No language is adequate to describe the existential character of the spiritual experience, the ravishment of the soul when it meets in its own depths the ground of its life and reality. This is the ultimate religious evidence. Whatever their race, creed or nationality may be, the evidence of these seers is unanimous. William Law says that it is a cause of profound thankfulness that 'so many eminent spirits, partakers of the divine life have appeared in so many parts of the heathen world, glorious names, sons of wisdom, Apostles of a Christ within.' These spirits who hold that religion is not an academic discipline but a mystery to be lived have more in common with each other than with the bulk of the adherents of their own religions. The destinies of the new religion are bound up with their views than with the findings of priests and scholars.

In theories of religion, the being of the soul is made into an object. All religions are human attempts to reach the Ultimate Reality. The great mystic philosopher Nicholas of Cusa penetrated to the discovery that 'God is sought in various ways and called by various names in the various religions, that he has sent various prophets and teachers in various ages to the various peoples.' It is one of the tragic confusions of religious history that as a faith becomes credal, the creed by which man communes with the Divine supplants the Divine. The prophet who announces the message becomes himself an object of worship supplanting the higher truth in which he believes. We become ambitious for our formulas, for our prophets, for our organizations.

The menace to religion as spiritual adventure is the claim of final solution. A regimented mind is not suited for spiritual purposes. We should recognize alternative approaches to the mystery of God. We all seek the same goal though under different banners. Each one's life is a road to himself, to self-realization.

It is difficult for us to adopt today the view that the Scriptures are literally inspired, that every word of them should be treated as factually true. Intellectual authority is superior to inherited authority. Scriptures are the records of the experiences of the great seers who have expressed their sense of the inner meaning of the world through their intense thought and deep imagination. Scientific theories and historical statements cannot be integral parts of religious scriptures.

The seers to whatever religion they may belong agree that man is confronted by something greater than himself which, in contrast to human nature and all other phenomena, is Absolute Reality.
It is also Absolute Good for which man is athirst, that needs not only to be aware of it, but be in touch with it. That is the condition in which he finds himself at home in the world. After enlightenment Fox found that ‘all creation gave another smell beyond what words can utter.’ When we have the experience of the Reality, we try to preserve its memory by attempting to convey it through words. We know that no finite form can convey adequately the sense of infinitude. The Greeks, the Indians and the Chinese do not look upon religious theories as giving literal interpretations of the experience. They are symbolical representatives of the intuited truth. The Supreme is above all religious systems. He is without end or limit though theologians attempt to set limits to the Supreme. There are historical views which are sometimes alien to the essential truths. These are accepted for communicating the message to the members of a society in a particular stage of history. What is permanent and universal is translated into something temporary and local. The Qurān states that every nation has been given divine guidance. ‘Thou (O Muhammad) art but one who warneth, and for every nation there is a (divine) guide.’ And again: ‘Unto every people did we send a messenger, to teach them to worship God.’ There are as many ways to God as there are souls whom he has made. Each person is unique and his relation to God is also unique.

When religion becomes organized, man ceases to be free. If we think that it is a question of life or death what concept of God we accept, then our hearts are filled with fury. It is not God that is worshipped but the group or the authority that claims to speak in his name. Sin becomes disobedience to authority and not violation of integrity. For Simone Weill (1909-1943) faith is to believe that God is love and nothing else. Everything else including theological dogmas and ‘the unconditional and global adherence to all that the Church has taught and will teach, which St. Thomas calls faith, is not faith but social idolatry.’ Arguments in favour of official Christianity, she said ‘sound like the slogans for “Pink pills for Pale people”’. To look for shelter or consolation in religion is error. ‘Religion as a source of consolation and peace of mind becomes a sort of an advertised patent medicine.’ As such ‘it is an obstacle to true faith. In this sense atheism is purification.’

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\(^{1}\) Sura 13-5-37
\(^{2}\) Sura 16-5-37
Goethe's drama *Faust* begins with a Heavenly prologue in which God and the Devil discuss the highest image of the Deity which man can frame when worshipping him. But the God and the Devil agree that the God as imagined by man is a pitiable creature when compared with the Reality of God. We should not confuse the image of God as man conceives him with the reality of God. The different images are to be accepted as aspects of a deeper unity. We should perceive spiritual unity beneath the divergent symbols and individual preferences.

We should not look upon our religious heritage as an indivisible whole. We should make a distinction between the spirit of religion and the forms, ceremonial, ritual, marriage customs, food rules and social organization which are its forms. Accidental accretions are not as valid as spiritual truths.

Religion is not compatible with moral ease. Men cannot stand away from social order. We must love our neighbour in an effective sense. Though your Constitution says that all men are born equal, it means that though we are not equal in many respects, we are equal in this that we are called upon to face suffering and endure it. We must, therefore, develop compassion. The path of spiritual growth leads away from egoism, self-will, from a sense of personal superiority, in the direction of humility, openness of mind, a sympathetic understanding of the needs of others and a willingness to take responsibility. Talmud has it: 'Would that they have forgotten my name and done that which I commanded of them.' In international relations also, we should adopt an attitude of forbearance and understanding. They are invincible. The important point about our moral life is, not whether we are Hindus or Muslims, Jews or Christians, but whether we are good or bad.

The mingling of peoples is compelling us to define our attitude to faiths other than our own. We are obliged to look at our religions in the light of other faiths. We should see them with new eyes. Since you are familiar with Christianity, I may use its developments to illustrate the variety of views held in regard to the relations to other faiths.

For Karl Barth, non-Christian religions are invitations of the devil to draw men away from the truth. He says: 'God's revelation is the annulment of religion', taking religion to mean a system of thought and culture. He was repelled by the liberal theologians of
the late nineteenth century who sought natural and rational explanations of the supernatural events recorded in the Christian Scripture. They looked upon the Gospels as the uncertain and fragmentary recollections of the impact of a great prophet on his contemporaries. It is also said that they are the poetic expressions of the great truths of religion. The truth of Christianity for Karl Barth is that Jesus behaved as God and man and he was capable of suspending the laws of nature which derive from the will of God. So he makes out that religions framed by men are mere self-assertions, forms of unbelief, attempts at self-justification and self-redemption. For him, even Christianity as a religion is one among others. Self disclosure in Christ is the fulfilment of man’s needs and is a judgement on all man-made religions. Christ stands as fulfiller and judge of contemporary and empirical Christianity, as of other religions. Both Christian and non-Christian religions are condemned as sacrilegious human attempts at self-justification in contrast to the Biblical revelation of God. Barth emphasizes the sovereignty of God. All have sinned and fall short of the glory of God. Apparently, he overlooks the other saying—‘The Creation waits with eager longing for the sons of God to be revealed.’

The history of religions illustrates the tragic effect of an intolerant and exclusive faith. If we adopt Barth’s view and look upon God as a jealous one there will be no peace in the religious world. This view of religion has been a stumbling block to sensitive souls and led to the abandonment of religion by them. I am persuaded that this view of Christianity which led to the Inquisition and the Wars of Religions is not fair to the teaching of Jesus that God is love.1 To think that any human being or institution has the monopoly of God’s truth is to commit the sin of pride. ‘Think not to say within yourselves, we have Abraham to our father for God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham.’ When we think that we possess the truth, it is inevitable that we should be hard on those who do not share it. At the root of all faiths is God who is neither Hindu nor Christian, neither Jew nor Muslim.

1 Gandhi wrote to an American Missionary who claimed that the Christian way is the best for all: ‘You assume knowledge of all people which you can do only if you were God. I want you to understand that you are labouring under a double fallacy. That what you think best for you is really so; and that what you regard as the best for you is the best for the whole world. It is an assumption of omniscience and infallibility. I plead for a little humility.’
Others who follow Karl Barth affirm God's unique, final, full, unsurpassable revelation of Himself in Jesus Christ, and that this revelation involves a break with the past.

There is the view of universal revelation which has the support of Justin, Clement and Origen, that the Logos or Word of God inspired all that is true and good in the religious thinking of men, preparing them for God's supreme, unique, revelation in Christ. The seeds of Logos, Logos Spermatikos were scattered in all mankind. Justin proclaims: 'All who have lived according to the Logos are Christians, even if they are generally accounted as atheists, like Socrates and Heraclitus among the Greeks.'\(^1\) Clement of Alexandria looked upon Greek philosophy as 'a preparation for Christ', 'a schoolmaster to lead us to Christ'.\(^2\) He brought about the marriage between Platonism and Christianity. The early Fathers enriched Christian mysteries by using the ideas of Socrates and Plato. Augustine's views are well-known. 'The salvation brought by the Christian religion has never been unavailable for any who was worthy of it.'\(^3\) 'What is now called the Christian religion always existed in antiquity and was never absent from the beginning of the human race until Christ appeared in the flesh. At this time, the true religion which was already there, began to be called Christianity.'\(^4\) It is now admitted that in the course of its development, Christianity has drawn upon Greek metaphysics and mystery religions. Even the religion of the New Testament, in the words of St. Paul, is 'debtor both to Greeks and to Barbarians'.\(^5\) It is obvious that Christianity is an organic part of world religious development. It has grown, like every other religion, in a long, historical process. It did not come into the world as a ready-made supernatural system.

The other religions also bring us into contact with the eternal word of God and are sometimes called a preparation for the New Testament. Christian faith is viewed as a fulfilment of other religions.

Thomas Aquinas distinguished between General and Special Revelation. The former is common to all mankind by which men attain to the knowledge and existence and unity of God. Revealed

1 I. Apology, 46
2 Stromata, I. V. 28, 32
3 Epistle C, 11. 5
4 Retractions, I. XIII. 3
5 Romans, I. XIII. 3
religion is above reason though not opposed to it. It is the way of faith by which men accept the Doctrine of the Trinity and the Person of Christ as true God and true man.1 Non-Christian religions are the result of a general revelation open to men as men and the Christian faith is the result of a special revelation in Jesus Christ.

If God is love, it cannot be that mankind lived for thousands of years without the revelation which he gave to the tribe of Israel and the adherents of other religions were shut away from his love. When Francis Xavier went to Japan and preached to its people that God in his mercy sent his son into the world, he was asked why God waited so long before acquainting the Japanese and other people with his great love. The revelation of a God of love must embrace all nations, ages and religions. But if he restricts his revelation to the chosen people of the Old and the New Testaments and allows a large part of humanity to sit in darkness and death, he cannot be a God of love. God manifests himself throughout history.

If Christian religion is to be true to its main tradition, it should admit the operation of divine revelation in non-Christian religions. As knowledge of non-Christian religions is spreading in the West, the conception of the unity of all religions is slowly gaining acceptance. Apart from miracle stories, cult symbols, eschatological ideals and ecclesiastical institutions which seem to be similar in different religions, the deeper aspects are also profoundly akin.2

More than a hundred years ago Joseph Gorres gave impressive utterance to this fact. One Godhead alone is at work in the Universe, one religion alone prevails in it, one worship, one fundamental natural order, one law and one Bible in all. All prophets are one Prophet; they have spoken on one common ground in one language, though in different dialects. As the great civilizations of every kind are the same, the unfolding of one life, so are also the

1 See Romans, I. 20
2 Professor Friedrich Heiler in an important article on ‘Christian and Non-Christian Religions’ writes: ‘The doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation as well as the Virgin Birth, belief in the Divine Sacrifice of love, the conception of irresistible Grace and Justification by faith alone, prayer prompted by the grace of God, petition for forgiveness of sins, all-embracing love towards every creature, heroic love of enemies, belief in ever-lasting life, in the judgment and restoration of the world—there is not a single central doctrine of Christianity which does not have an array of striking parallels in the various non-Christian faiths.’—Hibbert Journal, January 1954
great mythical elements of the whole world the same and the whole religious genesis a single growth, planted by the very Spirit of God, and, nourished by him with the airs of heaven and the dews of earth, unfolding itself in joy throughout all ages.¹

Even the conviction that one's own faith gives a deeper insight into reality need not engender hostility to those who cherish other beliefs. We may look upon others as fellow-seekers of truth.

Every religion is passing through self-analysis and self-criticism and is developing into a form which is sympathetic to other religions: No religion has yet uttered its last word. No religion can retreat from modernity and science. With the spread of scientific knowledge, religions are becoming liberal, though a few cling to dogma as their only defence in this predicament. They are attempting to reach to what is of fundamental importance, the common root in the spiritual world from which each individual may gain a clear insight and a firm faith in his own religion.

The goal of the universe is a deep fellowship of the spirit. All religions which today are in a process of self-understanding and spiritual exchange are getting near each other. No one need give up one's own religion and engage in a syncretism. We can learn from other religions in a spirit of mutual respect. Nothing true should be alien to us. St. Ambrose's saying which was adopted by Thomas Aquinas is worthy of acceptance. 'Every truth by whomsoever it is spoken is of the Holy Spirit.'² When Francis of Assisi picked up a paper and was told that what was written on it came from a pagan writer, he replied: 'That means nothing, for all that is said, whether by pagans or anyone else, comes from the wisdom of God and has reference to God, from whom comes every good thing.'

Religion has emerged mature from the criticism of science and social conscience, accepting whatever is valid in other religions. When the faiths interact, our own religion is imperceptibly modified. The unreal yields to the real. We give up the notions of chosen peoples, chosen nations and chosen creeds. If we are to create a spiritual unity which will transcend and sustain the material unity of the new world order, we need inter-religious understanding. The new religious situation will be not an endless homogeneity but an organic unity where we will have sympathetic understanding and

¹ Quoted by Professor Friedrich Heiler in the Hibbert Journal (January 1954), p. 111
appreciation of other faiths. All religions will express themselves as forms of the universal religion of knowledge and love and from this standpoint we will be able to criticise the past history and present doctrines of every religion with severity as well as sympathy.

Even though we follow different roads, our goal is the same, reaching the ultimate mystery. We are all engaged in the same quest. We must treat one another as spiritual brethren. Tolerance should be transformed into love.

There is a movement towards unification in all religions. Disunity started fairly early in the Christian Church. Two important breaches of Christian unity occurred in the eleventh and the sixteenth centuries respectively. In 1054, the Christian Church was split into two groups, one covering the countries of Eastern Europe and Egypt and Syria with Constantinople as its main centre, the other the Catholic Church covered the countries of Western Europe with its centre in Rome. Since then the Eastern Church had remained separate. Five hundred years later in the sixteenth century, the Reformation disputed the claims of the Pope and Protestant Churches arose in Germany, France, Netherlands, Switzerland, England and Scotland and the Scandinavian countries.

Apart from the main divisions of the Catholic, the Protestant and the Eastern orthodox Church, under each of them there are widely divergent groups. While some of the Protestants treat the essence of Christianity as the acceptance of the apocalyptic-eschato-
logical world view, others reject it as being the expression of the mind of the period in which those passages of the Old and the New Testaments were written. For the Fundamentalist these beliefs are essential, while for the Modernist they are not. From the time of St. Paul’s letter to the Church at Corinth, attempts to end the divisions have been made continuously to bring the Christian Churches of East and West together but the Roman Catholic Church does not participate in them since it is convinced that the way to Christian unity is submission to the Pope at Rome. Co-operation among the churches in matters of doctrine and common action in grappling with the problems of social life have been the main objectives of these movements. The second Assembly of the World Council of Churches was held at Evanston.

It is our hope that this movement will be extended to the living faiths of mankind. A world civilization can grow on the basis of co-operation among religions. It will broaden our vision of divine
activity in life and free us from narrowness and dogmatism. All the
religions are our inheritance and we should not squander it away.

There are bound to be religious differences in the world. When
we wish to grow in partnership, we do not advocate an undifferen-
tiated universalism or an easy indifference. We accept differences
and plead for a healthy growth of unity. It is not our desire to obli-
terate the differences but we wish to use the differences to strengthen
and enrich partnership. We must develop the right temper of mind,
a world loyalty through a spirit of fellowship among mankind.
We should promote free co-operation among all who believe in God
or an Ultimate Spiritual Reality. Whatever our religious views
may be, we are all one family under God. Joachim of Fiore spoke
of the coming ‘Church of the Spirit’. All those who observe the
two commandments, ‘Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy
heart and with all thy soul and with all thy strength and thou shalt
love thy neighbour as thyself’, belong to that universal Church.

According to the writer of the last book of the Bible, there will
be no temple in the heavenly Jerusalem for God will be all in all.

If we do not take note of the currents of thought and aspiration
but claim to speak of infallible truth about God, discard the canons
of social justice, overlook that God finds something of himself in
each religion and not fully in any, if we do not develop community
of minds in a world that is desperately threatened by instruments
which we ourselves have devised, the number of unbelievers will
increase and God himself may join the camp of unbelievers.

THE METAPHYSICAL QUEST

I

It is a great honour to be invited to address this University whose
scholars made outstanding contributions to the understanding
and exposition of India’s cultural heritage. They have revealed not
only to the world at large but even to the Indians themselves the
greatness of their classical tradition. The two Schlegels—one of
whom, Wilhelm von Schlegel (1767-1845) was the first occupant
of the Chair of Sanskrit and Oriental studies which was founded

   Address to the University of Bonn, 17 November, 1958

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in 1818 in this University—Schopenhauer, Max Müller, Paul Deussen, Jacobi, Eggeling, Rudolf Otto and scores of others dedicated their lives to the study of Indian thought. I do not mention those who are still happily with us, engaged in the same pursuit.

German scholars for the first time brought out critical editions of the four Vedic *samhitās*. They published critical editions of many literary and philosophical texts. They brought to their work not merely vast knowledge but deep sympathy. Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1825) read the *Bhagavadgītā* in the original and wrote to the well-known statesman Friedrich von Gentz (1764-1832): ‘I read the Indian poem for the first time when I was in my country estate in Silesia, and while doing so I felt a sense of overwhelming gratitude to God for having let me live to become acquainted with this work. It must be the most profound and sublime thing to be found in this world.’ Max Müller asks that if we can be Christian Platonists why should we not be Christian Vedāntists. He counted himself as one of them. Paul Deussen who translated into German the Upaniṣads and expounded their philosophy in a series of great works asked us in his farewell speech at Bombay to cling to the Vedānta philosophy. In his writings he attempted to make out that Parmenides, Śaṅkara and Kant conformed to a single philosophical pattern of which he himself was an advocate. He and other scholars made us feel that Indian philosophical systems were not all mythology and moonshine but gave us total perspectives which were not irrelevant to our times. They were attempts to think out the problems of nature, man and God in a clear, consistent and comprehensive manner. It is rare to find members of one culture understand and appreciate the values of another.

In the middle of the nineteenth century German Idealism of Lessing, Kant, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel and their followers held a pre-eminent position in the world of thought. Even in the beginning of this century, when I took to the study of philosophy, German Idealism had leadership and its exponents in Britian, Green and Nettleship, Bradley and Bosanquet appealed to the Indian mind, for the varieties of Idealism they developed had affinities with the different systems of Indian Idealism. While Deussen found many parallels between Śaṅkara and Kant, Rāmānuja’s Absolute qualified by *cit*, consciousness, and *acit*, non-conscious matter, reminded one of Hegel’s thought. For Hegel the subject matter of logic is the ‘idea’. This is externalized as ‘nature’ and returns to itself as ‘spirit’.
German thinkers stimulated the intellectual life of other nations including Great Britain and India.

II

The metaphysical temperament which seeks to penetrate behind the limited knowledge which comes to us through sense perception and interpret the nature of the world by means of general ideas has characterized the Indian mind from the beginning of its history. The German mind has been reputed for its profundity of thought, imaginative power and the capacity to probe into the depths of human experience. There are two paradoxical aphorisms of Goethe which reveal the inquiring spirit of the German mind. 'Man must persist in his belief that the incomprehensible is comprehensible, otherwise he would cease to explore.' 'The highest happiness of a rational being is to have explored what is explorable and quietly to revere what is unexplorable.' To attempt to see things, persons and events in their inter-relationship is inevitable to the human mind. Metaphysical ideas are founded on a basic awareness of what is implied in experience and cannot be altogether justified by scientific measurement or rational logic. We cannot attain clarity in regard to them. Those who were greatly impressed by the triumphs of science found systems of metaphysics irrelevant, if not meaningless. While the scientifically inclined were hostile to metaphysical views, the religiously inclined felt that the prevalent systems of speculative idealism dwarfed the nature of the human individual and permitted the intrusion of reason into the realm of faith. The individual loses his significance if the whole universe is the march of the Absolute. So protests were made against the doctrine of Absolute Idealism in the interests of scientific knowledge and the significance of the individual. Science and faith were both opposed to metaphysics.

Auguste Comte (1798-1857) and Soren Kierkegaard (1813-1855) appeared about the same time. But their hostile reactions to Hegelian Idealism were not taken seriously at the time. They have now become articulate and attractive to many thinking people. The two wars which we had in one generation, the political and social upheavals through which we passed, the general misery and hopelessness of life have resulted in a state of disruption, disillusionment and despair. In the state of intellectual confusion and spiritual prostration, we are taking to all sorts of remedies, theological orthodoxy (Karl Barth), neo-scholasticism (Jacques Maritain and Etienne Gilson), Marxist materialism, Logical Positivism or Nihilistic
Existentialism. We wish to be saved, at any cost, from a sense of lostness, homelessness and these systems profess to give us a sense of belonging.

Sooner or later we have to come to grips with life, find our bearings and reach certain beliefs and values. It is not a question of whether we should have a metaphysics or not for we all have one. The question is whether it is to be an unexamined and even unconscious metaphysics or a system of ordered thought which is deliberately achieved. Even systems of logical positivism and existentialism, which revolt against metaphysics set forth metaphysical views.

III

Comte claimed that there are three stages of mental development. In the first stage the theological men seek to explain the world in terms of myths. In the second, the metaphysical men seek to account for things by devising speculative, rationalistic theories. But the third stage, the positivist, is that of modern science, in which we are content to trace, discover and record what is observed to happen without trying to go beyond facts. Metaphysics for Comte was pre-scientific and is superseded by science. The positivism developed by Comte was not a theory but a method, which sought in every field for scientific explanations instead of theological dogmas or metaphysical speculations.

Logical Positivism wishes to adopt the empirical method. Its revolt against idealism did not in the early stages mean a revolt against metaphysics. G. E. Moore, for example, said in 1910 that 'the most important and interesting thing which philosophers have tried to do' was to give 'a general description of the whole of the universe'.¹ Bertrand Russell announced in 1918 his intention of setting forth 'a certain kind of metaphysic'.² He developed a system of metaphysical realism. Paul Natorp (1854-1924) the co-founder of the Marburg school speaks of an ascent from the world of contradiction to a region of pure harmony and unrestricted affirmation.

Ludwig Wittgenstein became the starting point of two different schools of philosophy, Linguistic Analysis and Logical Positivism. He tells us that all true propositions are contained in the natural sciences and philosophy cannot make any true assertions on its own account. Its sole function is to clarify our thoughts.

¹ Some Main Problems of Philosophy (1953), P. 1
² The Philosophy of Logical Atomism
The function of philosophy is the analysis of science and its logic and language. We cannot seriously consider questions of philosophy unless they are precisely stated. But linguistic analysis is itself an approach to metaphysical thinking. Logical positivism has great respect for science and mathematics and has developed a distaste for metaphysics. It affirms that metaphysics is in principle impossible or meaningless. It adopts the verification principle as the criterion of meaningfulness or significance. The meaning of any statement is evident from the way in which it could be verified. It is assumed that verification must always terminate in empirical observation or sense experience. The only exceptions are the analytic formulas as those of mathematics which do not require to be empirically verified. The statements of metaphysicians and theologians, moral and aesthetic judgements could not be empirically verified and therefore they are non-significant, meaningless.

Only statements require to be empirically verified and not commands, entreaties, promises, interjections or expressions of intention.

Many difficulties arise here. First, positivists themselves have expressed metaphysical convictions like the doctrine of physicalism. When we speak of rivers and mountains, flowers and fruits, birds and animals, when we classify the objects of the world, we are on the metaphysical track leaning to empirical realism. When science speaks of the world as having a continuous structure and uses the concepts of nature, cause, law, it is marking metaphysical assumptions about the structure and continuity of nature. What gives value to scientific discoveries is derived from a source other than science itself. Logical positivism which rejects the validity of metaphysics on the ground that metaphysical statements are incapable of empirical verification is itself a metaphysical view that sense experience is all and any statement that cannot be tested by it is unintelligible, meaningless.

Is experience limited to sense experience? We cannot deny the experience of purpose, of choice, of vision of beauty, of apprehension of truth, though they may not be capable of scientific measurement.

Husserl's phenomenology is an attempt to be as empirical and realistic about the world of thought as other empiricists have been about the world of sense-perception. Husserl holds that the ideas of which we are aware in thought are objectively real even as are the things with which we are in contact in sense-perception.
If the latter exist as we perceive them, the former subsist as we think them. We must develop that intensity of intellectual vision by which we shall see the ideas which subsist in the world of thought as they really are, in all the detail of their logical structure.

Again we have experience of values, of the world of spirit. We speak of darśana, seeing, vision, when the soul is penetrated by a Being that is immensely more powerful than itself. The soul turns inwards and concentrates in the central part of its being when, withdrawn from body and space, beyond relation and time it enters into the presence of Divine Creativity. This is not a rare or privileged event. No one is so poor as not to have felt its light and liberation. Whether we speak of union or communion with God or commitment to God we have an experience which is spiritual, not perceptual or conceptual. It is true that we have no other source of knowledge than experience but this experience is of different kinds, of scientific laws, of moral obligation, of spiritual reality.

Again we have both direct and indirect verification. This building is tall. It can be verified directly; the theory of relativity is verified by its consequences in so far as they are calculated and observed. This is indirect verification. Any metaphysical theory can be verified indirectly by its adequacy to account for the observed facts. Speculative metaphysics is a tenable inquiry with a field of its own.

Indian philosophic thought finds an empirical basis for its conclusions. By an examination of given facts, it constructs a theory of Reality, which has logical consistency and empirical adequacy. Reality is what is ideally intelligible. Bradley says, what may be, if it must be, it is.

Modern philosophic thought is reverting to the ancient concept of the world as saṁsāra, perpetual movement, a procession of events which supersedes one another. The world we know, which science studies, is process. It is not complete in its present situation. It derives from the past and moves into the future. Does it reveal another beyond itself? If it does, what is its relation to the process itself? Is this process purposeful? These are questions of metaphysics which we cannot avoid raising though we may not be able to answer them satisfactorily.

Science tells us that there is regularity, law discernible in the cosmic process. There is not only movement but the movement seems to have a direction. No situation is exactly identical with the
past out of which it has arisen. The element of novelty is not altogether predictable from the past though it may be related to the past which we notice when once it occurs. The cosmic process is not a never-ending repetition of a limited number of situations. The present adds significance to the character of the past and may pave the way for the realization of unexpected possibilities of the future.

If a tree grows from the seed and the child grows from an embryo, we seem to be justified in assuming a purposeful quality in the life experience of these units. Does not the story of the life-process indicate a directional significance? The vast astronomical and geological processes have provided the environment required for the appearance and development of life. From life arises animal mind, from animal mind human intelligence and from it spirit, wisdom, compassion, joy.

The very effort of man to know the secrets of nature, to sit in judgement on it indicates his participation in the creative process. The scientist's self-dedication and moral concern show the primacy of the living spirit in him.

Marxism which is aware of the cosmic process and its trends tells us that matter itself is dialectical. But matter and dialectic do not mix. We cannot attribute to matter the dialectical behaviour which Hegel gives to mind. Engels in his Dialectic of Nature observes: 'Our mastery of it [nature] consists in the fact that we have the advantage over all other beings of being able to know and correctly apply its laws.' The human subject is superior to the object. Nature and human existence are not self-explanatory.

The world can be interpreted in terms of the activity of a Being who transcends it. Even as there is continuity between the seed and the tree, the child and the man, there seems to be a continuing identity which endures through all changes of process. This identity finds expression in the variations and changes of the process, in the potentiality of energy, in the direction of biological growth, in social change. The human being enduring through the years is an image of the larger identity of the whole to which he is related. That is why he is capable of participating in the work of that larger Spirit who is the meaning of the universe discovered at the end though implied from the beginning. The evidence for this ultimate identity is to be discovered not in the interstices of knowledge but in the whole process, with its ordered and progressive character.
Śaṅkara, for example, tells us that there is a fundamental principle standing behind and beyond the world process which inspires and informs the process which is steadily manifesting new values. 

\[ ekṣa\text{-}yāpi kūṭāsthasya citta\text{-}tāratamyāt jñānaśvāryānām abhiyaktiḥ pareṇa pareṇa bhūyasī bhavati. \]

In 1784 Herder published the first part of his *Ideas for a Philosophical History of Mankind*. In it he argues that all things are actuated by a single spiritual principle, which works differently at different levels but is essentially one in its operations. Even Thomas Hardy in his *The Dynasts* saw the world not as a machine but as a living organism moving to a purpose, namely, redemption. The Immanent Will is groping towards self-knowledge. It has resulted in the evolution of the human soul whose active and increasing self-knowledge is the highest expression of the Universal Force.

Bergson, Alexander, Llyod Morgan and Whitehead develop a view of the universe in which spiritual values have a determining role. Science reveals to us that there is a spiritual presence greater than man. The end of man is to place himself in harmony with this presence.

In India religion and metaphysics were not divorced from each other. In all the Scriptures rational scrutiny of religious thought is insisted on. There can be no retreat from modernity and science. Metaphysical effort gives to religious thought dignity and strength.

**IV**

The Existentialist rejection of metaphysics is based on the recognition of the inadequacy and relativity of scientific knowledge. Existentialism is not a specific doctrine. It is a way of thinking which takes self-conscious existence as the proper subject and point of departure for philosophy. To exist is to be a self-conscious being vividly aware of himself and engaged in a great personal adventure.

Existentialism attacks the idealist position which looks upon world history as the march of the Absolute Spirit in which the human individual has little part. But all historical acts are acts of men. Men make history.

Existentialism is empirical in its method. While the older empiricists applied their belief to nature, Existentialists apply it to human existence. The Upaniṣads ask us to know the self: \[ ātmānam viddhi. \] The *Bhāvavadgītā* says that of all types of knowledge the knowledge of the Self is the most important. We must achieve a profound
understanding of what is meant to be human. The knowledge aimed at is not psychological knowledge which is after all a species of scientific knowledge. Psychology gives us the mechanism and conditions of existence. It breaks man into a series of fragments which are studied by the different sciences. Man is treated as an object among objects, emptied of spiritual orientation and moral certitude. Instead of individuals science gives us concepts, doctrines. Man becomes a collection of ideas, feelings and desires. A tennis ball is an object but man is both subject and object to himself. Existentialism attempts to study the meaning and values of existence. For this we have to pass beyond science.

Religions, especially Hinduism and Buddhism, describe the broad features of human life, the pervasiveness of suffering in a way not wholly alien to the doctrine of the Existentialists. The world is subject to time, historicity, change. Life is haunted by death, beauty by decay. Nothing abides; everything passes away. What remedy avails against this malady of mankind? The Upaniṣad writer prays: 'Lead me from the unreal to the real; lead me from darkness to light; lead me from death to immortality.' Lead me from the world of time to the reality of eternal life. The Buddha saw the world to be full of suffering, sickness, old age and death. The last of the four sights he encountered was that of a recluse, with a radiant and tranquil face, who answered the Buddha's question by stating that he was in search of liberation from time, being afraid of birth and death. Indian thinkers take birth and death and not merely death as symbolic of time. Impressed by the vanity of our projects, the futility of our achievements, the restlessness of temporal life, its confusions and contradictions, its ultimate nothingness, the Buddha tells us that each one has to pass through it all in order to fulfill himself and recognize at the depth of all struggle the lasting peace of nirvāṇa. The Buddhist asks: Why am I bound to be what I am? Why should I wear the mask of this personality and endure its destiny with all its limitations and delusions? How can I attain another state, that of not being anything particular beset by limitations and qualities that restrict my pure unbounded being? St. Paul asks, who shall deliver me from the body of death? He announces that 'the last enemy to be destroyed is death'. Augustine speaks to us of 'the ceaseless unrest which marks the temporal life of the individual'.

The psychological dissatisfaction with the meaninglessness
of the world is the stimulus to the metaphysical quest. Man is dissatisfied with his finitude because he has infinite longings. His ontological interest is a challenge to transcend the human predicament and seek another world, a new level of being. Man becomes aware of his finitude because of his potential infinity. When he is aware of his existential situation, he becomes aware of the power of Being in him. When he is aware of his sin, this consciousness is the shadow of the absolute standard in him. It is a demand which the soul makes on itself. It is not God's judgement but man's own judgement on himself. He knows and applies the absolute standard because he participates in the nature of the Absolute. According to Advaita Vedānta, the reality of Brahma the supreme Being does not need to be proved since it is a datum of consciousness, bound up with the consciousness of man's own existence.

Being is the answer to meaninglessness. Being does not have its consummation in nothingness. Death is not all. The transition from becoming to Being is an attempt at the restoration of metaphysics. Religious life is the life lived in the power of Being. It fosters and develops the metaphysical urge and ministers to the need in man for adoration.

In recent European thought Kant may be treated as the fore-runner of both Positivism and Existentialism. At the beginning of the Critique of Pure Reason he says that because our knowledge arises in experience that is no proof that it is derived from experience. Kant distinguishes three levels of cognitive activity, the Aesthetic with the forms of perception, the Analytic with the categories of the understanding, and the Dialectic with the Ideas of Reason. The categories of the understanding are a priori conceptions, structural tendencies of the mind without which we cannot have knowledge of sensible phenomena. They are not logical abstractions but active manifestations of the unifying principle of mind. They apply to objects of sense as conforming to the universal conditions of a possible experience, phenomena, and not to things as such, noumena. A transcendent use of these a priori principles is illegitimate.

While the categories of the understanding are immanent, that is, adequately realized in sense-experience, the Ideas of Reason are transcendent. No objects can be presented in experience that are adequate to them, the subject, the supersensible substance from which conscious phenomena derive, the object, the world, the totality of external phenomena and God, the union of subject and
object, the source and unity of all existence. Though the Ideas of Reason have no objects in a possible experience, they are yet the ideals of all experience. We cannot apply the categories of the understanding to them. The soul, the world and God are not substances and causes. If we apply the categories, we get the pseudo-sciences of Rational Psychology, Rational Cosmology and Rational Theology. The Ideas indicate the aspirations of thought, the demands and dreams which we cannot relinquish. There is no science of objects answering to the Ideas of Reason, though we are obliged to act as if there were such objects. Our cognitive activity rests on a faith and a hope.

Everything empirical is conditioned and relative while the Ideas are absolute and unconditioned. Moral life gives a deeper meaning to the Ideas of Reason. The intuitive apprehension of the moral law is different from the logical apprehension of objects in space and time. Kant tells us that we can have apprehension of the unconditioned. ‘After we have denied the power of speculative reason to make any progress in the sphere of the super-sensible it still remains to be considered whether data do not exist in our practical cognition which enables us to render determinate the transcendent character of the unconditioned, and in this way, as metaphysics seeks, to over-step the bounds of all possible experience with our a priori knowledge—which knowledge, however, is valid only from the practical point of view.’ What metaphysics tries in vain to prove by purely intellectual means is all the time accepted by the ordinary man on the basis of practical or moral experience. It is not an object of scientific knowledge but of rational faith. In his inaugural Dissertation, Kant speaks of intuitus intellectualis. The ideals of truth, goodness and beauty are the expressions of the Spirit in us. Their objects are ontological, the very substance of being. The contents of spiritual consciousness are the conditions of human knowledge, morality and aesthetic life. The unconditioned principles are more Ideas of Spirit than of Reason. Sense, Understanding, and Reason are the three ways in which the Spirit in us functions. The appeal of metaphysics is to a judgement more basic than either sense-experience or rational logic. It attempts to assess the reasons for and the limitations implicit in the presuppositions of science and logic.

Kierkegaard speaks of the existential dread but the dread is what spurs the individual to that leap of despair which is faith. It is
the dread of the soul suspended between finite existence and its infinite possibility. Kierkegaard's work on the Concept of Dread ends with the words: "So soon as psychology has finished with dread it has nothing to do but to deliver it over to dogmatics." When Kierkegaard speaks of the power of angst over existence, it is with the intention of helping man to escape from that power. Man's awareness of angst makes the world for him a desolation. His analysis of human existence was made with an apologetic purpose. Kierkegaard affirms that the transition from psychology to dogma is always an act of faith and not one of logical necessity. He denounces metaphysical system-building as found in Hegel, in the same way in which Luther protests against the intrusion of Aristotelian philosophy into the Kingdom of faith. For Kierkegaard man's relationship to God is what makes him human.

The great German thinker Paul Natorp reminds us of an Indian teacher who adopts silence as the best expression of the great mystery. Truth exists by its own majesty. Its language is silence. When we sit near a seer, he does not deliver a message but we sense the consuming heat and the kindling light of his spirit. He creates a mood, a temper rather than a conviction or a belief. To be born again and become as a little child was for Natorp the highest goal a man can reach and he feels that nobody has achieved it, not even Jesus. This religious background determines the philosophical ascent from the world of confusion and contradiction to a region of pure harmony and unrestricted affirmation.

Sartre's existentialism, though avowedly atheistic, lends considerable support to a spiritual view of the universe. He gives us a way of thought which seeks to be baptized into faith. He affirms

1 E. T. by Walter Lowerie (1946), p. 145
2 Martin Luther writes: 'All the articles of our Christian belief are, when considered rationally, just as impossible and mendacious and preposterous. Faith, however, is completely abreast of the situation. It grips reason by the throat, and strangles the beast.' On this Karl Barth makes the remark: 'He who can hear this, let him hear it, for it is the beginning and end of history.'—Professor H. J. Paton: The Modern Predicament (1955), pp. 119-120
3 Bradley looked upon the universe as fragmentary, disjoined, irrational. He pointed out that everything which is taken to be true or real is self-contradictory and therefore, dismissed as mere appearance. It is quite alien to the nature of Reality which is to be found only in the Absolute, which neither is nor contains a number of things. In the Absolute all separation is overcome, all distinctions vanish, all relations are merged.
that even if God did exist, man would still have to be his own saviour. We should be brave enough to face reality and not accept consoling myths contrived to give us peace of mind. We must be prepared to live with angst.

Albert Camus tells us that the myth of Sisyphus\(^1\) teaches us the hopelessness and futility of man’s situation. We have to roll the rock of existence without any hope of rest or of finding any meaning in our life. He calls man’s relation to the universe the Absurd but he contends that this relation is to be fulfilled through courage and reason on man’s part. This is, however, a sign of man’s faith in himself.

For Martin Heidegger, authentic existence is one in which man finds himself and unauthentic existence is one in which the individual is lost and scatters himself in the world. He is uprooted when he falls into the world; he is not then disturbed by the ultimate issues of existence. When his security is taken away from him the mood of anxiety breaks in to shatter his contentment. He has then a sense of alienation, that he is cut off from his true self and its authentic possibilities. Evil is a falling away of man from himself, from his authentic being. When the original possibilities are lost or are rendered inaccessible, we have a state of fallenness. The deeper his fall into the world the further is he from himself. To restore authenticity means to unify the scattered self, so that it is withdrawn from false concerns and stands in its original possibilities. Conscience is the call of the authentic self to the fallen self. For Heidegger we approach most closely and intimately to reality in human existence. By analysing self-consciousness where reality discloses itself to us, we will attain knowledge of the objective nature of things. By profound metaphysical thinking we can overcome the self-estrangement of our existence, get reconciled to reality and give meaning and hope to our existence.

For Karl Jaspers, existence is not an idea but the most concrete form of experience. It has not the character which abstract ideas have. To know oneself as a finite being in a world which conditions and restricts one’s liberty is to know oneself as transcended. All that exists tries to get beyond itself. ‘Man cannot remain himself except by living in a relationship with the Transcendent.’ When Jaspers insists that man is ‘open to the Transcendent’, he is referring to the capacity of man to transcend himself. The conviction of the

\(^1\) The Myth of Sisyphus and Other Essays. E. T. by Justin O’Brien (1955)
meaninglessness of life leads us to a new being which promises creativity, meaning and hope. There is need for believing that below the actuality of existence there is the mystery of Being.

V

Philosophy is said to be a darśana, a vision, a new way of seeing beyond the horizons of time. When this seeing, which is a sudden growth in understanding, occurs our whole outlook on the world is transformed: When Bergson defines metaphysics as 'the science which claims to dispense with symbols' he means that it seeks the intuitive vision of the Real beyond the distorting forms of conceptual thought.

Religion is not a philosophical proposition, not a historical life. It is a personal discovery that the apparently indifferent world conceals as its reality an intimate concern for each individual, as of parent for child.¹ 'Behold, I stand at the door and knock: if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him and will sup with him and he with me.'

Eternal life does not take us away from the world of time. It reveals to us the world as a reflection of the Divine splendour and the bond of its unity. The world is not a threat to man's authentic being. We have to live in the world with the perspective of the eternal. Man's true life is not one of material security. His life then is one built on sand. His authentic existence of understanding and love is one built on rock. Man is essentially a creator dealing with existence which aspires to Being. He is not a lonely ego in an impersonal natural order. He becomes a pulsating centre of action by the submission of his will to the Transcendent. By his submission the soul becomes both acting and acted. Its freedom coincides with the Divine Activity. Its sole end is to perfect the creation of the human species. When charged with the vision of unity, the self returns to the world of action, bringing with it a new comprehension of its relation to others, seeing both itself and them as personal entities bound together in a process of mutual creation. Its activity has a religious significance and must be understood in the light of a universal and divinely inspired creative process, whose end is the union of all human beings.

This view is the only answer to the casual character of our lives where we do not have any significant purpose, where we are alarmed

¹ Bhagavadgītā, XI. 44
by life’s risks and uncertainties, where we do not have faith in the future.

The revolt of modern philosophy in its Positivist and Existentialist forms has been a healthy and liberating influence. But we cannot rest content with revolt. We need constructive philosophy, an articulation of ultimate presuppositions about the world we live in. This is possible only by hard metaphysical thinking. Faith has to be a rational one. Metaphysics is not the enemy of faith. It alone can restore to men the spiritual wholeness which they seek to attain but fail to do. It is the metaphysical effort that gives dignity to the human species. No culture can last unless it supports this effort and encourages the confidence that man is capable of insight into the nature of the process in which he participates.

India and Germany for centuries have been keen on the metaphysical quest. Both the peoples are convinced that if our common experiences are to be understood they require to be interpreted in terms which reach beyond the perceived and the obvious. It is my earnest hope and wish that the seekers in our two countries along with others may work together in the pursuit of this great objective.
INDIAN RAILWAYS CENTENARY CELEBRATIONS

The origin, growth and expansion of the railway system are all epitomized in this Centenary Exhibition. You see there an engine which drew one of the first trains, and I travelled from New Delhi to here in a train drawn by an engine which was made at the Chittaranjan Locomotive Works.

On this occasion of prospect and retrospect, as Shri Vasist said, we have to remember the administration of Lord Dalhousie who was the Governor-General from 1848 to 1856. In those years as a liberal imperialist, he tried to do his best for introducing great improvements in communications and other things in this country. He was responsible for introducing the telegraph. Again, he made the postal system cheap and effective by the use of the railways. Till then mails were being carried by couriers and runners, by horses and camels or by carriages and boats. After the introduction of the railway mail service, the postal system increased manifold and we are able to reap the benefits of all the changes that Lord Dalhousie introduced.

That the railway system affected the social life and habits of our people need not be reiterated. It broke down distances, physical and psychological. It brought together people from different parts of our country and gave them a sense of responsibility and political unity. It reduced the incidence of famine by facilitating the transport of food grains from surplus to deficit areas.

It used to be said of a great country that it was hell for the poor, paradise for the rich and purgatory for the middle classes. I do not think such a characterization is likely to be made of our

Presidential Address, 16 April, 1953
country. We have pledged ourselves to the building of a Welfare State. Our Minister for Railways just now described to us the things that have been done during the recent five or six years after the attainment of independence. He has linked up parts of the country with one another which were not hitherto connected by railways. He has paid great attention to the amenities of third class passengers and the comforts of workers are also being taken into account. On the whole, every attempt is being made to increase the welfare of the railway worker, of the railway passenger and indirectly of the people at large also. But, as the Minister has said, there are also ever so many things which require to be done. In a vast country like this, there are still undeveloped regions which are inaccessible to communications. The success of our Five Year Plan in its different sectors of Agriculture, Industry, and Multi-purpose Projects will depend on the capacity of the Railways to provide transport facilities.

The Minister referred to the primary need of rehabilitation of railway track, of rolling stock and other equipment and he has also told us about the need for development. But he ended up by saying that all these things are conditioned by the state of our finances. In other words, finance is the greatest bottleneck. We have the will, we have the purpose, we have the ambition and we are anxious to build as rapidly as possible a Welfare State in this country. But there is this financial trouble. Perhaps if the international tension is somewhat relaxed, more funds may be made available for constructive purposes.

Recent developments in the international situation seem to be a little more promising. The deep darkness which enveloped the world since the end of the war has dispersed a little and a few bright rays of light are visible. In the last few weeks we have had several indications from the Communist world of a wish for co-operation with the Western democracies. Faith in the peaceful co-existence of different systems requires us to avoid not only mutual interference but even the appearance of it. Perhaps the world will be greatly reassured if the Cominform is abolished even as the Comintern was abolished during the Second World War when nations like Russia and America fought and suffered together. Democracy is based on diversity, tolerance and mutual respect. If the great Powers show mutual respect and consideration, the nightmare-world in which we live may pass into one of light
and sanity. The great funds which are being spent for destructive purposes, for increasing the weapons which inflict death, may then be utilized for the purpose of promoting the interests of life. Then our Railway Minister may come forward to say: 'Here there is some relief, here I am getting some more funds and it may be possible for me to build the railways and to expand the whole system and make it possible for people in distant villages also to have more frequent contacts with the rest of the country.'

The Centenary Exhibition has given a sense to us that a truly democratic spirit prevails among the workers. Democracy is recognizing the value of the service done by the smallest and the biggest. We may worship God in our own way. The spirit of worship is one though the flowers we offer may be varied and may be of different qualities. So also, from that old gentleman who came up here, who served the railway for 53 years, up to or down to our Railway Minister, they are all working for one common cause. They have a sense of their responsibility; they have a sense of the contribution which they are making to the railway system of our country. It is essential, therefore, that this spirit of democracy, that feeling of family sense, that sense of comradeship should prevail among the workers in all the fields and factories of our country.

It is a commonplace to say that today a social and economic revolution is in our midst. That revolution must be ensured success. If we succeed in bringing about that revolution by democratic processes, it will be a greater victory for democracy than any number of military victories in the battlefields. If we are able to build up a Welfare State by peaceful, parliamentary, non-violent processes, the whole Cold War will disappear and we will be able to establish that the objectives of a Welfare State could be realized by methods which are non-violent in their character. This railway system of our country—whose purpose and administration are evident to any one who goes round this Exhibition—has been worked with the full co-operation of all people.

I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate the Railway Minister, Members of the Railway Board and all the ordinary workers who are also contributing to that on the success that they have attained. The other day a foreign expert said that India is one of the twelve best administered countries of the world. Well, if India is well administered, the Railway Administration has
also contributed to the good name which our country has acquired and I do hope that the Railway Administration will go on working with honesty, with efficiency and increase the reputation which our country has for good administration.

We are in a critical time. We have ideas, we have purpose and all that is necessary is we must dream and think together, aspire together and achieve our objective. But the first attention must be paid to our domestic problems. That depends on national solidarity and I do hope that the railway system of our country will continue to progress and will continue to assist in building a community materially and culturally high and give us a satisfied India which will be able to make an effective contribution to the world itself.

DEVANĀGARI SCRIPT REFORM

I have not paid much attention to this question though I know it is a very important one.

Our Constitution lays down that ‘the official language of the Union shall be Hindi in Devanāgarī Script. The form of numerals to be used for the official purpose of the Union shall be the international form of Indian numerals.’ (343-1) We are required to get Hindi adopted as the official language, if possible, within 15 years. The Governments of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Punjab. Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan have already adopted Hindi in Nāgarī script for official purposes. The use of Hindi will spread in other areas also. So it is essential that the script should lend itself easily to the requirements of printing, typewriting, etc. With about 16 vowel sounds, 35 simple consonents and a large number of complex conjunct consonents, the number of distinct types necessary for printing and typing exceeds 500. This number of graphic symbols does not make for easy or speedy communication. Different Committees have been set up for the purpose of effecting improvements in the script and their recommendations are to be considered by us.

The Nāgarī script is now used for Sanskrit, Hindi, Marāthi,

Lucknow, 28 November, 1953
Nepāli. It is best that we have a uniform script in the whole country. Our aim should be simplicity and speed. We should not, of course, make changes simply to suit typing and printing. We have typewriters designed to suit the Chinese script which contain over 500 symbols. Mechanical needs should not control changes of script. Our attitude in the matter should be neither resistance to all changes nor acceptance of wholesale changes. Shapes of letters change in course of centuries and even decades. The printing press has given some fixity to our script. Even today there are slight variations in the Nāgarī script between North India and South India. Whatever changes are absolutely necessary for the popularization of the script and for its use in printing and typewriting, may be made so long as these changes do not injure the integrity of the script.

A telegraphic code for Nāgarī script has been introduced in some provinces, but I understand that the response to it has been poor, possibly because the international Morse code is simpler than the Nāgarī Morse code.

We all know the difference between the alphabet and the script, between the order of the arrangements of sounds and the order of the shapes of the letters. Simply because our alphabet is scientifically arranged, it does not follow that our script is also scientifically fixed. A perfect language will have for its principle one sound, one symbol. In the present Nāgarī script, we do not have short vowels e and o as we have in some other alphabets. In Marāthi, Telugu and Tamil the sound of ꚉ ꚉ is used. But it is not found in the Nāgarī script. In Tamil we have a sound zha as in Dravida Kazhagam. We have also the hard ꚉ r. These do not find a place in the Nāgarī alphabet.

We have the same alphabet in many Indian languages but different scripts. We may also arrange the Roman letters in the Sanskrit order. This will help to popularize Hindi in non-Hindi speaking areas and spread the knowledge of Indian literature, philosophy and religion outside India more easily and effectively. During the last war the Indian Army, recruited from all the provinces of India, was successfully instructed in Hindi through the Roman script. It is sometimes suggested that both the Nāgarī and the Roman scripts may be used for the expression of Sanskrit. Such a co-operative usage will bring us into intimate relations with our Sanskrit heritage from which almost all the languages of
India are derived, and European culture. The Roman script adapts itself to expansion by the use of diacritical marks. The Roman script, it is contended, is not European in its origin but is really derived from Asia and is well suited for the expression of Sanskrit. I realize that this suggestion is beyond the scope of the Conference, which is convened for the specific purpose of effecting the necessary improvements in the Nāgarī script to suit the needs of the modern printing press, typewriting and those of the growing politically-conscious population.

The suggestion that one uniform Nāgarī script should be employed for all the languages of India will have to be considered with great care and caution. The use of the Nāgarī script for Sanskrit in many parts of the country is not very old. We owe it to the work of the European Sanskritists and the unifying tendencies of the different universities from 1857 onwards. The first volume of Max Müller's edition of Rg Samhītā was published from Oxford in 1854 and the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras which were founded in 1857 started prescribing Sanskrit texts in Nāgarī script. Till then Sanskrit works were written in Bengali, Assamese, Oriya, Maithili, Mewāri in Nepal, Śārada in Kashmir, Telugu, Kannada, Grantha in the Tamil country and Malayalam. The Nāgarī script was used for Sanskrit works in the Hindi area, Rajasthan, Punjab, Gujerat and Maharashtra. To suggest the displacement of native scripts by Nāgarī is not at the present time a practicable proposition. All these local scripts as well as Nāgarī are derived from the old Brāhmī script. When Hindi in Nāgarī script is more generally accepted in non-Hindi areas, the people who speak other languages will also become familiar with the Nāgarī script and perhaps may adopt it as an alternative to their own. In these matters, natural growth should be the method and not official imposition.

The punctuation marks which are in use in English may be adopted.

As for the international numerals or the Devanāgarī numerals, there are arguments for each. The Nāgarī script and the Nāgarī numerals, it is said, should go together. They form an organic whole. When it is decided to use the Nāgarī script, consistency demands that the Nāgarī numerals should also be used. On the other side it is said that international numerals are used the world over. Even countries like the Soviet Union which insists on the
general use of the Russian language by all its people, use the inter-
national numerals and not their national ones. These numerals, it is argued, were originally Indian and spread to Europe through the Arabs. If the international numerals are used, accounting, book-keeping, etc. are greatly facilitated when trade and commerce are becoming international. It is suggested that in Hindi correspondence, the Hindi numerals may be used and in all other cases international numerals.

In considering the different problems about the Nāgarī script we should not forget that we are living in an age of vast material and intellectual changes and that almost a new world is coming into existence. In this new world some of the inveterate prejudices and peculiarities now dividing nation from nation will diminish. Distance is no more an obstacle to the interchange of thought. As we envisage a co-operative world commonwealth, every attempt should be made to make the different people of the world recognize their kinship and solidarity. We should build bridges of communi-
cation and understanding and not barriers.

UNITED NATIONS SEMINAR ON HOUSING AND COMMUNITY IMPROVEMENT

I am honoured by your invitation to inaugurate the regional Seminar on Low Cost Housing and Community Development. From the speeches now made it is clear that the Seminar is not a general conference and that the Working Group is not a talking shop, and that the Seminar is limited to technical specialists. I, therefore, appreciate the distinction of being asked to inaugu-
rate it as I am in no sense of the term a specialist in these matters.

It is significant that this Seminar is organized under the aus-
pices of the United Nations by the Technical Assistance Adminis-
tration and the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East. This shows that the problem of housing shortage is of a world-
wide character, and its rapid solution will further considerably the prospects of peace and security in the world which are the main objectives of the United Nations.

Inaugural Address, 21 January, 1954
While there is no country in the world today which is not faced in some degree by this problem, it is very acute and urgent in Asian countries where millions live in insanitary slums or filthy hovels, and many are literally homeless.

The United Nations Charter places before the peoples of the world the ideal of a democratic society. This ideal is not altogether unfamiliar to the Asian people. In the third century B.C., Ashoka said in Kalinga Edict II: 'All people are my children (sarve manuṣyā mama prajāh). Just as I desire on behalf of my own children, that they should be fully provided with all kinds of comfort and happiness (sarveṇa hitasukhena), in this world as well as in the other, similarly I desire the same (comfort and happiness in this world and in the next) on behalf of all people, evam eva me icchā sarva-manuṣyesu.'

Disrespect for the common man is the essence of fascism and a great source of danger to the peace of the world. We have in Asia millions of people who are tattered, dusty, abject, feeble and forsaken by the future. Their poverty and prostration are not accepted as inevitable. The hungry and homeless people are not concerned with the intricacies of economics or the complexities of politics, but they ask for food, clothing and shelter. If we are to further the interests of peace and democracy, we as a Welfare State have to put ourselves on the side of the poor of the world. Wise policy consists not in opposing the social revolution which is inevitable but in being of use to it and in making use of it.

In our country the problem of housing has assumed special importance and urgency in recent years. Increase in population in the last three censuses since 1921 has been 11 per cent, 14.3 per cent and 13.4 per cent, while the urban population alone has gone up by 21 per cent, 32 per cent and 54.1 per cent. The influx of refugees in recent years has aggravated the magnitude and the intensity of the problem. Our Government is doing its best by building houses for Government servants and for displaced persons, by helping private building corporations and in other ways. If the housing needs are to be met adequately, it is essential to reduce the costs of construction. It is here that the deliberations of this Seminar may be of use to us. They may tell us how we can produce locally building materials on a large scale, adopt better techniques than we do now, and lower the costs of construction in
other ways. Only then will it be possible for us to provide adequate housing arrangements for person of low income groups. Even these houses should provide minimum standards of health and privacy and have essential services like lighting and water-borne sanitation. Our greatest need therefore is low-cost housing.

In dealing with the problem there are two aspects to be considered. There is, first, the narrow one of providing housing for workers engaged in urban and industrial areas so as to ensure for them satisfactory living conditions and thereby improve the *per capita* outturn. But the more vital aspect relates to the provision of housing as a part of community building in rural as well as in urban areas. One of the main causes of the growing need for housing is the movement of people from the villages to the towns, and there can, surely, be no long-range solution unless conditions are created in the countryside which will induce people to continue to live there in reasonable comfort. In a sense this is a part of the larger problem of providing more avenues for gainful employment in the non-urban areas, but better housing and greater attention to communal needs in our villages will secure a better balance, mitigate the acuteness of housing scarcity in the towns, and make altogether for a fuller and healthier life.

Housing is not merely satisfaction of a material need for shelter. It has a special purpose also. Our physical needs can be treated in two ways. We can treat them as material problems which we must solve in material terms or we can treat them as opportunities for the expression of social values. There is the need to eat. We develop out of it the art of cooking and the domestic occasion. Out of the instinct of sex we develop the art of love and marriage. So also out of the need for shelter, we develop hearth and home. Housing is not merely the business of providing people with material accommodation. A house is not the physical satisfaction of a physical need. It is not simply a house but it is a home, a centre of family life. The way in which we build houses should express our social thinking.

I hope that your deliberations in regard to building materials, techniques, and achieving a balance between urban and rural development will be of benefit not only to the world but to us in India.
BALKAN-JI-BARI, PATNA

I am happy to be here and inaugurate the annual session of the Balkan-ji-bari and pay my tribute to the work which this institution has done for nearly thirty years. This is a conference of workers and a gathering of children. Children constitute the wealth of the country and by directing their energies in proper channels we improve the physical and mental health of the whole community.

We have had in our country great respect for children. The Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣad asks us to be done with learning and desire to live as a child: tasmād brāhmaṇaḥ pāṇḍityam nirvidya bālyena tiṣṭhāset. What are the characteristics of a bāla? Another Upaniṣad (Subāla) gives the answer: bāla-svabhāvo asango niravadyaḥ—the characteristics of a child are non-attachment and blamelessness or innocence. Nietzsche says: 'The child is innocence and oblivion, a new beginning, a play, a self-rolling wheel, a primal motion, an holy yea-saying.' We have worshipped the divine child Krishna. One of the most famous symbols of the Christian religion is the picture of the Madonna and the Child.

'Except ye become like little children ye shall not see the Kingdom of God.' For Heraclitus, 'the Kingdom is of the child'. To become like a little child is not easy. It costs us a great deal to acquire the grace and meekness of the childlike. The Chinese thinker Mencius observes: 'A great man is one who has not lost the child's heart.'

There are things which are hidden from the learned and revealed to the babes. Nārada, who gives the knowledge of the Supreme Self according to Śabda-Kalpadruma (dictionary of words), approaches Sanatkumāra who is represented in Indian tradition as an eternal child. The learned Nārada goes to the unlearned Sanatkumāra for instruction.

The child symbolizes open-mindedness, receptivity. Children are sentimental, warm-hearted and eager to make friends. A child's personality is sensitive and responds rapidly to the surrounding influences. Physical care of children is not enough, emotional care is also needed. It is far easier to mould the next generation nearer to the goal of a social democracy than to change the present.

Inaugural Address, 3 February, 1954

1 III, 5.1
2 Thus Spake Zarathustra, 1.2
3 Chāndogya Upaniṣad, VII. 1
By helping the children to love their fellows whatever be their caste, or community, we will develop a sense of brotherhood. By bringing all the children into one fold today we foster tomorrow a sense of community among all Indians.

It is by false doctrine that the children are seduced from their natural springs of life. The social nature of the child is distorted into queer shapes by the poison of indoctrination. In our country we train them to feel that they are members of this caste or that community, of this province or that language group, and thus give a wrong twist to their minds. When it is our desire to train our people to feel that they are first and foremost citizens of this great land, this direction of the mind will have to start when they are little children. Every child is an experiment, an adventure into nobler life, an opportunity to change the old pattern and make it new. Every child is a distinct individual. A child's capacity for personal and social relationships should not be unchanneled or misdirected; if it is rightly guided, it will contribute to the enrichment and stability of the child's life.

We have to give our children a sense of the great spiritual heritage and make them feel proud of their Indianness. durlabhām bhārate janma. It is difficult to be born in Bharat. To be born here provides a great opportunity to change the social structure of India and through it the nature of humanity. We should give children an idea of our culture that all religions lead to God and they are only different pathways. To quarrel about the ways to God is both irrelevant and irreligious. Religious intolerance is against the spirit for which this country has stood for centuries. Our culture tells us that God dwells in the heart of every being, even if he be wicked or degenerate. This faith is the basis of democracy. It asks us to practise charity (dāna), self-control (dama) and compassion (dayā). It impresses on us the importance of our action, that every act has its consequences. The world is a moral order. Transgression of the moral law is followed by punishment. We cannot be unjust with impunity. We must therefore love justice. These lessons are to be conveyed to the children by means of songs and stories, play and work. By celebrating national festivals and anniversaries of great leaders, children grasp the spirit of our heritage. The lives of the great characters of the world give the children what Whitehead calls a habitual vision of greatness. Excursions may reveal to them the vastness of our country and the greatness
of its art and architecture. Children get their first picture of the past from historical tales, and prejudices inculcated at an early age are difficult to eradicate later. We should not grow up thinking that our country has always been right. History books should be carefully written and should promote friendship among nations. We must help our children to think of India as a whole, as a nation with its part to play in the world. We must give them a sense of historical perspective and check the events of the day against those of the past. Books for children, films for children should be carefully prepared. There should be special radio programmes for children into which great care, vitality and imaginative experience are put. Radio and cinema must enlarge the horizons of children and send them back to books. Great books are the basis of our culture and civilization. We must keep children aware of the value of good reading, give them the opportunity to see and handle neatly produced books.

This organization fosters international contacts by means of pen friendships. The dangers of a narrow nationalism are avoided.

Care of children is not only a science but an art. We need people who have a genuine love and respect for children. It is essential that ideas of children’s welfare should spread in the villages. An organization like this should not complain of lack of workers. Many ladies of middle class families may be in a position to spare a few hours a week and be trained for this purpose. Municipalities and Town Committees should consider it their duty to provide parks and playgrounds, libraries and nurseries, bālhavans for children, for sometimes neither homes nor schools offer adequate opportunities for the talents and energies of children. This organization aims at supplying the gap. It should also strive to improve the tone and character of children’s schools. I hope that by the activities of this organization the children’s cause will be given high priority in our plans for social reconstruction.

INDIAN COUNCIL OF AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH

MAY I, at the outset, offer my good wishes and congratulations to those who have been awarded today Diplomas, Certificates and Prizes. Their hard work and disciplined effort have had their reward.

Convocation Address, 12 February, 1954
A very distinguished scientist, whose name may remain unmentioned, said it was all agriculture and not culture. His remark, I dare say, was only a play on words. There is an essential connection between Agriculture and Culture. We are all familiar with Aristotle's oft-quoted saying that we must live before we can live well. Before we build a civilization, a social order which will foster cultural creation, we must secure continuity of food supply. So long as a people remain in the hunting stage and depend for their existence on the precarious fortunes of the chase, they cannot develop a settled life. Their energies will be spent on the perils and chances of the hunt. If the nomads who gather food become the tillers who grow food, we have the basis of culture. When people settle down to till the soil and provide for the uncertain future, they find time and inclination to develop the arts and the traditions of civilization. They build huts, temples, schools, domesticate animals, breed cattle and transmit more effectively than before their mental and moral heritage.

As culture has its roots in agriculture, great civilizations developed round large rivers which made the surrounding soil fertile and offered easy communications. These civilizations centered round the Yangtse, the Ganges, the Nile, the Tigris and the Euphrates.

The disappearance of favourable conditions may destroy civilization. Vast climatic changes, exhaustion of the soil, earthquakes and floods may threaten the life of any civilization. There is hardly an ancient culture which does not have the story of the Flood. It lingers in the memory of peoples. But the reasoning man led by the instinct for survival devises ways and means to overcome these threats and obstacles. When the stick was made into a plough, it was a modest invention, but its importance was great. In the Rg Veda¹, Sītā is invoked as presiding over agriculture or the fruits of the earth. In the Rāmāyana we read that Janaka himself held the plough and tilled the earth when at the touch of his plough Sītā sprang up from the furrow of the soil. To avoid entire dependence on rain and destruction by flood, dams were constructed. The dams raised by Chandra Gupta functioned till A. D. 150. Remains of ancient canals are to be found in all parts of the country. Till the other day we were not behind many of the progressive nations of the world. Owing to circum-

¹ IV, 57.6
stances which I need not pause to consider here, we fell behind. Our scientific development was arrested and our society became stationary. We still adopt old methods with the result that, though a very large majority of our population is engaged in agriculture, we suffer periodically from famines and food shortage.

Today we are passing through an all-round renaissance. The Council of Agricultural Research which has attained its Silver Jubilee is one expression of it. It has served as a clearing house and co-ordinating agency for all advanced agricultural research. The status of the Institute has grown with the years and it is a matter of gratification that scholars from countries of South-East Asia are also being trained here in Agricultural Research and Statistical Investigations. The popularity of the Institute is evident from the fact that you are unable to select more than a fraction of the total number of qualified candidates, who seek admission.

When I visited a few Agricultural Colleges some time ago as a member of the University Education Commission, it struck me as somewhat strange that the actual tillers were not touched much by the agricultural education imparted in the Colleges. Our farmers may be ignorant, but they are not lacking in intelligence. Dr Voelcker of the Royal Agricultural Society of Great Britain who visited India in 1890 reported: ‘Certain it is that I, at least, have never seen a more perfect picture of careful cultivation, combined with hard labour, perseverance and fertility of resource than I have seen at many of the halting places in my tour.’ I have no doubt that if we make the results of scientific research available to the farmers, they will utilize them in their farm practices. The results must be publicized by visual education, radio, bulletins in our principal languages, microfilm services and by other means.

Agriculture is a major national issue. Our Five Year Plan recognizes its great importance. We have large projects intended to increase our food production, and we have succeeded in increasing it. And yet our practices are of a primitive type and our farms are uneconomic. Land legislation has not been sufficiently courageous and imaginative in all parts of the country. Even where the cultivator is willing to improve his technique, debt and lack of resources stand in his way. While some of these problems are for the Government, Central and Provincial, you, gentlemen, who have taken your Diplomas and Certificates and
Prizes today can do a great deal in educating our peasantry who form 70 per cent of our population. While you carry out your own researches, it is your duty to spread knowledge of advanced agricultural technique among the people. I hope that in years to come you will succeed in modernizing our agricultural practices. I wish you well.

OPENING OF HOSPITAL IN AHMEDABAD

I am happy to be here and participate in the proceedings of this morning, declare the Hospital open and transfer its management to the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation.

Ahmedabad has been famous for its industrial magnates. Two of the hardest things in life are to acquire wealth by honest effort, and when one has acquired it, to use it properly. Many of the millowners here have acquired wealth and a few of them have learnt to use it properly. This Medical Trust is an example of the latter. As Shri Morarji Desai just explained to you, this Medical Trust has grown from small beginnings in 1936 to its present position due to the generosity of the family of Shri Vadilal Lallubhai. This whole Trust is the product of private enterprise encouraged by our national leaders. The foundation stone of the original dispensary as also of the present Hospital was laid by the late Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, whose name is permanently associated with our struggle for freedom and after the attainment of freedom with the consolidation of the country, with the integration of the States. If we have faith in our own destiny, we feel the need for unity within the country. Sardar Patel's remarkable services to our country make for national unity which is the essential pre-requisite of our freedom. The hospital in Ellis Bridge was declared open by Shri Morarji Desai. Gujarat is rightly proud of its contributions to our political and cultural Renaissance; the great work of the Father of the Nation ably assisted by Sardar Patel and Shri Morarji Desai will be remembered for long.

You rightly take pride in the fact that the facilities of the Medical Trust were thrown open to all people irrespective

24 April, 1954
of caste and creed, sex and age, high and low, rich and poor. It is the lack of this spirit that exposed us to the invaders and the spoilers, and the cultivation of this spirit in all walks of life will foster national solidarity.

There is a queer view that the outlook of this nation is otherworldly, not this-worldly, it is world-negating and not world-affirming, that we despise the world as an illusion and concentrate on things above. There cannot be a graver or more erroneous misconception. While we look upon this world as unreal, if detached from its basis in reality, when looked at as rooted in reality, it acquires great significance. Samsāra is a perpetual succession of events, one superseding the other but is this succession mere change without any order, without any intelligibility, without any purpose? If we look at it we find that it is a progressive unfolding of reality. It is an increasing manifestation of the values implicit in reality, matter, life, mind, intelligence and spirit. The fulfilment of man consists in his acquiring spiritual freedom. Samsāra is to help us to attain mokṣa. This mokṣa does not mean a repudiation of body and mind or of the world.

Life eternal or amṛta means the play of the vital organism, the satisfaction of mind and the abundance of spiritual peace. One is a step to the other. Without the proper development of bodily life eternity cannot be gained. That is why the Yoga Sūtra insists on the development of kāya-sampat or physical prowess, rūpa lāvanya bala, vajrasamhahanatvāni kāya-sampat. We call our medical science āyurveda, the science of life. It is ārogya śāstra. It is the science of health. Health is not the mere absence of disease; it is positive well-being, making for efficiency and joy in life, in all works, intellectual and spiritual. The unhealthy people are those who are bored, who seem dead to the glamour of life, to the challenge of life. Healthy people have faith in action, in life. The science of life, the science of health stress the preventive aspects more than the curative. They try to make us health-conscious.

In our country today we do not have enough medical facilities for our population and its incidence of disease. Our rate of infant mortality is still very high. Though the average expectation of life has increased by four or five years, the waste of human potential, of things worth while in people is still large.
According to the so-called oath of Hippocrates, the father of Greek medicine, the doctor must swear 'to make no pretence of magic, never to take advantage of a patient's sufferings or fears but to remember always that he enters a sick man's house as a friend to all who dwell there.' We have had hospitals of two kinds from early times. Asoka's inscriptions speak of puruṣa-cikitsā and paśu-cikitsā, treatment for men and for animals.

I am delighted to know that this Hospital which has been doing excellent work all these years is now equipped with up-to-date apparatus and instruments and has provision for a hundred beds which may be increased to 250.

The medical staff is whole-time and it is a pleasure to know that they are not only able but devoted. Treatment of suffering patients requires not merely skill but devotion. Faith in the doctor goes a long way in effecting recovery. He must have the healing touch. Dr Desai's example will be followed by others, I hope. Medical science is rapidly advancing. There are many specialized branches in it. Workers here may be able from their own knowledge and experience to contribute to growth in it.

It is unfortunate that lawyers and doctors have not been able to make substantial contributions to jurisprudence and medical research as our physicists and chemists have done. Perhaps opportunities have not been available. In such institutions they may be forthcoming.

Blessed is he who has found his work. There is no other way to happiness. In taking charge of this Hospital the Municipal Corporation is discharging its obligations to the people of the city. I only hope that the spirit of devotion to suffering humanity will animate the Corporation authorities in dealing with the problems of this Hospital.

Laying of the Foundation Stone of the Office of the Accountant-General, Madras

I am happy to be here in response to the kind invitation of my friend Shri Narahari Rao to lay the foundation stone of the Office of the Accountant-General, Madras. Shri Narahari Rao has

2 June, 1954
given you an account of the way in which the different branches of this office were scattered in the city of Madras and how he has been endeavouring to bring all of them together into one central building and how—thanks to the interest taken by the Government of India—he has succeeded in his efforts in finding suitable places for the offices of the Accountants-General in the different centres of this country. He has enumerated Chandigarh, Bhubaneswar, Bangalore, etc. In other words, whatever may have been the difficulties in the past, today we are happy to note that there is a site here, a building will soon come up and the officers of the department will be able to work here in healthy conditions—the Auditor-General says that in healthy conditions they will work better than they used to do hitherto. We reciprocate his wish.

Shri Narahari Rao also pointed out how the Accountant-General’s office in Madras arose out of the beginnings of the East India Company. As businessmen, they were interested in the maintenance of proper accounts and audit and the very office of the Comptroller and Auditor-General is based on the British model. It is something which is above all party and political considerations. The Comptroller and Auditor-General is not appointed because he has rendered any political services to the country; he is appointed because of his independence and expert knowledge. His responsibilities are not to the party in power, not to the Government of the day but to the tax-payers, to the Parliament which includes the representatives of the tax-payers. The analogy in the British Administration is to Her Majesty’s Judges. Their office is of a judicial character. Being an academic man, I may claim that the qualities needed in the academic world are also the qualities needed for the officers of the Audit and Accounts Department. An objective and intensive study, a disinterested desire to find out the truth and a willingness to face the truth even if it is inconvenient and unpalatable—these are the qualities which are necessary in the academic world and I take it that they are the qualities expected of the officers of the Audit and Accounts Department.

This State has contributed many able and devoted servants to the Audit and Accounts Service. They have earned for themselves a very high reputation and it is my hope and earnest prayer that that record will be kept up and the best people, irrespective
of other considerations, will be recruited to the Audit and Accounts Service and that they will be able to do their duty so far as the country's interests are concerned. Shri Narahari Rao spoke with a natural and legitimate pride in the work of the Audit and Accounts Department. By and large the officers of the Department have done their work well. I am not a technical man, I know nothing about auditing and accounting, but I do hope that the advice tendered by the Comptroller and Auditor-General for the separation of audit and accounts will be accepted and implemented in due course—I hope it will not be a long course—by the Government of India [Shri V. Narahari Rao: 'and the States also'] and the States also—my friend corrects me.

Recent reports have revealed to us serious irregularities in the working of the administrations themselves. They have referred to the great losses sustained by the Government by errors of judgement, negligence, incompetence, inefficiency. It was all right during the war period when we wanted to speed up business and therefore we relaxed standards. There is no justification today for relaxing standards. Ours is a poor country, its resources are limited and we cannot afford to risk any kind of waste and the Audit and Accounts Department will have to look upon their functions as functions of the greatest public utility by pointing out errors and by showing where and how we can remove abuses, effect economies, increase efficiency and reduce waste of expenditure. These things are very essential. Shri Narahari Rao spoke to us about the way in which the Accounts Department sometimes find fault with the States. There is a popular feeling that, if the Accounts people are well thought of by the States, there is something wrong about them [laughter] and if they are not well thought of, they are doing their duty properly! That may be so or may not be so. I do not believe that the different departments of the State are working at cross purposes. All that I mean is that the Accounts Department must not be afraid of courting unpopularity. They must not go about always saying things which will please their superiors. There is an increasing tendency in our country today to say things which our superiors wish to hear and it is that tendency that has to be resisted. I do hope that these people who are the watch-dogs, so to say, of the public funds or the tax-payers' money will exercise great vigilance and control and see to it that we get a proper return for
every rupee we spend and there is a proper utilization of public funds.

My friend Narahari Rao is retiring shortly. I have known him for over thirty years. I have observed his steady rise to the present exalted position. When he looks back on his long record of work in different capacities, he can have the satisfaction of having done his work with fearlessness, with independence, with impartiality and with a single-minded devotion to duty. These are the qualities which have marked his career. He has said things which are unpalatable to the powers that be. He has not made a secret of the failings of the Government wherever he had noticed failings. But wherever he found there was enough to justify praise, he was the first man to offer praise. Praise where praise is due, criticism where criticism is justified—that has been the policy which he adopted, and we are proud that our first Indian Comptroller and Auditor-General has set an example which can be followed by others. All those who are in the lower hierarchy, in the lower rungs of the ladder, also require to be competent and they must realize that they are doing work which is of fundamental importance to the State.

I go round the world; I see countries which are making progress and countries which are subject to upheavals. When I look back on the conditions which bring about great social upheavals, I notice that three conditions always prevail before revolutions occur—whether it was Russia in 1917 or Germany in 1932 or China in 1949 or Egypt in 1950. The three preliminary conditions for great upheavals are lack of national cohesion, economic depression and corrupt and unclean Governments. Lack of national solidarity has always been a precedent to social upheaval. If we want to ward off a revolution in our country today we should try to subordinate linguistic, provincial, communal and religious considerations to the supreme duty of building up a great State. So far as the Audit and Accounts Service is concerned, it is an All-India Service. The members of that Service have nothing to do with considerations of province, etc. They should develop what I may call an all-India patriotism.

Secondly, we should fight economic depression. If people starve and suffer from poverty and unemployment we have a condition precedent to social upheavals. We are trying to build up a Welfare State. Building up a Welfare State is not to be
Regarded as merely a motive for promoting one's own welfare! It is the welfare of the country which we have to set before ourselves, and there the work which the Audit and Accounts Department can do is great. By exposing failings, by revealing defects, you set before the country a great standard and see to it that our Schemes are carried out with economy and efficiency.

The third condition which brings about upheavals is a corrupt and unclean Government. As Shri Narahari Rao himself said, the Audit Department is obliged to say things which are embarrassing to the Government but it is the duty of its officers, on account of their loyalty to the country, to act as a check even on the Government of the country. The Comptroller and Auditor-General is responsible, as I said, not to the Government of the country. He must serve as a check even on the Government. He must have control over even the Exchequer. Government may make mistakes. It is wrong to assume that the Government can do no wrong. The Auditor-General is independent of the Executive. But if Administrations, operating departments, spending departments and the Accounts Department work together in close collaboration, the Accountant-General will give financial advice before schemes are formulated and exercise financial control later. It is the duty of the Audit and Accounts Department to carry out the financial policies of the Government and maintain the authority of Parliament. If I have one advice to give if I am presumptuous enough to give any advice to the officers, of the Audit and Accounts Department, it is this: Do not shrink from truth for fear of offending men in high places.

INTERNATIONAL HOTEL CONFERENCE, DELHI

It is a great pleasure for me to be here on the occasion of the first meeting in India of the Administrative Council of the International Hotel Association. I am happy to know that so soon after the formation of the Federation of the Indian Hotel Association, the Federation had been able to invite the Council to meet in this country.

Inaugural Address, 18 February, 1955
I am afraid that my own acquaintance with the problems you will consider is very meagre. My only claim to be here is that I happen to be a much travelled man and I have stopped in hotels of different kinds in different lands.

At a time when our attention was limited to our country we tried to promote an understanding of the different peoples and institutions of our country by means of pilgrimages: Banaras and Rameshwar, Puri and Dwarka have been important pilgrim centres. As we travel from one place to another we acquire an idea of the different peoples, their institutions and temperaments. Even when communications were difficult people travelled from one part of the world to another to visit holy places. The scenes of the life and work of the Buddha in India, the holy places in Jerusalem and Mecca in Arabia are visited by Buddhists, Christians and Muslims.

In former ages the world consisted of a number of societies slowly evolving on their own lines. Out of their varied experiences came the treasures of wisdom, art and science which we have inherited. Now the world is converging into one society. Modern transport has reduced the boundaries of the world to the dimensions of a small country; physical proximity has led to a mingling of races and cultures. The need to understand other peoples and their ways has become imperative. For any great people to declare for isolation is to betray itself. We have to understand other nations and get on with them. There should be no quarantine nations. On account of the development of the new weapons of warfare humanity is facing a supreme crisis. If we are to escape atomic annihilation we must renounce war as an instrument of national policy and get near one another. Patriotism is not enough. Nationalism is a local interest. The happiness of the human race is of greater importance than the triumph of this or that nation. International friendship and co-operation are our great needs. We must understand one another and learn to live together. Nothing helps this process of mutual understanding as travel.

In promoting tourism, hotels play an important role, and as far as possible we should try to see that our hotels are well run, equipped with modern fittings where visitors get all the comforts necessary. Travel must be both pleasant and useful.

It is also essential to have trained guides who can explain with authority, with charm and with contagious enthusiasm. I hope
that this new field which is opening out before our country will contribute to large tourist traffic and more than that to international understanding.

THE INDIAN RIFLE ASSOCIATION, DELHI

I am the last man to be called upon to inaugurate this Conference, for I have never in my life handled a rifle. There is a verse in the Mahābhārata which says:

agrataḥ caturō vedāḥ
prṣṭhataḥ saśaram dhanuḥ
idam brāhmaṇam idam ksatriṇ
śāpād api śarād api.

It suggests that we must resist evil by moral force if possible, by physical force if necessary. We should not submit to injustice or acquiesce in evil. Even if we resist evil by physical force it must be done in a spirit of ahimsā, out of a sense of duty, without bitterness or hatred. The Yoga Sūtra makes out that ahimsā is vaira-tyāga or renunciation of hatred. It is not possible all of a sudden to attain a stage where love will be the law, though we must steadily work towards this goal. Even our great saints put forth supreme efforts to reduce the scope of force and replace it by persuasion (te yatnāt ālpatarā bhavet). We should constantly endeavour to reduce the number of occasions when we have to use force.

We have come to a stage in the development of the weapons of war when we cannot settle any questions by resort to war. We should ask ourselves not what we should do to gain a victory in war but what we should do to prevent war. A military contest will be destructive of both the victors and the vanquished. The alternatives are: Shall we renounce war or shall we put an end to human civilization? We must give up the military approach to international disputes. We must work for changes in the social situation which will make for a more adequate realization of the ideals. Non-violence is the only remedy in the present situation—kṣamā hi śastram khalu brāhmaṇānām.

Inaugural Address, 2 March, 1955
Within nations we have come to replace the lawless use of force, *hiṁsā*, by the legal application of force—*danda*. But in international relations we are still anarchical, and are ready to resort to a naked assertion of power. We do not yet have an international authority to which the nations submit. It should be our endeavour to establish the rule of law among nations. Even now we should do our best to resort to legal processes, peaceful settlements.

So long as this stage is not reached, nations will continue to have armies as we are having, however much we may regret it. So long as we have armies, we must train people in the use of arms though our ideal should not be abandoned simply because it has not yet been attained.

These Rifle Associations, National Cadet Corps and such other organizations are intended to give us training in accuracy, marksmanship, physical courage, disciplined behaviour, team work, and I do hope that these organizations will function without making men trigger-happy, military-minded, aggressive, or violent in spirit.

**BURMAH-SHELL REFINERY, TROMBAY**

May I express to you my grateful thanks for the opportunity you have given me to come here, see this great installation and formally declare it open? I congratulate all those connected with this enterprise, the designers, the engineers, and the builders and all other workers whose willing co-operation and determined effort have transformed, practically a year in advance of the original time-table, this island site into an active refinery.

This refinery is an expression of the great task in which this country, vast, poor and industrially backward, is now engaged. Since the attainment of independence, our problems have become more economic than political. Freedom was won with the hope of making fuller and richer the lives of the humble and ordinary people who make the Indian nation. It is said that power corrupts; it is forgotten that poverty corrupts to a larger extent. If power may corrupt a few men at the top poverty corrupts the

Inaugural Address, 17 March, 1955
lives of millions. The presence of large numbers of people who are hungry and homeless, miserable and lonely is a challenge to us all. Poverty is not inevitable. The experience of other countries shows that it is preventable. Our awakened masses are moved by a sense of resentment, born not of malice, greed, or envy but of a feeling of utter inadequacy and helplessness. It is the duty of every civilized Government to alleviate the misery and degradation of the poor and remove the contrasts between irresponsible wealth and abysmal poverty. Democracy must get rid of these, if it is to save itself. It is only natural that our Government is interested in increasing national wealth and well-being, and providing larger employment opportunities for our people by industrial construction. Your refinery, apart from marking a significant stage in the industrialization of our country, helps to solve in some measure our chief problem of unemployment.

With the awakened social conscience of the people, Governments in all countries are compelled to take more active interest in the organization of the economic life. Wealth is a social product and should therefore be equitably controlled and distributed. The directive principles of our Constitution impose certain responsibilities on the State and its control and influence in the industrial sphere will increase in the future. We are not in these matters prisoners of any ideology. We are empiricists. Our chief objective which is to raise the living standards of our people is obligatory but the way to achieve it is optional. So long as private enterprise functions with honesty of purpose and a sense of social justice and contributes to a rapid improvement of the living conditions of the common man and larger employment, it will have full scope.

When we speak of a socialistic pattern of society, we do not wish to uproot every enterprise that exists and recreate the industrial world anew. We wish to lay stress on the social vision, the social purpose, the social approach. The different ways of organizing economic life may be symbolized by a forest, a garden and a park. Unfettered free enterprise is comparable to a wild growth of a forest where wheat and tares are mixed together. In spite of its great achievements free enterprise has produced power-hungry and money-mad people who for the sake of gain adopted doubtful methods of child labour, slave trade, burning of coffee and sinking of wheat. We must gather the tares and burn them in
the fire. Its opposite is cleaning up the whole ground, breaking even the sods, recreating a new society where private enterprise is stifled and public control is all-comprehensive. Where a forest symbolizes the first, a garden laid out on a set pattern represents the second. There is a third way of organizing economic life, which we have adopted, where the traditions of the past are adjusted to the rights of the future. History does not permit us the luxury of escaping from our inheritance. We have not a clean sheet of paper to write upon. Our future economic organization will grow out of our past. A park where we have natural growth and planned growth—both governed by an overall purpose and design—represents the mixed economy which we have adopted. The vitalities of economic life require to be brought under social and moral control. In these large industries we create wealth not for self-aggrandizement but for national welfare. You rightly observe that your refinery is an outstanding example of what private enterprise backed and encouraged by an enlightened democratic Government can achieve.

In an increasingly interdependent world no nation can remain isolated. In the early years of her development Soviet Russia welcomed economic and technical aid from the United Kingdom and the United States among others. It is interesting to know that several outstanding American engineers were decorated by the Soviet Government for their services to the development of Soviet agriculture and industry. The oil industry is a co-operative venture in which the Americans, the British and the Indians participate. If these work together in a spirit of harmony and in the interests of the Indian people they will strengthen the present policy of the Indian Government. They must serve the interests of our people, not only the interests of the millions of consumers of petroleum products but also of the many thousands who work in the country at large for the promotion of the business. All those connected with the oil industry in its production as well as distribution form one great fellowship. This is the meaning of democracy in industry. The British are well known for their art of making the best of what is inevitable. I do hope that here also they will co-operate with the spirit of the times.

You refer to Dr Bhabha’s Atomic Energy Department. We are living perhaps at the close of an industrial epoch and the rise of another. The peaceful use of atomic energy will bring about
in a decade or two a new industrial revolution. I very much hope that this city which has already played a notable part in the industrial life of the country will help to promote use of atomic energy, not for blasting the fertility of the soil or twisting the biological forms of life but for ushering in a new era of plenty for mankind.

I have great pleasure in formally declaring open this Refinery. For all those connected with the planning and development of this Refinery, it is a day of triumph and rejoicing. May it also be a day of dedication to the welfare of the Indian people.

**INDIAN AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE**

I am happy to be here and inaugurate the Golden Jubilee Celebrations of this Institute. This Institute, popularly known as the Pusa Institute, has grown from small beginnings to its present position of importance in agricultural research. I need not repeat what your Director has just mentioned, the different branches in which research work is being done and the high quality of the work done. As one example, you rightly mention the way in which the sugar industry has been revolutionized by the researches of Barber, Venkataraman and others. This Institute is recognized today as an important centre for agricultural research in the world.

On an occasion like this it is only appropriate that we should remember all those who helped to build this Institute and raise it to its present position. The Institute owes its origin to the vision of British administrators and the generosity of an American friend, Mr Phipps. Pioneer workers in the different branches studied here have established high traditions which it should be your endeavour to maintain if not enhance. ‘Experiment’, wrote Leonardo, ‘is the true interpreter between nature and man.’ ‘Thou, O God, dost sell us all things at the price of labour.’

We are celebrating this Jubilee at a time when the output of foodgrains is showing a steady increase, thanks to the ‘Grow More Food’ campaign, rural development projects and good monsoons. In this connection we have to remember the services of the late

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Rafi Ahmed Kidwai who had unusual courage, determination and drive. Our present problem is not one of food shortage but of surplus and a decline in agricultural prices and I am glad that our Government is aware of this situation.

Though we are embarking on a bold plan of industrialization in the Second Five Year Plan, designed to draw men away from land and find gainful employment for them in industries, the base of our national prosperity will continue to be agriculture. The history of advanced nations shows that land will remain the main source of their prosperity and no highly industrialized nation can sustain itself if its agricultural economy becomes narrow or weak. The Industrial Revolution of England was largely the consequence of cheap food and fodder which she imported from America. America’s primacy in world markets stems from her food surpluses. The impressive rise of the Soviet Union is again due to the wide agricultural basis of her economy. Recent happenings in the Soviet Union, however, indicate the need for reconditioning the methods of agricultural production and farm management.

Though there will be a shift to industrial production in the Second Five Year Plan, attention to agriculture—new techniques, soil conservation, soil fertility, reclamation of land—should not diminish to any extent. We must increase food production if we are to remain secure from the fluctuations of nature like uncertain monsoons. Besides, the nutritional value of our diet is not high. If the quality of our diet is to be raised, we must produce more fruits and vegetables, more milk and milk products. This means that we should improve the quality of our cattle and increase the production of fodder crops. Again, even industry cannot flourish without a prosperous agriculture. We need raw materials not only for industries but for export also.

To stimulate the increase of agricultural production we must speed up agrarian reforms aiming at an equitable distribution of land to peasant cultivators. Our land reforms are still slow and halting; they require to be speeded up. This will raise the purchasing power in rural areas and provide a large market for the products of industries and handicrafts.

In this vast enterprise, the work of Research Institutes is vital and urgent. We must carry the results of scientific research to the workers in the fields. Our peasants may be illiterate but they are not ignorant. In spite of their caution and conservatism they
are open to new ideas and generally behave as reasonable and responsible citizens. Their traditional wisdom is well known.

A balanced development of the countryside is the foundation of ordered national growth. Economic well-being sustains national life. Adequate living standards bring us the opportunity for sustained intellectual and spiritual endeavour.

The very term *vyavasāya* means effort, exertion, purpose and resolve. *vyavasāyin* is one who acts energetically and resolutely. From the beginning agriculture has been a symbol of human effort. When man ceased to wait passively on nature and started to control it, civilization began. When he changed from food-gathering to food-producing, he settled down to communal life. We can control not only material environment but also our human environment. We can cultivate not only land but our inward life.

Our cultural traditions were based on natural phenomena. Early man saw nature in terms of the great orderly repetitive processes of nature. Man and nature both pass through the cycle of birth and death. The *Katha Upanisad*\(^1\) says: *sasyam iva martyah pacyate, sasyam iva jāyate punah.* ‘A mortal ripens like corn, like corn is born again.’ We come across in the tradition of the Chinese, Babylonians, Egyptians, Greeks, Romans and other people the conception of the sky and the earth as the two great principles of the universe: *dvāvā pṛthivī.* The sky-god controls the seasons and the earth-goddess nourishes men and animals. Social scientists are agreed that religion grew originally out of agriculture. Our harvest songs, our folk dances, our festivals centre round agricultural events.

*Man* is not absorbed by the objective happenings. *Reason* and conscience guide his judgements and actions. *He* need not submit to the pressure of the material environment. *He* can mould the natural forces. Even as he checked drought by inventing the irrigation systems, controlled floods by dams, studied scientifically soil deficiencies, insect infestations, plant diseases, to overcome them and increased agricultural production, *he* can yet reach new heights of creative achievement. In this exciting enterprise your Institute will have a great part to play. I have much pleasure in inaugurating the Jubilee Celebrations of the Indian Agricultural Research Institute.

\(^1\) 1.1.6
I am happy to be here today to inaugurate this first Conference of the Accountants-General. Though the beginnings of the Department go back to 1753 and we have had one or two conferences at the technical level previously, this is the first conference convened for the purpose of considering current principles, methods and practices and examining the basic concepts of accounting and auditing. Rules of business and procedure framed to suit a Government interested mainly in tax collection and preservation of law and order require to be reconsidered in view of our objective of a Welfare State and a socialist pattern of society.

In the Preamble to our Constitution we lay stress on fraternity 'assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the nation'. This concept of national solidarity and brotherhood is the meaning of the Welfare State. Our political theorists maintain that the interests of the rulers and the ruled are identical in an ideal State. In a Kalinga Edict Aśoka said: 'All men are my children. Just as I desire on behalf of my own children that they should be provided with all manner of comfort in this as well as in the other world, similarly I desire the same for all people.' In the new context it is increasingly realized that all wealth is in some measure a trust, all material well-being owes so much to the community which protects it and to the fellow-workers who helped to create it. We owe our wealth to our society and to our neighbours. Property does not confer an absolute right and in the complex and inter-connected world of modern industry no man can claim that his wealth is entirely earned by his own efforts and he has an absolute say in its disposal.

The concept of fraternity in this increasingly inter-dependent world has to be extended beyond the frontiers of the nation State. All religions proclaim the infinite value of each human soul and the infinite respect each man owes to his neighbour's liberty and well-being. If there are some nations which have higher standards of living it may be argued that their wealth is created by the material resources of other countries and the labour of men and women who live in the world's slums or are removed from there to work.

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in other continents like the African and the Asian labourers. The relationship between the developed nations and the underdeveloped ones of the world is somewhat analogous to the conditions which prevail in regard to the haves and have-nots in a nation State. Even as the old concepts of property are revised, so national economic policies require to be altered in the direction of fraternity and social responsibility. Aid to under-privileged countries represents not so much charity as justice. Mankind must learn to consider itself a single family inhabiting a small corner in the vast spaces of the world. We must work for a free and just society in which imperialism and exploitation will become things of the past. One of the greatest disruptive forces in the world today is economic instability, and the desperate conditions of many African and Asian countries and this should trouble the spirit and stir the conscience of the advanced nations. World peace can be secured only by a rapid improvement of the conditions of people who now suffer from hunger, fear and hate. The Colombo Plan, the Technical Assistance schemes, the programmes of the economic and social advancement of the United Nations, are the first feeble attempts to establish new economic relationships between nations.

Our country has vast natural resources, and yet we are poor. Nature has been bountiful but we have not been making proper use of her gifts. By the development of multi-purpose projects, the application of science to agriculture and industry, by graduated taxation, we are attempting to implement the ideal of the Welfare State. The Public Sector of our country is gradually increasing and governmental obligations in the development of industry are also widening. We are also receiving to some extent aid from foreign nations. It is our obligation to see to it that our resources are not wasted, that the undertakings are carried out with economy and efficiency. In this matter, your Department will have to make valuable contributions. To speed up this great enterprise of effecting progressive all-round development, the procedures and practices hitherto adopted may require revision so as to avoid unnecessary delays and fruitless discussions.

Your Department has had a long and proud record of public service spread over a period of years and has built up a great tradition of independence and integrity, qualities which are needed today more than ever before. Our Constitution embodies and defines the duties and powers of the Comptroller and Auditor-General
and enjoins on him and his officers certain obligations. They should be independent of the Executive if they are to serve as an effective safeguard of democratic government.

Sound management of a nation's finances is an essential condition of political stability and social welfare. History shows that Governments come to grief if they overlook sound economic canons. In a democratic State the Legislatures vote the grants and the Executive are charged with the spending of them. The Comptroller and Auditor-General and his officers are expected to see to it that these grants are spent for the purposes for which they are voted by the Legislature and in conformity with the various laws, rules and regulations in force. In a democratic constitution where we have rule by the majority party, it is essential to ensure that Governments are responsible and obey the mandate of the Legislatures. They must govern themselves if they wish to govern others. It is your function to secure the compliance of the spending departments to the will of the Legislatures. In addition to high technical competence a certain detachment from party politics, fidelity to the interests of the people and fearlessness are expected from the Audit and Accounts Officers. We look to them to expose incompetence and mal-administration and wastage. Our resources are limited and we have to make them go far. We cannot afford waste of any kind and there can be no room for culpable incompetence.

Of course, administration and audit should work together in a co-operative spirit. They are not working at cross-purposes. As you say, conflict if any between the two is due to historical conditions. The rooted habits of mind die hard and perhaps the conflict may be reduced by a freer interchange between the officers of Audit and the Administrative Departments.

You have referred to the separation of Accounts from Audit. You wish to relieve the Accountant-General of the responsibility of maintaining accounts and entrust this task to the spending departments themselves. This will mean the training of executive officers in the technique of accounting. Perhaps when this is achieved and when we have accounts officers distinct from audit officers, who will look after internal finance and accounting, a freer interchange between the two may become possible to mutual advantage. We will watch with interest the working of the scheme in the three departments at the Centre.

It is a matter of great satisfaction that the recruitment to the
Service is made on an all-India basis. Some of the ablest men of our country are selected for this Service. Petty considerations of caste, community, province, language do not count. The responsibilities which the members of your Service will have in the future will be much greater and greater things will be expected of them. The honour, the safety and the welfare of our nation will be involved in your labours and it is my earnest hope that you and your officers will discharge your duties without fear or favour, without malice or illwill, in the sole interests of the nation.

OPENING OF THE DURGAPUR BARRAGE

I am happy to be associated with this important phase of the progress of the Damodar Valley Corporation. This Corporation was set up formally on 7th July, 1948. It has many objectives—the production of electric power, flood control and irrigation and navigation. It has a large number of self-sufficient items which have begun to yield returns. When the different objectives of this project are realized, this vast area which frequently became a scene of desolation and sorrow will become one of progress and prosperity.

When we won our independence, our most urgent task was the rehabilitation of refugees. Next only to it in importance was the stepping up of agricultural production. This project by which nearly one lakh acres will be brought under irrigation is one of the means by which agricultural production can be raised. All those connected with this Organization should feel proud that they have completed this part of their great project.

Even as we are attempting to reduce troubles in this area, other parts of the country, north Bengal, Bihar, Assam, U.P. are suffering from ravages by floods and people are standing up to these disasters with rare courage and determination. Our sympathies are with them. We hope in the Second Five Year Plan to take steps to check these damages by controlling floods. A plan is necessary because we cannot afford to waste our substance haphazardly, spending much and achieving little. The plan is not a Government Plan but a National Plan in which we all should take interest and

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pride. Take these works here. They help both Bengal and Bihar. They help to reduce the distress of people of both these States and to that extent they are a sacred achievement. Those who work here should do so not merely for the sake of the employment which this project gives but for the opportunity of service which it offers. Here you are, from all parts of India, working together in a spirit of fellowship for a common objective. All work is sacred. What makes it sacred is the dedication and integrity of the men who undertake it. The poverty, the unemployment are a challenge to democracy. We must work for a country with equal opportunities for all, a country in which comradeship, not caste will be the spirit of the nation, a country in which the people refuse to rest content while poverty is the lot of the large majority. Work of this kind is worship. It is a secular form of sanctity.

There is a natural tendency to get used to evils that have been long with us, the spirit of caste, of provincial jealousies and commumal rivalries. If they are allowed to perpetuate themselves, if we do not fight them, our future will not be bright. You, men of the superior or subordinate staff here, have an opportunity to develop an all-India patriotism and subordinate your differences to the good of the nation.

We are fervent believers in democracy. It would be foolish to ignore the stupendous achievements realized under other forms of government. Their methods may not be ours, but we cannot fail to note the passionate fervour and sincerity with which their objectives are being pursued. If we are to uphold our ideals, our conception of life, both national and international, if we are to see them prevail, then considerable effort must be made by us and a spirit of passionate enthusiasm and dedicated service must be roused among our people. Are we doing it today in our country? These projects show that our country is on the move and if we are patriotic and persistent, we will soon emerge as a nation of dignified citizens, whose lives will be simple and austere.

Welfare is not material comfort or economic prosperity. It is wholeness of being. The good life is not a matter of the goods we consume. If the world is passing through a neurosis, it is because men are becoming fragmented and have lost their dignity as human beings. There is a neurosis of doubt, fear and insecurity. We have to avoid economic exploitation and mass manipulation if we are to preserve inviolate our dignity as human beings. To
preserve wholeness of being, we shall have to remember the tradition which has sustained us all these centuries, which requires us to depend not on outer diversions but inward resources for true happiness. The country expects from each one of us, not feebleness but efficiency, not grudging work but dedicated service.

THE DELHI PROVINCIAL SARVODAYA SAMMELAN

I am delighted to be here and inaugurate the Delhi Provincial Sarvodaya Sammelan. Sarvodaya is a comprehensive concept. When it applies to the individual it means that there should be an all-round awakening or reaching forth of the individual. When it applies to society it means that all individuals should have equal opportunities for their development—material, mental and spiritual. It applies not merely to our society but to the world society. Sarvodaya aims at the progress of all people.

Technological and economic developments are bringing the peoples of the world together as members of one human family, living on a shrinking globe. To serve this world community is the privilege and obligation of the man of this generation. For the first time in history man’s dream of a world of freedom, security and peace has become a practical possibility. Man has succeeded in changing things. If he succeeds in changing himself we will have disciplined leaders who can wield spiritual, mental and physical tools by which the new world can be built. By organizing our inward resources we can order our relationships with our fellows and build up a society which is non-violent and non-exploiting in character.

When we attained political independence we associated with it a national awakening, a national rebirth. We expected an all-round betterment. We are striving to raise the material standards of our people through our Five Year Plans. Mere improvement of environment is not enough. What we call progress is nothing if it is not accompanied by inner change. In the last analysis, the resources of character decide the destiny of nations. The conflicts we come across in the social world are the external symptoms of

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inward strife. Each one of us has an impulse to violence, has love for domination. We hate what opposes our aims. We are mad- dened by what obstructs our wishes. We all wish to become bosses. We wish to have no equals, no colleagues, but only slaves and sub-ordinates. This internal strife which is the inner condition of men in high stations becomes war when it breaks out on the world arena. The only thing more wicked than the will to dominate is the temptation to submit. The recent disturbances in Patna, Bombay, Calcutta and Delhi show how near to violence our spirits are. If many of us avoid violent action it is due to the fear of con- sequences. Our lives are more legal than moral. We have not been persuaded in our hearts that non-violence is the one sure way of abhyudaya and niḥśreyasa. This is the human, the ethical attitude. This condition of inward strife is not incurable. Each one has to resolve it within himself. We should respect our opponents and listen to their arguments. We should not attribute to them unworthy motives. To do great work and remain modest, to have authority and remain gentle, to have office and remain sensitive, to have power and not be coarsened by it are major virtues even in India. Even God has aversion for conceit and love for humility—śvarasyāpy abhimāna-dveṣītvād dainyapriyatvāc ca.¹

The Bhooman Yajña fosters the right attitude to life. Land, labour, life itself are a trust and we have to use them for the good of the people and the glory of God: jagad-hitāya krṣṇāya. Ācārya Vinoba Bhāve wishes to bring about a redistribution of land, but more than that he wishes to spread the spirit of love and co-opera- tion. He wants us to use our possessions as a sacred trust and make our life a spontaneous self-giving. For him each word is a prayer and each deed a sacrifice. He teaches us to live largely on little.

We are often asked whether it is great personalities or great ideas that move the world and determine the character of an age. An age gets its ideas from its personalities. Development depends on leadership. While Governments deal with outer symptoms, the moral and spiritual leaders deal with causes. By Governmental action alone we cannot change the nature of mankind. Ācārya Vinoba Bhāve is trying to bring about a moral regeneration of our country. He reminds us of the ultimates of human thinking, of the fundamentals of ethics, that love is better than hate, peace is better than war, that co-operation is better than conflict,

¹ Nārada Bhakti Sūtra, 27
persuasion better than force, gentleness better than violence.

We wish him god-speed in his work and many happy returns of this day.

SEMINAR ON CASTEISM AND THE REMOVAL OF UNTOUCHABILITY

In inaugurating the Seminar on these vital questions, I do not propose to enter into the details which it is for you to work out. I shall be content to indicate what seems to me to be the broad principles which should govern your discussions and decisions. I note that you plan to consider these questions from 'the social, economic, educational, psychological, legal, political and welfare angles'.

It is a good augury that this Seminar is being held in a University atmosphere where it is easy to avoid vague generalizations, impatient criticisms, or angry abuse. I expect from you solid sociological thinking and sound advice which will enable us 'to counteract and eradicate the twin evils within a given period of time', to use your own words.

The first thing one should remember is not to confuse religious principles with social institutions. Religious principles are fundamental and enduring, while social institutions change from time to time. Whenever a change is demanded in social institutions, the cry is raised that religion is in danger. This is a false cry. Social institutions are functions of a local social context. The rules relating to eating, drinking and marriage are social regulations which have changed from time to time. When Robert de Nobili of the Society of Jesus allowed Indian Christians to follow their social conventions and permitted Hindus after conversion to retain their yajñopavīta and the śikhā he demonstrated the distinction between the universal religious truths and the temporary social forms. He appeared in Madura clad in the saffron robe of the sādhu with sandal paste on his forehead and the sacred thread on his body from which hung a cross. De Nobili gave out that he was a Brahmin from Rome. That there is a distinction between religion and social regulations is also evident from the way the Syrian Christians adopted many of the usages of the Hindus, including caste and

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untouchability. Conversions were discouraged and the low class converts remained outcast for all practical purposes. The Jains, the Sikhs, the Vīraśaivas, the Brāhmīs, the Aryas do not recognize caste divisions but they themselves have become castes like the Jews and the Parsees.

Our social habits give social expression to religious principles and as we understand their implications better, the religious leaders themselves effect social changes. From the seers of the Upaniṣads and the Buddha to Tagore and Gandhi, leaders of religion have been advocates of radical social changes. In their own age these were regarded as heretics, protestants and not as champions of reaction, privilege and vested interests. Truly religious men are preachers of righteousness, heralds of social justice.

Religion is not bound to any particular social order. It has to judge every social order on its merits. The use of the word dharma in relation to the rules of caste and untouchability suggests that there is something sacred about them. In the Mahābhārata, dharma is defined as that which holds society together.¹ It is evident that the practice of untouchability is anti-social and a violation of the principles of dharma. The State has decided to remove the discriminations resulting from the practice of untouchability by making them criminal. It is not consistent with the modern trends of politics or the principles of religion. It is a social crime and the sooner we get rid of it the better for the good name of our country and for our national solidarity. Only by giving special opportunities can we help the weaker sections of the society to forge ahead. It is not merely the material rehabilitation of the submerged people; we must give them a sense of human status and dignity. The future generations should not be compelled to bear the burdens of the past. The test of a civilization is the way it treats its weak members.

In the early centuries of the Christian era our thought and practice in regard to caste were far more fluid, less rigid, less closely defined than they afterwards became. The references to anuloma and prutiloma marriages are a clear evidence of the prevalence of inter-caste marriages in the dynamic periods of our history. When religion lost much of its spiritual power and ethical idealism, caste prejudices became pronounced. The stiffening of caste restrictions and the subjection of the country occurred together. It is regrettable and unfortunate that in many parts of the country

¹ dhāraṇād dharmamity āhuḥ dharmena vidhṛtāḥ prajāḥ.
public life is corrupted by the caste spirit. There is such a thing as the logic of history. Everything has its cause; possibly the subjection of the past is the result of our social divisions. We can shape our future better if we avoid the wrong causes. An ancient verse tells us that the Brahmin and the outcast are blood brothers.\textsuperscript{1} We have always held up as the ideal the individual who is above considerations of caste, \textit{varṇāśīrśa}. The \textit{Bhāgavata} says: 'He is dear to Hari, in whom there is no pride of birth or of activity or of his status in society.'\textsuperscript{2} Samnyāsins are emancipated from caste. In modern society there does not seem to be any economic, ethnic, or ethical justification for caste distinctions. Candidates are recruited for all-India services on grounds of character and capacity, \textit{guna} and \textit{karma}. They are not the monopoly of any one caste or community.

Superiority in the social hierarchy is determined by the graciousness of living, by austerity. In India the price of power is renunciation. If Gandhi is treated as the Father of the Nation, if Vinoba Bhāve is adored by millions, it is not on account of their birth in the Vaishya or the Brahmin caste but because of the holiness of their life. \textit{aparigraha} is the \textit{vrata} of the highest. The \textit{Nārada Bhakti Sūtra} tells us that among devotees there is no distinction of caste, learning, appearance, birth, possessions, occupation, etc.\textsuperscript{3}

We today live in a society which is giving way to the inexorable claims of a new order. We cannot stay the advance of time. If we clasp to our heart something that is past, if we cling to something that is defunct, we will be left behind. Forgetting is as essential as remembering. Much needs to be forgotten if the essential is to be remembered and preserved. Societies stagnate if they resist change; they prosper if they are ready to change. The neurotic fear of change which we often come across is opposed to our tradition. The principle of life is change. \textit{caran vai madhu vindati}. Only by moving, advancing can we achieve sweetness in life. The creative minds transform the tradition which they inherit. This tradition is never finished and closed. It ever remains open and continues to be built. Loyalty to the fundamentals of our faith provides sanctions for radical changes. We must bridge the gulf

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{antyaj jivep kātāś ca eka eva sahodaraḥ}
\item \textit{ek-
\vspace{1em}
\item \textit{na yasya janma-karmābhyaṃ na varṇāśrama-jātibhiḥ}
\item \textit{sanjāteṁ smīn aham-bhāvo dehe vai sa hareḥ priyaḥ. \textsuperscript{XI.2.51}}
\item \textit{nāṣī teṣu jāti-vidyā-rūpa-kula-dhana-kriyādhī bhedaḥ. \textsuperscript{72}}
\end{itemize}
between what we profess and what we practise. There should be a sustained nation-wide drive for the removal of all social disabilities from which people suffer. We must purge our society of man-made inequalities and injustices and provide for all equality of opportunity for personal well-being and social development. The awakening of our people from listless fatalism to self-awareness and self-assertion is a ground for hope. Our humanity must assert itself against all that destroys humanity. Let us hope, fight and suffer for the cause of men. The State is the servant of every citizen. Let us establish a society in which economic justice and provision of opportunity are available for all the members of society.

INDIAN INDUSTRIES FAIR

All good things come to an end: so also the Industries Fair! It has been the greatest draw in Delhi for some weeks. Almost every one interested in industrial enterprise in our country has visited the Fair, and thousands of students have come to see it. I have no doubt this has given our people an idea of the urgent need for industrial development and also a sense of our backwardness in this matter.

Our Five Year Plan aims at speeding up the development of heavy and machine-making industries. Our aim should be to produce all the requirements of our life ourselves. We must be able to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, nurse the sick, train the minds and civilize the emotions of our people.

In this matter we believe in co-operation with other countries. We have no favourites, no foes. We wish to be friends with all. We wish to learn from all countries though we have to depend on ourselves. This Fair will increase our foreign trade and help us to build new industrial concerns. We should try to remove the economic deficiencies and work our industries with due regard for the rights of workers. In an economic democracy there must be a large participation and partnership of workers in industrial enterprise, a greater comradeship between the management and the workers.

At the beginning of the year we turn back and look forward. We have tried to do our best to help nations to understand one

Prize Distribution, 2 January, 1956
another. Our achievements may not measure up to our hopes. Yet, we have to persist. Ten years after the establishment of the United Nations it has now become a little more representative of the world with seventy-six members, but it is not yet fully representative. It is our ambition to make the United Nations an international authority reflecting the conscience of the world. It has to become a world parliament though its decisions today are not enforceable. All this can happen not by military methods, pacts and alliances, but by co-operation in other matters. Here in this Fair where we have many nations of the world working together, cutting across national, racial and ideological barriers, we have an indication of the emerging of world solidarity. We should live as compatriots in this world which has become one unit of co-operation. Almost all the advanced nations of the world have sent their exhibits to us and are making gifts of some of the important ones to our country.

We are grateful to them all for their presence here and their expression of goodwill for us.

I am delighted to present the awards to all those who have been judged to be worthy of them. I hope our friends from outside will remember this visit to our country and we ourselves will profit from their presence. We are thankful to the Federation of the Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industries for organizing this Fair. Mr Bansal worked day and night for months before the Fair was organized and during its continuance he has worked very hard. We are grateful to him.

While we have to pay adequate attention to the industrial growth of our country, we should not forget that security is not enough; social justice is not enough. We have to aim at the refinement of human relationships, at the development of the virtues of mind and the graces of life.

HITAKARINI SABHA, JABALPUR

The Sabha has done its work for a stretch of nearly eighty-five years for the intellectual and moral development of the people of Jabalpur and its neighbourhood. It is good to remember all

Diamond Jubilee Celebrations, Inaugural Address, 22 January, 1956
those who helped the Sabha to expand its activities. The aim of education is not merely to liberate the intellect but also to free the heart and the conscience. Mental slums are more dangerous than material slums. It is through educational institutions that we have to develop the spirit of democracy, the spirit of compassion.

I have spent many years of my life in the study of India's thought and history. This country has had long periods of noble deeds, of great things conceived and executed, of elevating influence exerted on countries both East and West. But there have also been periods of pain and ignominy, of cruel vicissitudes and misfortunes, of maladies and disasters. We should recall the ideas of validity and vitality which made for progress and give up those petrified prejudices, cynical egoisms, inward distortions, unholy prejudices which reigned in our hearts and checked our progress. We have to fight today not so much against death and disease as against man's inhumanity to man, oppression and injustice.

In the years before independence we complained about the policy of divide and rule. But today we seem to be dividing ourselves and in danger of losing the significance of freedom. Tragic happenings in some parts of our country resulting from the publication of the Government's decisions on the reorganization of States have distressed us all. There are anti-social elements in all societies which are ready to exploit grievances, real or imaginary, and it is the duty of the leaders to control such elements. In a democratic set-up when we wish to get decisions which are unacceptable to large sections of the community altered or modified, we do not resort to direct action or indulge in acts of violence. We do not attribute unworthy motives to those from whom we happen to differ honestly and legitimately. Like every other human institution our Government is not infallible. It has taken a good deal of time, and numerous consultations, spent long hours deliberating and reached its decisions. And if we do not agree with some of them, there are peaceful, constitutional methods open to us to get them changed. But the incidents that have happened in different parts of the country have caused us all great sorrow. No people can be degraded except by themselves. Others may inflict injury but they cannot bring us shame. Dishonour comes only from ceasing to be faithful to ourselves. In the last analysis the resources of character determine the destiny of nations. I hope that our leaders will realize their responsibilities and strive to restore peace and calm in the
country and not do anything which will injure our interests at home and damage our influence abroad.

If we are to fulfil the hopes and aspirations of our millions in all parts of the country, we should stand together and not allow considerations of caste and community, race and religion, language and province, to retard our onward march. India is one and if one part injures another, it is the whole that suffers. If with one hand we hurt the other, it is the individual who suffers. We have been working together all these years as limbs of one body—Marathas and Gujaratis, Bengalis, Biharis and Oriyas—and there is no reason why we should give up our traditional attitude of real friendship and genuine co-operation.

We have many problems facing us and with faith in ourselves and confidence in our future, we have to tackle them. When hardship leaves man, when smugness creeps in, our energies decay, our spirits droop, we will get near our fall. Therefore today we must wake up, search our hearts, set aside selfish impulses and base passions, bring to our country selfless and dedicated spirits and make great strides in the promotion of public welfare.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE HEALTH COUNCIL
DELHI

I am honoured by your invitation to inaugurate this annual meeting of the Health Council which I do with great pleasure. Rajkumariji will give you a detailed account of the progress made in regard to the previous recommendations of the Council. I am not competent to deal with that.

Though we are generally regarded as other-worldly in our outlook, sober second thoughts will reveal that we always stressed that our spiritual aims could be realized only by physical efficiency and intellectual power. Health or ārogya is the basis for all other developments, ethical and economic, artistic and spiritual. śarīram ādyam khalu dharmasādhanam. The great text Yoga Sūtra which prescribes the path of integral development of the human being which will enable him to live in unity with himself, his surroundings

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and with the Unseen Reality, suggests that physical prowess is the pre-requisite of every other kind of development. We did not despise body or beauty of form as inconsistent with spiritual realization. Beauty of outward form is a sign of inward grace. yatra ākṛtih tatra gunāḥ bhavanti. God is truth, goodness and beauty. He is śivam, śāntam, sundaram. Beauty here is not a matter of prettiness, but of inward integrity, wholeness, or health.

Health, therefore, is not a mere negative absence of disease, but a positive state of well-being. It is dependent on a balancing and harmony of the different urges in the human being. When the harmony is disturbed we have disease. This disturbance is not entirely physical. It may be due to errors of judgement, prajñāparādha. Health is both physical and mental. If we act as if passions did not exist we end up as neurotics. The health of the mind has a good deal to do with the health of the body. There was a time when we thought that we could give people whatever temperaments we desire, choleric or timid, by chemical injections. Aldous Huxley gave us an account of this ‘push-button psychology’ in his Brave New World. This tendency brought about an excessive confidence in wonder drugs and gadgets and a loss of confidence in the power of the human personality.

In our new world, mental diseases have been on the increase. The insecurity and fear of new conditions of life are responsible for it. A little girl coming home from school after a lecture on how to defend herself against the atom bomb, asked her mother: ‘Can’t we move to some place where there is not any sky?’ Mental diseases are traceable to the loneliness and anxiety of the modern man who is suffering from the loss of certainties in a rapidly changing society. Anxiety is the great destroyer of human health and well-being. If we are to stand against the insecurity of our time, we have to give a centre of strength within ourselves, to all those who are today in need of it, whose lives are empty, despairing and anxious. Jung, the great psycho-therapist, traced a very large percentage of mental cases to the loosening hold of religious certainties. Mental healers, at any rate, should possess faith. The President of the American Medical Association, Dr Elmer Hess had some point when he said: ‘Any man who enters the medical profession with financial gain as his sole objective is a discredit to his colleagues. The market place is where you go to make money, not the sickroom. A physician who walks into a sickroom is not alone. He can only
minister to the ailing person with the material tools of scientific medicine—his faith in a higher power does the rest. Show me the doctor who denies the existence of the Supreme Being and I will say that he has no right to practise the healing art."

In both medicine and surgery, we have had a great development till a few centuries ago. Even literary works refer to medical information. In his *Mālavikāgnimitra* Kālidāsa tells us that the remedies to be applied to one who was recently bitten by a snake were incision of the bitten part, or cauterizing it, or bleeding of it.\(^1\) The development of these subjects got checked some centuries ago and it should be now our endeavour to get them back into the stream of world thought.

The health of our people is poor and the incidence of disease high. Sanitation and environmental hygiene and other preventive measures are quite essential. Many of the diseases from which our people suffer are traceable to malnutrition, inadequate water supply, bad sanitation, infection. Steps will have to be taken to improve the conditions in which many of our people live, through self-help and mutual assistance schemes.

It is your special purpose to consider health in all its aspects such as ‘the provision of remedial and preventive care, environmental hygiene, nutrition, health education and the promotion of facilities for training and research’.

Seventy-five per cent of our medical men live in urban areas, while eighty-five per cent of our people dwell in rural surroundings. If complaints are heard about unemployment among medical men, it is perhaps due to the fact that they are unwilling to go to places where they are most wanted.

In the present awakening in the country, our medical men should take a leading part. The world is shrinking into a unit and if we are to live in this competitive world, our standards of medical education must be high and facilities for medical research should be adequate. We cannot say that we have made outstanding contributions to the advancement of knowledge in medicine and surgery as we have done to some extent, say in physics and mathematics. Like all knowledge, medical knowledge is perpetually growing. There are institutes in the world where research work is in progress to determine the ability of the atom to treat, control, and possibly cure cancer.

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\(^1\) *chedo dāniśasya dāho vā kṣater vā raktamokṣaṇām etāni daśā-mātrānām āyuṣaḥ pratipatidāḥ.* IV. 4
Our young men and women who take to medicine and surgery are not in any sense inferior to those who adopt other lines. With ampler facilities they will do valuable work. It is not always possible for us to depend on training in foreign countries. Our medical men must be enabled to obtain higher training in our country. Competent men should be selected for specialization in different branches and encouraged to do outstanding work.

If we want to raise the standards of health in this country, we must pool the resources of the whole country. The problems of physical and mental health are the same in all parts of the country and it is, therefore, essential that our efforts should be co-ordinated. A National Service on an all-India basis may be a healthy corrective to the tendencies which are coming up to the surface in these days of linguistic uproar and limited loyalties.

LAYING OF THE FOUNDATION STONE OF THE OFFICE OF THE ACCOUNTANT-GENERAL, CENTRAL REVENUES, DELHI

I am honoured by the invitation to lay the foundation stone of the building for the Office of the Accountant-General, Central Revenues. Particulars of the nature and extent of the office building have been given to us by our Comptroller and Auditor-General. I need not repeat them again. The gradual development of this office into an independent unit from its beginnings as a part of the office of the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India till its present position is well known. The office has been functioning in Delhi since October 1924 and on account of pressure of accommodation has had to shift from one place to another, from the Secretariat building to Bodyguard Lines, to American Barracks on Curzon Road, where it now functions. In view of its increasing activities, the staff has risen from 445 in 1926 to nearly 1,700 last April and is likely to increase still further. On account of the important nature of its work, it is essential that it should have a separate building.

The building planned will be a multi-storeyed one and its cost is estimated to be about 40 lakhs of rupees. It will be able to

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accommodate about 2,000 persons and will have, I hope, adequate room for records, library, conference, training and examination halls, canteens, recreation and other welfare amenities.

I am not competent to speak of the various suggestions made by the Comptroller and Auditor-General in regard to the development of a satisfactory pattern of administration for the technical, financial and accounting sections. We are all interested in the evolution of a pattern which will secure efficiency and speed up work. These suggestions made by a relatively young, energetic and capable Comptroller and Auditor-General will, of course, receive the careful consideration of the authorities who will have to take the decisions.

The nature of the work of the A.-G. C.R. is of a highly responsible character, being the audit and maintenance of accounts of the civil expenditure of the Government of India. Since Independence governmental activities have increased. A wholly new Ministry of External Affairs was started and it has been steadily growing. We have embarked on large schemes of economic rehabilitation. We are about to start the Second Five Year Plan which is intended to raise further the living standards of our people. If we are to realize our ideals of social justice and progress, we must end poverty and gross inequalities of wealth by the provision of welfare facilities and distributive taxation. The public sector is widening. There will be measures of fresh taxation. Our resources are limited and we should make them go a long way. In these circumstances, the public must have the confidence that they are getting an adequate return for the amounts spent, that there are no leakages or wastages on account of inefficiency, incompetence, or dishonesty. If the people feel unhappy about the way in which moneys are spent, discontent will spread and undermine the stability of the Government itself. By your work of checking expenditure, detecting errors of judgement as well as exposing them to the public, you can give the public a sense of confidence. Your duties are to the people of the country and not merely to the Government. In your work you must not think of the political effects of your observations and I hope that your service will maintain its great traditions and assist the development of democracy in this country.

The large-scale reconstruction, the great constructive enterprises require considerable flexibility in the discharge of your task. Your work is not any more of a routine character. We are aiming not merely at internal security but at social progress. We must encourage
initiative while counselling caution. We must avoid irritants and impediments. We must adhere to certain definite principles and not treat problems in an *ad hoc* manner. I hope your work will help the speedy carrying out of enterprises and not delay them by unnecessary red-tape. Your Comptroller and Auditor-General is aware of the need to reduce red-tape, help the speedy execution of our great undertakings so as to increase output and raise earnings.

With the expansion of the public sector recruitment on a large scale will be necessary of administrative, scientific and technical personnel. The Second Plan is expected to provide more employment for our young men. If we are to inspire our young men with enthusiasm for the Second Five Year Plan, it is essential that the recruitment takes place on principles of merit and competence and that we avoid even the appearance of nepotism or corruption. If the idea gets abroad that, however well-qualified one might be, if he has not what is called influence he cannot get a job, faith in our leadership will be impaired. It should be our duty to choose the very best irrespective of all other considerations of caste and community, or political pressures. Otherwise we will encourage a grave threat to our infant democracy.

Your service is recruited on an all-India basis and your members belong to different States and language groups, and can do a great deal in pulling the country into effective administrative unity. The great weakness of our people which has become almost a national failing is factious spirit and group loyalties. Sacrifice of national interests for personal ambition or group loyalties has impaired our social fabric. Recent happenings demonstrated that we have taken national unity too much for granted. Our national consciousness has not yet acquired full emotional meaning. Factions and divisions infect our life from the village level to the national. All further progress depends on the unity of the country. We must develop a pride in our independence, gratification in our increasing influence in international affairs, and reverence for the great leaders who have helped us to attain the present status. Against the background of all these, the passions of the present are most unfortunate. If we are not to prove unworthy of the freedom which we have attained, we should avoid disputation about relatively small issues. Service and not domination should be our motto. We must all work as equals in the building up of a new India.
PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY

I find myself in the Chair today owing to the regrettable absence of Shri G. V. Mavalankar on account of serious illness. He has had long and large experience of parliamentary practices and procedures and would have given you effective guidance.

It is wise for us sometimes to detach ourselves from the rough and tumble of active politics and consider the foundations of politics, the ideals and principles of parliamentary democracy. Though our practices are based on those of the British House of Commons we are developing our own conventions in response to our distinctive conditions.

You propose to discuss the role of political parties in legislatures, the relationship of Parliament with Government on the one hand and the people on the other, cabinet government, second chambers, etc., and I hope that your discussions will prove useful.

Democracy is derived from two Greek words meaning people and power. It literally means the rule of the people. We may look at it from different points of view, as a way of life, as a form of government, as an instrument for the development of social and economic content, as a method of approach in the settlement of problems. I shall offer a few general remarks on each of these aspects.

The Hebrew prophet said: 'Where there is no vision the people perish.'

Democracy gives us a vision, a way of life, asks us to accept certain ideals, norms, or standards of behaviour. The objectives and obligations prescribed in the Preamble and Part IV of the Constitution provide guidance for us.

The dignity of the individual, the sacredness of human personality is the fundamental principle of democracy. There is a tendency to look upon the individual as the helpless victim of world forces which are marching towards their destined goals. The world is becoming anonymous and the individual is getting lost in it.

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1 Augustine in his City of God says : 'A nation is an association of reasonable beings united in a peaceful sharing of the things they cherish therefore to determine the quality of a nation, you must consider what those things are.'
But life is manifested in the individual. Truth is revealed to the individual. It is the individual who learns and suffers, who knows joy and sorrow, forgiveness and hatred. The world owes all its progress to men who are ill at ease. Even the derelicts of humanity, the criminals and the outcasts, each has his self inside him. The function of the State is to see that the light of human recognition in men’s eyes does not grow dim. In a touching poem representing the shy self-encouragement of a lonely young man in a far country, John Masefield writes:

I have seen flowers come in stony places;
And kindness done by men with ugly faces;
And the gold cup won by the worst horse at the races;
So I trust too.

If we compromise with the essential freedom of the spirit, all other liberties will disappear.

In The Communist Manifesto, Karl Marx complains about the capitalist order which is, ‘for the enormous majority, a mere training to act as a machine’. It destroys, he holds, the humanity of the proletarian. The right of the individual to privacy and self-development is one of the cherished rights of democracy.

Āpastamba declares: ātmalābhān na param vidyate.¹ ātmārthe prthivim tyajet. For the sake of the soul, even the world may be abandoned. What shall it profit a man if he gains the whole world but loses his own soul?

In these days when the scientific outlook has made historical determinism fashionable, when great men are said to be slaves or instruments of impersonal forces, it is good to stress the role of the individual in history. There is only one safe rule for the historian, said H. A. L. Fisher, that we must ‘recognize in the development of human destinies the play of the contingent and the unforeseen’. Inevitability of a demonstration in Euclid does not apply to human affairs. Man has a real part in the making of history. rājā kālasya kāraṇam. While we reject rigid determinism, we cannot represent man as being completely emancipated from the past. The scope of human choice may be limited but it is there, all the same. We are not the playthings of fate. It is not by submerging our identity in the herd but by the creative use of freedom of thought, feeling and imagination, by wresting the initiative from the environment and vesting it in ourselves that we emancipate ourselves from the

¹ Dharma Sūtra, I. 7. 2
dominion of external forces. If we are able to clothe, feed and house ourselves better, if we are able to release ourselves from want and indignity, it is because of the free spirit of man and its initiative. The whole history of human progress centres round those prophets and heroes, those poets and artists, those pioneers and explorers who dared to take responsibility for their insights into goodness, truth, or beauty, who made their own choices and decisions even at the peril of their lives, for they felt that if they did not do so they would betray the spirit in them. Respect for the individual is the moral basis of a democratic society. In it no one should be a slave and no one a master.

Tocqueville writing about the United States of America more than a hundred years ago says: 'It had been supposed, until our time, that despotism was odious under whatever form it appeared. It is a discovery of modern days that there are such things as legitimate tyranny and holy injustice, provided they are exercised in the name of the people.' He says: 'I know no country in which there is so little true independence of mind and freedom of discussion as in America.' Again: 'If great writers have not at present existed in America, the reason is very simply given in these facts: there can be no literary genius without freedom of opinion, and freedom of opinion does not exist in America.'

II

_jana-vākyam tu kartavyam narair api narādhapiḥ_. The voice of the people must be carried out by the people and the rulers. How are we to ascertain the will of the people? A mere clamour or catchword is not the will of the people.

Parliamentary democracy seems to be the best instrument for the ascertainment and expression of the public mind. Democracy is government by the representatives chosen by the people. Direct government by the people is not possible in modern States. Even village pañcāyats adopt the representative system. It gives the people the right to amend and alter the Constitution. So long as it exists, till it is changed by the people's representatives, it is obligatory on all. Unless there is common ground, accepted by all members to whatever party they may belong, the work of Parliament cannot be carried on. Parliamentary democracy provides a

1 Cf. what Latimer said to Ridley: 'Be of good cheer, master Ridley and play the man. We shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace in England, as I trust shall never be put out.'
peaceful way of changing Governments. Frequent elections indicate that people have the power to remove their representatives.

We have adopted universal adult suffrage. This demands universal education. Only then will the voters be able to comprehend national purpose and duty and use their vote not for selfish ends but for public welfare. Even though our voters are not educated in the formal sense, they have commonsense and an instinctive love of truth and justice.

People are sometimes seduced from these by propagandists and salesmen of new-fangled ideals, class interests, or group loyalties. By exploiting mob psychology people are manipulated, badgered, bribed and hypnotized into different groups. If intelligent nations have tamely submitted to dictatorial governments, it only shows how easily men give up their individual responsibility.

If people are to form sound opinions on social and economic affairs, they must have access to accurate information and an opportunity to hear all sides of the question. The sources of information should not be muzzled or controlled by selfish interests. People must have the freedom of thought and expression. In a totalitarian society, the party in power regiments the views of the people through control of all agencies of information, communication and entertainment. All opposition is silenced and people hear only what the Government wants them to hear. It is the function of Parliament to express, not suppress social discontent. In a true democracy, even the thought we hate is tolerated so long as the thought we hold is free to combat it. We should not admit the crime of harbouring dangerous thoughts. Heretics were often liquidated, to use a modern phrase. The Crusades against the Albigensians in Southern France were as barbarous as the Nazi slaughter of the Jews. Only criminals guilty of violence should be restrained. What people think is their own private affair; what they do concerns the public.

Parliament acts as a liaison between the people and the State. It is the place where we sense atmosphere and create it. The leaders do not merely follow public opinion but lead it. ‘Your representative’, observes Burke in a well-known passage, ‘owes you not his industry only but his judgement; and he betrays instead of serving you if he sacrifices it to your opinion.’ If we merely reflect public opinion on the plea that we are concerned with winning votes, then what we say in Parliament will be tripe, platitude and
demagogy. The decisive consideration should not be whether we do anything popular but whether we do the right. In a majority of cases, when we do wrong, we will be unpopular. Terrific pressures discourage acts of political courage.

Members of Parliament should be chosen with care and given training through institutions like your Bureau for Parliamentary Studies. The representative must have an understanding of the Constitution which is the contract between the people and the Government, its directive principles which form our national dharma or righteousness, which is the basis of all rights and duties, which helps to develop the secular and the spiritual interests of the people, *abhyaudaya* and *nihşreyasa*.

We have scrapped the dogma of the divine right of kings; even Governments by elected majorities have no divine rights. A democratic government, i.e. government by the majority is open to grave abuses. Lord Acton observed: ‘…………that government by the whole people, being the government of the most numerous and most powerful class, is an evil of the same nature as unmixed monarchy, and requires for nearly the same reasons, institutions that shall protect it against itself and shall uphold the permanent reign of law against arbitrary revolutions of opinion.' For a sound democracy we require freedom of thought and expression. This demands respect for minority opinion. In a true democracy there is always an Opposition. It may not be strong in numbers but it does not follow that it is lacking in political intelligence. The Opposition may not compel agreement but it compels thought. Authoritarian methods of suppression of opposition are dangerous to democracy. The Buddha, Socrates and Jesus are symbols. The State can silence them but cannot quench the fire that burns in them. Socrates and Jesus and many others were silenced as grave ‘security risks' in the ‘cold wars' of their times. Across centuries of despotism and dogma we find the poison cup, the Cross, the stake, the torture chamber and the concentration camp. We in India did not liquidate the Buddha or, for that matter, other non-conformists. As a rule we did not confront our people with either conformity or martyrdom. We allowed for freedom which is the way to progress. Nothing has been more disastrous to the world than the common assumption that we are always right. If we suppress those who preach unorthodox ideas and stifle the spirit in man, we are not democratic. What we do with our
non-conformists is the test of a democracy.

A Government is not democratic simply because it is voted into power by the majority. It is not democratic when it is required to vote for only one party. The test is whether it gives democratic rights to its subjects, if it allows freedom of thought, speech and association to its opponents. If a party brooks no rivals outside it and no dissensions within it, even if it is voted by the electorate, it is undemocratic.

Part III of our Constitution on Fundamental Rights gives us a set of rights or civil liberties. These rights are the limits which the Government has placed on itself for the protection of the citizens. As even Governments cannot infringe them, we are preserved from tyranny. The highest political good is liberty regulated by just laws. If all men have these rights, they have also a duty to respect the rights of others. Our right ends when it interferes with the right of another. The right to free speech, for example, does not carry the right to an audience, for that interferes with the rights of others.

Democracy means distribution of power, decentralization. An independent Judiciary, Audit and Services Commission restrain Governments from arbitrary or tyrannical acts. These institutions require to be protected from the executive interference or political pressure. It is the only way to develop standards of public life, for even the best of men are coarsened and hardened by excess of power. Tyranny becomes a habit, nay a disease. Power should not be centralized.

The aim of society, says Aristotle, is to promote the good life, not the glorification of a Pharaoh or a great emperor. The good life is impossible under the incalculable caprices of a tyranny; so power should be bridled by law. Aristotle writes: ‘He who bids law rule bids God and reason alone rule, but he who bids men rule adds the element of the beast.’ Since no man is fit for unbridled power, commonsense dictates the rule of law. Cicero insists that government is not mere arbitrary power. ‘Society is not a mere mob come together anyhow.’ He says that it is ‘a commonwealth united by acceptance of law and by a common enjoyment of its practical advantages’. Political power is justified only if it advances the common good, mānava dharma. A tyrant rules by force, a Parliament rules according to law. The great political thinker Edmund Burke said: ‘Those who give and those who receive arbitrary power
are alike criminal and there is no man but is bound to resist it wherever it shows its face in the world. It is wickedness in politics to say that one man can have arbitrary power.' We do not want a tyrant or a mob. 'The objective of government', according to Spinoza, 'is not to change men from rational beings into beasts or puppets, but to enable them to develop their minds and bodies in security and employ their reason unshackled.' In fact, the true end of government is liberty.

Democratic government rests on clean and efficient administration. The Government is becoming the largest employer with the gradual expansion of the public sector. We must recruit the right type of personnel. Everyone must have an equal chance of securing a Government position and selection should depend on ability, not influence.

III

The democratic approach is by persuasion, argument and adjustment of conflicting views. If there is a difference of opinion, one can say—'agree with me or I will hit you,' or—'let us sit down, understand each other and decide.' The latter is the democratic approach. It believes that love is better than hate, co-operation better than strife, consent better than coercion. In the present world resort to violence is at best a cowardly escape from democratic processes and at worst treason to the future.

There are many problems facing us. To realize freedom of spirit, liberty from physical and social constraints is essential. We can free ourselves from material and social compulsions through right economic ordering of life and the proper fostering of social relationships. Many millions in our country suffer from a slavery far more cruel than chains and shackles. Human beings are sometimes treated as commodities to be bought and sold. Clauses in the Constitution or laws in the Statute Book are not changes in the structure of society. Poor people who wander about, find no work, no wages and starve, whose lives are a continual round of sore affliction and pinching poverty cannot be proud of the Constitution or its laws. We seem to be poor with the accumulated poverty of centuries. Until we are able to free our citizens from poverty, hunger, disease and ignorance, our democracy will be empty of content. We should achieve a social and economic revolution by methods of persuasion and consent. We believe that we can improve our social environment by
argument, conciliation and majority vote. We should have institutions of social conciliation and arbitration. While trade unions are not to be treated as tools of the State, they should not allow sectional interests to prevail over national good. Institutions which have been obstacles to economic well-being and social justice require to be removed.

It is true that society should protect itself against crime, for all violence is a menace to the rule of law. But we should also strive to check crime at its source. We must create conditions in which men and women can live and work and face the future with confidence and security.

Democracy is an invitation to a new life. The ideals we have set before ourselves must become flesh. What happened in 1947 is the beginning of a revolution and we have to carry it out. If our Constitution does not bend to the needs of a creative society in which ‘the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all’, it will break.

Democracy has two sides to it, the making of the individual and the drawing of the world together. A new society is possible only if men prize liberty as the highest of all possessions. We look forward to a new order of society in which the sacredness of personality becomes the working principle, in which the whole world becomes the unit of co-operation, in which every person has equality of opportunity for his complete development, in which there would be a redistribution of the world’s economic goods providing equal opportunities for all. The noble vision of a societas generis humani, the society of the whole human race, is taking shape in the minds of many. If the vision of a creative society, an indivisible democracy weakens, our society will decline. If the idea holds us, we move forward. To establish a creative democracy we should develop the democratic spirit in our hearts. Gandhi taught us that great power resides in the spirit of the people, not in the weapons they use to kill others but in their readiness to die. The Mahābhārata says:

\[
naiva rājyam narād āsīt na daṇḍo na ca dāṇḍikāḥ
dharmenaiva prajāh sarvāḥ raksantisma paraspāram.\]

A people flourish not because of a constitution or coercion or a law-giver but because they are guided by dharma and help each other in co-operation.

Śāntiparva
CENTENARY OF BAL GANGADHAR TILAK

I am delighted to be here and pay my tribute to the life and work of Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak.

When I was a student in the early years of this century, the name of Tilak meant for the youth of the country burning patriotism, rare courage, indomitable will and dedication to the freedom of India.

In the second decade, I happened to write an article in July 1911 on The Ethics of the Bhagavadgītā and Kant which attracted the attention of Tilak who was then in Mandalay prison. The late Shri N. C. Kelkar wrote to me for that article which he sent to Tilak. In due course the article was returned to me with Tilak’s marginal notes. I found to my great joy that Tilak mentioned my name in his preface to that monumental work Gītā-rahasya as one who supported an activistic interpretation of the Bhagavadgītā. Even the liberated are called upon to work for world solidarity, loka-saṃgraha, for the good of the world, the glory of God. jagad-hitāya krṣṇāya. The Gītā is a yoga-śāstra. Yoga is karmasu kauśalam, skill in action. samatvam yoga ucyate. Equanimity is yoga. Krṣṇa is yogeśvara. He is the Lord of action.

vivekī sarvadā muktah kurvato nāsti kartṛtā
ālepa-vādam āśritya śrī-krṣṇa janakau yathā.

The spiritual and social sides go together. Tilak’s life was a demonstration of this great ideal of Karma Yoga. The saints of Maharashtra, Jnaneswar, Eknath, Tukaram, Ramdas, proclaim that disinterested service of man is the worship of God.

In ordinary circumstances Tilak would have lived a scholar’s life and made outstanding contributions to Oriental Studies and mathematics. But as a member of a subject nation he had no alternative except to take part in politics. When once he was asked: ‘What portfolio will you take up when we obtain Swaraj? Will you be Prime Minister or Foreign Minister?’ his answer showed where his heart lay. ‘Under Swaraj, I will become a Professor of Mathematics and retire from political life. I detest politics. I still wish to write a book on Differential Calculus. The country is in a very bad way and so I am compelled to take part in politics;’ and what a part! He was not in sympathy with the methods of those who were then
Welcoming the delegates to the UNESCO General Conference in Delhi, November 1956

At the Exhibition of Entries for State Awards for excellence in printing and design, Delhi, November 1956