civilization by our own exertions.

Democracy is an invitation to a new life where each individual feels himself to be a responsible being, who can shape the future of the society to which he belongs. By means of democratic political arrangements, we should strive to release the creative energies of men. We cannot afford to waste a single talent, starve a single young body or stunt a single young mind.

The first democracy in the world was ancient Greece. The funeral speech of Pericles after the fall of Athens as reported by Thucydides shows the people what the beloved city had really been in the time of her greatness under her greatest leader. The ideal that Athens pursued was that of a free man, free without fear or hatred or inward slavery. The free man believes in knowledge as a guide to action, in beauty, in friendship. 'I would have you fix your eyes upon Athens day by day, contemplate her potentialities; not merely what she is but what she has the power to be, until you become her lovers. Reflect that her glory had been built up by men who knew their duty and had the courage to do it. Make them your example and learn from them that the secret of happiness is Freedom and the secret of Freedom Courage.' If we wish to develop individuals who are free, strong and courageous, if we do not wish to rob man of the fire of the creative spirit, if we do not wish to strangle the individual, we must lift from the shoulders of our people the material and social burdens they now bear. That is why a democracy cannot be content with a political form. It must acquire an economic content and social passion. Democracy is indivisible. It must be political, economic, social, cultural and religious.

In a democratic community, where all men are both the rulers and the ruled, education must be widespread and this education need not be only literary or academic. We must develop goodwill, patience and forbearance. In these days of increasing specialization and growing mental ailments a recovery of faith in the ultimate spiritual values is essential. It is the only way to develop one's inward resources. I am glad you lay stress on religious education. What is seen on the surface of history is the fruit of a deep-rooted plant, drawing its sustenance from hidden sources of spirit. If the roots of a tree get dried up, it cannot yield any fruit.

The spirit of democracy strives to free all of mankind from slavery, exploitation, fear and hunger. By extending the democratic
liberties to all suffering and under-privileged nations we lay the sure foundations of peace and justice. Then out of the anguish of this world will be born a new unity of mankind, a unity in which the ideals will find safety and security.

To the graduates of this University all that I have to say is: you are fortunate that you live in a time of great challenges and great possibilities of achievement which were not given at any previous period of history. History is being made at greater speed than ever before, and if we are willing to make the effort, we can help history. You will be able to take your share in its great enterprise, if your University, loyal to its origin has given you not only technical efficiency but moral judgement and a sense of values built for us by the great achievements of our ancestors. I dare say you have caught a little of the inspiration, genius and virtue of the heroes of the past. We lived for generations in a sheltered valley while others held the ring. We became too indulgent, too comfortable, too selfish. We thought ourselves to be a very fair people, for we never spoke well of one another. Whatever you do or say, believe in the greatness of your nation and its desire to help human welfare. I trust you will give to your generation the service of your limbs, your mind and your heart and illuminate the age ahead of you.

GOVERNMENT AYURVEDIC COLLEGE, PATNA

I am happy to be here today and lay the foundation-stone of the Rajkiya Āyurved Bhavan. The very name Āyurveda points out the sanctity in which this science was held by us. We do not call it the science of disease; we call it the science of health. ārogya śāstra, which we never disregard. It is generally contended that Indians were more interested in metaphysics and religion than in politics and human welfare. This is not quite correct. dharmārtha-kāma-mokṣānām ārogyam mūlam uttamaṁ. For the practice of dharma, artha, kāma and mokṣa, the chief basis is ārogya. In other words physical wellbeing, positive health is an essential prerequisite of any other kind of development, either of spiritual qualities or intellectual powers. The Yoga Sūtra is said to be a science of th

Speech at the laying of Foundation of the College, 20 March, 1956
development of spiritual powers. But it insists that physical prowess is essential. rūpa-lāvanya-bala-vajrasāṁhananatvāni kāya-sampat. kāya-sampat or physical prowess consists in the development of rūpa or beauty of form, lāvanya or radiance, bala or strength, vajrasāṁhananatva, invulnerability like a diamond. In other words, our thinkers make out that unless the human being has sound physical basis, it will not be possible for him to develop Yoga of either the mind or the spirit. So it cannot be argued that in our eagerness for metaphysical perfection or religious realization, we neglected the basis of all those pursuits, health and wellbeing.

Health is not merely physical fitness; it is the wealth of energy, a kind of vital dynamism. śarīra or body is said to be dharmasādhana, an instrument for the practice of dharma. This is not possible if we merely avoid ailments. There must be positive overflow, so to say, of physical energy. We must not merely keep well but use our health as a means for the development of higher pursuits.

In the ancient world, in every civilization, there was a science of medicine. It is not our peculiarity. Every great civilization tried to devise a scheme by which ailments could be controlled and prevented. We also had that. In the ancient days, our systems of medicine and surgery were not deficient. The other day I was reading a book on the Story of Medicine, and the author, Dr Kenneth Walker, makes out that it is wonderful to know how so many different surgical operations were devised by the ancient Indians including what is now called Rhinoplasty. They used to take a flap of the forehead and stick it to the nose to correct its deficiencies. That kind of plastic surgery was employed in our country in the ancient days. Many things were devised; many surgical instruments were used and many surgical operations performed. But, unfortunately, as in many other spheres of our activity, our development got arrested. It came to a stand-still. People who were practising these things were content with merely repeating what had been handed down to them, but were not making any progress, with the result, Āyurveda fell on evil days. Today we are having a revived interest in the development of the science of Āyurveda. It is good to know that we are establishing in different parts of our country institutions like this. The Government will do its duty, but the practitioners of Āyurveda owe a responsibility to the country and to themselves.
Once upon a time medical discoveries were based on accurate observations. Today we must again get back that spirit of mental adventure and research and make this science modern in every sense of the term. Our mathematics, our philosophy, our other systems are getting mixed up with the modern world. They have entered into the stream of world thought. They may be affected by them and they may affect them. It is essential, therefore, that if Āyurveda is to be brought back to itself, Government patronage is not enough. The responsibility of the practitioners of Āyurveda is great and they must have open-mindedness integrity and mental enterprise. They must find out what is living and what is dead, discard what is dead, keep up what is alive and make Āyurveda into a live system. It is the duty which they owe to themselves, to the science which they practise. If Āyurveda is to receive due recognition, if we are to make advances in the system, it will not do merely for the Government to come forward and give you some kind of patronage. There is a great responsibility on those who practise the system. Those who will be educated here, I hope, will be modernist in their outlook.

There is a story which comes down to us from ancient mythology. Uṣas, Eōs, as the Greeks called her, fell in love with a mortal. Then she went up to the gods and said: 'Pray, confer immortality on my lover.' They said, 'Yes'. Later on, the man grew old, grew senile, decayed and asked for death. Then Eōs said: 'I forgot one thing; when I asked the gods to confer on you immortality, I forgot to ask them for the condition of immortality namely, perpetual youth.' We can be immortal only if we are perpetually young. Because Eōs did not ask for perpetual youth, he endure became decrepit, old and longed to die. So if a system has to endure, it must be perpetually young and ready to change. In other words, it must be capable of accepting new ideas, have the resilience of mind which the young have, have the openness, flexibility and spirit of adventure by which they accept what is given to them and transform it out of recognition. So if Āyurveda is to live, mere aid will not do, creative work is also necessary. You must have that spirit by which you can explore fields unknown and make the science a dynamic one. I hope those who will be taught in this institution and the teachers themselves will carry out that essential truth of all life that if you get petrified, you stagnate, you die. If you are alive, you will be perpetually moving an
growing. Unless you preserve that element of growth and youth, vitality, I do not think there is much future for Ayurveda. I, therefore, am anxious that in these institutions, the spirit of youth, the spirit of open-mindedness, the spirit of adventure will be kept up. With these words I have great pleasure in laying the foundation-stone of your college.

RAJENDRA SURGICAL BLOCK, PATNA

It is a very great pleasure for me to be here today, and to declare open this Rajendra Surgical Block. Rajen Babu is your most illustrious citizen. He is the first citizen of our country, and also the first gentleman of our country. He is a soul of simple goodness and gentleness. Anyone who gets to know him will feel the kind of innocent benevolence he extends to all those who happen to be in his company. Nothing will please him more than his association with an institution dedicated to the relief of sick and suffering humanity.

We have had a good deal said here of our philosophy and practice of medicine and surgery. We have a saying that āṇḍa and brahmāṇḍa, the microcosm and the macrocosm are akin to each other; as above, so below. If the world consists of the different layers of materiality, minerals, metals, etc.; vitality, plants; mentality, animals; intellectuality, human beings; and spirituality, Godmen: these five ingredients of matter, life, consciousness, intellectuality and spirituality enter into the nature of man. Man is a replica of these five layers of ānṇa, prāṇa, manas, vijnāna, and ānanda. In other words, the human individual is not to be regarded as merely a physical body. A doctor who knows his profession treats not the disease but the patient. He knows not merely the science of medicine and surgery but the art of influencing the psychology of the patient. He must bring to bear not only the recuperative powers of the body, but the resilience of the mind and the faith of spirit. Rajyapalji referred to the growth of mental ailments in the world. We live in an age of great hurry and great speed. Men have lost their inward resources. They merely reflect,
like a set of mirrors, opinions which they get from the outside. When they get a little leisure, they turn to material diversions from outside rather than to inward resources. In other words, this internal vacuum is responsible for mental and nervous troubles. The cure for this is not so much treatment by medicine and surgery but a recovery of faith in the ultimate goodness, truth, and decency of things. If we are able to recover that faith, if we are able to live in this world with our consciousness centred in the ultimacy of spirit, many of the problems to which we are subject today may be got over. Our people were regarded as aspiring after metaphysical insight and religious bliss, but we seem to forget that it never occurred to them to equate eternal life with either the surrender of the mind or the sacrifice of the body. When the Upaniṣad writer was asked to define what is meant by spiritual life or life eternal, he gave the answer, that it consists of the play of the vital organism, the satisfaction of mind, the abundance of tranquillity of spirit. Body, mind and spirit must be integrated and they must lead to a harmonious, developed life. If we get that, we have life eternal. That is the definition which was given to us centuries ago by the writers of Upaniṣads, and it is that definition we have to bring back, so far as our present practice is concerned.

In the old days the great doctors were called priest-physicians. They were medicine-men. They were treating not only our body, but influencing our mind and our spirit. We may not like the name ‘priest-physicians’, but they were treating the whole human being and not merely the disease. The disease is a symptom, it is the lack of ease, lack of wholeness, lack of health, so far as the individual is concerned, and we have to treat the individual and not merely the disease which is just an outside symptom.

Hospitals were built in this country ages ago. Ašoka’s edicts describe hospitals for the treatment of animals, and the treatment of men, paśu cikitsā, puruṣa cikitsā. He established hospitals all over the country for the treatment of animals also. A recent historian of medicine, Dr Kenneth Walker, Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons, England, who is interested in our thought and the way in which our thought could be utilized for the purpose of giving a sense of security in this age of loneliness, anxiety and insecurity, writes in his book on the Story of Medicine: ‘Ancient Indian medicine was strongest in surgery and, strange to say, weakest in that subject on which surgery is based, anatomy. The plastic
surgeon of today still refers to the Indian method of Rhino-plasty; in other words, to the method of turning down a flap of skin from the forehead, a procedure adopted by the ancient Indian surgeons when they wanted to cover a gross defect in a patient’s nose. It was in surgery that the ancient Hindus excelled. Śuṣruta describes nearly a hundred different surgical instruments used by himself and his colleagues. Caesarean section was performed in ancient India as well as operations for the removal of calculi.’ He continues: ‘In the Āyurveda we find a description of the vascular system which strongly suggests that the Hindus of this period anticipated Harvey’s discovery of the circulation of blood. The Āyurveda also contains the highly intelligent observations that plague is likely to appear when many dead rats are found lying about, and that malaria is caused by mosquitoes. It gives a description of phthisis, a disease characterized by persistent cough, fever and the expectoration of blood. Over seven hundred medicinal plants are mentioned in the great Hindu work on Āyurveda and information is given about the dispensing of a number of useful ointments, inhalations and sneezing powders.’

I am not competent to assess the accuracy or say anything about this. It is for you to study Indian medicine and surgery and assess the value of our achievements, but I wish to say this—with the facilities then available, with the conditions of the time, our medical men and our surgeons were able to keep abreast of the work which was happening in other parts of the world also. They were not inferior. But a time came when this progress was arrested and we were left behind. Therefore, I feel that our surgeons of today, given the opportunity, will not only be able to treat cases that are brought to their notice, but will do something in their life which will outlast their life. They will be able not merely to do the ordinary treatment, important as it is, but to discover new methods of treatment, devise new apparatus by which they could feel that they are the worthy descendants of people who, ages ago, with inadequate facilities and imperfect conditions, were able to bring about things which astounded the world. In the science of medicine and surgery we have not been able to make as much impression on the outside world as we have done in some other subjects, like physics, chemistry, etc. I do not believe that our medical men are in any sense inferior to the men who are now

1 pp. 28-29
devoting themselves to the study of physics, chemistry, mathematics, etc. I feel they have the ability. If we provide them with the facilities which are required and if we imbue them with the fervour that he who adds a little to the store of human knowledge does much more than those who devise this or that particular technical item, if we are able to provide the proper atmosphere, I have no doubt that our surgeons will not be behind the surgeons of the other parts of the world. My anxiety is that in this surgical Block, which I am opening today, facilities may be provided, as your Minister has just said, for research work. Any amount of money spent on that purpose is well worth spending. It will be returned to us in a great measure and we would put ourselves on the map of the world of medicine and surgery. It is no use our depending on outside resources. We cannot for all time indent upon foreign experts and foreign aid. Our men have the brains, have the capacity; why not give them the facilities necessary to make them first-class surgeons, who can compete with the best in the world?

It is my hope, it is my desire that this institution should not only heal suffering people but help to bring about changes in the environment, in the health system, by which such ailments will become less and less. The day when hospitals have not very much work to do is the day to which we look forward, and I do hope that aim will be realized by those who are working in this Block. I have pleasure in declaring this building open.

SEMINAR ON DRAMA, DELHI

I am happy to be here and inaugurate the Seminar on Drama. I see from your programme that you are having discussions on the state and development of drama in the various languages of our country. You will, no doubt, consider the technical problems of dramaturgy, the mechanics of writing, the place of music and dance in drama, stage scenery, the duration of the plays, stage direction and costumes. I shall content myself with a few general observations. I have neither the knowledge nor the competence to do anything more.

Inaugural Address, 25 March, 1956
After receiving an Honorary Degree of the Charles University of Prague, June 1956

Arrival in Djakarta, September 1956
With the Emperor and Empress of Japan
Conferment of an Honorary Degree of the Delhi University on H. R. H. the Duke of Edinburgh, January 1957

Inauguration of the National Book Trust at Vigyan Bhavan, New Delhi, August 1957
Conferral of an Honorary Degree of the Delhi University on the
Hon. Earl Warren, Chief Justice of the U. S. A., August 1956

Opening of the Gandhi Memorial
Academy, Nairobi, July 1956
Last year we had the Film Seminar. While the film is a modern invention, drama has been with us for a long time past. Indian tradition preserved in the Nāṭya-śāstra claims for the drama a divine origin. It is said to be the fifth Veda intended to give pleasure to both eyes and ears and transmit the ultimate truths.\(^1\) Brahmā took the element of recitation from the Ṛg Veda, song from the Sāma Veda, the mimetic art from the Yajur Veda and sentiment from the Atharva Veda. At Brahmā’s bidding the Divine architect, Viśvakarman, built a playhouse. In Indian drama, however, the stage properties were few and simple. We did not have much elaborate scenery but the effects were produced by gestures. Watering a plant was done by a gesture imitation of the process, which satisfied the audience. Plants were not brought on the stage and watered. Normally we have actors (nāṭa) and actresses (nāṭī). Sometimes a hero’s part is performed by a girl.

A dramatic performance became an art when recitation, gestures, movements, dance are used to rouse sentiments in the minds of the audience. Nāṭyarpana says: nāṭakam iti nāṭyati vicitram rañjanāt praveśena sabhyānāṁ hṛdayāṁ nartayati iti nāṭakam.

Through poetry and drama, man reveals himself to himself. He mirrors his soul; he expresses the desires, the urges, the hopes, the dreams, the successes and failures in his struggle to make himself at home in the world. All literature is the expression of intensity of feeling, vākyam rasātmakam kāvyam. Jagannātha Paṇḍit says: ramaṇīyārtha-pratipādakam vākyam kāvyam. Again, kavi-kṛtam kāvyam. Kāvya is of two kinds, śrāvyya and dṛṣṭya. The latter is nāṭaka or drama. The dramatist or the playwright delights us by the perfection of his art, its variety, its music and its mood. He can do so if he is a man of svādhyāya and tapas, of learning and intensity of spirit. If drama is to be one of the most powerful manifestations of the human mind, there must be maturity of mind and greatness of soul. Without these we cannot win and hold the affection of people across distances of time and space. If any literary work is to have enduring quality, abiding power, the author should have magnificence of mind and intensity of vision. If we work too much on the surface, the deeper and more obscure feelings of life find no adequate expression. Rootlessness in our lives reflects itself in the lack of richness in our lives and

\(^1\) Cf. sarva-śāstrārtha sampannam sarva-śilpa pradarśanam nāṭyākhyam pañcamām vedāṁ setihāsam karomy aham.
the superficial character in our writings. Our plays may be striking and admirable in many ways but they will not touch the depths in us. They may excite a tumult in our minds but not touch the deeps. A great drama overwhelms, devastates, annihilates us and yet exalts us and makes us new.

The whole plenitude of the dramatist’s inner vision is applied to the full extent of the world, to all its depths and heights. Any subject, any topic may be chosen for dramatic representation—virtue and vice, joy and sorrow, pride and prejudice. The world is complex and complicated.

kvacid viṇā-vādyam kvacid api ca hāheti ruditam
kvacin nāri ramyā kvacid api jārā-jārjara-vapuh
kvacid vidvad-goṣṭhi kvacid api surāmattakalaho
na jāne saṁsāraḥ kim amṛtamayaḥ kim viśamayaḥ.

‘Here the sound of viṇā, there the voice of wailing; here pretty women, there tottering withered dames; here the meeting of learned men; there the brawls of the drunken. I do not know whether this world is heaven or hell.’ The poet holds the mirror up to nature in all its variety.

Though we have the conflict between good and evil, the Indian view does not adopt a Manichean dualism, which believes in the ultimacy of the opposites of good and evil. Good is bound to triumph, for there is a moral government of the universe. Truth will triumph, so beauty and goodness.

Suffering is not the final end of life. That is perhaps why we do not have tragedies. There are tragic situations where man is at grips with fate, where there is an inter-play of character and circumstance, but there are no tragic endings. For the writer has faith in the ultimate decency of things.

While the dramatist shows us the heights and depths to which man can rise or fall, he induces in us sympathy for the good and hatred of the evil. He affects our feelings directly and conveys ideas indirectly. The writer does not air his views but imperceptibly changes the life. As Mammaṭa says in his Kāvyaprakāśa: kāntā sammitatayopadesayuje. He comments: kānteva sarasatāpāda-nenābhimukhi-krtya rāmādivad vartitavyam na rāvanādivad ity upadesam ca yathāyogam kaveḥ sāhādayasya eva karotīti sarvathā tatra yataniyam.

An actor must be able to inspire in his audience the feelings of the characters he represents. There are some who hold that the
actor should lose himself in his part; others think that he must be detached from it. By over-acting we sometimes tear passions to tatters. The actor must not be overwhelmed by emotions but interpret them and present them in intellectual terms. It is said that King Kulaśekhara of Tamilnad (twelfth century) when he heard the verse that Rāma was alone to meet the fourteen thousand demons, he became so excited that he immediately armed himself from head to foot and was about to march with all his army to meet Rāvanā as an ally of Rāma.

\[\text{śuśrāva tam imam ślokam bhaktimān kulaśekharaḥ}\]
\[\text{caturdaśa-sahasrāni rakṣasām bhīma-karmanāṁ}\]
\[\text{ekūṣ ca rāmo dharmātmā katham yuddham bhaviṣyati}\]
\[\text{asahiṣṇus tato' dharma-yuddham śīghram skhaladgatiḥ}\]
\[\text{dhanurvāṇam samādāya khadgam carma ca viryavān}\]
\[\text{catur-angā-balobeto jana-sthānam kṛtyatvarah}\]
\[\text{tat kṣaṇe tasya pratasthe sahāyārtham hari-priyah.}\]

Indian drama has a great future. After independence there is a great quickening of the human mind, a renaissance of artistic activity. We hope that lasting works may be produced in this age. Both writers and actors are found in plenty. Indians have a natural gift for acting. I see in out-of-the-way small schools and colleges young boys and girls acting with such superb skill and grace that it fills me with hope for the future of drama in our country. In all our big centres new theatres are springing up. Your Chairman is a playwright of distinction in Telugu. Your Vice-Chairman Shrimati Kamalādevī Cattopādhyāya is the president of the Theatre Centre of India. In a theatre club, actors and writers and all those interested in drama may bring about greater understanding among theatre lovers. We may watch the theatre movements in other countries and profit from them. We must encourage artists to try new experiments and not always follow the beaten track.

Though artists are born, not made, training will help actors of both kinds. Every school and college should have a dramatic society. We must develop our drama in consistency with our temperaments and traditions. Drama is education, entertainment and recreation.

1 Cf. Mandāra-maranda:
\[\text{utpādayan sahrdaye rasajñānam nirantarām}\]
\[\text{anukartṛ sthitṛ yo'ṛtho'bhinayaḥ so'bhidhiyate.}\]

2 Anantācārya; Prapannāmṛta; Chapter 86
It is said that drama creates the conscience of the age. We cannot make people good by acts of parliament. Nor is it possible by constitutional provisions to remove deep-seated social prejudices. We influence social behaviour by creating public opinion. I have known many playwrights and actors who have sweltered at the task of raising the standards of behaviour in our country. I need not mention names. We will have social comedies and satires, serious dramas, shadow plays.

I hope your deliberations will rouse public interest in the theatre movement and the art of the drama and result in the improvement of our standards.

**IQBAL DAY MUSH AIRA**

I do not think I am the right man to inaugurate this Mushaira. I do not know Persian or Urdu nor am I a poet by any stretch of imagination. If I still am here, it is because I have read some of Iqbal's works in English and have a great admiration for his work.

In the year 1937 at the Golden Jubilee of the Allahabad University he and I were recipients of honorary degrees, and there was another thing in common between us, that we felt the need of a rational and spiritual religion when superstition and obscurantism were rampant.

Today we have almost unlimited power of self-annihilation in our hands, and if wisdom and humanity do not help us to divert this power to human advantage, the future of human race will be in peril. If technical power is accompanied by moral failure, we will enter another dark age. Our world is filled with fear and suspicion; it has developed so much animosity that though there is no war, there is no peace. For the new world which is emerging we need a new type of man, with a liberal mind and a humane outlook. To build tolerance and charity in the minds of men is the task not of engineers and technicians but of poets and artists.

Iqbal rightly stressed the discipline of religion as our great need. 'It is pure dogmatism', says Iqbal, 'on the part of science to claim that the aspects of reality selected by it are the only aspects to be studied.' There is another dimension to man's existence.

Inaugural Address, 27 April, 1956
God, for Iqbal, is a Supreme Person who is not a mere idea or abstraction, who is not an absolute principle or a rational ordainer of the universe. He is a Real Presence with whom we can get into communion. He whose life is centred in God creates new and unforeseeable realities. The aim of religion is to make the human being a free spirit. Iqbal quotes the verse of the Qurān: ‘Verily we proposed to the heavens and to the earth and to the mountains to receive the trust but they refused the burden and they feared to receive it. Man undertook to bear it.’ Iqbal comments on it: ‘Man is the trustee of a free personality which he accepted at his peril.’ The free individuals are those whose consciousness reaches the highest point of intensity. Such a free spirit is a co-creator with God. Iqbal quotes the Qurānic verse: ‘Blessed be God, the best of creators.’ Not man as he is now, but man purified through obedience, self-control and detachment can reach the high status of the viceregent of God. Iqbal wrote to Nicholson. ‘Physically as well as spiritually man is a self-contained centre, but he is not yet a complete individual. The greater his distance from God, the less his individuality. He who comes nearest to God is the complete person. The ego attains to freedom by the removal of all obstructions in its way. It is partly free, partly determinate, and reaches full freedom by approaching the individual who is most free—God.’ Like all great religions, Islam insists on self-effacement for divine union. We must detach ourselves from the worldly life to devote ourselves to the service of God. All people are prophets, are capable of this spiritual attainment.

The function of poetry is the communication of vision. Great poetry is the result of great vision. It gives to men a new outlook. It has the power to heal a nation’s wounds.

Iqbal’s poems set before us a classless social order without distinction of rich and poor, high and low. The true human being should identify himself with the poor and the lowly. We should not oppress the innocent. This is the meaning of democracy. The same spirit of democracy requires us to look upon all whether they are Muslims or Hindus, Christians or Jews, as children of one Father.

In these dark and threatening times we have to re-discover the vital truths, those great patterns of thought and behaviour,

1 XXXIII,72
2 Introduction to The Secrets of the Self, p. xv.
those great moral and spiritual values, the oneness of God and the brotherhood of man which are associated with Islam. Unfortunately, in the course of centuries these central truths are obscured, and rites and rituals, creeds and dogmas have covered up the simplicity of the message of Islam. It is the duty of thinkers in each generation to recapture the original purity and dynamic vigour of the ancient message and re-express it in the idiom of their age. This task of re-interpretation Iqbal undertook in his book on *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*. He defended religion against the attacks of Marxist materialism and Existentialism. ‘Marxism’, said Iqbal, ‘had a believing heart and an atheist brain’. He loved greatly the spirit of this country and said on an important occasion: ‘I am sprung from the same stock. India is older than Hinduism and Islam and will remain when we and our creeds have become one with yesterday’s seven thousand years.’ He loved India, he loved Islam and more than all he loved humanity. He looked forward to a period when we might be able to co-operate freely for the welfare of the whole world, in a spirit of universal goodwill.

Iqbal was greatly inspired by Rūmi’s teachings and echoed his sentiments. Rūmi said: ‘There are many lamps but the light is one.’ Iqbal said: ‘There is only one religion but there are many versions of it.’ It is a commentary of the Rg Veda statement *ekam sat vipraḥ bahudhā vadanti* and the Qurān says there is not a nation to whom a warner has not been sent by God.

I hope that this Mushaira will be both instructive and entertaining.

**SANGEET NATAK AKADEMI AWARDS**

I am sorry that our President is not with us today on account of slight throat trouble. We all hope that he will be all right in a day or two.

One of the remarkable features of the post-independence India is the revival of artistic activities. This Akademi was the first to be set up, in January 1953, and the other two were established in 1954. This year we are having awards not only for music, but also for dancing and acting. Music, dance and acting generally go
together. These are the arts by which man’s nature is vitally affected.

Civilization is not a matter of mere material possessions or speedy communications. Railway tracks, electric lights and health clinics are not by themselves civilization. It is a state of mind, a tradition of culture, a sense of values. What distinguishes a cultivated man from a barbarian is not his health or wealth but his pursuit of wisdom, his passion for beauty and his practice of love. The truth is that many of us have become cynical and sceptical and suffer from irrational desires and intense longings. Our lives are either empty or trivial. If our lives are to be redeemed from boredom, we must cultivate the great arts. It is said that man does not live by bread alone. Poetry, passion, mystery, ecstasy also count.

In the development of the inward side of civilization, namely, culture, art has a great function. Its purpose is not merely to entertain. It is to vitalize and affect us for the better. *Abhinaya-darpana* (The Mirror of Gesture) has a well-known verse:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{āṣyenālambayed gītām} \\
\text{hastenārtham pradarṣayet} \\
\text{cakṣubhyām darṣayed bhāvam} \\
\text{pādābhyaṁ tālam ādiśet.}
\end{align*}
\]

Let the song proceed from the mouth,
Let the meaning be made clear with the hands,
Let the eyes show forth the feeling or bhāva
And let the feet move to the rhythm.

What rhythm is in time, that is symmetry in space.

Creation of conscience in the community is beyond the province of political action. It has ceased to be the serious concern of organized religions. For better or for worse it must rely on literature and arts. Through them we learn to love the lovable and abhor the detestable. When we hear a musical composition, see a great dance or follow a moving drama, we are quickened, chastened and exalted in spirit.

All great art is the overflow of contemplative chastity, emotional intensity, heightened vision. These perceptions are woven into ideas and words or shapes and colours. Our ancient artists prepared themselves for their work by fasting, by prayer, by sacraments and aimed at spiritual and artistic perfection. Though our methods may be different, our aims are the same.

Art does not thrive in an atmosphere of neglect, depreciation, or contempt. It has never suffered from over-praise. We should
do everything in our power to encourage art which will help to bring about a calmer and kindlier age.

We are today honouring some of the outstanding creative artists in the fields of music, dance and drama. My warmest congratulations to them all.

TO THE FREE UNIVERSITY OF BRUSSELS

It is a great honour that you have conferred on me and through me on my country by admitting me to your academic community. I appreciate it very much.

Though in size and population you are relatively a small country, your contributions to literature and the arts have been considerable. Your leading writers are well known in my country, especially Maeterlinck and the poet Verhaeren. Your influence on painting, through classicist, romanticist and impressionist schools is not limited to Europe. It is not merely in fine arts and literature that you have impressed the world. Though your natural resources are limited, by your strenuous work and spirit of enterprise, you have attained high rank in world trade. Belgium is a highly industrialized country, specializing in steel, glass, textiles, etc. What strikes us most is the way in which you have developed your economy through democratic processes. We, in our country, are attempting to achieve a Welfare State through democratic methods. Your tradition of democracy has been deep-rooted and strong. Its roots go back to the Middle Ages with its communes or free towns of Bruges, Ghent, Liege, etc. In the fourteenth century, you have had something like the Magna Charta guaranteeing liberty and equality before law. You have passed through many changes in the past and your democracy has survived the upheavals and onslaughts of the two wars.

In the confusion of voices which press upon us, you have kept democracy strong. Its strength is not merely political and economic but intellectual and moral. For its proper functioning democracy requires more qualities than other forms of government. It is in the universities that we can develop the true spirit of democracy,

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appreciation of other points of view, and adjustment of differences through discussions. It can be kept healthy and strong by the exercise of individual responsibility and judgement. In universities we have to recall the struggles of the past and realize the perils and possibilities, the challenges and opportunities of the present.

Science and technology have made it possible for us to attain universal well-being. Though prophets of religion have long dreamed of the brotherhood of man, on earth one family, the forces necessary to implement these ideals are now available. If this possibility is to become a fact, we need humanity and wisdom. The future of mankind depends on the future of man, on his spirit, on his approach to the problems which face him. If he relies on force and adopts a military approach, the future is bleak indeed; if, on the other hand, he believes in the spirit, he will prosper.

Professor Adrian, President of the Royal Society, in his Inaugural Address on Science and Human Nature at the 116th annual meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, said that the control achieved over the forces of nature is now so complete 'that we might soon become able to destroy two-thirds of the world by pressing a button.' This control compels an improvement of our own natures by more education in the arts of civilized life. He added: 'We may perhaps improve ourselves more rapidly if we can gain more insight into human behaviour.' We have to remember that while natural sciences give control over the forces of nature, social sciences do not give us control over human nature. Social sciences give us facts and figures. Social investigations are indeed valuable. But they do not give us norms, goals. He admits: 'We are afraid, and rightly. We cannot trust ourselves to act peaceably, because we know that unless we are ready to give up some of our old loyalties, we may be forced into a fight which might end the human race. Our predicament is the inevitable result of our curiosity and of the physical nature of the world we live in, but if we can make our behaviour worthy of our increased knowledge, we can live safely.' Social sciences speak to us of men's behaviour in society, but this knowledge can be used for good or evil. We require philosophy and religion, literature and art to give us direction and guidance. Unfortunately there is a strong impression that science is unfavourable to the disciplines which foster humanity and wisdom.
As a Catholic country, you hold that the world’s greatest needs of justice, charity and mercy are distilled from religion. Man is not a biological animal or an economic being. He is a spiritual person. He is not satisfied with temporal possessions. The great teachers of mankind, Hindu and Buddhist, Jewish and Christian, Muslim and Sikh speak to us of peace on earth. It is the embodiment of man’s spiritual search. The great upheavals are blundering attempts to achieve the unity of mankind, the vision of Isaiah of a time when the nations would beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks, neither would they learn war any more. This is the vision which answers to the instinctive desire of man at his highest, at the most thoughtful and the most co-operative.

Universities have a supreme function in the advancement of international understanding and international peace. It is in them that we have to develop a new way of thinking and feeling. As far back as 1888, Louis Pasteur of France said: ‘Two opposing laws seem to me now in contest. The one, a law of blood and death, opening out each day new modes of destruction, forces nations to be always ready for battle. The other, a law of peace, work and health, whose only aim is to deliver man from the calamities that beset him.... Which of these two laws will prevail, God alone knows. But of this we may be sure, that science is obeying the law of humanity, will always labour to enlarge the frontiers of life.’ If we cannot change our minds, we cannot change anything. The events will not be shaped by the acts of statesmen. They will be moulded by the hidden currents flowing continually beneath the surface of political history of which we cannot predict the outcome. We can influence the hidden currents only by changing opinion. We can change opinion by affirming truth, unveiling illusion, dissipating hate and enlarging men’s minds and hearts.

Science does not commit us to a determinist view of history. There is only one safe rule for the historian, said H.A.L. Fisher, that we must recognize in the development of human destinies, the play of the contingent and the unforeseen. Events are not inevitable. There are no rigid pre determined patterns. We cannot ignore the influence of ideas and beliefs on human minds and actions. Ideas have a life of their own, get developed or distorted when they enter the whirlpool of accidents and personalities. If we liquidate the individual who preaches unorthodox ideas, if we
suppress the faculty of thought, if we stifle the spirit of man, if we destroy his freedom, then we are not democratic. What man has done, he can undo. The future of mankind can be safe only through the efforts of individual men. University men should extend their views in space and time. Even those who do not belong to our race or religion are also human beings. They are like ourselves, not much different from us. We have to train our youth in the consciousness of a common purpose for mankind, in the brotherhood of man. The greatest men of the world are great because of their humanity, fellow-feeling, for their love of the ideals of knowledge, love and beauty. They are the sculptors of men. In universities we glorify men who have benefited humanity and not indulged in violence and bloodshed, men like the Buddha, Socrates and Jesus, who asked us to love our enemies.

Science and scholarship belong to the world. They belong to no age or community. They overlap the boundaries of nations. All those who are consecrated to the service of learning are brethren. They belong to the one republic of letters. We need each other's help in our unending quest for further knowledge and deeper understanding of the evolution of mankind. It is my hope and wish that this great University will continue to uphold its liberal tradition and work for the progress of your country and the good of the world.

TO THE CHARLES UNIVERSITY OF PRAGUE

It is a great honour which this ancient University has conferred on me and through me on my country by making me an honorary graduate of this University. I recognize that this University is one of the oldest in Europe and has been known for long as a great seat of learning along with Oxford and Cambridge, Paris and Bologna.

In our country we have had great institutions answering to our modern universities for a long time past. As far back as 700 B.C. Takṣaśilā attracted students from outside India and had remarkable

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programmes of teaching, study and research in many subjects, such as literature and arts, military science and medicine. In later years we had the Universities of Nalanda, Vallabhi and Vikramaśīla. Men of great eminence worked in them. The Nalanda University counted on its staff such great thinkers as Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, Vasubandhu, Asaṅga, Sthiramati, Dharmapāla, Śīlabhadra, Śāntideva, Padmasambhava. The ancient universities were the sanctuaries of the inner life of the nation. A blight overtook the country for some centuries, and the oldest of modern universities are only a hundred years old. We have about 400,000 students in these universities, and this number is small. Considering the size of the country and the programmes of reconstruction it wishes to implement, we are sending our students abroad for training in subjects for which adequate facilities are not available in our country. Even when our universities become developed, contacts with other countries and their universities will not stop; for it is the function of universities to foster a sense of world community. I have no doubt that our students will come to you for training in technical subjects in large numbers in the years to come.

Your University has had a long and great tradition of intellectual integrity and social justice which you still cherish. The great religious reformer John Hus (1369-1415) is one of the greatest figures of Czech history. While a student in the University of Prague he became familiar with the writings of John Wyclif. He became the Rector of this University in 1402. When he protested against clerical abuses, his action was disapproved by the then governmental authorities. Yet the University re-elected him Rector in 1409, thereby proclaiming that her allegiance to the intellectual conscience was greater than loyalty to the Government. In the days of Hus the Church was the greatest feudal power. It not only owned large estates but controlled the thoughts and feelings of the people. The Church became the defender of the feudal social order. Any one who rose against the feudal order was outlawed by the Church as a heretic. Heresy was not merely opposition to the Catholic faith but opposition to the social order with which the Church was identified.

The intellectual tradition of Europe was inaugurated by Socrates—the seeker of truth. When the choice was put before him, to stop teaching and corrupting the youth of his country, as the
authorities thought, or death, he preferred death to disloyalty to his ideals. This tradition was carried out by John Hus. When he was condemned for his views and his trial began on June 5, 1415, he defended himself against charges of Eucharistic heresy and of maintaining Wyclif’s doctrines. Called upon to recant unconditionally, to make full submission to the Council and pledge himself not to preach or teach doctrines of which he was found guilty, Hus politely but firmly refused. When he was bound to the stake and wood was piled round him up to his neck, the messengers of the Council arrived and asked him to recant and save his life. Hus replied: ‘The prime endeavour of all my preaching, teaching and writing and of all my deeds has been to turn people from their sins and these truths that I wrote, taught and preached in accordance with the word of God and the teachings of the holy doctors I willingly seal with my blood today.' He was prepared to suffer death for the sake of his ideals. The stake was lit and the great thinker ended his life in the flames on July 6, 1415. The life of Hus symbolizes material defeat and moral victory. The Cross which is the central doctrine of Christianity is illustrated by the life and death of Hus.

In Hus we find a great example not only of Czech patriotism but also of fraternal solidarity with the peoples of other countries. He said: ‘I say this to my conscience that if I knew a foreigner who was virtuous and loved God more and strove for the good more than my brother, he should be dearer to me than my own brother. Good English priests therefore stand higher than unworthy Czech priests; a good German than an evil brother.’ Hus was a universal humanist.

This University from its foundation in 1348 by the Charter issued by King Charles IV, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, with the four faculties for Divinity, Law, Medicine and Arts, has passed through many changes in management, administration and programmes of study. It celebrated on April 7, 1948, the 600th anniversary of its foundation. Throughout its history, universalist ideas have been its inspiration.

When we call any one great, we do not mean great in physical courage or intellectual ability or artistic skill. These qualities have changed from time to time. One is great because of his humanity and wisdom. It is an honour to be a man. The sanctity of the human soul, the dignity of the human personality is the ethical
basis of democracy. Karl Marx denounced capitalist economy on the ground that it dehumanized man. By herding man, by softening his head, by rousing his senses, by depleting his imagination, it mechanizes the human being. By debasing men’s minds, by debilitating their wills, by destroying their vision, men are reduced to puppets, things of paint and sawdust, which have no life, but are moved by strings. Man is great when he is not a cog in the social machine, not an item in the series of objective happenings, not a unit in an anonymous crowd. He is great when he is able to think for himself, judge for himself and create for himself. Pursuit of truth is the highest austerity, jñāna-mayaṃ tapah.¹ Masterpieces spring from the fire of contemplation, of intimate and austere thinking. Those who are given to it are the dedicated spirits who are full of love for humanity. They may not all have been right but they were true.

In the physical sense of the term, we belong to our age but as university men we escape from the trammels of our age and nation and become, in the true sense of the word, contemporaries of all ages. Reverence for the great minds of the past and the expansion of the future bounds of knowledge are the prerogatives of a university. I note with thankfulness that many outstanding contributions have been made to Indian studies by the scholars of this University and I hope they will increase in future. We remember with gratitude the names of Winternitz and Lesny.

Every enlargement of man’s control over nature makes for either good or bad consequences. The fruits of recent technical advance are the economy of abundance and atomic wars. Mankind today is faced with the great possibility of increasing the material prosperity of the whole world in the next generation to an extent that was not conceivable hitherto. This is due to a single invention and the discoveries associated with it. If we are wise, we can banish from the world poverty and malnutrition; if we are not wise, utter misery, even ultimate annihilation may befall us. To sustain us in this nuclear age, we need the development of qualities of tolerance, endurance, patience, kindness and courage.

This University is a beloved community of memory and of hope, of the past and the future, the interlocked life of many successive generations making its pilgrimage through time. The fellowship in a university transcends the barriers of race and nation,
of clan and creed, and honours the achievements in art and literature, science and scholarship of a variety of peoples. It exemplifies in a small way the fraternity we wish to build up among human beings. Let us recall the Song of the Victory of Donazlice (1431):

Many swords turn into ploughs
And spears into sickles, as God promised;
And weapons shall be melted
Into bells that shall greet us.
The nation shall no longer raise its swords,
Nor fall upon the neighbours in war.
All shall rejoice in the beauty of peace
And in living together.¹

I express to you my gratitude for the honour you have done me and wish the University a future even greater than its past, which is assured through the pursuit of the ideals of intellectual integrity and social justice.

¹ Quoted in Josef Macek: The Hussite Movement in Bohemia (1953), p. 46
Acceptance Address, 18 June, 1956
of first principles. The educated youth will voice their thoughts and find fault with things as they are. We train in this University not only doctors and engineers but also men and women who think for themselves. They will not judge everything by the party line. If we destroy the initiative, the freedom of the people, we do so at our peril. If men lose intellectual vigour, the future of civilization is bleak indeed.

Human development is not to be confused with the acquisition of mechanical skills or intellectual information. It is the development of the spirit in man. Modern man is lost in the mass. He accepts what society and its organs of expression, the film, the radio, the television, the newspaper put into circulation. We have too much of automatic thinking. Intellectual integrity is imperilled and truth suffers. Independent reflection is developed by the quiet study of great books. We develop our souls by the study of great classics which reveal to us great minds. Though we belong physically to our country and our age, as students of universities we belong to all countries and all ages. In our time in the university we read your great writers, Pushkin, Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, Turgenev, Chekov, Gorki. Through their works we came to appreciate your people and your genius. They have revealed to us your tortured conscience, your spiritual hunger. Man is not satisfied with boredom and emptiness, with that *taedium vitae* that afflicts the hopeless. We know how your saints and seers dared to assume responsibility for their insights into truth, goodness and beauty, who made their decisions even at the peril of their lives. Your people are deeply mystical, and I hope your studies and training will help to develop your innate love of truth, beauty and goodness and not destroy the hunger for the unseen. Let us remember that what makes a nation great is not size or wealth. If we use our material resources for the liberation of the spirit, for the enlargement of the soul we deserve to be considered great.

There are many atheists who say that they do not believe in God and act as if they did and there are many religious people who say that they believe in God and act as if they did not. Those who developed atomic power risked their lives and tried to help to build a truly human society. We need today a breath of human charity, of brotherhood, a return to dignity.

If there is hostility to organized religion in the Soviet Union, it is not entirely the fault of the Union. Those who sponsor
religious propaganda in their zeal for the spiritual welfare of their fellowmen indulge in a vulgar competition about the know-how of salvation. Agencies for proselytization which scramble for souls are not in keeping with the true spirit of religion. The people of the Soviet Union are aware of religious fanaticism which ravaged Europe in the wars of religion. There are still people who, with a crusading zeal, affirm that they have the monopoly of a final, unique, exclusive and incomparable revelation. These people are indirectly responsible for the eclipse of religion, for the blight of unbelief in large parts of the world. Their failure stems from lack of humility and religious aggression. For men steeped in the spirit of science and criticism a return to religious orthodoxy is a sign of spiritual cowardice. Many of the modern minds are unable to accept the dogmatic creeds of old. I may give one or two illustrations. The late Professor A. N. Whitehead felt that the trouble started with the interpreters of Christianity, who shut out all discussions and declared that they knew all there was to be known on the subject. Thought was shackled by superstition. He said: 'The trouble with the Bible has been its interpreters who have scaled and whittled down that sense of infinitude into finite and limited concepts and the first interpreter of the New Testament was the worst, Paul.'\(^1\) He considered 'Christian theology to be one of the great disasters of the human race.'\(^2\) He is at one with the Indian thinkers in regard to the nature of religious experience and theology. 'Mysticism leads us to try to create out of the mystical experience something that will save it, or at least save the memory of it. Words do not convey it except feebly; we are aware of having been in communication with infinitude and we know that no finite form we can give can convey it.'\(^3\) We believe in religion as communion with God and do not dismiss differences among religions as unimportant or irrelevant. We do not propose an undifferentiated universalism or indifference. We believe in a partnership among religions. Professor Arnold Toynbee writes: 'I was brought up to believe that Christianity was a unique revelation of the whole truth. I have now come to believe that all the historic religions and philosophies are partial revelations

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\(^1\) *Dialogues of Alfred North Whitehead as recorded by Lucien Price* (1954), p. 131

\(^2\) Ibid, p. 171

\(^3\) Ibid, p. 171
of the truth in one or other of its aspects. In particular, I believe that Buddhism and Hinduism have a lesson to teach Christianity, Islam and Judaism in the "one world" into which we are now being carried by "the annihilation of distance". Unlike the Judaic religions, the Indian religions are not exclusive. They allow for the possibility that there may be alternative approaches to the mystery of Existence; and this seems to me more likely to be the truth than the rival claims of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam to be unique and final revelations. This Indian standpoint is the one from which the last four volumes of my book have been written. For each of us, the easiest approach to the mystery of the Universe is, no doubt, his ancestral religion; but this does not mean that he ought to rule out the other approaches that the other religions offer. If one can enter into these as well as into one's own, it is gain, not loss.¹

While we should avoid the disease of orthodoxy we should affirm the need for a sensible religion. Modern man has become a self-sufficient entity who has lost the awareness of a power which is beyond his understanding and control. This results in man's mutilation. To restore him to the fulness of his stature we need a rational faith. Such a rational faith is not inconsistent with the spirit of science. Einstein writes in The World as I See It: 'His religious feeling takes the form of a rapturous amazement at the harmony of natural law, which reveals an intelligence of such superiority that, compared with it, all the systematic thinking and acting of human beings is an utterly insignificant reflection. This feeling is the guiding principle of his life and work, in so far as he succeeds in keeping himself from the shackles of selfish desire. It is beyond question closely akin to that which has possessed the religious geniuses of all ages.' I hope that you will see the wisdom of adopting a religion which is rational and ethical.

The students of a university should be trained to struggle against ignorance, injustice, oppression and fear. The great revolutions, the British, the French, the American, and the Russian mark important stages in the progress of freedom. Their echoes were heard in all parts of the world, and stirred men's minds. They are all based on a conviction of the sanctity of the individual, the freedom to think, express and worship according to his

¹ International Affairs (1955), pp. 1-4, 'A Study of History: What I am trying to do.'
conviction. He must enjoy equality before law. He must have a fair opportunity to develop his powers. There are large parts of the world, especially in Asia and Africa, where these universal principles do not find recognition. The very nations whose revolutionary principles have inspired humanity seem to be blocking the way of their realization. They seem to forget that time does not stand still and change is the character of human life, national and international.

My appointment as a Professor of this University is a symbol of the oneness of the world of learning. We in the universities have to prepare the mind of the world for the establishment of a world community with a common consciousness and a common conscience. This is possible only if the nations which have the power to annihilate each other renounce that power. This requires an act of faith.

It is the function of a teacher not to give the pupils what they want but make them want what he gives them. I will use my privilege as a Professor to rebuke you, if I find that you go wrong! I hope that you do not claim infallibility.

GANDHI MEMORIAL ACADEMY, NAIROBI

You have conferred on me a great privilege in asking me to participate in the auspicious functions of today, of opening the Gandhi Memorial Academy and unveiling the statue of Gandhiji. Great men do not belong to one nation. They belong to all humanity. National heroes and warriors may represent fleeting moments of history, may organize provincial passions and group loyalties, make a splash and disappear. The saints and sages have power over our souls, to whatever country we may belong. They confer on us our titles to nobility. Gandhi united the destiny of India to that of the world. In our age he lived to demonstrate that the human spirit when lit by a divine fire is mightier than the most mighty weapon.

It is only natural and appropriate that the people of Africa should celebrate the name of Gandhi and raise this memorial to him. A part of this country was the scene of his early public life.

Inaugural Address, 12 July, 1956
It is here that he first practised the method of civil disobedience. You should not acquiesce in evil. You should resist it but not through violent means. Evil is misunderstanding or estrangement, at worst it is a derangement or disease. We should deal with it in charity and not in anger, *akrodhena jayet krodham*, by non-anger overcome anger. You must deal with your enemy so that one day he may be your friend. In 1928 he gave his followers the following instructions: If you are arrested, go to prison quietly. If assaulted, bear it cheerfully. If shot, die peacefully.

For Gandhi politics was not opportunism or expediency. He wished to raise men to higher levels of moral action. Gandhi recognized evil but he recognized no enemy, for all men are brethren. He was certain that truth and love would not be beaten. The gates of hell shall not prevail. His method of dealing with conflicts has a special force today. In this nuclear age, conflicts between nations require to be settled by peaceful methods. We have reached a dead-end on the military road. We cannot hang on to old methods of security in the new world.

Gandhi practised his method in South Africa to resist racial oppression and achieve racial harmony. The methods of segregation and discrimination adopted by the authorities in some parts of Africa are born out of fear, fear which is afraid of justice. We try to defend injustice in the name of social justice. If fear is to be removed, the injustice requires to be removed.

If racial tolerance is to be implemented in the public life of the country, the work of re-education has to be started in our educational institutions. By living together, by working together we get to understand one another and bridge the gulf that separates us in feeling and imagination. When we do not know other people, we become frightened, angry, hysterical. When we know them, we understand them, appreciate them, make allowances for their weaknesses and accept them. The Royal Technical College which is a co-operative undertaking has, for its objective, the achievement of harmony among races; the ideal for which Gandhi lived and died is the reconciliation of peoples and the building of a fraternal world.

To develop the universality of outlook, to adopt racial tolerance, what we need is education in the disciplines which are included in humanities. I am glad that the Gandhi Memorial Academy, devoted to these studies, is a part of the Royal Technical
College. I feel that it should be treated as an essential part of it. The people of this country have to be trained for effecting industrial development and social progress. The country requires engineers and technicians, medical men and teachers. More than all these, the country requires men who are able to think for themselves and live as human beings. If we look at the world today, we are amazed at the progress made in the mastery of nature but are depressed by the little advance that we have made in the mastery of human nature. We can bottle music, belt the globe, split the atom, but how to live on earth as human beings, we have yet to learn. By pressing a button we can destroy a continent. But fear of consequences has not yet deterred man from courting disaster. The two World Wars have demonstrated how man can descend to incredible depths of depravity even when he has achieved astounding heights of intellectual penetration. The crisis which faces us today is not an intellectual crisis but a spiritual one. Unless egoism in all its forms, tribal, racial, national, bends to the dominion of love and goodness, our future is not safe.

Unfortunately, in our educational institutions we feed the animal, train the mind but do not attend to the spirit in man.

We listen to the radio, see the cinema or television, read the newspapers, repeat slogans, absorb the impressions we are given. We become a set of mirrors reflecting whatever is presented to us. We are empty within and drift on a tide of trivialities, automatic actions, conditioned responses that do not reach any significant level of intensity. We do not find any purpose or meaning in life. We become like one of these machines we handle, and are satisfied with sex, drink, or the national flag. As our inward resources are depleted, we depend on external diversions. We are fragmented beings, afraid of ourselves. Humanities must help us to realize the spirit in us. Study of great classics reveals to us the vision of greatness.

John Drinkwater in his *Abraham Lincoln* writes:

> When the high heart we magnify,
> And the sure vision celebrate,
> And worship greatness passing by,
> Ourselves are great.

If we are to be freed from the debilitating effects and nervous strain of modern life, if we are to be saved from the assaults which beat so insistently on us from the screen and the radio, from the
‘yellow’ press and demagogy, if defences against them are to be built in the minds of men, if enduring interests of humanity are to be implanted in us, we must make it a point to have a short time in our daily life for quiet reading and reflection. This is as essential for the health of the mind, as physical exercise is for the health of the body. It is the only way to escape from the mechanizing of mind and be human, alive and creative. In the quiet of the soul, free from the noises and clamours of the world, man possesses his spirit in stillness. He may be solitary but he is not desolate, for he has communion with the quenchless inner flame. It is in those moments of vision and achievement that man effects self-renewal, the transmutation of the human into the spiritual. The authentic religious souls began the revolution within themselves, in the depths of their hearts, and were inspired by brotherly love in all their actions. To that company of immortals Gandhi belongs.

It is wrong to imagine that science and technology are indifferent to the values of spirit. The great advances of science reveal not the omnipotence of matter, but the superiority of the human mind to the world of matter. Sciences reveal to us the mystery at the heart of the universe. They disclose to us the riches of the spiritual life.

You know better than I do the way in which the idea of the Gandhi Memorial Academy arose and developed till it today forms an integral part of the Royal Technical College. The souvenir volume contains the history of the movement, the names of those who helped by gifts and advice to make this a reality. Our grateful thanks are due to all those, high and low, who helped this movement. Those who pass through these rooms should remember what the present generation has done for them.

The statue, which I will have the pleasure of unveiling, was designed and executed by an Indian sculptor, Shri Karmarkar, and I do hope that it will be a symbol for generations to come of the grandeur of Gandhi’s inspiration and the breadth of his humanity, of his dream of the future, of the day when the peoples of the world, forgetting their quarrels, will live like members of a large family. May this institution remember, even in this age of crisis and transformation which the human race is traversing, the ideal which Gandhi incarnated for us, serenity of spirit, love of men, harmony among races and religions.
May I express to our new graduate how delighted we are to welcome him into our academic fellowship? As the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States of America, he symbolizes the spirit of law and justice which are the ultimate justification of States. Augustine said, without justice States are but brigandage.

Our two countries believe in the rule of law, what we call dharma which is independent of the State, which provides the foundations and fixes the limits of State authority. Our two Constitutions recognize the need for justice. Government is not for itself; it is a means to a greater end, the liberty of man. Man is a more fundamental reality than institutions which are devised to enable man to develop his mind in security and freedom. These institutions impose restraints on the power of Governments. Power is bridled by law. Politics becomes justice writ large. When justice is upheld, it protects; when violated, it destroys. dharma rakṣati rakṣitah; hato hanti. If we live in fear, it is because we are afraid of justice.

Justice, like truth, is universal. As you have just observed, inventions of science and technology are making the world increasingly one, and the time will soon come when we will speak not of my country or your country, but of our world. World loyalty demands that we should not resort to injustice even to save our country. No country can be a law unto itself. We must impose curbs on national sovereignty. We must develop international institutions to protect human freedom, foster social justice, promote economic progress and preserve political security.

Any kind of exploitation of man by man is alien to the spirit of justice. When a blind desire for power or domination takes possession of men or nations, justice and love disappear but the lust for domination destroys all those who are forgetful of justice. Against the rock of moral law those who defy it are broken. Thucydides observed long ago that love of power is like a wicked courtier that tempts men and nations and brings them down to their ruin.

Chancellor's Address at Special Convocation admitting the Hon. Earl Warren, Chief Justice of the United States of America, to an Honorary Degree of Delhi University, 31 August, 1956
You have referred to the fact that in the Supreme Court hall you have pictures of those from East and West who have helped the growth of law in the world. All those who search for justice in the large sense, who hope to build a free, friendly, decent world, with peace, hope and opportunity for all mankind, belong to one fraternity. We welcome the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States of America as one who strives for this dharma-rājya, the kingdom of justice, of righteousness, of love.

WELCOME TO UNESCO, DELHI

It is my great honour to reinforce the very cordial welcome which our President has extended to you, on this your first visit to this ancient and modern city. This Conference gives me an opportunity of renewing old friendships and making new ones. We are happy to have with us so many distinguished delegates from different parts of the world, who are assembled here to consider ways and means for consolidating peace in men’s minds.

Of all the agencies connected with the U. N., UNESCO is not the least important, for it is interested in changing the axis of our thought and life. If I speak about its work in the last ten years for the building of peace and security, the promotion of world understanding and the raising of standards of education, science and culture in the world, I may be accused of blowing the horn for UNESCO with which I was associated during this period. I will leave it to others.

The present state of the world is to thinking men a source of pride, bewilderment and alarm. It is a matter of pride that our generation has developed the great achievements of science and technology which enable us to dominate the skies, reach out to the stars and expand to the ends of the world. Our civilization is unique in that it offers us the basis of a world-wide social order. This unification of the world is without parallel in the past. To meet the challenge of the new situation, we have to devise new means and not perpetuate inherited patterns of social—and international behaviour. We are bewildered that our efforts to establish a world
order on principles of equity and freedom through international organizations have not been successful. Though we know that the world is one, whether we like it or not, that, in spite of political, national and racial divisions, the fortunes of every one of us are linked to those of others—even though we know it—we do not feel it in our bones. When we find that great nations are not ready to change their ways of dealing with others and persist in ways which are outmoded and dangerous, we are not only bewildered but alarmed. The world has been brought together rather too suddenly and this enforced intimacy has intensified the differences and increased the possibilities of friction. We are baffled by the problems which our age has thrown up, for advanced nations from whom we expect leadership are failing us. They wrecked the League of Nations, and if we are not vigilant and if the pressure of public opinion does not restrain them, they are likely to wreck the United Nations.

It was wrong to think that we are caught up in the march of evolution and we will be lifted to a better world in spite of ourselves. In a previous age we had faith in the inevitability of progress. When this earth was a mere molten mass, no one would have dreamed of the forms of life which have appeared. By and by the earth cooled, the oceans appeared and later plant life. There has been a steady, upward march from the amoeba through an infinite variety of other creatures, reptiles, monkeys and apes to Neanderthal man, to primitive man and thence to civilized man. A short view may show decline here and there but a long view reveals that the trend is upward in spite of periods of regression. So it is assumed that with an inexorable logic we will move forward, blindly perhaps, often haltingly, in spite of ourselves, to higher conditions of civilized life. In the nineteenth century, we had firm faith in the inevitability of progress. Believers in the doctrine of evolution tell us that the laws of natural selection will result in the transformation of the present imperfect society into a more perfect one with a finer humanity. Marxist interpretation of history confirms this view. After the two World Wars we are not so sure of our future. After the First World War we all imagined that we were reasonable beings and all the people had the same interests. We all wanted peace and so we would advance rapidly to a new social integration. The Second World War pricked this bubble of progress.
The fundamental fallacy in this argument is the false analogy between natural history and human history, between the laws which govern sub-human species and those which apply to man in society. We do not doubt that man has advanced on earlier forms of life but we are not sure that there has been a steady advance in happiness and social morality. If we turn to the history of past civilizations, we see ups and downs, an upward surge, a grappling with problems, an exhaustion, a slow steady decline, a stiffening of the fibres, a hardening of the arteries, a dying down of creative forces.

The civilization which we have developed is not exempt from the law of change. Whether it will rise or fall depends not on the stars above but on ourselves. Civilization is a human creation, the triumph of man's mind and will. Take the atomic revolution. It is a vast human effort, a conscious exploitation of new power acquired by scientific skill and ideals. It is of man's making. History is not fate. There are real alternatives. We can make choices, right or wrong. The great technological revolution can lead to abundance for all and peace, if we are wise; to the extinction of all hope and all life, if we are unwise. What prevents the realization of the dream of ages, lokasamgraha, is our outdated methods and loyalties. We know our predicament. When man becomes aware of his destiny, destiny ends and man comes into his own and takes charge of his future.

This Organization, at any rate, knows what is wrong with us. This awareness, if intense, can help us to shape our future according to our heart's desire. There are certain essential steps which all States should take: (1) They must give up their faith in military methods with which they have grown up for centuries. We seem still to adhere to the same doctrine, for the advanced nations feel that they will not be respected unless they are able to make the hydrogen bomb. There is a hideous rivalry among the Powers in this matter and each one is trying to demonstrate to others that she is leading in the race for making these weapons. They forget that the conditions of warfare have so altered that there is not much difference today between defeat and victory. There is no such thing as winning a thermo-nuclear war. It will be tragic folly for any nation to start a nuclear war, for it means mutual annihilation and yet we are continuously making these diabolic weapons and spreading dark clouds of fear over mankind. We deceive ourselves if we imagine that their very destructiveness will impel us to give up their
use. More dreadful than hate is fear. A nation dreading that a hostile State might first employ these weapons might use them in the hope that it would thereby avert its own destruction. Let us clearly understand that in preparing nuclear weapons we are compromising with delusion. If war has a future, human society has none; if human society has a future, war has no future.

(2) Nationalism should be subordinated to world loyalty. Mo Tzu, a Chinese thinker of fifth century B.C., describes the troubled condition of China of his time in words which are not irrelevant to our present predicament. A thief loves his own family and, for the sake of his love, he thinks that he can ruin and cheat other families. A noble loves his clan and feels justified in misusing and exploiting other clans. A feudal baron loves his estate and feels justified in abusing other barons. Today, the Nation state has taken hold of us. Nationalism is a useful force so long as it inspires high ideals of duty, devotion to common welfare and sacrifice for a common good. But if it leads us to wrong paths, if it makes us feel that our country should be supported whether it is right or wrong, it deserves to be condemned. We have reached a stage when nationalism is not enough. Our needs and problems are of the twentieth century. Our loyalty should be to humanity as a whole. We must be able to feel it does not matter if our national interests suffer so long as humanity can be saved thereby. We must not allow our nationalist allegiances to disrupt the spiritual unity of the world.

(3) We must cast off pride and egoism, individual and collective. The root evil in human history is pride, that we are the chosen people called upon by Providence to educate others to our way of life. According to the Greek poets hubris, the insolence of pride, is the root of all tragedy, personal as well as national. It is the nemesis of pride that brought down the Pharaohs of Egypt, the rulers of Greece, the emperors of Persia, the Caliphs of Baghdad, the Popes of Mediaeval Rome. It is not necessary to mention more recent examples. Only the arrogant believe that they have enough wisdom and virtue to rule the rest. The pride which apes humility is most dangerous. Providence has a way of teaching those who persist long and wilfully in ignoring great realities, the dignity of man, the sense of human equality and the right of all people to freedom.

We need today a sense of humility. We should give up the attitude that we are right and our opponents wrong or the attitude
that we know we are not perfect but we are certainly better than our enemies. We seem to have become callous by years of mass slaughter, hardened to horror. The events of last week demonstrate how we have lost all sense of decency in international relations. There is a great deal of barbarism in the most advanced and very much of civilization in the backward peoples. Once upon a time civilizations were destroyed by barbarians from without; in our age they are likely to be destroyed by barbarians from within whom we breed. A moral revolution to match the technological revolution has to be effected. We must develop new human relationships, foster intellectual solidarity and moral unity among nations which is the main aim of UNESCO. Governments should develop a heart and a conscience, a feeling that we are all members of a brotherhood that knows no race or class.

UNESCO has done a great deal towards the development of world-consciousness. To give one example, a UNESCO expert group has declared that it does not regard any race as inferior in capacity, actual or potential, or unsuited on racial grounds for even the most exacting tasks that man can be called upon to undertake. Colonialism bases its right to govern on the assumption that the indigenous peoples cannot be taught the ways of civilization. There is a sense of superiority, conscious or unconscious, among many of the leading nations of the world.

If a sense of world loyalty is to be promoted, we must learn to appreciate other traditions of life. This country has for long been the meeting-point of many cultures, the Aryan and the Dravidian, the Hindu and the Buddhist, the Jewish and the Zoroastrian, the Moslem and the Christian. Now that the world is shrinking, the history of all races and cultures should become our object of study. If we wish to know one another better, we must give up our isolationism and superiority and accept that the standpoints of other cultures are as valid and their influence as powerful as our own. In this crucial moment of the history of mankind, we require reorientation of human nature. We appreciate, in this connection, the valuable work which UNESCO is doing for East-West understanding.

Even today, we have unrest and strife in Eastern Europe, Western Asia, in Africa. When the danger of involving the world in another great war is not altogether past, let us act with humility and dispassion. We must show that even nations are capable of
unselfish conduct as individuals sometimes are. The battle for the future must be won in the minds and hearts of men. Let each one of us develop an understanding mind and a contrite heart. I assure you that then wars between nations will become as obsolete as duels between individuals.

We are delighted to welcome the UNESCO General Conference to this country and to this city and we wish to assure the members that they have our best wishes for a successful conference.

EXHIBITION OF BOOKS, DELHI

It gives me great pleasure to open the two exhibitions, one of books and publications organized by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting and the other of books published in Indian languages organized by the Sāhitya Akademi, and to present the State awards for excellence in printing and designing and prizes to distinguished authors who in the judgement of the Akademi have written the best books in the different languages of India in the years 1953-55. The writing of books, the printing, the designing for display and the publishing of them are important cultural activities. From the exhibitions of books, we will see how we have been steadily raising our standards of book production though we have still a long way to go. Printing also has improved considerably. I may say that from my own experience.

While printing, binding, etc. belong to the technique of book production where also a sense of art is necessary, the writing of books is essentially a creative art. It demands from the writer an austerity of mind, an intensity of experience, a feeling for life and a sense for words. He brings his mind to bear on all matters that vex and torment the human soul. Every great literary work reflects a certain outlook on life, a vision of reality, a coherent moral attitude. It does not leave the reader just as it finds him. It gives him a deeper understanding of the human condition, a sympathy for our fellows. eko rasaḥ karaṇa eva. All creative writing has human significance and a social function.

The responsibility of writers in our generation is great. Mencius, the great Chinese thinker, says: ‘In a nation the people are the

Inaugural Address, 6 November, 1956
most important, the State is next and the rulers the least important. We have to prepare the minds of the people for the new age. We are engaged in a great social and economic revolution. We have set before ourselves great ideals. Our Constitution states them. The ideals will have to pass from shadow into substance, from theory into practice, from proclamations into realities. If we are not to stagnate or go backwards, we have to face our problems with austerity and discipline.

In recent months I visited some countries in the East and the West where I saw the youth march with a light in their eyes and a glow in their faces, eager to make their countries better than they are. This urge to strive and suffer and improve the material and moral conditions of our country will have to be imparted to our young men and women. We need a vast moral revolution which will make our many millions coalesce into a great people, with pride in the country and confidence in its future. Good books can bring about the change in our mental and moral outlook.

From the happenings in the world we should learn a lesson. The existence of the United Nations Organization should not lull us into a false sense of security. We are living in a world where inner strength is essential. While we should strengthen the constructive forces, the disruptive trends which caused our downfall and subjection require to be resisted. There is so much that is dead to which we are still clinging. We must discard the dead and moralize our society.

There is plenty of excitement in our age to write about. I hope you will give us great works in the future. I should like to congratulate all those who have won the awards on their valuable contributions. I hope these will serve as incentives to better production and creative work in the future.

EDUCATION, SCIENCE AND CULTURE

I have great pleasure in opening the different exhibitions which have been organized, some by UNESCO and others by the different Ministries of the Government of India for UNESCO. They all centre

10 November, 1956
round the main objectives of UNESCO, the spread of education, science and culture.

This country has from the earliest times devoted great attention to the dissemination and advancement of learning. In the days when we suffered a setback education also declined. With the advent of independence we also became sharers in the world revolution. We have in our country an awakened peasantry which is not willing any longer to put up with the abuses of landlordism and demands the rudiments of social justice, an aroused intelligentsia which is weary of incompetence, corruption, poverty, strife and woe, which calls for a new faith, a programme of national regeneration. New ideals are set before us which are inscribed in our Constitution, freedom, equality, justice and fraternity. Since independence we have been interested in preparing our youth for a new India with its aims of economic progress and a democratic set-up. We have to prepare our youth for the new India. New minds are necessary for the new world. The Educational Exhibition gives a bird’s eye view of the progress we have made in the different types of education, basic, secondary, university, technical, etc.

There is a wrong idea that science is something unknown to the East. It is due to the marvellous progress that has been made in recent times in science and technology by the Western nations. It was Lord Acton who said that we do not have a proper perspective of history if we limit our attention to the last 400 years overlooking the last 3000. If we extend our vision, we will find that many of the basic ideas and techniques such as the alphabet, the numerals, the zero, the decimal system, etc. came from the East. But there is no doubt that the development got arrested some centuries ago and the East fell back. Today owing to the great progress in science and technology, the world has been brought together and scientific ideas are spreading over the whole world.

We have today in this country many scientific laboratories conducting research and working out the applications of science to agriculture and industry. We also have an Exhibition of multipurpose river valley schemes. All these will give you some idea of the progress we are attempting to make.

Nations which cut themselves away from their historical roots may make brilliant splashes in the space of history but they will pass out, like meteors which burn themselves out when they are cut off from the fire which generates and feeds them. Indian thought
now is not an exile from its past. The Pageant of India Exhibition tells us how Indian culture has had a continuous history for over 5000 years, though it has been enriched by other cultures which have come into the country. It today shows the influence of the Aryan and the Dravidian, the Hindu and the Buddhist, the Moslem and the Christian. They have all entered into the stream of India’s history.

Handlooms, handicrafts, dolls and art exhibitions point out how we are keen on developing imagination, refining the feelings.

In the raising of the standards of education, science and culture, UNESCO has taken an important part. The Exhibition of UNESCO activities will help us to understand its role to some extent. The purpose of UNESCO, as defined in its Constitution, is ‘to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations, through education, science and culture in order to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law and for human rights and for fundamental freedoms of all’. The poor, the sick and the uneducated need not always remain so. Kant in his Project for Perpetual Peace insists that ‘the rights of man are holy, whatever the cost to the ruling power’. Since the planet is a limited area, he points out that the people must now endure each other’s proximity. The moral writ must run everywhere.

All UNESCO’s activities aim at promoting mutual understanding and moral unity. We are witnessing today the violent growing pains of the birth of a new world. We should strive to build a world where human intelligence will organize, develop and distribute the ample resources of nature so that all can live abundantly, a world in which our energies, physical and intellectual, will be devoted to human progress rather than to destruction, our labour will be directed to man’s advancement.

SCIENCE, SERVICE AND SANCTITY

I am very happy to be here and take part in the Founder’s Day meeting. I had known the late Dr Birbal Sahni for a number of years. We happened to know each other well when we both served on the Andhra University Commission, Waltair. It was our desire to have him on the University Education Commission, but on

Speech at the Birbal Sahni Institute of Paleobotany, Lucknow, 14 November, 1956
account of his devotion to scientific research he declined to cut himself away from his work even for a short time. His pre-eminence in paleobotany made him a world authority on the subject. He trained a large number of scholars in that subject in his laboratory here. Sahni was not only a great research worker but a great patriot and, more than all, a great man. He was a man of sensitivity and imagination, of vision and passion, and this Institute which he founded in 1946 is the embodiment of his great personality. I hope for many years it will continue to enrich the science of paleobotany and keep his name alive.

It is a great fortune that after his passing away his wife Shrimati Savitri Sahni is carrying on his work with a rare devotion to his ideals and dedication to the Institute.

Today, our Prime Minister who opened this building in 1953 completes 67 years. His greatness is measured not only by his direct shaping of the course of events in our country, but by the indirect influence of his thoughts and personality on his contemporaries here and elsewhere. He has the gift of waking us up and making us think on fresh lines. His is a life of service to our country and humanity. It is our fervent wish that he may be spared for many years. His interest in this institution is known to you all.

November 14 has another significance. Early in the seventh century a story entitled *Barlaam and Josaphat* attributed in the next century to St. John of Damascus was in circulation in the Christian world. The Buddha, who in the course of time became Bodhisat, then Josaphat and finally Holy. St. Josaphat of India is represented as a Hindu prince converted to Christianity by Barlaam. He was canonized by Sixtus V in 1589, the canonization was approved by Pius IX in 1873 and his feast day is observed on November 14.

On this day we are reminded of the values of science, service and sanctity. These are not exclusive ideals; they are parts of an integrated life. Pursuit of truth, service of man and holiness of life go together in truly civilized personalities. The troubles we are having in the world today may be traced to a divorce between science and sanctity.

Our scriptures declare: 'I prostrate before the Buddha who is the essence and origin of the Vedas, who is pure and who is wisdom incarnate':

\[ \text{namo veda-rahasyāya namaste veda-yonaye} \]
\[ \text{namo buddhāya suddhāya namaste jñāna-rūpīne}. \]
The search for wisdom, for truth is the characteristic of the 
human being.  

\textit{satyena panthā vitato devayānah.}

By truth is laid out the path leading to the gods. Gandhi used 
to say Truth is God. God is \textit{satyasvarūpa}. Buddha is \textit{saccanāma}. 
The research work you do in this Institute is a contribution to truth. 

Our country suffered in the past on account of its scientific 
and technical backwardness. We are today striving to make up for 
lost time, and among the pioneers in this scientific revival was the 
founder of this Institute. I have no doubt that the work which you 
are doing will help not only the advancement of knowledge in 
paleobotany, but also the progress of humanity.

It is interesting to know that the late Birbal Sahni was a keen 
student of our religious classics. For him science and religion were 
not inconsistent with each other. Some of the greatest scientists 
of the world are conscious of the limitations of scientific knowledge 
and admit the need of another discipline. Speculations with 
regard to primal origins and ultimate ends are beyond the range of 
scientific knowledge, \textit{avyaktādīni bhūtāni vyaktamadhyāni bhūrata 
avyaktanidhanānyeva}. Science strives to know what is in the centre 
of the stage; it cannot know the beginning or the end.

Scientific observation discloses the working of a mystery which 
inspires and informs the world process. There is an upward trend 
discernible in the world. The earth which was a molten mass cooled, 
seas appeared and forms of life. It proceeds from the amoeba 
through an infinite variety of creatures to the human being. All this 
suggests the presence of Spiritual Reality functioning in the world.

While we may be inclined to the belief in the inevitability of 
progress if our attention is limited to the sub-human world, in the 
human world the freedom of man has to be reckoned with. There 
are some who believe that history is the revelation of a higher 
purpose. Such a belief led Tennyson to think that the world was 
marching to the Parliament of Man and the Federation of the 
World. It underlies the Marxist interpretation of history. Bernard 
Shaw's \textit{Back to Methuselah} (1921) expounds it. The evolutionists 
hope that the laws of natural selection will result in the replacement 
of the present imperfect society by one in which a finer humanity 
will inhabit a more perfect world.

The two World Wars and recent happenings do not support 
this optimism that there is an unmistakable advance or progress
in human history. Continuity is not the chief characteristic of history. The discontinuous, the cataclysmic appears in all the turning points of history. The impact of the fortuitous, the new which is untrammeled by the past, the unforeseen, the contingent, the revolutionary appears frequently in human history. History is not an even flow. It is obvious that progress is not a law of nature. Whether humanity will rise or fall does not depend on the stars but on ourselves. We have freedom. We have developed considerably in the matter of scientific knowledge and technical exploitation, motor cars, turbine engines, aeroplanes and atomic energy. They have brought an increase of pressure on life but we are not sure that they have brought an increase of human happiness and better social behaviour. Civilizations are not built of machines but of values. The driving forces of civilization come from within. The pursuit of scientific truth is a great value. It shows the mastery of the mind and the will of man over the forces of nature. Our great scientific advances are testimony to the creative vigour, to the splendid variety of the human spirit. The progress of civilization depends not only on intellectual creativeness but on the moral qualities of gentleness and compassion. If we develop these moral qualities, even the stars in their courses cannot defeat us. If we stifle the spirit in us, our society will go to pieces.

What is it that prevents us from using the new energy for creating unprecedented wealth? It is the lust for power, domination and its obverse, fear. Sometimes nations, like individuals, become neurotic, mad with the demands of unlimited egotism, frantic to possess power. Two relatively weak and small nations decided to resolve their conflict by a resort to force. Two big nations known to be the defenders of international morality began to use force instead of argument and within a few days the whole world was moving towards war with the threat of rocket bombs. In Hungary we find violence and bloodshed. The great nations of the world lost patience and were ready to bring the world to the brink of a third world war, violating all the principles of the United Nations Charter and confirming the worst suspicions of uncommitted peoples about Western imperialism and love of domination.

To control these selfish impulses we need effort and discipline. These can come not from science but from the discipline of religion, interpreted not in the narrow sense but in the large
sense of self-knowledge and self-control. These will result in genuine love for mankind which will transcend group loyalties.

At a time like this we have to get back to the springs of our vitality. Unfortunately, a strange queerness has come into our life. We waste our energies over trivialities and find fault with one another. From the level of the village to the highest bodies, we have petty quarrels, personal feuds and we overlook the highest needs of our country. Let us heal the deep divisions, social and economic, in our national life and build up unity. We are living in a dangerous world and we have to be vigilant. We will be saved only by our inner strength. We must subordinate our self-interest and work for national welfare.

Science should be used for social welfare. In a world torn by hatred and violence, institutions like this serve to emphasize the international character of scientific pursuits. It is my hope and wish that the workers in this Institute may work with single-mindedness and devotion and help the progress of our country and humanity.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

It is an honour, which I appreciate very much, to be called upon to address the Convocation on this historic occasion of the Centenary of this great University. As a senior member of the University associated with it for over 35 years in one capacity or another, may I welcome the new graduates distinguished in science and art, letters and law, and say how much we rejoice that they have today joined our fellowship. This ceremony is in the best traditions of this University which has always remained in close touch with the Universities of the world. It has sent its students to them for higher education and training and invited their scholars to join its teaching staff. Art and literature, science and scholarship know no geographical frontiers; they are above political passions. Though political differences may divide, professional collaboration unites.

In the first two generations of its rule in Bengal, the East India Company did not wish to introduce a modern system of

Centenary Convocation Address, 23 January, 1957