education. For one thing, the leading figure of the period, Warren Hastings, had a real admiration for Indian classics and strove to revive the ancient indigenous culture. The British leaders in India did not wish to disturb the minds of the Indian people and so left them free to cultivate their own ancient learning and systems of thought. The impetus for education in modern learning came from the Christian missionaries and progressive leaders like David Hare and Ram Mohan Roy. When Macaulay became the Chairman of the Committee of Public Instruction, he drew up his famous Minute in February 1835, which decided the future of education in India on modern lines. Lord William Bentinck accepted Macaulay's advice and laid down that the funds available for educational purposes should be mainly devoted to the maintenance of schools and colleges of modern learning to be taught through the medium of English. Departments of public instruction were established in 1855 and the universities in 1857.

In the early years this University controlled collegiate education in a large part of India—Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Assam, the then United Provinces and Central Provinces, as also in Burma and Ceylon. Gradually new universities sprang up, thus restricting the sphere of work of this University. When first the universities were established, they were of an affiliating character, being merely examining bodies. Thanks to the courageous and versatile leadership of the late Shri Asutosh Mookerjee, post-graduate departments in arts and sciences, pure and applied, were started under the direct control of the University. Advancement of learning which was inscribed on the first seal of the University became its main objective.

The University has produced great scientists and eminent scholars. Of the nine Fellows who were elected to the Royal Society in our time, five worked in this University, Jagadis Bose, Raman, Saha, Krishnan and Mahalanobis. The two Nobel Laureates in Literature and Physical Science, Rabindranath Tagore and C.V. Raman, were associated with this University. Many scholars and scientists have made outstanding contributions to literature and art, science and scholarship, by their purity of thought and devotion to learning.

If we look at the history of the world, we will find that civilization is built by those great seers and scientists who are able to think for themselves, who probe the depths of space and time, read their secrets and use the knowledge they won for the good of
mankind, viśva-śreyas, loka-kalyāṇa. The universities believe in the unconquerable spirit of man and should provide for men of learning and letters full scope for pursuing their studies without harassment. They must provide full opportunities to every scholar to follow within the standards imposed by his own pursuit his inquiry for truth wherever his intelligence, imagination and integrity lead him. No freedom is real if it does not secure freedom of mind. No religious dogma or political doctrine should interfere with the pursuit of truth.

The University in the last hundred years has opened to the people of this country a new world of ideas and helped to develop new horizons, support great causes, produce new movements of thought and life and help the spread of freedom, political and economic, religious and social. The cultural renaissance of our country, which was produced in the last hundred years, is due to the influence of modern thought and criticism on our ancient learning. When we train students in a university, when we make them inquisitive and critical, they will naturally demand political freedom and internal democracy. Macaulay said in the House of Commons before he came to India:

Are we to keep the people of India ignorant in order that we may keep them submissive? Or do we think that we can give knowledge without awakening ambition? Or do we mean to awaken ambition and to provide it with no legitimate vent?...It may be that the public mind of India may expand under our system until it has outgrown that system, that by good government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government, that having become instructed in European knowledge, they may, in some future age, demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come, I know not. Whenever it comes, it will be the proudest day in English History....The sceptre may pass away from us. Victory may be inconstant to our arms. But there are triumphs which are followed by no reverse. There is an empire exempt from all natural causes of decay. These triumphs are the pacific triumphs of reason over barbarism: that empire is the imperishable empire of our arts and our morals, our literature and our laws.

When we give the youth of the country education, with its emphasis on freedom, the right of rebellion and the absolute duty of the Government to rule with the consent of the governed, they will demand freedom from subjection. One of the first graduates of this University, Bankim Chandra Chatterji, gave us the great song Bande Mātaram where India’s deep religious devotion was harnessed to the national cause in a vow of self-surrender. Patriotism became a religion with the youth of the country. Rabindranath
Tagore gave us the national anthem *Jana Gana-mana* which was first sung at the Congress session in this city on December 27, 1911. It was adopted by the Constituent Assembly on January 24, 1950. It looks on this country as one and requires us to use our spiritual energies for the cultural and emotional integration of the country.

When the natural results of modern education, unrest and discontent spread, Mr Allan Octavian Hume resolved to bring into existence a national gathering of Indians which could serve as a safety valve. He spoke to the graduates of this University on March 1, 1883 asking for fifty men of integrity and courage. ‘If only fifty men, good and true, can be found to join as founders, the thing can be established and the further development will be comparatively easy.’ He told them frankly: ‘If they cannot renounce personal ease and pleasure, then at present at any rate all hopes of progress are at an end; and India then neither desires nor deserves any better government than she enjoys.’ He declared ‘the eternal truth that self-sacrifice and unselfishness are the only unfailing guides to freedom and happiness’. The first meeting of the Indian National Congress was held in Bombay under the Presidentship of one of Bengal’s illustrious leaders, W. C. Bonnerjee. The Congress was organized with faith in British intentions and with the blessings of the then Governor-General of India, the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava. The confidence in British good faith was shattered when Lord Curzon partitioned Bengal and the agitation that followed it aroused national consciousness and methods of passive resistance, *swadesi*, boycott of foreign goods, national education, organization of public opinion and other forms of political action were adopted and these later became perfected by Gandhi. In December 1906 in the Calcutta Congress, Dadabhai Naoroji proclaimed Swaraj as the goal of the Indian people. When the partition was annulled, confidence increased and in the First World War India responded generously to the call of the British Government in the hope that the war which was fought to make the world safe for democracy would result in the establishment of self-government in India. When the war ended, the hopes of India were not fulfilled and India adopted what is now called satyagraha which ended in the transfer of power in 1947. This University produced men of extraordinary courage and endurance who took part in the political struggle and made unparalleled sacrifices. Many brave men and women, living and
dead, opposed the forces of reaction and tyranny. Today we are celebrating the sixty-first birthday of Subhas Chandra Bose. The gifted people of Bengal however thwarted today, I have no doubt, will continue to oppose and resist, show the same spirit of suffering and sacrifice, until exploitation and injustice are replaced by a more equitable social order.

Political freedom is not merely for the sake of India but for the good of the world. Gandhi once wrote to Tagore: 'An India prostrate at the feet of Europe can give no hope to humanity. An India awakened and free has a message of peace and goodwill to a groaning world.' We are anxious to make the world safe for civilization. We are convinced that there is no alternative to peace in the present context when the annihilating power of war has increased so vastly. When the world is split into two groups with large stores of atomic weapons which can be used to devastate the world, there is the risk of catastrophe.¹

But the future is in our own hands. Sheer self-interest requires us to relieve the tensions that beset the world, and establish decency and friendship in a world which has apparently forgotten them. We must create and develop the forces of spirit which will revive lost hopes and ignored values. We must recognize that mutual hatred is more deadly than mutual violence. We must civilize human nature by adopting the university spirit which pleads for sanity in a period of hysteria, for moderation in place of intemperance, for the rigours of thought instead of easy surrender to partisan slogans.

If the world is to be a unity, peoples of different nations must be made conscious of what they have in common. The world must develop a cultural unity before it can become a political fact.

¹Sir John Slessor, a great authority on air warfare, says: 'A world war in this day and age would be general suicide;' and adds: 'It never has and never will make any sense trying to abolish any particular weapon of war. What we have got to abolish is war.'—_The Listener_, 11-2-1954

Lord Adrian in his address as President of the British Association, 116th annual meeting at Oxford said: 'We must face the possibility that repeated atomic explosions will lead to a degree of general radio-activity which no one can tolerate or escape;' and he added: '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.'

Air Chief Marshal Sir Philip Joubert says: 'With the advent of the hydrogen bomb it would appear that the human race has reached a point where it must abandon war as a continuation of policy or accept the possibility of total destruction.'
Peace is not the absence of strife or the silence of guns. Absence of conflict is negative, precarious, liable to be shattered. Peace is goodwill for others, understanding of those who are different from ourselves in race and religion. It is an appreciation of the feelings of those whose worship is different from our own. This is goodwill; this is peace.

Ram Mohan Roy wrote as far back as 1831 to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of France: ‘It is now generally admitted that not religion only but unbiased commonsense as well as the accurate deductions of scientific research lead to the conclusion that all mankind are one great family of which numerous nations and tribes existing are only branches. Hence enlightened men in all countries feel a wish to encourage and facilitate human intercourse in every manner by removing as far as possible all impediments to it in order to promote the reciprocal advantage and enjoyment of the whole human race.’ This note of universalism is a prominent feature of Indian thought from the early days. The spirit of Indian culture has been one of assimilation, synthesis, not negation or exclusion. The Aryan and the Dravidian, the Hindu and the Buddhist, the Muslim and the Christian have all been taken into India’s history. We are ever willing to learn from others though we do not wish to become subservient to them. We have no false pride of self-sufficiency of Indian culture. We take in whatever is valuable without losing our own identity.

Rabindranath Tagore inaugurated the era of world co-operation. He visited different parts of the world, East and West, and gave the message of tolerance, universality and understanding. His Viśva-Bhārati bears witness to his faith in cultural co-operation.

Mahatma Gandhi spoke words of wisdom, which are also a warning, when he defined the relations of national autonomy and international order: ‘My idea of nationalism is that my country may become free, that if need be the whole of the country may die, so that the human race may live. There is no room for race hatred here. Let that be our nationalism.’ Physical survival is not all; spiritual integrity is more important. Those who worship the Cross know that material defeat and death may make for spiritual victory.

Universities are one of the strongest influences for peace. Politics is the art of the immediate. Statesmanship rests on longer and deeper views. It is the universities, the communities of scholars
that should help us to obtain them. They must give us courses in astronomy, metaphysics and world history, and teach us a sense of proportion and perspective, for they insist on the universal, super-national values acknowledging a world community and strive to enclose national groups within a stable equilibrium. They strive after comprehension, open-mindedness, disinterested understanding of what is alien to us. To become a spectator of time is a cure for bitterness of mind, for weakness of soul. The universities of the world form a great fraternity binding together their members all over the world.

It has been said that the weakness of the present generation is that it is rootless and the true function of a university is to take it back to its roots. We must do so with sympathy and understanding. If we are not to be infected with the speed, the nervous intensity and the growing incoherence of modern life, we must have a few solitary moments in which we can attend to the needs of the spirit. Religion holds before man's eyes a vision of ultimate values. Man is not a lonely contestant in a meaningless world. Unfortunately, as in other parts of the world, it has degenerated into superstition, sectarianism, enslavement, over-confidence, bigotry. Religious reformers attempted to purify the religion and base it on the central simplicities of communion with the Supreme and love for man. Any system of religious thought has to satisfy two basic requirements. It must state the truth which is founded in human experience and interpret this truth for every new generation. The truth must be able to speak to the situation. The great religious teachers of the period tried to reckon with both the poles of eternity and time. The eternal truth must be relevant to the modern mind. In a very real sense we live in a new world. The unity of knowledge is new, the nature of human community is new, the order of ideas is new and we cannot return to what they have been in the past. Religious truths are beyond the accidents of science or criticism. They rest their claims on the moral and spiritual facts of human nature. The religious thinkers of the period turned back to the prasthānatraya and demonstrated that the religious message developed in these three works was rational, ethical and spiritual and can satisfy the demand for depth, comprehensiveness and integrality. It is brahma-vidyā, yogaśāstra and kṛṣṇārjuna-saṁvāda, the truth, the way and the life. The seers announced that they had seen the Supreme Person shining like the sun that dwells beyond the veil of darkness.
The fruit of religion is ethics, individual and social. Christ attracts but the Church repels. Social reformers like Ram Mohan Roy and Isvara Chandra Vidyasagar fought against the perversions of our society, like sati and caste. They advocated the re-marriage of widows, abolition of polygamy and encouraged women's education. Attempts to free women from the disabilities which society imposed on them have been largely successful with the result that we have today for the first time in this University a woman Chancellor.

It is no use condemning the work of the old universities. They have done their best in difficult circumstances. But much remains to be done. Our revolution is not over. We have to defend ourselves against the forces of violence, fanaticism and unreason. We have to struggle against poverty and disease, illiteracy and unemployment. We have to wage a long fight against that darkness in men's minds. To some extent we are responsible for the intellectual inadequacy, for the spiritual illiteracy of those whom we produce, for their acquiescence in social injustices, for the lack of the crusading spirit against the evils of our society. Let us work with faith and weld together our people into a single corporate community and make them the defenders of peace. The reign of brutal violence will not last for ever. Redeemed humanity will emerge, the habit of mutual forbearance will recover and truth and love will triumph. satyam eva jayate.

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You have done me a great honour by asking me to speak to you this morning.

This is my first visit to the Institute and I am happy that it has attained to its present eminent position by the help of the State and the Central Governments. The graduates who have received their degrees today are entering life at an exciting time in our history and are expected to help in some small measure the upbuilding of our country. I offer my warmest felicitations to them. I hope in the years to come there will also be women graduates in Technology and Engineering.

1 The Report of the Archbishops Commission on Evangelism, 1945; 24 January, 1957
By an Act of Parliament last year, you have been acknowledged to be an institution of national importance, with all the powers and the responsibilities of such an institution. We have suffered in the past from our technical backwardness and national incoherence. This institution helps to remedy these defects in some measure.

It is not necessary for me to specify the different departments for which you have provision here. You have facilities for undergraduate training and for post-graduate study and research. The latter holds up before us the ideal that we should not only spread knowledge but advance it.

Though located in Bengal, it has over 30 per cent of students from other parts of India. The Indian staff and students are representative of all parts of India. At a time when narrow and local loyalties are manifesting themselves, when communal tensions and provincial rivalries are still active, an institution like this where students from different parts live together will help to check these dangerous tendencies.

Your Institute bears witness to the two principal features of the modern world, that we are members one of another, that there is no decree of God or man which compels us to be sick and hungry, poor and unemployed.

The strong shall help the weak is the foundation of all civilized existence. This Institute is an illustration of international collaboration. The T.C.M., the Colombo Plan, UNESCO and the University of Illinois have helped you in raising your buildings which are clean, pleasing and spacious, and have given you some members of your staff.

Though we are politically free, we are economically enslaved. Once upon a time we accepted our degradation as inevitable. Now we know there are ways of removing it. It is technically possible today to abolish poverty altogether. The physical obstacles to human wellbeing can be removed by modern advances in science and technology. We should have more institutions of this character, if we are to raise effectively the material standards of our people.

It is also possible to unify the world and all of us can settle down as good neighbours. A future more glorious than the past is open to us. And yet we are afraid of what lies before us, for we see that there is no limit to the possibilities of scientific destruction. The obstacles to human wellbeing are in the minds of
men. Hatred, folly, erroneous beliefs and evil passions make us incapable of seeing the truth and working for it. To counter these tendencies we need, in addition to technological knowledge and skill, an understanding heart, wisdom. It is because of the lack of wisdom that many of us are mentally unstable and morally unsound.

I am delighted to know that you are not producing mere engineers who do their jobs with mechanical efficiency. You wish to endow them with a human outlook, equip them with a vision and a purpose. You have a course in humanities which includes literature, civics, history, economics, industrial psychology and philosophy. This is to enable the students to acquire a sense of values. As the Bhagavadgītā has it, we should aim at wisdom as well as knowledge, jñānam vijñāna sahitam. At a time when we are obsessed with technical achievement rather than with absolute values, with practical work rather than with a full life, it is good to realize that technology is for man and not man for technology. The material things of the world are to be used for expanding man's knowledge and enriching the treasures of the spirit. It is not enough to feed the human animal or train the human mind. We must also attend to the needs of the human spirit. We must learn to live from a new basis, discover the reserves of spirituality, the sense of the sacred found in all religions.

There is no inconsistency between the spirit of science and that of religion. It is a superficial view of both science and religion that gives semblance to a conflict between them. Our religious beliefs should not contradict rational thought. If we review the temporal, we will catch the Light of the Eternal.

What is called modernity is the result of scientific activity, not merely the system of gadgets but the development of an outlook which is opposed to the creative functions of the mind. Copernicus showed that our planet was not the centre of the universe. Darwin demonstrated that man is also a part of the natural world and did not differ markedly from other intelligent animals. Freud showed how large a part the unconscious play in our life. Our power of controlling our thoughts and impulses is much less than what we deceive ourselves into believing. An interpretation of science based on these views makes us indifferent to the creative urges in man. We try to repress those aspects of human nature which do not fit into the moulds of scientific thought. Lord Rutherford
the great physicist, said cheerfully to Samuel Alexander, the eminent philosopher: ‘When you think of all the years you have been talking about those things, Alexander, and what does it all add up to? Hot air, nothing but hot air.’

The aim of the natural scientist is to discover the external world of reality. By scientific methods we do not know anything directly about reality. Scientific information is indefinite and uncertain in its import. It gives us signs which we have to interpret. The scientist assumes that the world is governed by a system of laws which can be understood though not in a comprehensive way. The only interpretation that is logical is that which points to a central mystery. We know only in part, not the beginning, not the end. We should admit that the mystery is not capable of adequate logical description or linguistic statement. We should not only be tolerant, but appreciative of other points of view. Gandhi explained why he remained a Hindu: ‘Believing as I do in the influence of heredity and being born in a Hindu family, I have remained a Hindu. I should reject Hinduism if I found it inconsistent with my moral sense or my spiritual growth. But on examination, I have found it to be the most tolerant of all the religions known to me because it gives the Hindu the largest scope for self-expression. Not being an exclusive religion, it enables its followers not merely to respect all the other religions but also to admire and assimilate whatever may be good in them.’ In Tagore's Santiniketan ‘no man's faith is to be decried'. Gandhi and Tagore are clear that we should not accept any religious belief which is intellectually unconvincing and morally repugnant.

A study of classics gives us a sense of serenity, a knowledge of the traditions which have taken centuries to build. When we stand imaginatively for a while in another age, we are able to assess better the problems of the present. In the restless rush of modern life, it is wise for us to renew our acquaintance with the great creations of the human mind and spirit. It helps us to appreciate the resources which man has within himself. We must have a vision of greatness and our classics provide us with it. When different weapons failed to kill Indrajit, Lakṣmana says: ‘If it is true that Rāma is dharmātmā and satya-sandha, let this arrow kill Indrajit.’

\[ dharmātmā satya-sandhaś ca rāmo dāṣarathir yadi śarainam jahi rāvaṇīm. \]
Sītā says: ‘Though humiliated and deprived of his kingdom Rāma is my husband and my teacher.’

*dino vā rājya-hīno vā yo me bhartā sa me guruḥ.*

We live in a dangerous world where nations still seek their ends by the unashamed use of force, still seek to enforce injustice by blood and steel. We need sanity of mind and generosity of heart in these difficult times. Peace can be won only by a fusion of imagination and purpose. Our aim is not to beat down the enemy or win an argument. We are out to reach an agreement. The courses in this Institute, I dare say, will make you not only expert technologists but good citizens.

ETHIRAJ COLLEGE, MADRAS

It is a pleasure for me to be here, meet you all and know something about the institution which bears the name of my old friend V. L. Ethiraj. I am glad that he has given us this college and I hope he will do whatever is necessary to establish it on firm foundations.

‘What are we to do with our lives?’ asked H. G. Wells, and said in answer: ‘Put our minds in order.’ In other words, mental slums will have to be cleared up as much as physical slums. Education is the means by which we can tidy up our minds, acquire information, as well as a sense of values. Education should give us not only elements of general knowledge or technical skills but also impart to us that bent of mind, that attitude of reason, that spirit of democracy which will make us responsible citizens of our country. A true democracy is a community of citizens differing from one another but all bound to a common goal.

Unfortunately, in the new society we are building the individual human being is subjected to the levelling impact of standardized emotions. The human being is treated as a means and not an end in itself. Our differences are flattened out, our attitudes become uniform. In the name of a questionable future and distant good, we are asked to subordinate to it our impulses.

Speech at the prize distribution at the College, 27 January, 1957
and emotions. We forget that the individual's welfare is the end of the State.

When we call ourselves a democracy, we mean that the State exists for promoting the good of its members. Our real good consists in the development of our inward resources. Many of us, however, live on the surface of life, echo the sentiments which are put into our heads by the radio or the film or the newspaper. It is our duty to think for ourselves, reflect on the data supplied to us. The study of great classics gives us a proper sense of perspective. The classical spirit is a refusal to acquiesce in the immediate, a refusal to be the slaves of current fashions and tastes, a refusal to be content with the easy and the obvious. It is a determination to seek the highest even if it is difficult and remote. In this country we have always laid stress on silent thinking and meditation. We are mostly extroverts. It is said that God made woman a thing of beauty and then gave her a tongue and spoiled it all! We do not withdraw into ourselves and find out what is wrong with us. A life of contemplation can be lived under almost all conceivable conditions. We can take this habit into the office or factory, shop or college. It does not preclude immediate and vital relationships. It precludes the waste and weariness of social routine.

It is said that the path of life is as difficult as walking on a razor's edge. We need discipline of thought. We should not wish to destroy our opponents, but strive to influence their attitudes and their behaviour. We should commend our views to those who differ from us by the character of our voice and the sympathy of our example.

While at college we must learn to respect others, not only their life and property but their intangible possessions, their good name and reputation. We are given to small talk, gossip and take pleasure in slandering others. We should try to avoid all that.

You are living in an age when there are great opportunities for women in social work, public life and administration. Society requires women of disciplined minds and restrained manners. Whatever line of work you undertake, you should bring to it an honest, disciplined mind. You will then succeed and have the joy of your work.

I hope this institution will grow in numbers and virtue in the years to come.
SANSKRT COLLEGE, MYLAPORE, MADRAS

It is a great pleasure for me to be here this evening and pay my tribute to the founder of the college, the late Shri V. Krishnaswamy Ayyar, and the good work that this college has been doing all these years. If this function did not take place last year which was the year of its golden jubilee, it is due to a series of difficulties which I had in recent months. I am responsible for the delay and beg to be excused for it.

As a young student in the Madras Christian College, I used to run to the Madras High Court to listen to the late Shri V. Krishnaswamy Ayyar arguing in the famous Arbuthnot case. I had a chance of meeting him once or twice and found him to be a delightful and warm-hearted person. The qualities which he admired most were kindness and integrity and those which he disliked most were cruelty and hypocrisy. He was eloquent both in speech and in writing. I can still recall the way in which he moved his large audience at the Madras Convocation in 1911 when he spoke with great warmth of feeling and remarkable distinction of phrase on the greatness of Indian culture.

The great leaders who moulded our thought in the last century were well-versed in Sanskrit, Bankim Chandra Chatterji, Isvara Chandra Vidyasagar, Rabindranath Tagore, Vivekananda, Aurobindo, Shraddhananda and Tilak. There is a revival of interest in Sanskrit studies today.

Many of the Indian languages are derived from Sanskrit and even the Dravidian languages have been much influenced by it. Sanskrit is even now the medium of communication among pundits in different parts of India. Sanskrit literature has moulded our habits of mind and patterns of behaviour. Its sway extends over large parts of Asia.

The late Shri V. Krishnaswamy Ayyar brought out a collection of important stories from our classics called Ārya-caritam. The great classics are so welded into the marrow of our being that we often forget that we are what we are because of what they have made us. Sanskrit literature has plumbed the depths of the human spirit. The Epics and the Purāṇas, the Kāvyas and the Nāṭakas reach down the centuries and shed their light on different aspects of our experience. They make permanent some moment of

Adress at Golden Jubilee Celebrations, 27 January, 1957
experience, some vision of beauty, some thrill of joy, some stab of pain, which man could not bear to lose. A few great men of genius have scaled the heights for us and made them accessible. They have a strange power to speak to each one of us in the language he or she can best understand. They help us to free ourselves from the cramping influence of the environment in which we live and look at the world from a more universal standpoint. If we are obsessed with the problems of our time, we become prisoners of a period. We will produce a world with every device for living and not much to live for. The Sanskrit classics tell us the way to the hidden country to which our real selves belong. The brief span of life given to us is to be used to reveal the enduring, the universal, the spiritual in us.

\[
\text{maunān na sa munir bhavati nāraṇyā-vasanān muniḥ}
\]
\[
\text{sva-lakṣaṇamītu yo veda sa muniḥ śreṣṭha ucyate.}
\]

He is not a sage who observes silence, nor he who lives in the woods but he who knows his own nature is the best of sages. Our classics have been translated into Indian and foreign languages.

Great works are national in one sense, but they are also universal in character. Any literature, if it is to fulfil its aim as literature, should go beyond the restricted limits of its peculiarities and endeavour to portray the feelings and sentiments common to humanity, and demonstrate the essential universality of man. Only thus can a national literature maintain its special character and yet fulfil its role as a part of world literature.

Sanskrit is the main language of the Hindu scriptures which have inspired a distinctive way of life. They tell us that Hindu religion is more than a creed, dogma, rite, or ceremony. It is an outlook which calls upon us to organize the life of the individual as well as that of society. The work of this institution has received the blessings of the ācāryas of the different religious persuasions—Advaita, Viśiṣṭādvaita and Dvaita. Respect for other religious views is an expression of ahimsā or love.

\[
\text{aṇubhyaś ca mahadbhyaś ca śāstreṇāḥ kuśalo naraḥ}
\]
\[
\text{sarvataḥ sāram ādadyāt puṣpebhya iva śaṭpadaḥ.}
\]

Like a bee collecting honey from flowers the intelligent should glean truths from all scriptures, small and great.

Too much blood has been unnecessarily and unjustly shed in the name of dogmatic obsessions.
We want a world order which preserves regional cultures and not a world where everyone wears the same clothes, speaks the same words and cherishes the same beliefs. The conception of a great family of nations living together in peace, practising their own beliefs and regulated by justice within the law remains our common objective.

It is our duty to be loyal to the spirit of our ancient seers and make changes in the letter of their directions. Simply because we repeat an old question, it does not follow that the question is the same. Questions are framed in relation to their context. The intellectual presuppositions of one age are not those of another. The conditions of our lives have been basically altered in the last fifty years more than in the last two or three thousand years. Civilization is not a static condition. It is a perpetual movement. We have inherited not only elements which make for greatness but also forces of reaction, narrow-mindedness, disunion. We keep a tradition alive not by repeating what has been said but by meeting our problems in the same spirit in which the old seers met theirs. Our respect for tradition should not harden into an abandonment of independent thought and an unquestioning submission to authority. It is our duty to cast off whatever hampers our sense of justice even though it may be venerable with the history of ages or consecrated by familiarity.

Many of the well-known pundits of South India were educated in this institution. Its work and influence have been steadily growing. The Government of India have appointed a Sanskrit Education Commission which is expected to suggest ways and means for furthering Sanskrit studies. In different parts of the country there are attempts to start Sanskrit colleges and universities. Here we have the Sanskrit College and the Kuppuswami Sastri Sanskrit Research Institute. These may expand and grow into a great school and co-ordinate Sanskrit studies in this part of the country.

Shri K. Balasubrahmanya Iyer has been all these years attending to the work of the College with filial piety and devotion to Indian culture and Sanskrit learning. I have no doubt that under his fostering care and the goodwill of friends here this institution in the next fifty years will grow in usefulness and numbers.
It is now my pleasure to unveil his portrait which, I hope, will remind the generations of students of his sense of duty and love of Sanskrit.

MADRAS UNIVERSITY

It is a great honour to be called upon to address this distinguished assembly on this historic occasion of the Centenary of the Madras University. I also appreciate the distinction which the University has conferred on me today by enrolling me among its honorary graduates. I took my first degree, that of Bachelor of Arts, at the Convocation of this University in 1907, fifty years ago. My Master’s Degree I took in 1909, and the third of Licentiate in Teaching, in 1911. These were earned by me; the present one is bestowed by grace and so I am grateful.

I have had some acquaintance with several universities in my time and have pleasure in testifying to the high reputation which this University enjoys both at home and abroad. Those responsible for the management of this University during this period deserve our warmest congratulations. Especially your present Vice-Chancellor who has been actively associated with this University for over a generation.

This University has had a long and distinguished record. It has been responsible in South India for higher education in arts and sciences, medicine and engineering, teaching and law. From this parent institution branched off the Universities of Mysore and Andhra, Osmania and Annamalai, Travancore and Venkatesvara. I hope that these younger Universities maintain the high academic standards for which the Madras University is known.

The graduates of this University are to be found in all parts of India and have won for this University reputation for competence and capacity. It has given to this country leadership in science and letters, education and social work, administration and public service. The first Fellow of the Royal Society in our time belonged to this University, S. Ramanujan. His note-books are still studied with great care. After that three graduates of our University
became Fellows of the Royal Society, Raman, Krishnan, Chandrasekharan. The only Indian Nobel Laureate in physics, Professor C. V. Raman, who is still engaged in important researches, is an example and inspiration to other workers in the field of science. The University has given to our country great administrators whose names are well known. The last Governor-General of India, Shri C. Rajagopalachari, with his long record of outstanding service, is a graduate of this University. We have done well in the past despite the criticisms levelled against Indian universities.

To this learned audience it is not necessary for me to speak at length of the spirit of intellectual adventure and pioneering which has marked the South Indians from ancient times. Intercourse between China and South India is evident from the record of a Chinese Mission to Kanchi in the second century B.C. A Chinese coin of about the same date was found in Chandravalli in Mysore. The kingdoms of Indo-China and the Archipelago were in active touch with South India. Many of the Buddhist monks went from South India to China and other parts and settled there to spread the message of the Buddha. Chinese historians mention the exchange of embassies between the Chinese rulers and the Pallava kings of Kanchi in the eighth century A.D.

Immigration from South India to Java continued for several centuries. By the end of the seventh century A.D. a Hindu-Javanese civilization was flourishing. Agastya became the most popular saint of the Hinduised civilization of Java. Shortly before the middle of the eighth century, a Hindu-Buddhist kingdom in Sumatra (Suvarṇadvīpa) had Śrīvijaya as its capital, ruled by the Šailendras who were the most energetic propagators of the Indian civilization in the Archipelago. In their time Buddhism became the prominent religion in Java. To them we owe the great Borobudur temple with its still beauty, an example of supreme art which is the result of the practice of austerity, tapasyā, which eschews all desires for name and fame but pours out the best in oneself with love and devotion. The inscriptions on the covered foot of the monument are written in the old Javanese which is derived from a South Indian script, called the Pallava script. We have Śaiva temples at Prambanan belonging to the same period. Their walls are decorated with reliefs depicting the story of the Rāmāyana. Buddhism and Śaivism were the two official religions of the Šailendra period. Scholars and teachers of South India
have always been eager to share their knowledge with others even in distant countries.

The stories of our past remind us of the spiritual qualities of freedom, honour, brotherhood and goodwill which made us feel united and go forth sharing our riches with neighbouring peoples. We prospered through the centuries when these qualities moved us and we declined when they were drowned by the afraid and the arrogant, who filled our minds with doubt and fear, and blinded our vision with clouds of illwill. If we retain the pioneering, adventurous and enterprising spirit as also the faith and the idealism that made us do great things in the early centuries, if we shake off the prejudices which divide us from one another, there is no valid cause for fear. We are not the helpless tools of impersonal forces which we do not understand and cannot control. We can take a hand in shaping the future of things.

There are different views of history, that it is cyclical, that it is linear, that it is spiral. The Greeks thought that history was a cyclical movement governed by impersonal laws. With the preacher of Ecclesiastes, 'the thing that hath been is that which shall be; and that which is done is that which shall be done' and there is no new thing under the sun. The Jews, the Christians, and the Muslims held that it was the unfolding of a cosmic pattern, an act of God beginning at the creation and destined to end in the last judgement, that the last day of reckoning would read what the first day of creation wrote. The Chinese held that history was a continuous series of variations on a common theme. History, according to the spiral view, moves on with dips and loops, blind alleys and setbacks, to a higher purpose. Many of us under the sway of the scientific spirit are inclined to a historical determinism. Still others feel that history is a chaotic, disorderly flux, that caprice is king. There is another view which regards history as the outcome of our ideals and ideas, hopes and fears, ambitions and policies. It is produced by a combination of many causes, some necessary, some accidental. The force of the human spirit is an essential factor. There is a fundamental distinction between men and things. We cannot force men to do what we want. In the last resort they may prefer death to conformity. There is an element of indeterminacy in human nature. It has boundless possibilities. The great leaders, Socrates, the Buddha, Christ bring something new and inaugurate fresh stages in the develop-
ment of man; rājā kālasya kāraṇam. Man has a real role in the making of history. He can make a choice from a number of possible alternative developments. What we will do here and now will make a difference to the future. In human life freedom and necessity are bound together. They condition one another. So also in history. There is nothing inevitable. When things happen they may be related to the past; till they happen, we could not have foreseen them. One age does not follow another in normal succession but sometimes saps the bond of continuity and founds a new order of things. We have both continuity and innovation in history. We cannot neglect individuals and deal only with the laws of history. The spirit bloweth where it listeth. The study of man in society cannot become an exact science. Man is the future of man. It is through the efforts of individual men that we can re-make our future.

If the world is disorderly and unstable, it reflects the state of our minds. We are a generation not in revolt but in retreat. It is true that all generations have passed through doubt and uncertainty. It is said that man's trouble started when the first man met the second. Other generations may have seen darker times, more perilous periods than this. In our age the pace of events has speeded up and relatively leisurely times have given way to periods of swift change. We live in a world of bewilderment and moral wandering. The practical results in medicine, engineering, industry, agriculture and warfare are so spectacular that we seem to believe that these feats of scientists will advance our happiness, but they have given us alarm and we live in a state of disharmony, transition, paradox, uncertainty.

The main cause of our malaise is our uprootedness. We are detached from our spiritual foundations which give us poise and balance. Many of us have lost our historical roots and become exiles from our past. Things nearest to us in time are not nearest to us in spirit. The froth on the surface of history does not count so much as the deep underlying currents. It is these that have given us strength and vitality, that have enabled us to live all these centuries. If we lose confidence in ourselves, we cannot retain the confidence of others. We need a renewal of human nature, a creative transformation which will lift us out of fear and suffering, out of despondency and helplessness, which will set us to work bravely for the new world. New men are needed for the new world. This
new world is deeply concerned with science and technology. We are inclined to regard even arts and literary criticism as sciences. Some philosophers wish to confine philosophy to logical analysis. Some look upon religion as an illusion. Such a scientific orientation is likely to upset the values of civilization.

There is, however, no incompatibility between the findings of science and the doctrines of religion. The search of truth is their common goal though they have different ways of approach to it. Since God is Truth, *satya-svarūpa*, the quest of truth is the quest of God. Man who makes the machine is greater than the machine. He who splits the atom is greater than the atom. Science does not suggest the omnipotence of matter. It suggests the supremacy of the spirit of man. The spirit which moves in the minds of men, which inspires and guides them in this quest is divine. The word *Brahman* connotes both the truth which is sought and the spirit in us which seeks it. A scientific view of the world reveals to us a central mystery which is not disclosed to scientific observation. Our attitude to it should be one of piety, humility and adoration. We must acknowledge that truth belongs to God and ideas belong to men. The poison of intolerance is inconsistent with the mystery of God. Too much blood has been unnecessarily and unjustly shed in the name of religious doctrine. The different religions are great spiritual achievements of man and we should take pride not in one special production of mankind but in all, for all are fellow-pilgrims treading our way to the truth in every great faith. *Tirukkural* is claimed by the followers of Jainsim, Buddhism and Hinduism and teaches a universal humanism. True religion requires us to extend our sympathy even to those who do not belong to our group. Religious pride may make us hold that true religion is our own, that 'we are the people, and wisdom shall die with us'.

Science enlarges our concepts of God and religion saves science from going astray. Religion should not end in wars and inquisitions nor science in Hiroshimas and Nagasakis. It is said that a man without religion is like a horse without a bridle. We need the discipline of religion to civilize our nature, to restrain the greed, the callousness and the brutality in us. Religion, however, should not be interpreted in a narrow, sectarian, dogmatic sense but in the broad sense indicated by our great seers and *bhaktas*, the *nāyanārs*, the *ālvārs* and the *ācāryās*. They are united in telling

\[1 John, XII. 2\]
us that we will not be able to create an ordered society unless we learn to master ourselves. In the disordered and bewildered world in which we live, we must learn to live by the values the religious thinkers set before us. We can have peace only if we have the courage of renunciation. Through illness, poverty, or death we begin to feel that the world is not made for us. However beautiful our dreams may be, circumstances may forbid them. In such situations courage is what we need most.

The purpose of religion is not merely to change the opinions of men but to change the lives of men. We must make clean the heart within us. In vicāra we accept the religious demands; in ācāra we ignore them. Theoretical knowledge of the ultimate truth is not enough—vākyārthajñānamātrāt na amṛtam. ‘Not everyone that saith unto me, “Lord Lord”, shall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven but he that doeth the Will of my Father which is in heaven,’ said Jesus. We will be judged not by our words but by our actions, not by resounding declarations but by our deeds. An English poet wrote:

Knowledge we ask not—knowledge thou hast lent
But Lord, the will—there lies our bitter need.
Grant us to build, above the deep intent
The deed, the deed.

The function of a religious man is to disturb, his duty is to wake up the sleepers, to shake the pillars of orthodoxy. He is at once the product and the preceptor of his time. When we listen to him we are troubled and made unsure of our accepted habits. He draws our attention to the distance between our professions and our practices.

We are victims of social divisions and disagreements. However earnest we may be in our intentions, there is not yet that emotional integration among our peoples. Caste divisions, class consciousness still dominate us.

Religion is not reserved for philosophers and theologians. It is intended for the ordinary man also. In a world dangerously distracted and troubled, even ordinary men require a sense of the sacred. The bhakti cult is the most popular in South India. Even today we find devotees go from place to place, chanting on their way to temples, pouring out their hearts before the deity. ‘Oh God, destroy the me in me and stand thou in my stead. Oh God, all that is mine is thine.’ True giving is a giving of oneself. The essence of life for Muhammad was Islam or surrender to the will
of God. All religions emphasize the importance of prayer. Muhammad valued it above all else. He enjoined it on his followers five times a day and turned the world into a prayer-hall. The bhaktas who have made the literature of their age have sung of God as *daridra-nārāyaṇa*. God has no wants, yet He clothes himself in human need that we may serve Him. He has no hunger and yet He comes asking for bread that we may offer Him. He comes in the guise of a beggar that we may bestow. Jesus said: 'I was hungry and you fed me. I was naked and you clothed me. I was thirsty and you quenched my thirst.'

The bhakti movement demands democratic behaviour. *nāsti teṣu jāti-vidyā-rūpa-kula-dhana-kriyādi-bhedah*. Among the devotees there is no distinction of caste, learning, beauty of form, clan, possessions, occupation, etc.¹ In our country man has become man's worst enemy, for he is cut off from truth and the spirit in him is obscured. The advent of independence has led to a quickening of the national conscience against social injustice. There is a loosening of the bonds of caste and an attempt to give equal rights to all men and women.

In the light of the fundamentals of religion, the ups and downs of our political fortunes or the twists and turns of international relations should not disturb our poise and faith. We should not get excited. Whatever the provocation, we should not use angry words or adopt bitter attitudes. We should not waste our time by thinking of the cards which we wish to hold. Our task is to play the hand which history has dealt and play it as well as we can. We must move onward in the stream whether we like it or not. If we do not recognize this forward-moving development, if we reject it and desire to go backward, we will be divided against ourselves and be torn between the two impulses, waste our strength and become split in our nature. We must march forward and feel that what is ahead of us is better than what is behind us. We may remember our yesterdays, but we will have to work for the tomorrows.

In this unquiet modern world which science and technology have compressed into a single neighbourhood, this University and others, by their united efforts may further the cause of peace and understanding. A university is a fellowship, devout in its admiration of what has been achieved in the past, yet believing

¹*Nārada Bhakti Sūtra, 72*
in the richness of the future which lies before us all, a fellowship which transcends all barriers of race and nation, of class and creed and yet honours the artistic and intellectual traditions of a variety of peoples. The scholars and scientists are not always immune to the political passions which infect their countries. But in the pursuit of knowledge they, with their austerity and detachment, can rise above them and see in their political enemy their professional colleague. In the universities at least we must be able to lift our gaze above national interests and breathe the pure air of disinterested inquiry.

The leaders of every university must hold aloft the spirit of man. We need all our skill, fortitude and determination to shape the future along democratic lines not only of our country but of the world. If this University has faith and produces in the years to come men and women of learning and virtue, skill and judgement, piety and character, we will bear the intolerable, achieve the impossible and establish the reign of truth, justice and love on earth.

DELHI UNIVERSITY

MAY I express to Professor Toynbee and Dr Penfield how delighted we are that they have today joined our fellowship.

I am not competent to make any comments on Professor Toynbee’s immense and comprehensive historical work in ten volumes. I have read them and some of his other writings also with great profit. He just observed that the educated minority in our country had a great task to perform in improving the conditions of the common people. Those in positions of power and privilege should do their utmost in a spirit of dedication to speed up economic progress. In an age which is obsessed by a superstitious reverence for science and technology, an age which has lost the sense of the spirit in man and in the world, religion is the hope for the new world. We suffer from what the Greeks call hubris; to overcome it we must develop its opposite, humility. Self-centredness is self-destruction. The challenge of chaos can be met

Chancellor’s Address at Special Convocation admitting Professor Arnold Toynbee and Doctor Wilder Penfield to Honorary Degrees of the University, 16 February, 1957
only by a spiritual renewal. 'You must be born again.' All the splendours of science and technology can produce only a mickey mouse but not make men, nor do they make other machines except through the intelligence and will of man.

As Dr Penfield suggests, science has not understood the mystery of life or solved the riddle of human relationships. History shows that so long as we are enlightened by the vision of spiritual values there is progress; when the vision grows dim, progress falters.

At a time when the world is distracted with anxiety and most men are feeling helpless before the march of events, Professor Toynbee stresses the important role of the human individual in the shaping of history. Man is not like the things he handles. He has the spark of spirit, he is made in the image of God. The indeterminacy of human nature makes for contingency in human affairs. There is nothing inevitable in human history. Neither progress nor decline is the law of life. The future lies open before us. We can let mankind destroy itself or weld it into a single family. We can give to our future glory or gloom. If we are to co-operate with the will of the universe, we must give up the ego-centric illusions of modern sovereign nations, give up parochial conceptions of society, and develop loyalty to the world community. After all there is only one race and that is humanity.

Here, again, Professor Toynbee has urged that we should not cling to the attitude of religious exclusivism, that we have the unique, final, unrepealtable, exclusive, incomparable truth. Such a view is bound to engender contempt for other religions and their followers. He has been contending against a narrow sectarian view of religion and emphasizing that the varieties of religious traditions serve to bring men into touch with ultimate metaphysical reality. Higher religions are not competitive but complementary. Each of them can lift up the human heart to a higher world and incline human nature to the practice of love and the renunciation of hatred.

The need for religion, the freedom of the human spirit to shape its future and the fellowship of faiths are a part of our tradition and Professor Toynbee's writings emphasize these. We welcome him cordially to our academic community.

Whatever forms religion may assume, whatever languages it may speak, whatever beliefs it may hold, its one authentic voice is that of compassion for suffering humanity.
God is *vaidya-nātha*, the lord of physicians. We have in Dr Wilder Penfield a great living example of one whose life is dedicated to the diminution of the pain of others. His magnificent work in neurology and brain surgery, the many ways in which he has enlarged the means of human happiness, and the great respect in which he is held are well known.

We have had dramatic advances in medical science and surgery in the last fifty years. During that period, expectation of life has increased by more than twenty years. The discovery of new drugs, of the sulpha group and anti-biotics and new methods of treatment, e.g. X-Ray, radium and its derivatives have played an important part. The future holds prospects of great and far-reaching changes. The rapid development of nuclear physics, for example, is opening up new diagnostic and therapeutic measures of great importance. Work of research in the conquest of disease will, I am afraid, have to continue perhaps till the end of time. What cannot be wholly attained need not be wholly abandoned.

We, in India, during all these years have only been beneficiaries and not contributors to the increase of medical knowledge and skill. Now that facilities for higher studies and research are expanding, I hope that our medical men will regard it as their function not only to spread medical knowledge but also to increase it. *Pravacana* and *svādhyāya* are the two functions of every teacher.

There is increasing specialization in this field as in others but the specialist should not become an expert technician. Dr Penfield’s varied interests from football to fiction make him not only the great brain surgeon of the world but also a sensitive and charming personality, austere without being pharisaic. Though born an American, he is today hailed as ‘the greatest living Canadian’. The services he has rendered in different parts of the world and the honours he has received from different universities and learned bodies make him out to be a great citizen of the world. Students as well as patients go to him from all over the world. His visit to us at a time when we are attempting to clean up our country of sickness, squalor and superstition is of immense benefit. May the world continue to have for many years the strength of his wisdom and the guidance of his genius.

Our new graduates in different ways have illuminated anew the great adventure of life and we rejoice to welcome them.
IT is a pleasure for me to be here and open the Vivekananda Training College. Nearly fifty years ago I was a student of the Teachers Training College at Saidapet, Madras. Whether the training there imparted made me a better teacher or not, my stay there for a year helped me to make new friends among the members of the teaching profession and know something about what the great thinkers of the world said about education as a science and an art.

A good student is not merely one who has read much but one who has been taught well. He learns more from the teachers than from books. It is, therefore, essential that our teachers should be of proper quality, not only in scholarship but in sympathy for the pupils.

Your institution bears the name of a great teacher, who carried the message of India to distant corners of the world. His talks were inspired because he was a man of great faith. If we are to follow even distantly in his footsteps, we must acquire faith. In the feverish preoccupation with the transitory and the material, there are certain things that abide which redeem our endeavours from futility: the greatest of them is faith in spiritual values.

Your institutions are called Śrī Rāmakṛṣṇa Tapovanam and Śrī Vivekananda Vidyavanam. In Taittirīya Upaniṣad, Nāka, the son of Mudgala, says that study and teaching constitute tapas¹. So tapas and vidyā are closely bound up and for practise a life of austerity it is not always necessary to renounce home and family life, nivṛttarāgasya grāham tapovanam. Sanctity can animate the most ordinary human lives. In the willing acceptance of our daily duties and trials sanctity manifests itself. It is something unaware of itself. A saint does not go about proclaiming hit sanctity.

We live in a world of rapid social change. The very rapidity seems to threaten the human soul. We pass through hopes and frustrations, visions and unrest. Some desire change; others resist it. Education is the process by which we conserve valuable elements in our culture and discard the wasteful. It is both a stabilizing influence and an agent for change. By means of it we help

23 July, 1957

¹ Svādhyāya pravacane ca nāko maudgalyaḥ
taddhi tapas taddhi tapaḥ 1.9.1
the young to become good citizens of the country. What in simpler societies was done by the family, the religious, social and political institutions, has to be done by educational institutions today. They have to create a change in men’s minds and hearts.

It is wrong to assume that man will adopt the right course if only his mind is enlightened by education and his heart is warmed by piety. They are not enough to enable us to wrestle with problems of national justice in a technical age or international justice in a world where exploitation of other people is not extinct. The passions of men’s hearts are more dangerous than the convulsions of nature. We should do our utmost to control our impulses and cravings, lust for power and domination. Brahmacarya is not merely study and reflection, svādhyāya-grahaṇa. It is also chastity of body and mind. A brahma-cāri is one who practises the vow of brahma-caryā. He is ante-vāsi, one who lives close to a teacher and profits by his example. When we live with people who have deliberately renounced the world and everything for which the world stands, we expect to know a little of the secret of the profundities in the midst of which they live. Authentic sages communicate the peace that is not of this world.

The lack of civil discipline among our youth is well-known. We adopted non-violent non-co-operation in the days of our struggle. While it was justified in the fight for freedom, now that we have won freedom, we need disciplined behaviour and co-operative spirit to make our freedom worthwhile.

It is often asked whether it is the function of a teacher to mould the pupil’s mind in accordance with his desires or to leave it alone to shape itself according to its own nature. Both these views have been held in the history of educational thought. In this matter the Bhagavadgītā gives us the proper outlook. We should place before the pupil the best that has been thought and said on any particular subject and then leave it to him to reflect and decide. yathā icchasi tathā kuru. This principle requires us to preserve the independence and integrity of mind against the assaults of mass communication, the radio, the cinema, and the press. The impressions we receive require to be subjected to scrutiny and criticism. No student should become a robot or an automaton.

There are totalitarian ideologies not only in politics but in religions which hold that they alone are in possession of the one valid truth and all our teaching and learning should follow the line of
this truth. On this view to doubt becomes a dangerous heresy. In a college, however, we must not have any pressure to conformity. There should be no complete socialization of man. We must not turn men into machines, fragment their natures and destroy their wholeness. The best way to preserve intellectual integrity is by the study of classics and meditation for a few minutes. These are our defences against the assaults of mass communication. At a time when our knowledge is expanding and action takes a variety of forms, violent and non-violent, quiet reflection or what is called meditation is not a luxury. Whenever we forget the ultimate purpose of existence, when the spirit in us fails to inform our thought, feeling and activity, history records an increase in human suffering. I hope this Institution will help to produce men of integrity and virtue.

COLLEGE OF RURAL HIGHER EDUCATION
COIMBATORE

We have as a directive in our Constitution that within the first ten years of our Independence, free and compulsory education for all children until they reach the age of fourteen should be provided. We have not realized the objective within the prescribed decade. It does show, however, the importance we attach to education. The Government should in this task be assisted by private agencies. This is a practical illustration of the way in which private individuals can help the Government to achieve its task.

In ancient times, education was mainly informal. Work was play for children. They followed their parents to the fields and learnt to plant and weed, harvest corn, gather fuel and herd sheep. Education was centred round a craft, agriculture, weaving, carpentry. The rural people in those days had a natural poise and serenity as they lived in close relation with nature and its rhythm. What is called Basic Education is an attempt to avoid mere book learning and adopt learning through doing. Teaching centres round a craft, agriculture, spinning and weaving, gardening, carpentry, leather-work, cooking, sewing and so forth. The subjects taught are integrated with a central craft. It tries to bring

Opening Address, 24 July, 1957
the pupils into close touch with the daily life of the people. It gives importance to physical education. Since the body is the vehicle of expression for the human being, it should be carefully trained. The education imparted should be both general and vocational.

Education is used to adapt people to changed conditions. Our society is on the move and we must not use education to perpetuate the status quo but we must bring about changes in a controlled way. Industry looks to educational institutions for the training of workers, scientists and engineers. Unfortunately there is a hiatus between the type of men we want for the new society and the type of men turned out of our colleges. The number of unemployed and underemployed remains practically the same, even after the First Five Year Plan.

Those educated in our colleges and universities tend to look upon themselves as a separate class and are cut off from their natural environment. They do not wish to go back to their native surroundings but wish to get some clerical posts in towns.

When we, the members of the University Education Commission, visited some of our agricultural colleges, we were struck by the fact that the graduates of these colleges sought government jobs and were not inclined to go back to farms. We suggested a pattern of university education for the rural people which will heal the rift between towns and villages which has become pronounced in our country. We seem to have two groups in our society, one urban, the other rural, distinct from each other in modes of life. Even village people who came to towns for their education were so transformed in their modes of life that they were reluctant to get back to their rural surroundings. If we are to close the gap between urban and rural people we should bring the amenities of modern life to the villages. We should rectify the unfavourable position of the villages in regard to educational and other amenities.

The villages cannot improve unless we improve water-supply and communications, build schools and hospitals. The community development work is slowly spreading but the expenditure should be less on administration and more on development. It is essential that our secondary schools should train people for the work which is essential for the new society we are attempting to build. The divorce between education and life should be overcome. In the Second Plan we are emphasizing industrial development but the basis of it is agricultural efficiency and expansion. With unlimited
agricultural labour, if we adopt improved methods of farming, we can raise our production level, avoid imports of food grains and feed a badly undernourished population. Even in the First Plan period, our agricultural output has increased only by 14 per cent. Agricultural backwardness is the main cause of India's poverty.

In our villages people live in sub-human conditions. Some of them do not even know their age. The rural institutes are intended to provide a balanced education which will help rural youth to meet the needs of the villages, and preserve a proper sense of values. They should train the youth for leadership in all spheres of rural activities. Education in these should not be entirely vocational. Those trained should be able to compete with those who are trained in urban universities for leadership. This Institute will prepare students in civil and rural engineering and in Agricultural Science. I hope those who are trained in this college will go round the villages, carry new ideas, implant faith in them. We must pull the village people out of want, fear and stagnation. The people must pulsate with new energy and welcome every kind of creative activity. We must help the village people to help themselves.

THE NATIONAL BOOK TRUST, NEW DELHI

Friends, I am happy to be here this morning and inaugurate the National Book Trust.

Visitors from abroad are impressed by the various industrial projects which we have undertaken, Bhakra Nangal, Hirakud, Damodar Valley, Sindri, Chittaranjan, Jamshedpur. These are signs of a newly independent people waging war against poverty and backwardness. There is another side to this picture to which our Government and people are not inattentive. There is a great cultural renaissance which is evident from the establishment of the different scientific laboratories, the three Academies and now the National Book Trust.

Science, literature, art, philosophy and religion have all one chief aim, the illumination of the mind and the elevation of the

Inaugural Address, 1 August, 1957
spirit. It is wrong to think that scientists and humanists belong to different categories. Science is a source of enlightenment and understanding, and an instrument for a better, healthier and safer world. No one is truly educated if he has not a deep understanding of scientific thought, an awareness of the intellectual integrity of the great scientists. The study of nature in its profundity, beauty and subtlety requires complete detachment and dedication. Science has a universal outlook and serves as a unifying force. It has been used to overcome ills, increase food supplies, speed up communications but it may also be used for technological, biological and psychological warfare. There is only one thing worse than the devil and that is the educated devil. We are not afraid of the primitive people today. We are afraid of the educated people who have the techniques of modern science in their grasp, psychological skills for propaganda purposes, men who have the power without the goodness to use it properly. It is possible for men to have scientific power without moral goodness. Scientific knowledge requires to be controlled by philosophic wisdom. We need jñānam vijñānasahitam, as the Bhagavadgītā puts it.

While sciences contribute to wisdom indirectly, the humanist studies foster directly the life of the spirit. One of the chief aims of the National Book Trust is the publication of the classical literature of India. The great classics move us by their profound insights and illustrate that their character is independent of any age. They endow us with graces that move our hearts and raise us to a higher and larger consciousness. Our classics compare favourably with those of other nations.

Professor Berriedale Keith in his History of Sanskrit Literature writes of Sanskrit poets that ‘they had command of language capable of finer sound effects than even Greek at its best; they could successfully manage metres of great complexity but remarkable beauty, and they were conscious experts in the task of matching sound to sense, an art practised indeed by Greek and Roman poets alike, but with far less adequate means and with much less subtlety.’

I recently read a book called the Golden Pomegranate well produced and published by Thacker and Co., Bombay, which gives us a selection of the poetry written during the Moghul period in India, from Babar to Bahadur Shah (1526-1858). It is an impressive account of the poets of the period including Ghalib.
Mankind has not yet outgrown the age of persecution. It is always easy to stop the mouths and sterilize the minds of those with whom we disagree. A Taoist philosopher advised the ruler to empty the minds of his people and fill their bellies. Even in democracies there is a pressure to conformity. He who criticizes the current fashions becomes a social outcaste. Independent thinking is at a discount. Yet all improvements in society are effected by the non-conformists. Those who are intellectually timid and play for safety cannot produce great literature. A great logician who gave logical proofs for the existence of God, when he felt that God did not show any mercy to him in consideration of his services is reported to have addressed the Supreme with great audacity in these words:

Proud of thy lordship thou despisest me on whom thy existence depended when the Buddhists reigned supreme.

\[ aiśvarya-mada-matto'si mām avajñāya vartase \]
\[ parākrānteṣu bauddheṣu mad adhīnā tava sthitih. \]

New knowledge exposes the limitations of past guides to action. We must understand the past but also realize that the present is not the past. We have to create the present. Each generation has to do so. We must take from the altars of the past the fire and the glow and not the ashes. While we may be proud of our past, we have to advance into the future.

We wish to encourage the production of good literature which is vital and not merely verbal. Good literature springs out of vision and passion for something that is not present but ought to be. All this requires leisure for reading, reflection, contemplation and unhurried writing. Words have life of their own, a deep meaning which we should comprehend and respect.

The Trust should be national in the sense that it should publish and make accessible to the lowest in the country books which will discipline their minds and hearts and foster national solidarity. In the last analysis, it is the people that make a country great. Whether in the USA, USSR, Germany, or Japan, not the plans or the ideologies made these countries great, but it was their will to work and their sense of purposiveness. Through the medium of books we must vitalize our people, remove their centuries old inertia, give them a cause worth working for. The books should be critical of the contemporary trends of our society which are dividing us from one another. They must plead for greater loyalty and dedica-
tion, greater efficiency and toleration. They must discourage indis-
cipline and stimulate a high sense of public duty among the people.
When we look around and see a tendency to indiscipline, a ten-
dency to exaggerate those factors which divide us one from another
and not emphasize the factors which bring us together, we feel that
great books can vitalize the whole people, can endow them with
an objective, can make them feel that their primary loyalty is to
the whole community and not to the backyard of their little region
or province.

Indian languages are after a period of long eclipse coming to their
own. By getting standard books translated from one Indian langu-
age into others, we help the development of national consciousness.

We are living in one of history’s dynamic eras, when the axis
of our life and thought is being altered. It is the time in which each
one of us should learn the great traditions of science and humanism
and use them for national solidarity and human welfare.

The Buddha declared that a man starves if he does not eat
two kinds of food, physical and spiritual. The spiritual nourish-
ment is supplied by books which not only entertain and inform but
elevate. At a time when there is a great blurring of values and
drabness of existence we need books of quality priced moderately
which can reach the common man. I hope the National Book
Trust will supply this great need of our generation.

With Mr Deshmukh as Chairman and your co-operation I
have no doubt that the National Book Trust has a very promising
future. I hope you will avoid duplication of effort and wastage,
establish cordial relations with the Regional Trusts, the Sāhitya
Akademi and the Publishing Trade.

EXHIBITION OF PICTURES AND PHOTOGRAPHS
RELATING TO THE FREEDOM STRUGGLE
DELHI

I am sorry that it has not been possible for us to make this
Exhibition as impressive as we would like it to be. Every impor-
tant town is having its own exhibition and would not part with its

Opening Address, 14 August, 1957
exhibits. We are, therefore, content with what we are able to collect locally.

Now that we have had the fortune of freedom for the last ten years, we cannot afford to forget the inspiration which the lives of those who struggled, suffered and fell for the achievement of freedom offer us. To walk through this city is to walk almost through history itself. This city has lived long enough and has seen the rise and fall of many empires. The last was the British Empire.

The death of Emperor Aurangzeb in 1707 hastened the disintegration of the Moghul Empire. The Rajputs, the Sikhs and later the Maharrattas fought the Moghuls. In many parts the people could not bear either their vices or the remedies for them. Several European Powers came in for purposes of trade and after the battle of Plassey in 1757 the British established themselves as the Paramount Power in the country.

There was a general belief among many Indians that the Company's rule would come to an end, as it did, one hundred years after the battle of Plassey in 1757. The two years 1857-1859 were characterized by chaos, terror and violence. The Sepoys fought grimly and gallantly with incredible courage believing that the stars in their courses were fighting with them. Thousands dared everything and sacrificed everything. The magnificent feats of heroism and valour of the Rani of Jhansi, Queen Hazrat Mahal, Nana Sahib, Tantia Tope, Bahadur Shah and his queen Zinat Mahal, Kunwar Singh and many others do honour to human nature and its love for freedom. Their deeds are celebrated in song and story. The uprising was a great political event which left a deep mark on the minds and hearts of the Indian people. It became an important part of our movement for national liberation. The resistance was, however, broken, though the rulers lost confidence and nerve and realized how near to the surface the peril to their rule was and what unsuspected powers of self-defence Indian society had. It may be true to say that the year 1857 marked the beginning of a new era which ended in the transfer of power in 1947.

If the resistance was suppressed, it was not only because of the superior technical power and discipline of the British, it was also because of the defective and divided leadership, of personal jealousies and intrigues on the Indian side. Communal differences were not pronounced. As a matter of fact, the Id festival fell that year on the first of August and Emperor Bahadur Shah ordered that no
cows were to be killed within the city during the festival. He himself set an example to his subjects by sacrificing sheep. The revolt did not take a communal character but princes, landlords and sepoys fought on both sides.

The one lesson which our past history gives us is this, that the country has not been conquered from without; it has often been defeated from within. Religious differences, regional differences, social differences, economic differences have often stood in the way of our unity. When we were united and strong, we went out to the Far East, South-East Asia and West Asia to spread the message of truth and love. We had the vigour and the dynamism, keen intelligence and deep humanity to inspire the art and literature of many other countries. Borobudur and Angkor-Vat are standing witnesses to the spirit of India. A blight fell on us and all sorts o tabooos were imposed and we became small in mind and narrow in outlook; subjected women to inferiority and millions of men to social degradation.

Gandhiji appeared on the national scene when there was no cohesive community of interests and there was much confusion in men’s minds. He knew that we became victims of a large number of small loyalties. He castigated us for our social abuses and fired us with a determination to become free. He said that every people had a right to mis-govern themselves if necessary. Good government is not a substitute for self-government.

Freedom is not fulfilment. The country is not to be an old curiosity shop of ancient monuments; nor can dams, hydro-electric projects and tractors, essential as they are for feeding our millions, make a people great. Governments come and go and nations change and lose their faces. We are now living in the midst of an exciting transformation.

Internally we effected the integration of the States which had a population of eighty millions who were governed by the Princes, introduced land reforms and are striving to raise the standards of the people. We are trying to tackle the problem of poverty with limited resources and through democratic processes. We have succeeded to some extent. Many of our critics did not feel that we would travel so far and so fast though we have yet a long way to go. The world is watching us and we have to be watchful. We should not become rootless. It is for the sake of preserving the soul of our country that we demanded and struggled for freedom and achieved
it. We should not forget the profound thought of our sages and the serene light of our art. We should not lower our moral standards in our public life, national and international. We must shake off the factious spirit which threatens to become a national disease. We think that we are open-minded because we criticize one another furiously.

We are today at the cross-roads. Whether we take the path which leads to triumph or that which ends in abysmal failure depends on us. We make our own history, though we may not be able to make it as we please. Only stupidity and selfishness are in the way. The size of the task, the challenge of the situation, the heroic qualities they demand, require us to adopt the principles which Gandhiji insisted on, service, sacrifice and dedication. This is not a time for annoyance and aggressiveness; it is a time for humility, dedication and social discipline. We must sacrifice our personal interests, loyalties and attachments for the national good. Let us all work together in this spirit, free from fear, hatred and selfishness, to make our country strong and united; for only a strong India can help humanity.

The photographs and relics we will see here should inspire us to be fearless and daring, purposeful and sacrificial.

P. E. N. CONFERENCE OF ALL INDIA WRITERS BARODA

I am grateful for this opportunity which enables me to meet the members of the P. E. N. and the leading writers of our country. I am happy to know that there are some foreign delegates who have come to us for attending this Conference. Their presence indicates the aims of cultural solidarity which we have at heart.

From the address which Shrimati Hansa Mehta just read to us it is clear that this city of Baroda has been for long a centre of intellectual life and activity in this region. We are happy to meet here and see for ourselves what is being done in the University and elsewhere for the promotion of cultural activities.

Presidential Address, 26 October, 1957
Our Prime Minister very modestly disclaimed being a writer. He said that he wrote some books some time ago, but latterly he had been giving his creative energy to public life and administration. May I say that our Prime Minister is essentially a man of letters who has strayed into politics on account of the unfortunate political conditions of our time. I have no doubt that he will, in the years to come, enrich our literature by his writings.

He said that anybody could be a writer, but he immediately added that an authentic writer should have two characteristics: 
1. he must have a sensitive temperament and 
2. a disciplined mind.

The swamiji who gave us now his blessings referred to an ancient saying: kavyah krānta-darśinaḥ. Great writers, great poets are men of vision. The function of literature is not only to discipline our intelligence, but also to quicken our sensibility. Unless writers rise to moral and spiritual heights they cannot fulfil their proper function. Amateurs in a hurry, casual believers in doubtful creeds, those who speak with tired voices, who live in the land of the dead cannot be great writers. They must have a passionate vision of the future.

Our ancients have spoken to us about svādhyāya and tapas. svādhyāya is study, reflection and tapas gives us serenity, psychological independence of the immediate surroundings. The great writers enter into the world of stillness where the values of spirit shine like stars and come back to give us their visions. Great writing is a sacrament and it can be achieved only by intense effort, for the Philistine is all about us persecuting our peace, confusing our vision and disturbing our values. Great writers are known for their purity of thought and austerity of habit.

But a vision or an illumination must be expressed in appropriate form, in elevating words. Meaning and expression must match each other; vāk and artha, as the introductory verse in the Raghuvamśa tells us; they must be integrated. Centuries ago Confucius spoke to us of the importance of words and how mistakes in life arise by the misuse of words. Modern philosophers who insist on linguistic analysis tell us that problems of philosophy can be handled successfully, if they are properly stated. They deal with the logical structure of language. Pāṇini, the greatest of the grammarians, says that a single word properly understood and correctly used gives the writer a place in heaven where all desires are fulfilled. ekaḥ śabdaḥ sam-yak jñājtaḥ samyak prayuktah svarga-loke kāmadhuk bhavati. There
is a striking devaluation of words today. Words like democracy, freedom, justice, peace, socialism, brotherhood are used loosely. Writers have to recognize the strength and sanctity of words, of *śabda-Brahma*. We have to use our power of writing to lift our readers above and beyond the fear, ignorance and isolation which beset them.

If great writings are to be relevant to our age, they must take into account the world in which we live. You have selected as one of the subjects for your discussion, 'The Writer’s Responsibility in a Rapidly Changing World'. The writers cannot live in a vacuum. They must reckon with the rapid changes that are taking place in the new world that is emerging; they must know what is happening round about them.

There are some prominent features of our age which we have to reckon with. The first is the scientific and technological revolution. Science has disclosed possibilities which outrun our wildest imagination. On Friday the 4th of October of this year, the Soviet Union launched the first man-made space satellite which is whirling on its elliptical orbit round the earth, emitting signals which are heard by radio-sets all over the world. We are told that we will be able to make contacts with other worlds. Physiologists tell us that they have found methods for controlling the number and bodily shapes of human beings even before they are born. Psychology has found new methods for manipulating men’s minds and exercising almost unlimited power over them. In the industrial field atomic power is likely to change the whole frame of things.

The second prominent feature of our age is the growing unity of mankind. The boundaries which divide nations are crumbling down. In spite of appearances to the contrary we are moving towards the ideal of one humanity in this world. It is no more possible for nations to live in isolation.

The third important feature is the political divisions and ideological groupings, which, if not controlled, may threaten the very future of humanity. If in spite of the magnificent achievements of the human mind and the increasing unification of the world, we are puzzled and perplexed, it is because the world is divided into two ideological groups which control nuclear weapons and are engaged in the production of intercontinental ballistic missiles and satellites circling round the earth. The world will soon be at the mercy of instruments in space. The nervous strain and tension are due to the
unfortunate fact that all these splendid inventions are intensifying the cold war. The competition between the two groups in the making of deadly and devastating weapons of war is an invitation to disaster. If it has not already come upon us, it is due to the innate wisdom of our leaders and the feeling that no one group has impregnable superiority. No one group can expect to derive any benefit from a nuclear war. Short of war we are indulging in a game of bluff and blackmail. The present condition of stalemate, of uneasy equilibrium may grow into a condition of suicide or survival. Enlightened self-interest demands that we give a chance for sanity to prevail. Let us remember that it has happened in history that great States obsessed by their own righteousness, undeterred by the fear of disastrous consequences have indulged in acts of supreme folly. The present situation is a challenge and an opportunity. The threat is not only military but moral and spiritual. It is for us writers to accept the challenge and do all that is possible to produce a climate of thought and opinion in which humanity will assert itself and save its future.

Science, if it proves anything, proves the superiority of the human mind, its capacity to rise above material temptations. Those who work in laboratories, watch through telescopes, scrutinize sun-spots, suffer privations in distant parts of the world testify to the valiant spirit in man. It is through the power of the human mind that we have established control over the forces of nature, over the beasts in the jungle, over the malignant microbes in our body. We have reached a stage in our history when we can achieve world peace and all-round progress, if we have courage and vision. We can use these powers for creation or for destruction. This is the challenge of destiny.

The freedom of the human spirit and the unpredictability of human behaviour are the central themes of history. Human affairs do not obey any irresistible rhythm. There is no ebb or tide in human affairs subject to natural or supernatural causes. The future is largely in our hands. Other civilizations have disappeared, other species have perished when they could not adapt themselves to a changed environment. The risk is not that we should disappear but that we should disappear so needlessly, so unhappily, so miserably. We need a self-renewal.

The last enemy we have to conquer is our own self. The Bhagavadgītā tells us that the Self alone is the friend of the self, that the
Self alone is the enemy of the self: ātmaiva hi ātmano bandhur ātmaiva ripur ātmanah. It is easy to let the ape and the tiger in us die but the donkey is hard to kill. The rigid mind, the hardened attitude, the frozen posture, self-righteous pride are difficult to overthrow. Nietzsche asks us to distrust all in whom the impulse to punish is strong. We in this country have held for centuries that the fulfilment of man lies only in the growth and triumph of spirit. What we are is more important than what we have; what we can become is more important than what we can acquire. What we have or can acquire is meaningful only insofar as it helps us towards what we can become. The Bhadāranyaka Upaniṣad¹ tells us that all things are desired for the sake of the spirit, are useful as means for the development of the spirit, ātmanas tu kāmāya. We make history by remaking ourselves. Civilization is our concern. Science and scholarship, commerce and industry are means to it.

Let us realize that mankind is in its infancy. We are at the beginning of time. Sir James Jeans said some years ago: 'We have come into being in the fresh glory of the dawn and a day of almost unthinkable length stretches before us with unimaginable opportunities for accomplishment. Our descendants of far-off ages, looking down this long vista of time from the other end, will see our present age as the misty morning of the world's history: our contemporaries of today will appear as dim heroic figures who fought their way through jungles of ignorance, error and superstition to discover truth, to learn how to harness the forces of nature and to make a world worthy for mankind to live in.' He adds that 'the main message of astronomy is one of hope to the race and responsibility to the individual, of responsibility because we are drawing plans and laying foundations for a longer future than we can well imagine.' Life is an unending quest, a great spiritual adventure. A course in astronomy may give us better perspective. It will help us to detach ourselves from the torments and upheavals of the world. The stars hang there aloof reminding us that our throbbing consciousness and our petty squabbles, our power politics are silly and will not last for ever. It will make us less greedy, less jealous, less indignant, less angry with others. Man is now approaching his second million years.

Our country is not committed to either of the military blocs but it is committed to peace, to freedom, to one world. When we speak of peaceful co-existence, it is not just unwilling toleration of

¹IV.5.6
one another but peaceful co-operative living with one another. History teaches us that time has a healing power. It brings about adjustments and reconciliations that seemed impossible previously. If we do not adopt this view, the world is doomed. So long as we have two powerful blocs armed with nuclear weapons, a suicidal war may break out not through aggression but through defence, not through crusading zeal but through abject fear. We must try to lift the blight of fear and hatred and base our international relations on justice and friendship. We must adhere to these ideals without yielding to pressure or intimidation. \textit{māno hi mahatām dhanam.}

When cleavages are growing bitter it is our duty to recall that nations and races are bound together in mutual obligation. It is the duty of the literary artist to give hope and heart to all those who fight against pride and prejudice, dogma and fanaticism. The spiritual urge, the ethical impulse should inspire all great writing. We should demonstrate the unity of the world, despite all differences of race and religion, class and nation. Literature fosters the good of the world, \textit{viśva-śreyah kāyyam}. We are familiar with the saying of Marcus Aurelius: ‘The poet cries, “Dear City of Cecrops”; Canst thou not say, “Dear City of God?”’ Our aim should be to work for \textit{loka-saṁgraha} or world solidarity by cutting across frontiers, dispelling misunderstanding, fostering fellowship of intellect and spirit.

Mankind is today in a state of pilgrimage. We struggled for freedom and achieved it, not for our own sake but for the wellbeing of the world, \textit{loka-kalyāṇa}. Gandhi spoke in clear terms about this question: ‘I want the freedom of my country so that other countries may learn something from my free country, so that the resources of my country might be utilized for the benefit of mankind. My love, therefore, of nationalism, or my idea of nationalism is that my country may become free, that if need be, the whole country may die, so that the human race may live.’ He had a clear perception of the unity of mankind as the goal of human endeavour. He taught us national unselfishness. It is our duty today to make an appeal to the conscience of the world, appeal to the great nations to turn a new page and use the gifts of science for making the world into a paradise. If we do not do so we will be guilty of the betrayal of our trust.

We should resolve to do what is right even if we do not hope to succeed. The inspiration of the impossible has often transformed the world. The God of the \textit{Bhagavadgītā} tells us: ‘Bring me thy
failure.’ It is through many failures and through much tribulation that humanity will reach its goal.

INDIAN PEOPLE’S THEATRE ASSOCIATION
NEW DELHI

I am glad to be here and see something of the work of the Indian People’s Theatre Association. I had the pleasure of seeing some years ago one of the shows ‘The Discovery of India’ put up by some artists connected with the I.P.T.A. Since its foundation some years ago, the mood and pattern of the Association seem to have altered a great deal and its present objective is the service of the people through the medium of art, especially music, dance and drama. These arts have been with us from the beginning of our history and helped to consolidate our culture, have also inspired the artistic traditions of many Eastern countries. In Indonesia, for example, Arjuna-vivaha is the most popular drama. I have seen there and in Cambodia, Laos and Viet-Nam scenes from the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata staged.

If the main objective of human life is the growth of spirit, the enlargement of consciousness, the role of art in this task is very significant. Art initiates us into a higher and deeper state of being than is accessible to us in ordinary life. At the touch of the beautiful the secret being in us is awakened.

The vast expansion of human knowledge has resulted in a spirit of arrogance when we seem to think that we are very gods on earth. We have knowledge without wisdom, power without humility. Over-emphasis on intellectual achievement has stifled the life of the emotional, the imaginative and the spiritual in us, which has animated and nourished the source of our being. If we are to recover our respect for integral life, if we are to develop the kingdom of free men we should stress the aesthetic side also. Charles Darwin observed that on account of his preoccupation with his scientific work he lost the capacity to appreciate Milton’s Paradise Lost. Bertrand Russell said the other day: ‘It may be said that a poet is an unimportant person whose

Inaugural Address to the Eighth Conference, 23 December, 1957
views are of no consequence.' These are indications of the over-
development of the intellectual and neglect of the other sides of
human nature.

Many modern men are psychologically mal-adjusted. Over-
crowded mental homes and long waiting lists are an indication of it.
The chaos and emptiness within is the prime cause of our troubles.
Our fears and depressions, our hysterical reactions to the chal-
lenges of life are the results of the utter boredom and emptiness
within us. Religion which has been the great integrating force
has lost its grip on mankind. It no longer holds the monopoly
of spiritual guidance. The loss of world-vision is the cause of our
disturbed and diseased minds. We must re-discover the meaning of
life and lose the feeling of isolation. Art can partly serve the pur-
pose which religion attempts to achieve.

At a time when we are attempting to reorganize our society
we should remember that while we should plan for providing bodily
comfort, namely food, clothing and shelter, we must also foster
the means to the freedom of the human spirit. We cannot socialize
the spirit of man. The free individual is not a machine-tool. Poetry,
passion, ecstasy also count. Man does not live by bread alone.

You have called this venue of your festival Naṭarāja Nagari.
Naṭarāja is the Lord of Dance. It is said that the three worlds are
but the dancing hall of Naṭarāja. The world is a stage and we are
all actors in it. We find in the Merchant of Venice:

I hold the world, but as the world, Gratiano,
A stage where every man must play a part.

Naṭarāja is famous for his tāṇḍava-nṛtya. The word nṛtya means
both dance and drama. Bharata meant by drama an art which
comprises song, dance and action. There are several traditions
of dance and drama in our country which we have to nourish.
I take it that it is your aim to do so.

The community must become conscious of its responsibility
in the sphere of art. By the establishment of the Sangeet Natak
Akadami in the Centre and in some of the States, the Government
is doing what it can, but art though assisted by Government should
not be controlled by it. It is to be above all politics, for while
our politicians as a rule develop ideological prejudices, national
rivalries and foster hatreds, the artists are above the battle and work
for the reconciliation of peoples. Art becomes debased if it sets
out to dictate beliefs and doctrines.
In recent weeks, we had Miss Marian Anderson from the United States, the Hungarian singer Lily Kraus and the Rumanian Cultural Delegation, and all these greatly impressed us. By witnessing great performances we acquire serenity of heart, ṛdāya viśrānti. Nations communicate with each other through the medium of art, and if the obstacles to peaceful living, which are psychological, are to be overcome, this can be done, to some extent, through the medium of art.

We have had our own drama and it is said that for over a thousand years between the Greek drama and the Elizabethan drama the only drama of quality in the world was the Indian. In a drama, the words and the actors are the essential thing, and whatever diverts attention from them such as elaborate scenery or excessive stage machinery is self-defeating. They distract and disturb.

In our view the great aim of art is to give us understanding, compassion. Bhavabhūti tells us that there is only one rasa—eko rasah karuna eva. A true work of art produces a deep tender sympathy with fallible human nature. Whatever may be the theme of the play, wonder, heroism, love, joy, sorrow, lamentation, tears, laughter, the result is elevation of spirit.

Your Association can do a great deal in popularizing the theatre. In ancient times we had popular dramas and music festivals which were open to all people. A time arose when the poorer classes were allowed to grow up and die in utter indifference to all the subtle and necessary influences which flow from the essentially beautiful. Organizations like yours should strive to remedy these defects and make the theatre accessible to common people.

INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION OF CHILDREN’S BOOKS AND THE ANNUAL INTERNATIONAL CHILDREN’S ART EXHIBITION, NEW DELHI

After we attained our Independence, we have been striving our utmost to raise the material conditions of our people. We are proud of our dams, hydro-electric projects, fertilizer factories,

Inaugural Address, 30 April. 1958
national laboratories, etc. But there is a more important function assigned to us and that is raising the quality of human beings, to give a new direction to their hearts and minds. We cannot survive materially if we are not saved morally. Our attempt should be to establish a moral society where material production and distribution will be equitably achieved. In this re-making of human beings Shankar has been playing a notable part.

Dr Shrimali referred to this century as the century of the children. In this country, as in others, the child was always treated with care and affection. The Upaniṣad says: 'Let, therefore, the Brahmin give up his pride of learning and behave like a child.' Mencius tells us: 'No one can be great unless he has a child's heart.' Jesus tells us: 'Of such is the kingdom of heaven.' Though we paid this homage to the child, we have not always been eager to carry out our professions.

The exhibitions of Children’s Books and Children's Art which Shankar has organized are both international in character. We are in different ways converging on a world society. At the moment the world happens to be divided. This stalemate cannot continue for long. It has to get unified if it is not to be destroyed. This unification can be achieved only by a meeting of minds and union of hearts. Art Exhibitions where we have works from different traditions, foster friendship by enabling us to see the world with each others’ eyes. Art speaks a universal language and the different artistic traditions are to be regarded as dialects of this universal language. The Children's Art Exhibitions illustrate the oneness of the child mind in spite of the variety of its accomplishment. Diplomatic encounters develop differences. Art Exhibitions strengthen unity. They point out how we laugh when tickled, bleed when cut, suffer when frustrated, enjoy when fulfilled.

The education of the child should not be confined to the acquisition of information or the acquirement of skills. It must also develop creative imagination and initiate the child into the supreme values of life, love, truth, beauty, and goodness. The child mind should be encouraged to love these values and hate ignorance, squalor and violence. In ancient times by the employment of myths and stories, our minds were shaped. Though many of us were illiterate, we were not ignorant. The effect of these myths and stories remained permanent on the child mind and became a part of its character. Today when we are attempting to increase
literacy we must also spread enlightenment. Education in Art makes life richer and fuller. It produces an atmosphere of beauty.

If we are to produce a revolution in the world, we have to stress that our tribe is mankind and nothing human is alien to us. By these international exhibitions we encourage a world outlook.

If we are to build a casteless and classless society, our education should be directed towards shaping the mind of the young in the direction of our ideals. The Children’s Book Trust must bring out good books which leave a permanent impression on the child mind. Naturally the mind is not to be warped by the development of group feelings. We in our country from the earliest times adopted the great principle of ‘reverence for reverence’. Whatever is held sacred by any group of people must be respected by others. It is the only basis on which a world society could be built. As we shall see, books are produced in other countries neatly and cheaply, sometimes with paper covers, and such books which promote national solidarity and international friendship must be made available. Our greatest seers were both saints and soldiers. With great detachment and dedication they worked for the welfare of the world, for loka-samgraha. These Exhibitions ought in a small way to contribute to the development of such a consciousness.

MESSAGE TO UNESCO NATIONAL COMMISSIONS

I am happy to say a few words to the delegates assembled at the Sixth Conference of the U. S. National Commission for UNESCO meeting at San Francisco. Our age is remarkable not only for the great advances in science and technology but also for the increasing unification of the world. If the U. N. Charter is not working satisfactorily, it is not due to any deficiencies in the Charter but to the political differences which divide the Member-States. UNESCO should attempt to rise above these differences and stress the large area of agreement in science, education and culture, which binds nations. The future world order is to be built in the minds of men.

The meeting of East and West dreamt of by the ancients is now coming about not merely through material contacts but

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through spiritual encounter. Nations may be divided as political entities but their human identity is still there. We must look upon the whole of humanity as one, work for a united, not a uniform world, for variety is the source of richness and joy, and make the U. N. into a federation of friendly inter-dependent States. No nation can prosper except as an integral part of the whole. This is the lesson of the diminished world, the shrunken globe. Mutual understanding is the price not of prosperity but of survival. The differences which separate nations need not be sources of fear, suspicion and mistrust. The peoples of the world are like one another, and if we look closely, we find that they are only more so. They hate folly and cruelty and if they indulge in them, it is because their minds are warped and their values distorted by indoctrination. But there is nothing irrevocable in human affairs. There is no hatred, no misunderstanding, no dividing line between peoples, that cannot be overcome. Even deep-seated prejudices can be got over by education and cultural fellowship which are the main objectives of UNESCO. We need today not mere social improvement but spiritual redemption.

Truth, freedom and righteousness are essential for peace; we must nourish these qualities, see whatever good there is even in our enemies, cherish generosity of judgement and prefer forgiveness to punishment. It is the only way of release from our afflictions.

INAUGURATION OF UNESCO HEADQUARTERS
PARIS

Mr President, Mr Secretary-General, Mr Director-General, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen:

As one connected with the activities of UNESCO in some capacity or other from its foundation in 1946, it is a matter of pride to me that as the Leader of the Indian delegation I happen to be the President of the General Conference on this significant and auspicious occasion. On behalf of the General Conference and member States of this organization, I accept with great pleasure from the Director-General these noble and inspiring buildings full

3 November, 1958
of light and warmth, colour and beauty. It is a day of rejoicing for all connected with this project, the Director-General and his Secretariat, the Executive Board, the Headquarters Committee, the architects, the engineers, the contractors and the workmen and many others that their labours have reached fulfilment. To the Government and people of France and the Municipal Council of Paris, who have, in many ways, generously helped us, our special thanks are due. This city with its intellectual countenance and luminous memories, which attracts all but yields to none its mysteries will now have this additional title to architectural fame.

The representatives of the peoples of the world will meet in this new home, draw inspiration and strength from their varied experiences and strive to establish the great fellowship of mankind which is the goal of human effort. It is true that today we are deeply divided and yet we are divided only to be made one, though we of this generation may not live to see the distant scene. It is not an orthodox theologian but a great rationalist, your Joseph de Maistre who wrote shortly after the French Revolution: ‘Providence never wavers and it is not in vain that it shakes the world. Everything proclaims that we are moving towards a great unity, which, to use a religious expression, we must hail from afar. We have been grievously and justly broken, but if such eyes as mine are worthy to foresee the divine purpose, we have been broken only to be made one.’ If we penetrate the political changes and see the deeper currents of thought and feeling, we will discern the working of a social dynamism, a new experiment in human co-operation, in human helpfulness.

The world has been shattered by fanaticisms. The means of destruction have increased beyond anything we knew or even imagined when the Second World War ended. Peace has become a matter of life and death for all of us, and the only way of securing it is by the appreciation of eternal values, truth, integrity, understanding, love. We must maintain our love of these values even amid the distractions of modern life. UNESCO believes that we must understand others and respect them if we are to live at peace with them. Mere knowledge of each other's ways does not necessarily allay suspicion, fear and distrust. Prejudice is not always the outcome of ignorance. There is the inclination to evil, and innate malignity in men's minds. The passions are implanted in us so that we may struggle with them and thereby attain a degree of
knowledge and virtue denied to other creatures. The way to over-
come evil propensities is not by a mere increase of knowledge but
by the growth of charity. We must grow in greatness, if we are to
achieve a human order, tolerably free from want and fear. If
we cannot change our minds and hearts, we cannot change
anything.

Catastrophe may be impending but is still a little way off in
the future, and if the human in us asserts itself, it may be averted
altogether. We should repudiate the false doctrine of man’s help-
lessness against world events. Man is higher than the forces which
threaten to destroy him. If we act with firmness the collective
contagious insanity can be broken and will be broken.

The meeting together of educators and thinkers, scholars and
scientists, artists and creative writers reminds the world lost in the
crazy tangle of power-politics that all is not lost, that there are
brave men and women filled with a vision of human future,
fighting for the values of civilization, dignity and decency, freedom
and truth. In his great play of Antigone Sophocles had made it
clear that there is something above and beyond human enactments
which men must respect as superior to them. We should obey
the law of dharma, of truth, of love. At a time like this full of
wrath and insecurity, when the forces of evil, the rule of might and
the madness of men seem to triumph with an insolence hardly
equalled, the work of our organization calling upon the peoples
of the world to be human, to be humane, to be humble, to be re-
pentant, to be understanding is of great significance in the general
frame-work of the United Nations Organization. International
Co-operation is the way to international understanding which is
the essential condition of enduring peace. A commonwealth of
mind and spirit is the foundation for the commonwealth of nations.

When each one of us enters these buildings, he should get to
his desk as to an altar and remember the noble words of William
Lloyd Garrison: ‘Our country is the world; our countrymen are
all mankind,’ an echo of the ancient Sanskrit saying:

bhrātaro manujās sarve, svadeśo bhuvana-trayam.

All men are brothers; the three worlds are my native home.
All who work here are the servants of the human race, the apostles
of the world to be, civitas mundi.

May I conclude with an ancient prayer:
‘Let all be happy, let all be healthy, let all see the face of
happiness, let no one be unhappy. Peace! Peace! Peace!
sarve bhavantu sukhinah, sarve santu nirāmayah,
sarve bhadrāni paśyantu, mā kaścit duhkhabhāg bhavet.
śantih! śantih! śantih!

UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

We are celebrating today the tenth Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The United Nations’ Charter in its first article provides for the adoption of all measures necessary for maintaining international peace and security. If we want peace we should also want the conditions necessary for securing peace. Men generally resort to war if they are oppressed by despots, if they suffer from poverty and privation, illiteracy and disease, if they are humiliated by foreign domination and if political institutions subject them to degradation. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights holds that ‘the recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world.’ In our country we have a tradition which regards every human being as having a spark of the divine in him. This is the basis for human brotherhood. No wonder that our Constitution in Part III gives our people Fundamental Rights and in Part IV gives the Directive Principles of the State’s policy.

In the Declaration of Human Rights the conscience of the world gives utterance to its deepest longings. The declaration is an act of faith, and each nation has to chalk out a programme for action to implement the faith. The faith is inconsistent with policies of colonialism, race discrimination, slavery where human beings are treated as commodities to be bought and sold. We cannot have peace without respect for human rights.

World brotherhood is no more a distant goal or remote ideal. It is an insistent, demanding necessity. It is the ancient prophecy as well as the modern dream. Science and technology have broken down the boundaries that have before separated the peoples of the world. None of the differences separating the peoples of the world are so important as membership in the human family.

Speech in the Rajya Sabha, 10 December, 1958
All critical situations are pregnant with the two forces of hope and fear. Today we feel that the greatest era of human history on earth is within our reach. If we are not to betray the human race we have to work with faith and strength to realize the ideals enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. When Socrates was describing the ideal way of life and the ideal society Glaucon countered: 'Socrates, I do not believe that there is such a City of God anywhere on earth'; Socrates answered whether such a city exists in heaven or ever will exist on earth, 'the wise man will live after the manner of that city, having nothing to do with any other, and in so looking upon it, will set his own house in order'.

ANDHRA PRADESH SAHITYA AKADEMI
HYDERABAD

I am glad to take part in the functions of this evening. This Academy is established for the purpose of encouraging the growth of true literature. It is a commonplace to say that while politics and economics, even dogmatic religions divide peoples, literature, if it is not propagandist, brings people together.

Andhra has had a long and continuous literary history of over a thousand years. Contemporary Andhra literature reflects modern influences. It is therefore, alive and real.

It is the function of literary artists to give a proper vision to the people. Without ideals man's life has no value nor a nation's life. At the present moment the ideals which should animate the people are the unity of the country, social betterment and the vision of human unity and fellowship. In every language of our country we have great translations of our classics. Thus a certain community of ideals has grown up. To return to the classics is not to be guilty of intellectual archaism. They embody enduring truths. Through mutual exchange we help the cultural integration of our country.

What happens in the author's mind is a state of vision, a kind of magic. The most creative of man's activities are the most
personal. Our people have taught us that great literature is the outcome of study and reflection.

‘Great things are done when men and mountains meet,
This is not done by jostling in the street.’—Blake

There are many people who say something or other because they have to say something. The true artist says because he has something to say. A casual encounter with life is not enough for great literature. It is not what happens to us but what we do with what happens to us.

Though Andhra literature may be rooted in the soil, its aim is universal. It is the possession of humanity at large, not of any race or nationality. Literature raises the voice of spirit above the turbulent stream of history and directs our vision to the brotherhood of spirit. In this age of linguistic fanaticisms, regional and communal loyalties and group conflicts, where trivialities are engaging our energies, our literary men should hold up before us the fundamental unity not only of India but of the world. This does not mean the obliteration of the distinctions which are as vital as the unity. The Ṛg Veda says:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{eka evāgnir bahudhā samiddha} \\
\text{ekāḥ suryō viśvam anuprabhūtah} \\
\text{ekāivōśaḥ sarvam idam vighāty} \\
\text{ekam vā idam vi babhūva sarvam.}
\end{align*}
\]

One is Agni kindled in many a spot;
One is Sūrya shining over all;
One is Uṣas illuminating all this;
That which is One has become this All.  \(^1\)

Again we cannot remain deaf to the cries of suffering humanity. The need for social and economic reconstruction should be felt by the common people. We must raise the standards of social morality. We must defend the human person against abuse and degradation. If we fail to appreciate the good and the beautiful, we are sunk in barbarism. We must work for a full and satisfying life for our people. By our writings we should help ordinary people to participate in schemes for raising the standards of public health and sanitation and work for greater agricultural production and industrial development.

Nothing greater ever happens in history than the rise of a new hope. It is for literature to give a sense of hope to this troubled generation.

\(^1\) VIII. 58.2
UNIVERSITY OF RAJASTHAN

This is the second time I have the honour to address the Convocation of this University. Since I last came here, the University has made steady progress under the able guidance of two distinguished scholars—Mahajani and Chatterji. I have no doubt that the University will continue to fulfil its proper functions for many years to come.

It is my pleasant duty to congratulate all those who have taken degrees today, specially those who have won distinctions in their examinations. Their hard work has earned for them these rewards.

The life you are entering is one which calls for the utmost effort and disciplined behaviour. We are living in a competitive world. Startling achievements are recorded in the world of science. We are gradually moving to the space age. We are sending out satellites and conquering space. If we are not alert, we will be left behind. The race is to the swift and the strong and not to the lazy and the weak. We require scholars, scientists and technicians to fight the battle against poverty, unemployment, hunger, disease and human degradation.

It is for the universities to furnish society with men of learning and science who have the requisite intellectual habits and technical skills. No modern society can progress without a band of earnest students of science and scholarship. This contribution to society can be made only if we have a proper outlook.

True education should deepen our insight, widen our horizon, create a meaningful outlook. Initiation into a life of spirit has been our ideal for centuries. We are asked to realize that we live in the midst of a spiritual world which dominates the material. The greatest thinkers of the West had also a similar outlook. Plato held that the purpose of education was ‘not as it were to fill an empty vessel but to turn the eye of the soul toward light’. When our vision is turned toward the light, we develop an inward restraint of conscience, of love, which is quite distinct from the outward restraint of authority. If we neglect this essential side of education, we are likely to become irresponsible in our behaviour and expose ourselves to exploitation by trouble-makers. If there is today a fall in our intellectual standards, if we are generally unable to compete

Convocation Address, 17 January, 1959
with the best minds of the world, it is because of the lack of this inward discipline. We see all around us signs of self-centredness, cynicism and indiscipline. We read frequently in the newspapers about students resorting to rowdyism and violence. Whatever the grievances may be, such undignified protests are unworthy of our students. Differences with the authorities are no excuse for discourtesy and bad manners. They damage the reputation of our youth and the good name of the country. They are a negation of democracy where the rule of law prevails over the rule of force. They disable the students from putting in their best while at college. To a large extent, lack of inhibition is responsible for the decline in the standards of scientific learning and scholarship.

I have lived with students for over fifty years in different parts of this country and elsewhere. I know that idealism is there in our youth in spite of eccentricity, exhibitionism, passion and anger. While we are at college, our main duty is to devote ourselves to our studies. If various non-academic preoccupations divert us from our legitimate activities, we will fail to help our country to move forward to its great destiny with all that it involves.

When we speak about the destiny of our country, we refer to the heritage of the past, the obligations of the present and the hopes for the future. 'Know thyself' is a wise a maxim for nations as for individuals. In an unstable and stormy world, we must have firm roots. We have lived through many centuries, have had our periods of triumph and of tragedy, of glory and of gloom. We have faced many troubles from within and from without. We have suffered serious wounds and today when we have our independence, we have a chance to escape from doubt and despair and recapture whatever is valuable in the heritage of our country. There is much in it which is unworthy which has to be cast aside, but there is a great deal which is valuable and vital, which we should take hold of.

One great lesson which the past tells us is that man's fulfilment does not consist in mere physical fitness or intellectual alertness, though they are important. He must also develop a spiritual outlook: sā vidyā yā vimuktaye. That is true learning which frees our spirit from the shackles of superstition and obscurantism, from the prejudices of caste and community, race and religion, province and language. All these are important but they should be subordinated
to the national welfare. A free mind is not a victim of these small group loyalties. These differences have led us often to subjection in our chequered history. In these days of national anxiety when the light of great hopes appears on the horizon, what is needed is this larger patriotism, this dedication to the nation’s good.

Our great thinkers have emphasized the importance of national coherence. If we lose our sense of belonging to one nation, we will lose our identity and our capacity to control our future will be diminished, if not destroyed.

When we recognize that it is our duty to realize the spiritual possibilities of our nature, we also recognize that there is no one royal road to the attainment of spiritual development. The Upaniṣads, the Gītā, the teachings of the Buddha and Śaṅkara and other teachers require us to let everyone grow according to his own temperament. Āsoka in his Edicts speaks not so much of Buddhism as a religion as of sad-dharma, good behaviour which is more important than the doctrines we adopt. Even a conservative writer like Manu tells us that the greatness of this country rests in the hospitality which it provides for all traditions to grow until they reach their consummation. svām svām cartitr̥āṁ śikṣeran pṛthivyāṁ sarvamānāvāḥ. Each tradition has its power, pride and glory. This spirit of comprehension influenced many Muslim saints, Sikh gurus and Christian divines. This outlook is reflected in the provisions of our Constitution about freedom of faith and worship and respect for minorities. It is the basis of the philosophy of co-existence and co-operation which we have adopted even in our foreign policy. It is symbol not of isolationism but of inter-dependence, not of weakness and vacillation but love of peace and enlightenment.

If we have these ideals in view, we will be able to develop a proper national ethos, a code of decent behaviour which will enable us to heal the nation’s wounds and give every citizen scope for full development. We need today a large number of kindly, incorruptible, unself-seeking men for our administration, business and public life. Man’s greatness consists not in gaining outer possessions but in giving oneself up to a cause which is greater than oneself, the service of the nation, the service of man. It is my earnest hope that you will dedicate your lives to this great cause.
DELHI UNIVERSITY

Your Royal Highness, Members of the Convocation, Distinguished Guests, and Friends:

It is a real happiness for us to welcome you to our fellowship. This University has today the honour of counting among its Graduates a member of the Royal family of Britain, a country which has been closely associated with us for nearly two hundred years. While her power and authority ceased in 1947, understanding and goodwill continue.

Last month we had the privilege of admitting into our academic community the Prime Ministers of Canada and of Ghana, members of the Commonwealth of Nations of which the Head is Her Majesty the Queen, whose dignity, grace, charm and ease are as impressive as her judgement, imagination, character and high sense of duty. The Commonwealth is based on equality of status and freedom of association and is bound by a community of ideals, of freedom, democracy, social progress and pursuit of peace, though all members do not adhere to them. This experiment in international co-operation, we hope, is a prelude to a wider grouping of free and equal nations, a brotherhood of mankind, a commonwealth of man which is the only way of saving this mad world which is preparing for a war which no one wants. Why do we prepare for a nuclear war when its results are well known? Why do we indulge in these test explosions when we know that they have injurious effects on unborn generations? The Biblical statement seems to be literally true that the iniquities of the fathers are visited upon the children unto the third and fourth generation. We love life and yet court death. That is the paradox of the human predicament. 'The good that I would, I do not; the evil that I would not, that I do,' says St. Paul. The Mahā bhārata observes: jānāmi dharmaṁ na ca pravṛttiḥ, jānāmy adharmaṁ na ca me nivṛttiḥ. I know the right, but I do not adopt it. I know the wrong, but I cannot abstain from it. It is the crisis in the human soul which is reflected in the crisis in the world. Unless we overcome it in the minds and hearts of men, there will be fear for the future.

As the President of the Science Congress said yesterday, it is no use throwing the blame on science and technology. They have been instruments of liberation of man and not his enslavement;

Special Convocation, 22 January, 1959
they have made human life less painful and more significant. The latest inventions need not be regarded as portents of disaster. They are a preparation for a new society, a new world. We can build a paradise on earth for our people if we use the resources of science for human welfare. The fences which separated the peoples of the world have broken down; it is time we break down the fences in our minds. If we do not wish to destroy ourselves we have to control ourselves. The old patterns of national idolatry, racial bigotry and religious dogmatism are inconsistent with the new developments, which are a call for fundamental rethinking, for the re-education of the people. The scourge of the past threatens the future of humanity. Our true nationality is that of mankind. It is bad to fear and hate, it is worse to be feared and hated. So the scientists and the scholars, university men are to lead humanity in the path of peace and encourage the adoption of a flexible, relaxed attitude in regard to other peoples who seem to be estranged from us now. We should promote friendship among nations.

Our new graduate is a citizen of the world, the world not of yesterday or of today but the world of tomorrow. We are proud, Prince Philip, to add your illustrious name to the list of our honorary graduates.
MAHABODHI SOCIETY, SANCHI

I am happy to be here on this auspicious occasion when the Mahabodhi Society is celebrating its Diamond Jubilee and the sacred relics of Sāriputta and Mogallāna arhats are being installed in this ancient Buddhist site.

The Mahabodhi Society owes its origin to the enterprise, zeal and devotion of Anagārika Dharmapāla whom I had the honour of meeting in Calcutta in the last years of his life. Today when we celebrate the Diamond Jubilee of the Mahabodhi Society, we should think of him in grateful memory. The Society is fortunate in having for its Secretary such a devoted and ardent worker as Devapriya Valisimha, to whose energetic enterprise we largely owe the return of these sacred relics to India.

Gautama the Buddha is the voice of Asia, he is the conscience of the world. His message spread to Tibet, Burma and Ceylon, Cambodia, Annam, China and Japan. Buddhist religion and philosophy, literature and art have civilized a large part of humanity. Its spirit of reason and its ethics of love make it attractive to the modern mind. I may give one or two instances. Schopenhauer kept a golden Buddha in his modest bedroom. Anatole France observes that ‘Buddhism has a singular attraction for free minds’ and that ‘the charm of Sākyamuni works readily on an unprejudiced heart. And it is, if one thinks of it, wonderful that this spring of morality, which gushed from the foot of the Himalayas before the blooming of the Hellenic genius, should have preserved its fruitful purity, its delicious freshness; and that the sage of Kapilavastu should be still the best of counsellors and the sweetest of consolers of our old suffering humanity.’ ‘On the first of May 1890 chance directed me into the peaceful halls of Musée Guimet, and there alone, among the gods of Asia, in the shadow and silence of meditation, but still aware of the things of our own day, from

Diamond Jubilee Celebrations, November, 1952
which it is not permitted to any one to detach himself, I reflected on the harsh necessities of life, the law of toil, and the sufferings of existence; halting before a statue of the antique sage whose voice is still heard today by more than 400 millions of human beings, I admit that I felt tempted to pray to him as to a god, and to demand the secret of the proper conduct of life for which governments and peoples search in vain. It seemed as though the kindly ascetic, eternally young, seated cross-legged on the lotus of purity, with his right hand raised in admonition, answered in these two words, wisdom and compassion (prajñā and karuṇā). Like all great religions in their purity, if we set aside the gross superstitions and the mean practices that disfigure them, Buddhism is compact of wisdom and love. Its philosophy of life and its code of conduct appeal to the modern mind steeped in the spirit of science, for the Buddha’s approach is rational and empirical.

The Buddha does not ask us to accept anything on authority. He does not say, ‘Thus is it said’ but ‘thus have I felt or experienced.’

parikṣya bhikṣavo grāhyam madvaco na tu gauravāt.

He asks us to accept his words, after testing them. We are not to rely on any external support but we should make our own self our support, the Eternal Law our refuge. The Buddha says: ‘I leave you, I depart, having made the self my refuge.’

The voice of Spirit in us must be satisfied. The Buddhas do but tell the way, it is for each one of us to swelter at the task. The Buddha’s authority, mahāpadesa, rests on his own personal experience.

When, according to the legend, he saw a decrepit old man, a dead man, a diseased man, and a religious mendicant, he discovered poverty and pain, sickness, old age and death. The shock of this discovery led him to renounce his luxurious home and become an ascetic. The affliction of the world roused the Buddha’s compassion. The fallen and stricken state of the world at the deepest level of its being became a problem for him. He studied contemporary systems, consulted the great teachers of the time and after disciplined meditation, discovered the truth of things.

The Buddha is he whose name is truth, saccanāma. What is

1 Dīgha Nikāya, II. 120
2 Dhammapada, 276
real, *sat* is the truth, *satya*. Whatever is impermanent is *asat* or unreal. For those who have eyes to see and the spirit to respond, the world in which we live is a world of birth and death, growth and decay, in which nothing remains and nothing is ever repeated. There is nothing stable, nothing permanent in this world. *maraṇāntam hi jīvītām*. The theme of impermanence, of flux, of change is presented in different ways. The image of the turning wheel is used as a symbol of the world of becoming or existence.

What is the remedy for the mortality which is inherent in all composite things? The Buddha resolved to discover the secret of life eternal. So long as we cling to the contingent, caused existence, *saṃskṛta*, we are in bondage to time but there is ‘an uncomposite, *asaṃskṛta*, an unborn, *ajāta*, and uncaused, an immutable’. If we know and realize it, we pass from death and rebirth to nirvāṇa and peace. The law of karma governs the world of objects, of existence in the world of time, of cause and effect, and nirvāṇa relates to the world of freedom, of the subject which transcends the object, of the centre of being. Man’s existence includes the power, the determination to stand out of existence and on the truth of being. If man fails to transcend his existential limits, he is condemned to death, to nothingness. He must first experience the void, the nothingness, to get beyond it.

To stand out of objective existence, there must come upon the individual a sense of crucifixion, a sense of agonizing annihilation, a sense of the utter nothingness of all this empirical existence which is subject to the law of change, death. We cry with St. Paul: ‘Who shall save me from the body of this death?’ ‘Lead me from death to immortality.’ *mṛtyor mā amṛtam gamāya*.

If this world were all, suffering would be the permanent condition of human life. Our life would be reduced to a nullity, negation, death. If existence were all, if the objective time series were all, if *saṃsāra* were all, there would be no escape from fear and suffering. When the Buddha asks us to seek for liberation and strive for it, he affirms the reality of another world. He tells us that it is possible for us to circumvent the time process and attain enlightenment.

There is being by itself, which transcends the time order. Existence is in being: *saṃsāra* is in nirvāṇa. Eternity is centred in time. That art thou. In all of us there dwells a secret power of
Paying homage to the Sacred Relics of Sariputta and Mogallana, the principal disciples of Lord Buddha, after their arrival at Sanchi, November 1952

Inaugurating the Indian Railways Centenary Celebrations April 1953
inaugurating the Seminar on Casteism and Removal
Untouchability, Delhi. September 1955

inauguration of the Durgapur Barrage. August 1955
Inaugurating the Conference of Accountants General, New Delhi, May 1955

Addressing the 39th Session of the All India Shia Conference, Delhi, November 1954
Prize distribution, Indian Industries
Fair, New Delhi, January 1956
freeing ourselves from the changes of time, of withdrawing our secret self away from external things, of discovering to ourselves the Eternal in us. At that moment we annihilate time; we are no longer in time but the timeless is in us. This awareness of the timeless in time is nirvāṇa. It is that ultimate primordial mystery which all religions have sought for and tried to express by means of faltering, imperfect symbols and images. It is not absolute void. It is positive being paradoxically affirmed. Paradox is the only way by which we can express in human terms the apprehension of ultimate reality. It is the way to signify both human insight and human weakness. Look at St. Augustine’s confession: ‘What art Thou then, my god, what, I ask, save the Lord God....most far and yet most near....ever busy, yet ever at rest; gathering, yet never needing....seeking, though Thou hast no lack....What can any one say when he speaks of Thee?’

Bodhi, enlightenment, is a gnosis that cannot be communicated. Paradox does not preclude enquiry as premature definition does. All vital religions are open religions and not closed systems.

Nirvāṇa which is freedom from subjection to time can be achieved in this life. Time and eternity are not incompatible and this life is a point of intersection between time and eternity, saṁsāra and nirvāṇa. When we live from moment to moment like plants and animals, we live in bondage to time. Our existence becomes time-conditioned. Even in such a mode of existence there may be moments which are hints and suggestions of the eternal. These moments, intense and isolated, with no before and no after, in which we are lost in timeless contemplation, are the closest most of us ever get to freedom from the flux of events, from bondage to time. This deliverance from death and rebirth is the crown and completion of a life of discipline and meditation. It is to be achieved by the ethical path suggested by the Buddha. It contains the oldest and the most permanent truth of the human race. The Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣad asks us to give, be compassionate and practise self-control; datta, dayadhvam, damyata. What is demanded is a wise and compassionate heart. The Buddha asks us to avoid the extremes of self-indulgence and self-mortification. As Māṭrćeta puts it: ‘What harm has your hair done? Perform the tonsure on your sins. What earthly good is a monk’s robe to a mind besmirched?’

1 Confessions, Bk. I, Ch. IV, E. T. by C. Bigg
kesāh kim aparādhyanti kleśānām munḍanām kuru
sakaśāyaśya cittasya kāśāyaiḥ kim prayojanam.

The Buddha was more aware of human unhappiness than of human sin. By affirming that every human being contains the possibility of arhatship or Buddhahood, Buddhism gives abiding value to the individual soul. The preciousness of the human soul is the basis of all civilization and the hope of our troubled world.

The fear of war remains today the one obsession that dominates our lives. We seem to live in an atmosphere of impending catastrophe which may result in a renewal of barbarism, a new age of darkness, of spiritual blindness in which the gains of science and the glories of culture will be lost. We need today a great manifestation of the spirit of love, of understanding and compassion to break through the encircling gloom. It alone can give to those whose life is void of purpose, a motive for existence, a reason for courage and a guide for action.

92ND BIRTHDAY CELEBRATIONS OF SWAMI VIVEKANANDA, NEW DELHI

I am happy to be here and distribute prizes for recitation and speech competitions. I congratulate those who have won these rewards on their achievements. The students who won the prizes and the many others who competed for them had the great opportunity of reading some of the writings of Swami Vivekananda. I have no doubt they have been impressed and inspired by what they have read. Vivekananda’s life and teachings have prepared us for the new age of freedom in which we live. They tell us how best we can consolidate the freedom we have recently won. He was one of the great leaders of the Indian Renaissance.

Like all the great teachers of India, Vivekananda did not profess to be the formulator of a new system of thought. He interpreted for us and the world India’s religious consciousness, the treasures of her past. His writings and speeches are all fortified by quotations from the Indian scriptures and the life and sayings of his great Master, that transcendent religious genius, Shri Ramakrishna.

Presidential Address, 21 February, 1954
In the short time at my disposal it will not be possible for me to speak on more than one or two aspects of Vivekananda’s teachings.

The two dominant features of our age are science and democracy. They have come to stay. We cannot ask educated people to accept the deliverances of faith without rational evidence. Whatever we are called upon to accept must be justified and supported by reason. Otherwise our religious beliefs will be reduced to wishful thinking. Modern man must learn to live with a religion which commends itself to his intellectual conscience, to the spirit of science. Besides, religion should be the sustaining faith of democracy which insists on the intellectual and spiritual development of every human being irrespective of his caste, creed, community, or race. Any religion which divides man from man or supports privileges, exploitation, wars, cannot commend itself to us today.

If we are passing through a period of the eclipse of religion, of the light of heaven, it is because religions as they are practised seem to be both unscientific and undemocratic.

Vivekananda showed that the Hindu religion was both scientific and democratic, not the religion as we practise it, which is full of blemishes, but the religion which our great exponents intended it to be.

The most obvious fact of life is its transience. Everything in this world passes away, the written word, the painted picture, the carved stone, the heroic act. Great civilizations are subject to the law of time. The earth on which we live may one day become unfit for human habitation as the sun ages and alters. Our acts and thoughts, our deeds of heroism, our political structures are a part of history, of becoming, or process. They all belong to the world of time. Time is symbolized in India’s tradition by birth and death. Is this all-devouring time, *lokāṅkṣaya kartṛ*, this void, *śūnya*, this *māyā*, this *samsāra*, is it all, or is there anything else? Is this world which is a perpetual procession of events, self-sustaining, self-maintaining, self-established, or is there a Beyond underlying it, unifying it and inspiring it, standing behind it and yet immanent in it? Is becoming all or is there being behind it?

Will man annihilate nothingness or will nothingness annihilate him? This very problem, this dread, this anxiety that we have, this feeling of the precariousness of the world bears witness to the world beyond. It is a longing for life eternal in the midst of time.
Because of the implicit awareness of the ultimate reality we have the sense of godforsakeness.

By logical investigations and by personal experience, our great thinkers came to the conclusion that there is a Beyond of which all this world is the expression. The Upaniṣads give us an explanation of this fundamental problem. They mention logical arguments and also experiences of men who bear witness to the reality of the Supreme. What we call the Vedas are merely the registers of the spiritual experiences of the great seer. Says Vivekananda: 'By the Vedas no books are meant. They mean the accumulated treasure of spiritual laws discovered by different persons in different times.' They are therefore ever-expanding. What is built for ever is for ever building. For Vivekananda religion is Yoga. It is personal change, adjustment, integration. It is not profession of a doctrine. It is the reconditioning of one's nature. It is not intellectual orthodoxy. It is awakening of the life of spirit in man. He wrote books on Jñāna Yoga, Rāja Yoga, Bhakti Yoga, Karma Yoga and urged that the goal of spiritual realization can be reached by any one of these different methods.

When we express the truths of spiritual life in intellectual forms, these latter are abstractions from live experience. They do not deal justly with the immensity and mystery of spiritual life. If we exalt the particular creeds over the universal truths, we tend to become intolerant. The famous words of S. T. Coleridge are very much to the point. 'He who begins by loving Christianity better than truth will proceed by loving his own sect or church better than Christianity and end by loving himself better than all.' Intolerance is an expression of religious conceit and not humility.

We today speak of our secular attitude. We are not secular in the sense that we are indifferent to religion. We are secular because we regard all religions as sacred. We believe in freedom of conscience. Each soul has the right to choose its own path and seek God in its own way. Secularism requires us not merely to tolerate, but to understand and love other religions. Bearing in mind Shri Ramakrishna's experience, Vivekananda said: 'We Hindus do not merely tolerate. We unite ourselves with every religion, praying in the mosque of the Mohammedan, worshipping before the fire of the Zoroastrian and kneeling to the Cross of the Christian.'

In his travels abroad, Vivekananda felt miserable about the backwardness of India in several matters, the way in which religion
is confused with so much obscurantism and superstition. He protested vehemently against the abuse of religion, about our insistence on touchability and untouchability. All this was inconsistent with the great principle of our religion that the Divine is in us, in all of us, operative and alive, ready to come to the surface at the first suitable opportunity. The light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world, this antar-jyoti cannot be put out. Whether we like it or not, whether we know it or not, the Divine is in us, and the end of man consists in attaining union with the Divine.

The ultimate tests of true religions are recognition of truth and reconciliation with human beings. To overcome enemies we must possess that which far surpasses enmity, ahināsā, or renunciation of hatred.

Vivekananda raises work to the level of worship and exhorted us to seek salvation through the service of God in man. If we in our country are to profit by the teachings of Vivekananda, it is essential that we should all be interested in not only constructive work, but become dedicated spirits, spirits dedicated to the task of establishing a spiritual religion which transcends ecclesiastical organizations and doctrinal sophistries and subtleties, a religion which leads to the transformation of human society and brings it nearer to the Rāmrājya or the Kingdom of God, which our prophets have set before us.

RELIGION AND ITS PLACE IN HUMAN LIFE

May I thank you for this opportunity to be here and speak to you a few words on religion and its place in human life? In our country, as in many others, the end of religion is experience of ultimate reality—Brahmānubhava or personal encounter with God, Krṣṇardṇa-samvāda. The goal of religion is the opening of a new realm of consciousness. When this consciousness arises, we see that the individual parts of the universe derive their significance from the central unity of spirit. This renewal of consciousness is the second birth. To have this second birth, to be reborn to be renewed, is the goal of the religious quest.

Rishikesh, 12 August, 1954
All seers, whatever be their sects or the religions to which they belong, ask us to rise to the conception of a God above gods, who is beyond image and concept, who can be experienced but not known, who is the vitality of the human spirit and the ulti-
macy of all that exists. This is the highest kind of religion, the practice of the presence of God.

We attain to this through meditation, contemplative prayer. To aid the concentration of mind, as a support for contemplation, we have image worship. By the visible aspect our thoughts are drawn up in a spiritual flight and rise to the invisible majesty of God. We adore the Divine through the symbol or the image.

Temples, like churches and mosques, are witnesses to man’s search for God. We have in our country many temples, some in ruins, some deserted, and there does not seem to be any justi-
fication for another unless we, through it, are able to capture the true spirit of religion. It is in these sacred precincts that we have to fix our minds for some brief intervals in the routine of life on what is permanent. In the modern age when we depend a great deal on the mechanical devices whose smooth functioning enables us to live a life of comfort at the material level, we tend to become estranged from an awareness of the inner reality. When the centre of life shifts to the objects, we overlook our own free subjectivity.

In our country we have suffered a great deal on account of the abuse of religion. We affirm in loud tones that the service of man is the worship of God. But we have tolerated beliefs and practices which are anti-social. If paropakāra and bhūtadayā are to be regarded as the central features of religion, no one who claims to be religious should tolerate practices which disintegrate society. No temples should be raised in the country which permit social discrimination. Temples should foster social discipline and solidarity.

This is a place where we have many sādhus and samnyāsins. They are treated with respect by the community as the representatives of our religion. While laymen have their responsibility, sādhus and samnyāsins have a higher responsibility. It cannot be said that they are all today men without selfish longings and personal ambitions. The Buddha remarked: ‘What harm has your hair (keśa) done? Remove defects (kleśa) from your hearts.’ The sādhus and samnyāsins inherit a great tradition from Yājñavalkya, Buddha, Śaṅkara, and Rāmānuja and they must endeavour to live
up to this great tradition. May I, in all humility, appeal to them that the robes they wear will be sullied if they do not act in conformity with the ideals their robes proclaim?

We are today facing many problems of an unprecedented character. If we have to solve them, we must have men and women who have the spirit of religion. What is needed is not textual learning, vākyārtha-jñāna but ātma-jñāna or self-knowledge.

When India is said to be a Secular State, it does not mean that we as a people reject the reality of an Unseen Spirit or the relevance of religion to life or that we exalt irreligion. It does not mean that secularism itself becomes a positive religion or that the State assumes divine prerogatives. Though faith in the Supreme Spirit is the basic principle of the Indian tradition, our State will not identify itself with or be controlled by any particular religion. This view of religious impartiality has a prophetic role to play within our national life. No group of citizens shall arrogate to itself rights and privileges which it denies to others. No person shall suffer any form of disability or discrimination because of his religion. All alike will be free to share to the fullest degree in the common life. This is the meaning of secularism.

THE ANCIENT ASIAN VIEW OF MAN

In Columbia University, students of different cultures, from different parts of the world, are brought together, and this provides an opportunity for redefining man’s cultural destiny and rediscovering his larger heritage. Those who are organizing this series of broadcasts are persuaded that our great need today is a deeper understanding and appreciation of other peoples and their civilizations, especially their ethical and spiritual achievements. The Asian view of man is not very much different from the ancient European view of man. I do not believe in the pseudoscience of national or continental psychology which affirms that all Asians are this and all Europeans are that. The history of any people is slightly more complicated than these sweeping statements

Broadcast Address for the Columbia University Bi-centennial Celebrations
October 1954
would suggest. As a matter of fact, the Asian and the European peoples had common beginnings and developed from them relatively independent views and acquired certain features which marked them from each others.

In spite of varying developments, the different peoples of Asia possess a number of features in common, which will justify our speaking of an Asian view of man. This view is essentially a religious one. All the living faiths of mankind had their origin in Asia: Confucianism and Taoism in China; Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, and Sikhism in India; Zoroastrianism in Iran; Judaism and Christianity in Palestine; and Islam in Arabia. The religions adopted by the Western people are all derived from Asia. In a short discourse it will not be possible to deal in detail with the different religious developments. I shall content myself with a statement of the Indian point of view, with which I happen to be somewhat familiar. Besides, Indian culture has influenced a large part of Asia's thought and art and affected other parts of the world also. Peoples of different races, languages, and cultures met on the soil of India; and, though we read of occasional clashes, they have settled down as members of a common civilization whose primary characteristics are faith in an unseen reality, of which all life is a manifestation, the primacy of spiritual experience, a rigid adherence to intellectual norms, and an anxiety for harmonizing apparent opposites.

The one doctrine by which Indian culture is best known to the outside world is that of tat tvam asi. The eternal is in one's self. The Real which is the inmost of all things is the essence of one's own soul. The sage whose passions are at rest sees within himself the majesty of the great Real. Because there is the reflection of the Divine in man, the individual becomes sacred. If we try to possess man as flesh or as mind to be moulded, we fail to recognize that he is essentially the unseizable who bears the image and likeness of God and is not the product of natural necessity. Man is not something thrown off, as it were, in a cosmic whirl. As a spiritual being, he is lifted above the level of the natural and the social world. He is essentially subject, not object. Modern existentialism points out that a type of thought which dominates the treatment of objects is inadequate to the thinker, the existing individual. His inward reality is not to be equated with the qualities by which he is defined or the external relations by which he is
bound. We know the self not in the sense we know the object. When we look inwards we find a limit to our knowledge of the inner life. The self is deeper than the perceptions, thoughts, and feelings. We cannot see it or define it, for it is that which does the seeing and the defining. It is the eye which is not the object but the subject of our knowing. It can be grasped, not by thought, but by our whole being. Then we realize the existential presence of the ultimate reality in each individual.

The Indian classic, the *Bhagavadgītā*, speaks of the spirit of man as immortal. Weapons do not cleave the Self, fire does not burn him, waters do not make him wet, nor does the wind make him dry. He is uncleavable, he cannot be burnt, he can be neither wetted nor dried; he is eternal, all pervading, unchanging, immovable; he is the same forever.

The term 'personality' is derived from the Latin *persona*, which means literally the mask that is worn over the face by the actor on the stage, the mask through which he sounds his part. The actor is an unknown, anonymous being who remains intrinsically aloof from the play. He is unconcerned with the enacted sufferings and passions. The real being is concealed, shrouded, veiled in the costumes of the play. To break from the confines of personality into the unfathomed reaches of his true being requires disciplined effort. By penetrating through the layers of the manifest personality, the individual arrives at the unconcerned actor of life. Man is more than the sum of his appearances. When Crito asks: 'In what way shall we bury you, Socrates?' Socrates answers: 'In any way you like, but first catch me, the real me. Be of good cheer, my dear Crito, and say that you are burying my body only, and do with that whatever is usual and what you think best.'

The Indian thinkers do not oppose nature to spirit. When the natural life of man comes to itself, his spiritual being becomes manifest. Man's final growth rests with himself. His future is not solely determined, like that of other animals, by his biological past. It is controlled by his own plans for the universe. Man is not an insignificant speck in a depersonalized universe. When we overlook the inward subjectivity of man, lose ourselves in the world, we confuse being with having; we flounder in possessions as in a dark, suffocating bog, wasting our energies, not on life, but on things. Instead of using our houses, our wealth, and our other possessions, we let them possess and use us; we thus become
lost to the life of spirit and are soulless. It is attachment to nature that is inconsistent with spiritual dignity. It is not necessary for us to throw off the limitations of nature. Our bodies are the temples of the Divine. They are the means for the realization of value, dharma-sādhana. When human beings are most clearly aware, most awake, they feel that in some sense which cannot be clearly articulated, they are the instruments for the expression of the spirit, vessels of the spirit. When we realize this, we outgrow individualism, we see that we and our fellow-men are the expressions of the same spirit; the distinctions of race and colour, religion and nation become relative contingencies. We are reminded of Socrates' death-bed statement: 'I am not an Athenian or a Greek but a citizen of the world.' To the large-hearted, all men are brothers in blood, says a well-known Sanskrit verse. The Bhagavadgītā tells us that a truly religious man sees with equality everything in the image of his own self, whether in pleasure or in pain.

From the emphasis on the immanence of the Divine in man, it follows that there is not one single individual, however criminal he may be, who is beyond redemption. There is no place at whose gates it is written: Abandon all hope, ye who enter here. There are no individuals who are utterly evil. Their characters have to be understood from within the context of their lives. Perhaps the criminals are diseased fellow-men whose love has lost its proper aim. All men are the children of the Immortal, amṛtasya putrāh. The spirit is in everyone as a part of one's self, as a part of the very substratum of one's being. It may be buried in some like a hidden treasure beneath a barren debris of brutality and violence—but it is there all the same, operative and alive, ready to come to the surface at the first suitable opportunity. The light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world cannot be put out. Whether we like it or not, whether we know it or not, the Divine is in us and the end of man consists in attaining conscious union with the Divine. A Japanese Zen Buddhist teacher observes: 'There is no hamlet so forlorn that the rays of the silver moon fail to reach it. Nor is there any man who by opening wide the windows of his thought cannot perceive divine truth and take it into his heart.'

The distinction between the kingdoms of light and of darkness, between heaven and hell becomes untenable. The cosmic power of the Eternal, His universal love will not suffer defeat. Hindu and Buddhist systems aim at universal salvation. According
to Mahāyāna Buddhism, the Buddha deliberately refrained from coming to the final term of enlightenment in order to help others on the way. He has taken a vow that he will not enter into nirvāṇa until everything that exists, every particle of corruptible dust, has reached the goal.

This does not mean that the Hindu and the Buddhist religions cancel the distinction between good and evil. It only means that even the evil have other chances. The Divine provides the soul with a succession of spiritual opportunities. If there is only one chance given to human beings, they have at the end of this one life to be redeemed if good or condemned if evil. Such a doctrine is not consistent with the view that God is infinite love, infinite compassion. India has stood for an ideal that does not make man merely a creature of time, dependent solely on his material conditions and possessions, and confined to them. We have proclaimed that the world is under moral law, that the life is the scene of man’s moral choice. It is dharma-kṣetra. It is never too late for man to strive and attain his full stature. For the Hindu and the Buddhist, religion is a transforming experience. It is not a theory of God; it is spiritual consciousness, insight into Reality. Belief and conduct, rites and ceremonies, dogmas and authorities are subordinate to the art of conscious self-discovery and contact with the Divine. When the individual withdraws his soul from all outward events, gathers himself together inwardly, strives with concentration, there breaks upon him an experience sacred, strange, wondrous, which quickens within him, lays hold on him, becomes his very being. The possibility of this experience constitutes the most conclusive proof of the reality of God. Even those who are the children of science and reason must submit to the fact of spiritual experience which is primary and positive. We may dispute theologies, but we cannot deny facts. The fire of life in its visible burning compels assent, though not the fumbling speculations of smokers sitting around the fire.

While realization is a fact, the theory of reality is an inference. There is a difference between contact with reality and opinion about it, between the mystery of godliness and belief in God.

Rationalistic self-sufficiency is dangerous. The human mind is sadly crippled in its religious thinking by the belief that truth has been found, embodied, standardized, and nothing remains for man but to reproduce in his feebleness some treasured feature of an
immutable perfection which is distant from him. Claims to infallible truth, based on alleged revelations, are not compatible with religion as spiritual adventure. The fulfilment of man's life is spiritual experience in which every aspect of man's being is raised to its highest point; all the senses gather, the whole mind leaps forward and realizes in one quivering instant such things as cannot be expressed. Though it is beyond the word of tongue or concept of mind, the longing and love of the soul, its desire and anxiety, its seeking and thinking are filled with the highest spirit. This is religion. It is not mere argument about it.

When we frame theories of religion, we turn the being of the soul into the having of a thing. We transform what originally comprehended our being into some object which we ourselves comprehend. Thus the total experience becomes an item of knowledge. Our disputes about dogmas are in regard to these partial items of knowledge. At its depth, religion in its silences and expressions is the same. There is a common ground on which the different religious traditions rest. This common ground belongs of right to all of us, as it has its source in the non-historical, the eternal; the universality of fundamental ideas which historical studies demonstrate is the hope of the future. It will make for religious unity and cultural understanding. The essential points of the Asian outlook on life, which are also to be found in the great tradition of spiritual life in the West, give us the basic certainties for the new world which is on the horizon. These are the divine possibilities of the soul, faith in democracy, unity of all life and existence, insistence on the active reconciliation of different faiths and cultures so as to promote the unity of mankind.

Modern civilization, which is becoming increasingly technological, tends to concentrate on a limited order of truth. It accepts the scientifically verifiable as the only basis for action. Some scientists and technicians who have emerged as the leaders of our age speak of man as a purely mechanical, material being, a creature made up of automatic reflexes. They emphasize the more earthly propensities of men and women. They seem to be blind to the higher sanctity which lives in man. Those who are born in this age feel the loss of faith; they are the spiritually displaced; they are the culturally uprooted; they are the traditionless. The only hope for man is a spiritual recovery, the realization that he is an unfinished animal and his goal is the Kingdom of God which
is latent in him. ‘All epochs dominated by belief, in whatever shape, have a radiance and bliss of their own and bear fruit for their people as well as for posterity. All epochs over which unbelief, in whatever form, maintains its miserable victory are ignored by posterity, because nobody likes to tug his life out over sterile things.’ Few people would deny the truth of this statement of Goethe or that this is an age of unbelief. It is an age not so much unlit by belief as lacking the very capacity to believe. The modern community, as a community, has lost its sense of the relatedness of things. There is a void today in men’s minds which dogmatic religions are unable to fill. When the old gods, the old verities, the old values are fading, when life itself has become dim and its very forms are stiffening, there are always some intense natures to whom it is intolerable that there should not already be new and greater faiths in sight. We are too profoundly religious to be able to endure this precarious predicament.

When Graeco-Roman civilization was triumphant, it failed to supply its conquered peoples with a religion and, instead, was itself conquered by a religion supplied by them. May it not be that today the peoples of Asia may supply a spiritual orientation to the new world based on science and technology? By its material and political devices, the West is able to provide a secure framework of order within which different civilizations could mingle, and fruitful intercourse between them can take place by which the spiritual poverty of the world can be overcome. Without a spiritual recovery, the scientific achievements threaten to destroy us. We are living in days of destiny. Either the world will blow up in flames or settle down in peace. It depends on the seriousness with which we face the tasks of our age. A human society worthy of our science and the mobilized wisdom of the world can be built if those in power and position are willing to submit to severities which are not so drastic as a war will demand.

Let me end with an ancient prayer: Let all here be happy, let all be healthy, let all see the face of happiness, let no one be unhappy. Peace! Peace! Peace!

sarve bhavantu sukhinaḥ,
sarve santu nirāmayāḥ,
sarve bhadrāṇi paśyantu,
mā kaścit duhkhabhāg bhavet.
śāntiḥ! śāntiḥ! śāntiḥ!
THE SOCIAL MESSAGE OF RELIGION

May I, at the outset, offer you, Cardinal Gracias, our warm congratulations on your appointment as Papal Legate?

I am happy to be here and take part in this ceremony, convinced as I am, that the great need of our age is revival of spiritual values. The two wars in our generation and the alarming advances in nuclear weapons, the social strains and upheavals that have become chronic, the lack of any clear vision of the future have had vastly disintegrating effects on our minds and morals.

Many observations are made on the place of religion in modern life and it is said that it imposes shackles on the human mind, that it blinds reason, that it deadens sensibility, that it asks us to surrender our integrity and submit unthinkingly to authority in belief and practice. Socially it is argued that it disdains the world, that if it takes interest in it, it is only to defend the status quo and justify existing wrongs and evils. The leaders of religions are doing little to check the process of decivilizing men in the name of vast organizations, of destroying the springs of tenderness, of compassion, of fellow-feeling in the human heart. The need of the world today is human unity and religions are proving to be great obstacles in its way. They have departed from their original purity, lost their dynamic vigour and degenerated into arrogant sects. The spiritual inspiration is buried under irrational habits and mechanical practices.

It is therefore most appropriate that you should have selected for the motto of this Congress the seventh verse of the first chapter of the second epistle of Paul the Apostle to Timothy: ‘The spirit he has bestowed on us is not one that shrinks from danger; it is a spirit of action, of love and of discipline.’

Freedom from fear, abhaya, which does not shrink from danger, a state of peace and power—this is the inward grace of a religious mind; its social expression is action and love. Love of God and love of neighbour are the two sides, inward and outward, of a truly religious soul.

Love of God is not a mere phrase, not an intellectual proposition to which we consent with our minds. It is a transforming experience, a burning conviction. Life eternal cannot be had from

Address at the Marian Congress, Bombay, 4 December, 1954
mere knowledge of the meaning of texts. It is the worship of God in spirit and in truth. It is what is called dvitiyam janma, a second birth. We are born into the world of nature and necessity, of darkness and death; we must be reborn into the world of spirit and freedom, of light and life. The destiny of man is not natural perfection, but it is life in God. Human nature finds its fulfilment in God.

Religion, in all its forms, declares that the human being should be made into a new man. Man, as he is, is the raw material for an inward growth, an inner evolution. As he is, he is incomplete, unfinished, imperfect. He has to reach inner completion through meta-noia which is not adequately translated as repentance. Unless, in Jesus’ words, we repent, unless we are reborn, unless we are renewed in our consciousness, unless we become like a little child responsive to the magic and mystery of the world, we cannot enter the Kingdom of God. When a man is reborn in the world of spirit, gains insight into reality, his lostness is no more, his loneliness disappears and he has communion with the Divine.

Discipline of human nature is essential for the attainment of the goal. Purity of mind and body is the means for perfection. Models of purity as the one you are celebrating this year help us to purify ourselves. Peace of mind can be attained only by self-control, the control of our emotions and desires.

Such a redeemed soul participates in the work of the world:

sva-dharma-karma-vimukhāh kṛṣṇa kṛṣṇeti vādinaḥ
te harer dveśino mūḍhāḥ dharmārtham janma yadd hareḥ.

Those who merely say, Krishna, Krishna, and are indifferent to their respective duties are enemies of God, foolish, for the very Lord takes birth for the sake of righteousness. God is not merely justice and power; He is love and understanding. If we are to imitate the Divine, we must work for the betterment of the world. In spite of pettiness and defeat, treachery and disappointment, despite death itself, the authentic religious soul feels that it is better to live in accord with the ideals of truth and love than retreat into cynicism, denial and despair. Even when misfortunes befall us, we should not shrink from danger but be ‘steady like a lamp in a windless place’,¹ (Bhagavadgītā) or as Dante puts it, ‘stand like a tower whose summit never shakes.’ Jackals may howl in the

¹ VI, 19
fields but up above the stars shine. Goodness is more deeply rooted in the nature of things than its opposite. Life has a destiny which justifies any sacrifices to which it is called.

All our activities whether they relate to our society or the world should be permeated by the spirit of religion. When we know what a frightful evil war would be in this atomic age, it is our religious duty to do everything in our power to avert it. The world is not for hate and malice, for revenge and destruction. We must stand up for the spirit of just and merciful dealing and work for love and charity on earth. If the brotherhood of peoples is to be realized, all nations must go through a process of inner renewal.

On the 23rd of November I had the honour of a private audience with Pope Pius XII whose purity of life and penetration of mind are well known. He has issued a prayer for the year which asks us to strive for peace and fellowship.

Convert the wicked, dry the tears of the afflicted and oppressed, comfort the poor and humble, quench hatreds, sweeten harshness, safeguard the flower of purity in youth, make all men feel the attraction of goodness. May they recognize that they are brothers, and that the nations are members of one family, upon which may there shine forth the sun of a universal and sincere peace.

Religion is the force which can bring about this inward renewal. The different religions are the windows through which God’s light shines into man’s soul. There can be differences about the rays they transmit or the intensity of their splendour, but these differences do not justify discords and rivalries. We must distinguish between the eternal light and its temporal reflections. The followers of different religions are partners in one spiritual quest, pursuing alternative approaches to the goal of spiritual life, the vision of God. It is this view that has been adopted by this country from ancient times. We have here Jews, Christians, Catholics and Protestants, Parsees, Hindus, Muslims, who are exorted by the spirit of this country which is incorporated in our Constitution, to learn from one another. May this Congress contribute to the process of co-operation among the different religions and further the spirit of spiritual understanding and religious enlightenment and fellowship!

1 See Bhagavadgita IX, 17