

BHAVAN'S BOOK UNIVERSITY

Rajaji Centenary Edition

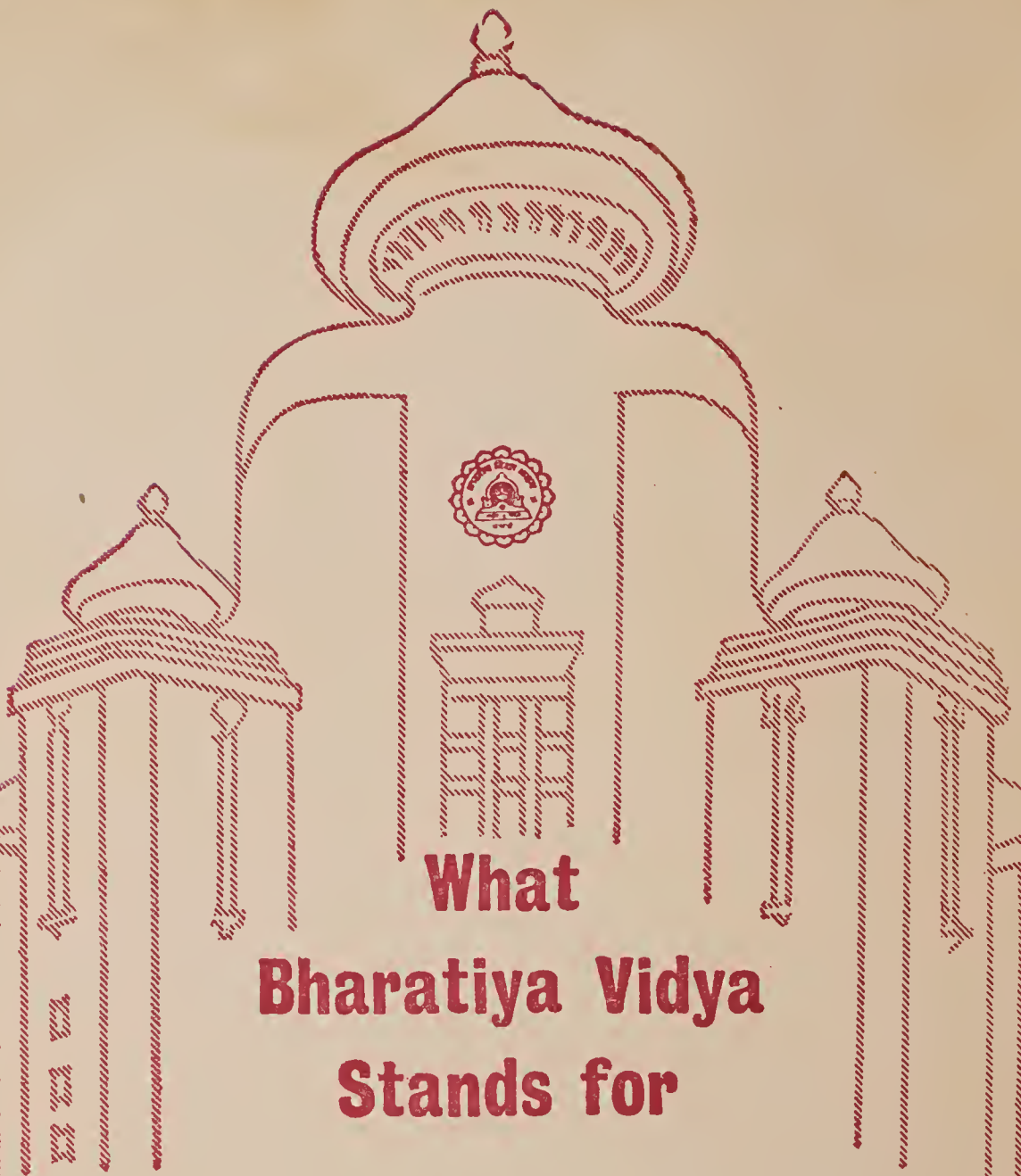


Rajaji's Speeches

Volume II



BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN, BOMBAY-400 007



What Bharatiya Vidya Stands for

Bharatiya Shiksha must ensure that no promising young Indian of character having faith in Bharat and her culture Bharatiya Vidya should be left without modern educational equipment by reason merely of want of funds.

2. Bharatiya Shiksha must be formative more than informative, and cannot have for its end mere acquisition of knowledge. Its legitimate sphere is not only to develop natural talents but so to shape them as to enable them to absorb and express the permanent values of Bharatiya Vidya.

3. Bharatiya Shiksha must take into account not only the full growth of a student's personality but the totality of his relations and lead him to the highest self-fulfilment of which he is capable.

4. Bharatiya Shiksha must involve at some stage or other an intensive study of Sanskrit or Sanskritic languages and their literature, without excluding, if so desired, the study of other languages and literature, ancient and modern.

9th JANUARY '87

5. The re-integration of Bharatiya Vidya, which is the primary object of Bharatiya Shiksha, can only be attained through a study of forces, movements, motives, ideas, forms and art of creative life-energy through which it has expressed itself in different ages as a single continuous process.

6. Bharatiya Shiksha must stimulate the student's power of expression, both written and oral, at every stage in accordance with the highest ideals attained by the great literary masters in the intellectual and moral spheres.

7. The technique of Bharatiya Shiksha must involve—

- (a) the adoption by the teacher of the *Guru* attitude which consists in taking a personal interest in the student; inspiring and encouraging him to achieve distinction in his studies; entering into his life with a view to form ideals and remove psychological obstacles; and creating in him a spirit of consecration; and
- (b) the adoption by the student of the *Sishya* attitude by the development of—
 - (i) respect for the teacher,
 - (ii) a spirit of inquiry,
 - (iii) a spirit of service towards the teacher, the institution, Bharat and Bharatiya Vidya.

8. The ultimate aim of Bharatiya Shiksha is to teach the younger generation to appreciate and live up to the permanent values of Bharatiya Vidya which is flowing from the supreme art of creative life-energy as represented by Shri Ramachandra, Shri Krishna, Vyasa, Buddha and Mahavira have expressed themselves in modern times in the life of Shri Ramakrishna Paramahansa, Swami Dayananda Saraswati, and Swami Vivekananda, Shri Aurobindo and Mahatma Gandhi.

9. Bharatiya Shiksha while equipping the student with every kind of scientific and technical training must teach the student, not to sacrifice an ancient form or attitude to an unreasoning passion for change; not to retain a form or attitude which in the light of modern times can be replaced by another form of attitude which is a truer and more effective expression of the spirit of Bharatiya Vidya; and to capture the spirit afresh for each generation to present it to the world.



आ नो भद्राः क्रतवो यन्तु विश्वतः ।

Let noble thoughts come to us from every side.

—Rigveda, I-89-i

BHAVAN'S BOOK UNIVERSITY

General Editors :

R. R. DIWAKAR

S. RAMAKRISHNAN

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RAJAJI'S SPEECHES

Volume II

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VOLUME II



1978

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KULAPATI'S PREFACE

The Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan—that Institute of Indian Culture in Bombay—needed a Book University, a series of books which, if read, would serve the purpose of providing higher education. Particular emphasis, however, was to be put on such literature as revealed the deeper impulses of India. As a first step, it was decided to bring out in English 100 books, 50 of which were to be taken in hand almost at once.

It is our intention to publish the books we select, not only in English, but also in the following Indian languages: Hindi, Bengali, Gujarati, Marathi, Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam.

This scheme, involving the publication of 900 volumes, requires ample funds and an all-India organisation. The Bhavan is exerting its utmost to supply them.

The objectives for which the Bhavan stands are the reintegration of the Indian culture in the light of modern knowledge and to suit our present-day needs and the resuscitation of its fundamental values in their pristine vigour.

Let me make our goal more explicit:

We seek the dignity of man, which necessarily implies the creation of social conditions which would allow him freedom to evolve along the lines of his own temperament and capacities; we seek the harmony of individual efforts and social relations, not in any makeshift way, but within the frame-work of the Moral Order; we seek the creative art of life, by the alchemy of which human limitations are progressively transmuted, so that man may become the instrument of God, and is able to see Him in all and all in Him.

The world, we feel, is too much with us. Nothing would uplift or inspire us so much as the beauty and aspiration which such books can teach.

In this series, therefore, the literature of India, ancient and modern, will be published in a form easily

accessible to all. Books in other literatures of the world, if they illustrate the principles we stand for, will also be included.

This common pool of literature, it is hoped, will enable the reader, eastern or western, to understand and appreciate currents of world thought, as also the movements of the mind in India, which, though they flow through different linguistic channels, have a common urge and aspiration.

Fittingly, the Book University's first venture is the *Mahabharata*, summarised by one of the greatest living Indians, C. Rajagopalachari; the second work is on a section of it; the Gita by H. V. Divatia, an eminent jurist and a student of philosophy. Centuries ago, it was proclaimed of the *Mahabharata*: "What is not in it, is nowhere". After twenty-five centuries, we can use the same words about it. He who knows it not, knows not the heights and depths of the soul; he misses the trials and tragedy and the beauty and grandeur of life.

The *Mahabharata* is not a mere epic; it is a romance, telling the tale of heroic men and women and of some who were divine; it is a whole literature in itself, containing a code of life, a philosophy of social and ethical relations, and speculative thought on human problems that is hard to rival; but, above all, it has for its core the Gita, which is, as the world is beginning to find out, the noblest of scriptures and the grandest of sagas in which the climax is reached in the wondrous Apocalypse in the Eleventh Canto.

Through such books alone the harmonies underlying true culture, I am convinced, will one day reconcile the disorders of modern life.

I thank all those who have helped to make this new branch of the Bhavan's activity successful.

1, Queen Victoria Road,
New Delhi,
3rd October, 1951

K. M. MUNSHI

FOREWORD

Collections of speeches of persons eminent in various spheres of public life are a mine of information and a source of delight to readers of their generation. They are, however, mostly of ephemeral interest and have an appeal for only a limited class of readers. Soon consigned to bookshelves, they are seldom approached even by that small circle of readers, much less by posterity.

The speeches embodied in these two volumes are, however, of abiding interest and value. Couched in Rajaji's simple, lucid and impressive language, almost all of these discourses, delivered during the first ten years of India's Independence, are illumined by the gifted speaker's store of knowledge, experience and practical wisdom reinforced by lessons drawn by him from the teaching of ancient sages and the cultural heritage of India. That precious heritage has taught the people of our country to regulate their lives in consonance with the eternal principles and ideals for which and by which nations live and flourish. Whatever may be the subject-matter of the discourse, social, religious, educational or political, Rajaji invests it with a philosophical and spiritual significance. It is this combination of the idealism of the rishis with the wisdom of a realist in Rajaji's treatment of ordinary incidents and problems of life that lends a peculiar charm and value to his speeches.

The publication is unique because it records the views, accumulated knowledge, wisdom, judgement and admonition of a personality that is unique. Among the disciples of Gandhiji and his colleagues in the country's struggle for freedom there were few,

indeed, who displayed the same unclouded intellect and independent thinking and courage as he did in going counter to the decision of his master when as a realist he considered it imperative to register his protest. It is unnecessary for the purpose of this Foreword to recall the incidents when he stood almost alone in his opposition to the line of action followed by Gandhiji in regard to vital political issues. This is not an occasion for an attempt to judge who was right and who was wrong. The object in singling out this distinguishing trait in Rajaji's character for special notice is to stress its importance to a growing democracy. Unless politicians and the public generally cultivate the habit of thinking for themselves, a democracy is in danger of being converted into an oligarchy.

The Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan deserves felicitations on the enrichment of the Bhavan's Book University by the addition of this volume of remarkable speeches on a variety of subjects delivered by one of the greatest thinkers and politicians of our day. May it be given to Rajaji to continue to inspire and uplift the people of our country by his sage advice and guidance for many years as he has done in the past!

8th February, 1958

R. P. MASANI

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I

FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF GANDHIJI'S DEATH

TWELVE months ago Gandhiji passed away from us. Like the song which we heard on the violin just now and which has united with *akash*, Gandhiji's life ended suddenly and we cannot see him any more. So also Gandhiji has joined *akash*. We can see the violin made of wood and string. But the song is gone. The musician can play again but we cannot make Gandhiji again. The pictures or busts we have are like broken fiddles which cannot produce the song.

It will not do to continue grieving. Our elders tell us that after the first month is over, there should be no more weeping. We should perform *Shradh* in order to please the dead spirit. Our daily work and thoughts must be the *Shradh* for our departed leader. Once a year when we meet and gather like this in memory of our dead leader, we should not weep. We should make it into a festival which will give us inspiration and strength.

We must derive from the memory of our departed leader courage to speak the truth, to be patient and to bear with one another. If this gathering and the meeting we had at Rajghat this evening and the

gatherings all over the country that have been held to-day, give us more strength to speak the truth and to bear with one another, then there can be no doubt that Mahatmaji's spirit will be gladdened.

Every day of his life Mahatmaji appealed to God to give us the good sense to love one another. We are all men, women and children—born in this world to love one another. It is only fools who hate. This was what Gandhiji taught up to the moment of his death.

It is not enough if we are proud that we had Gandhiji among us. What we have to do is to do what he desired us to do. Living men may be pleased by flattery; we cannot please Gandhiji's soul by flattery and empty praise. We can please him only if we do as he wanted us to do.

Children can understand what Gandhiji wanted us to do—love one another. Grown-up people find it more difficult to understand it. They think there are difficulties in the way of loving one another. Once upon a time Gandhiji was telling people that they would get Swaraj. Many people did not believe him. In the early days, many people asked how it was possible to get Swaraj without war, whether there was any nation in the world that had become free without bloodshed?

India has achieved the seemingly impossible however. She has gained freedom and we are now completely independent without having had war and without shedding blood. We are not only independent, but without being a great Power, without great armies and navies, India enjoys the highest prestige in the counsels of the world. That strength has

been obtained by us by reason of the truth contained in Gandhiji's guidance of us.

Just as what Gandhiji told us about achieving Swaraj through non-violence has proved true, what Gandhiji has told us about loving one another will prove to be equally true if we try to do as he told us.

Some people doubt whether Hindus can love Muslims or Muslims can love Hindus. Take it from me that what Gandhiji said, that we can and must love one another, is true. Nothing else is true. If we try, God will help us to succeed. We shall not only be as great as we are to-day, but we shall grow in our greatness before these children here grow up. If we learn how to overcome prejudices in respect of communities, India will be great within the next few years and the world will respect us and follow us.

When on the first day of this year India and Pakistan said they had stopped fighting, India immediately grew twice as powerful in the eyes of the world as she was before. Her voice now has influence with the whole of Asia. Asia met recently at Delhi and the voice of that conference has been powerful enough to save and help the people of Indonesia. In the path which Gandhiji has shown us lies our greatness and prosperity. If any man hates you, do not bother about it. Try to love him and that man will begin to love you. If other people tell lies, do not bother about them. Speak the truth and everything will go well.

If in their daily lives the people of our country speak the truth and do not deceive one another, then our national prestige will be great. If we are dishonest and corrupt in our daily lives, everything

will go down. Do not think of other people's faults, every man must try himself to be good. No cake can be good if the flour is not good. Our people are the *atta* and the Government the *laddu*. If people are lazy, Government will be poor. When we were not free, we had many people to look after us. Now that we are a free nation each one must look after himself. If I am a gardener and if I am digging, now that our country is free, it should not be necessary to have an overseer above me to supervise my work. I should do the digging properly myself. If you have seen bees collecting honey, you will have noticed that each does its work and the hive becomes full. There are no supervisors over the bees. We must be independent of any supervision. We must be honest and industrious, each by himself. It should be the pride and honour of every workman in free India to do his work properly, without anybody goading him or threatening to punish him.

II

LAUNCHING OF S. S. "CHIDAMBARAM PILLAI"

FOR many centuries before the arrival of the European Powers, the merchants of India had been crossing the waters of the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean and trading overseas as far as China on the east and westward to Africa. The temples and the culture of the people of the islands of the Indian Ocean and of the near Pacific are witness to the adventure and the sustained intercourse maintained by the people of India with those places overseas. It was not till Columbus's time, fifteen centuries after Christ, that European seamen dared lose sight of the Coast. But Hindus were making ocean voyages before the Christian era. I am repeating what was said by Vice-Admiral W. E. Parry, our Naval Chief, on a recent occasion. Indians were trading with Egypt and the Roman Empire and crossing the Arabian Sea many years before Christ. There is ample evidence of this in Indian literature and art and in the works of the Greek and Roman historians.

Since the dawn of History, Hindus have crossed the Bay of Bengal and the waters of the Indian Ocean and colonised many Pacific Islands. Long be-

fore the Christian era, Hindus penetrated to Sumatra, Malaya, Indonesia and China. The Maurya Kings assumed as one of their regal titles the name of Lord of the Eastern Seas. Coming to more recent times, Fa Hien describes an ocean voyage in an Indian ship from Orissa to Ceylon, thence to the Nicobar Islands and to China through the Malacca Straits. This was in the fifth century A.D. It was in that same century that we established our rule in Malaya, Sumatra and Java. One dynasty or another of Hindus maintained this sea power in the Indian Ocean until the 14th century, when it passed to the Arabs.

During the Hindu period of sea supremacy there was complete freedom of route and navigation. Pirates were suppressed and the routes were kept open. We respected Dharma and claimed no monopoly. In fact the idea of claiming monopoly in sea-routes was unknown until the Portuguese did so in 1500 A.D. Until then Indians, Arabs and all other maritime people, were using the seas as an open international highway.

The Portuguese claim of sea-routes monopoly was stoutly opposed by the Zamorin of Calicut. Three sea-battles were fought in which the Zamorin lost and as a result, sea-supremacy passed to the Portuguese. This was in the early years of the sixteenth century. Naval officers think that these battles of 1503 and 1509 were more important in deciding the fate of India during the next four centuries, than Plassey and other land-battles.

During Sivaji's time there were battles between his fleets and the fleets of the Moghuls. So our

people are not new to sea-water. Anyone who has watched our fisher-folk, young and old, riding over the waves, can have no doubt that our boys are not different in potential capacity from the boys of England. Our boys are as nearly related to Varuna or Neptune as any other people of the world. As for modern navigation and scientific appliances, it is admitted that our boys have also been acquitting themselves very well. Therefore the dreams of Chidambaram Pillai and Subramania Bharati of loving memory, are aspirations bound to be fulfilled in our time.

Chidambaram Pillai was one with whom I had the honour and pleasure of fairly close association. May his spirit bless our enterprise to-day. This vessel will bear his famous name. I can imagine him looking at us with tears of joy, not unmixed with generous amusement. Here am I, inaugurating a shipping service from Tuticorin to Colombo with the co-operation of Messrs. Harveys and the B. I. S. N. Company and all the established authorities ruling India.

The house of Harvey and the people that ran the B. I. S. N. Company, looked upon Chidambaram Pillai as terrible enemy and got Mr. Pinhey to try him for sedition and sentence him to two sentences of transportation for life. The judgment was read all over India with indignation and horror. The High Court reduced the sentence to six years' imprisonment. This was some mitigation of the injustice done. His offence was that he made the people of Tuticorin say "Bande Mataram" and that he was present at the meetings addressed by Subramania Siva and fully sympathised with him when he said

that India should have Swaraj. This was forty years ago. They both suffered their six years and came out.

Lord Morley, the then Secretary of State, refused to accept the recommendation that Mr. Pinhay should be made a High Court Judge and he has written some very readable matter about it all in his Recollections.

The wheel has turned full circle. We have the Swaraj for which Subramania Siva and Chidambaram Pillai suffered and went to prison. A son of the house of Harvey of the Coral Mills is my host today and the B. I. S. N. Company have withdrawn their service in favour of the good ship bearing Chidambaram Pillai's name. The wrong done to Tuticorin has been righted, and I have great pleasure in inaugurating this service and I have the honour of giving the name of our dead valiant hero V. O. CHIDAMBARAM PILLAI to this ship that will carry our flag.

III

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

THERE is nothing more noble to the world than the work of Sisters engaged in the relief of pain and rendering the motherly assistance that is required to make medical help effective. As long as such work is being cheerfully done by an increasing body of our women, we may hope that the doctrine of love and compassion will one day be restored to its rightful place in the ordering of human life, in spite of so many seeming cruelties and obstacles.

When at the age of 34, Florence Nightingale went in 1854 to Crimea with a band of 38 nurses, the principles of hygiene had just begun to be understood. She applied these principles to Hospital administration, wrestling with all the difficulties she met with, which included the opposition of the Military Commissariat officials who looked upon her as a dangerous innovator who had come to disturb the even tenor of military administration. The death-rate in the barrack hospital was 42% in February, 1855. It was reduced to 2% in June of that year. Florence Nightingale remained in Crimea until the British evacuated Turkey in 1856.

Her work became the wonder story of the times.

Longfellow sang the legend in a poem. A battleship was ordered by the British Government to bring the heroine home and London prepared a royal reception for the lady. But she returned home in a fast French ship and crossed over to England and reached her home in the country before the news could leak out.

Florence Nightingale was an extraordinary soul, one of those spirits that are born from time to time to improve life on this planet. Sisters present here, this medal which Mrs. Dorothy Grace Hoard and Miss Mariamma Thomas will receive, is one which you should consider as belonging to the whole of your noble fraternity.

Since Florence Nightingale's time there have been great advances in medical knowledge, particularly in bacteriology, which have revolutionized nursing. It is now not merely a charitable service rendered under the encouragement of religious orders, but a vocation for which a strenuous scientific course of study and training has to be gone through. But unlike most other professions wherein skill and scientific training produce success, the avocation of Nursing requires a quality apart from skill and accurate knowledge.

The gentle and compassionate spirit with which all feminine hearts are naturally endowed is prone to dry up and be lost in the course of hard work and professional activities. But it is the spirit of love and pity, the urge to share in and alleviate pain, the mother's heart that is in every unspolited woman which, beyond all special training and scientific knowledge is the greatest equipment for a nurse. It does not

consist in polite speech but its home is in the heart and it shines in the eyes and makes the voice sweet in the ears of suffering. Keep this life-long spirit intact, sisters. Let science serve love and not smother it.

IV

EDUCATION AND PERSONALITY

PRIMARY education, whether it be reading, writing or arithmetic, or learning through work or through joy, whether the child be soaked in symbols and inured to bewilderment and pain from the earliest period of his life, or be allowed to deal with things, so that there is little difference between play and work and finding joy in both, whether we call our method Project Montessori, or Basic or any other dear name, the education of our children must be planned so as to suit our present conditions, for obviously we cannot change these in order to suit our pet ideas. If you sit down and apply common arithmetic to your plans and to the national income on which you must ultimately draw for their execution, you will find that most plans go to pieces in the process of calculation, and that, in sheer desperation, you will have to put your head ostrichlike into the sand, and refuse to see what is before you.

Elementary education is perhaps not very relevant to our function to-day, though it is not altogether unconnected with it. What *Samskriti* or culture can we hope to conserve if our children are not brought up well and wisely? In spite of all the

processes of unsettlement and the reform and re-organisation of society in India through Acts of Parliament and Welfare movements and associations, those threads of essential labour, on which the nation's life depends, have fortunately been kept unbroken by family tradition. Most children still assist in the work of their fathers and mothers and learn the family trade without school or institute and learn it well. Farmer, carpenter, cobbler, sweeper, smith, weaver, shopkeeper, cart-driver, all these millions of humble folk, unconscious of the ambitions and the ideologies of bigger people, carry on as if nothing were happening and so we live on. We may build our castles in the air with impunity, because the real house we live in down below has been maintained by the humble and the unlettered, unmindful of our endeavours at a higher level. The food is grown, the cloth is woven, the sheep are shorn, the cows are grazed, the shoes are stitched, the scavenging is done, the cart-wheels and the ploughs are built and repaired, because, thank God, the respective castes are still there and the homes are homes as well as trade schools and the parents are parents, as well as masters to whom the unambitious children are automatically apprenticed.

Under these conditions, which no one but a mad man would disturb, what is the plan we ought to follow in the elementary schools we have established and are adding to? Shall we force all children, that is those we can lay hands on, away from a family apprenticeship to the trades of their parents, and compel them to spend their time in the schools we have set up—and we know just how efficient they will be with all our efforts—and make it impossible

for them to learn the trades of their parents? They can learn them satisfactorily later on in life, nor can we hope to teach them in the schools which we are obliged to set up through hurriedly trained-teachers. The thought alarms me, for I see only too clearly the mischief that must result from such a step. Perhaps I am needlessly afraid. Quite a number of children may escape our tyranny, in which case their old system of family apprenticeship and traditional occupation will continue despite our efforts.

How can we reconcile our laudable aim of spreading education with the need for continuing traditional occupations and family apprenticeships? I am a moderate man, a man out for healthy appeasement of all kinds, and so I venture to suggest to the crusaders for compulsory primary education whether we cannot be content with three days in the week for schooling. During those three days you may do with the children just as you like. But give them a chance during the other four days to work with their parents. Let us see what happens. There would thus be an insurance against error. We shall, so to say, advance, while keeping the communications in the rear intact. Those who do not have to follow the trade of their parents, or whose parents distrust them for parasitism, or for government service, or for competition and gambling of various kinds, may use the four free days in any way they like. The humble folk will use these four days for training in the family occupation and schooling will occupy the other three days, which I think should be quite enough.

This would double the capacity of our schools

and our teachers, for it would mean they could take two sets of children in the week, leaving one day off for rest from labour.

The financial problem would be greatly eased by this arrangement and the pressure of symbols and word-building on the tender brains of the pupils would be less. The four days off would give time for recuperation and would furnish an opportunity for the boys and girls to assimilate and to apply and to benefit from the schooling. Indeed I think this would bring about an all round improvement both in the quality of the instruction and of the assimilation.

So much for primary education.

The colleges in India are full to over-flowing. At the beginning of every academic year there is a great scramble for admission, matriculates putting forward claims and counter-claims on all possible grounds, including caste and community. Judged from figures, our universities must be declared to be completely successful. Yet it must be confessed that almost everybody is certain that the universities as they are to-day are unsatisfactory. Professors, students, members of our Parliament, the general public and various Public Service Commissions, are all agreed that the stuff manufactured in the universities is by no means good enough. The demands of the States are not met, although as far as numbers go there is no question of insufficiency. There is, however, deplorable inadequacy in quality.

Democracy's claims and all-embracing pretensions notwithstanding, sound leadership is the fundamental of national achievement and it must come from the products of our universities. We cannot

seek for it elsewhere. From time to time, a revolutionary leader or saint may appear as by a miracle in the history of a nation and reshape its affairs and its character. But the day-to-day work that is required for the steady evolution of progress depends on a continuous supply of leaders who can manage men and guide the affairs of a people, and this does not belong to the realm of miracles. We want, not one, but thousands of men of character in the thousands of districts throughout the country. It would be no exaggeration to admit that the gap between the needs of the times and the quality of the supply from our universities, is a yawning gulf.

The men and women who come out as graduates have to learn everything and personality has still to be shaped after they obtain employment. This is most unsatisfactory when the burden and responsibility of the public services have increased beyond the wildest imagination of the previous generation of our public men. The most important equipment that a young man must get before he leaves his university is personality, not learning, but character. Unfortunately the atmosphere of our colleges is far too much vitiated by intellectual and moral confusion for anything like this to be attempted. There is not that guidance available which is essential for the building up of personality in the young men and women who study in them. Their brain power is of a very high order and a tremendous quantity of learning is put in, but the essential stuff is wanting. The explanation offered is that there is so much intellectual and moral confusion in the world around them that this is reflected in the universities. But is it enough for universities to reflect outside confusion.

instead of making up for it? The function of the universities must be to reform, not to represent society proportionately but to do something to restore moral values and intellectual orderliness where there is anarchy.

I once again emphasise, that the universities must give the nation the leaders, teachers and administrators who are required in this complicated age to fulfil the duties devolving on the State and to guide society in its cultural life. Folly must be replaced by reason, passion must be put aside in favour of reflection, ideals must be installed where caprices govern, in fact principles must prevail, not opportunism. All this cannot be accomplished for us through some mighty miracle. It is the function of universities to produce the young men and women who will be able to find joy and fulfilment of spirit by guiding the people up this glorious mountain path.

The young men of to-day are the sport of random and confused thought that finds expression in ephemeral printed matter of whose undependability even the victims are not unaware. In the great experiment which, in the evolution of her destiny, India has undertaken to make in our generation, there is nothing more unfortunate than the present state of our colleges and universities. They were planned and built in a past generation and it is no fault of theirs if they do not suit our times, and have not gained, but rather suffered, by the revolutionary technique that was evolved for the speedy attainment of freedom.

Had our philosophy and our culture, which formed the great bulwark which protected India through past ages been intact, the mischief arising out of the

inadequacy of our universities might have been of relative unimportance. If our Vedantic culture had been kept alive, not in scholarship alone, but in the hearts of men and in their deeper understanding, no deficiency in school or college education would have resulted in serious harm. Unfortunately, this ancient inheritance has become a rapidly diminishing asset. Little of it I fear is left now. Otherwise we should not be witnessing the vast quantity of greed and selfishness that have made the aims of our National Government so difficult of achievement. The discipline and restraint and the sense of moral values which Vedantic culture implies, have been almost completely jettisoned by the steady and unrelenting educational plans pursued during the last fifty years, which, alas, did not furnish us with anything in place of the old inheritance that was thrown overboard.

All learning should develop personality, otherwise it is worthless in every sense. On the other hand, if this aspect of university aims be kept in mind, every variety of study will be rich in fruit. Be it science, technical training, economics, history, law, domestic science, or whatever else it may be, it would—each one of these—be an ample field for making a boy or girl a leader of men, provided that, along with intellectual equipment, the development of personality received attention.

I am not unaware of the difficulty of providing moral training. We cannot get the right type of personalities to live and move among the youth gathered in the universities, whose very lives and deportment, without direct instruction or the compulsion of discipline, would be an inspiration. We get

teachers who are vastly competent in every other respect, but the greatest reluctance is generally felt in introducing anything in the scheme of school or college education which may be mistaken for denominational religious teaching. One must recognise the validity of the reasons and apprehensions that lead to this, but we cannot afford to exaggerate our fears and rest content with doing nothing.

The crisis is far too real and grave. We cannot take a simple negative attitude on account of our hesitations. I feel that there is a way to achieve our object. A comprehensive scheme for the creation of opportunities to study and understand various religions and philosophies, including that which goes by the name of classical humanism in the Western universities, namely, the thoughts of Greece and Rome, would, taken together, furnish an atmosphere and an incentive which would enable our boys and girls to seize the truth and to assimilate the culture and philosophy of our own land, without any exclusive or direct effort organised for that purpose. The indirect approach may achieve that which cannot be directly undertaken. Let our boys be encouraged to interest themselves in the literatures of Christianity, Judaism, Islam, and the classics of Greece and Rome. Then, without being asked to do so, they will recapture the Vedanta for themselves, for it is still available for recapture by anyone born in India and who is blessed with enlightened pride.

When straying from the studies prescribed for me when I was young, I read Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress*, and chapters in the Old and New Testaments of the Bible, and later I acquainted myself with the thoughts of Socrates, Marcus Aurelius and Brother

Lawrence, and although no one incited me to it, the joy and reverence which these things induced, turned me towards the *Upanishads*, the *Gita* and the *Mahabharata*. All spiritual search is one and God blesses it wherever and by whomsoever it is done. If I am to-day a devout, though very imperfect Hindu Vedantin, it is no less due to my contact with some of the sacred books of other people, than to the contemplation of what our own great ancestors have left us. Not by total exclusion from all religious and spiritual thought, but by an all-embracing acquaintance with and appreciation of spiritual thought of all kinds, shall we be safe and shape ourselves properly.

I have said all this believing it to be somewhat relevant to this occasion. I congratulate Mr. Munshi and all his good and eminent co-workers and associates of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan on their splendid achievement, of which the opening of this new mansion is an additional landmark of progress. I feel much honoured in having had something to do with it, however symbolic.

May the labours of the Vidya Bhavan in the cause of culture find their true fulfilment.

WAYS AND MEANS

THERE are people here, as well as in other countries, who think that the conception of the Welfare State and the policies flowing therefrom have dislocated the economic structure on which national prosperity is founded and if they are persisted in they will lead to indolence and ruin. There are others who feel that any alternative must be preferred to the grinding exploitation and inequalities to which capitalist economy leads, and that the cry raised against socialist policies and their consequences is interested and selfish and no more than an intrigue to keep the moneyed classes in power. I am not going to weary you with an exposition of either of these doctrines; whether it is best to maintain the economy of private enterprise and to plan to reduce its evils, or whether it is better to adopt socialist policies and to devise steps to overcome those evils that attend them.

Now the Welfare State may be good or bad, but *welfare* itself is essential and there is no doubt but that we must work for it if we are to deserve the independence we have achieved.

Various things have happened which should perhaps be set out broadly. No one can deny that the

standard of life of the masses of our people was low and required to be raised. Whatever else may have been necessary, the income of the toilers had to be raised as a first step and as a step necessary to inspire all else. This has been done. The national income has come to be redistributed more favourably among the workers and farmers. As the result of a series of measures, a great part of what used to go into the coffers of owners, employers, landlords and so on, has now been taken down to the basement and distributed in larger wages and earnings among the workers and farmers.

But a great deal more needs to be done by the State and for this it not only requires to be kept going, but to be made strong for fresh efforts. The annual expenditure on administration and the preservation of law and order, for the maintenance of the public institutions necessary for a normal national life and for the security of the country against internal disorders and crimes, as well as external dangers—all this in a large country with a numerous and not too homogeneous population—amounts to a good big sum. It costs a poor nation just as much as it does a rich one to maintain an efficient army, or an efficient set of hospitals, or a good system of roads and railways. Someone must pay for all this. The rich used to pay when they were happy. Now *we*—may I use the first person plural, it comes more naturally?—now *we* have to pay for it. Those who share the bulk of the national income must necessarily bear the burden of State finance. Let this not frighten anybody. Just as each of us got only a little extra, though the total redistributed was much, we can amass a lot by pay-

ing a little each, for we are so many and we are interested in the maintenance of ordered government.

Again, it is not enough to carry on just as we were doing before. We have to develop our resources. We must build new dams, new power houses, new steel works, and expand other basic industries. For these we require what is called capital, that is to say, we must put down money for the initial expenditure which will yield an income and serve to make life happier for future generations.

Now there is nothing strange in our not being able to finance military campaigns and river valley projects of gigantic size, out of revenues and revenue balances. Capital and military expenditure to meet crises must be met from sources other than current revenue. In the old days the rich folk at the top of the economic structure acted as reservoirs. When the State required money for capital or war expenditure, the Sahukars invested their surplus money in Government loans carrying a small interest. They greedily bought up Government Bonds whenever they were issued, because such investment served to earn interest for idle money and was also a measure of safety for those who were concerned in industrial and commercial businesses involving risk. We allowed the rich to earn large sums and the money stayed with them and they invested it in Government Bonds.

If we do not use up all the rain that pours down from the clouds, but allow it to collect and stay in reservoirs, we can draw from them when and as we require water. But now, as I have explained, we have taken all the wealth down to lower levels and, so to say, scattered it among the people. The hungry soil absorbs all the water that falls to the share of

each parched square inch. In the same way, the national income which has been distributed in the form of larger wages and earnings among our poor farmers and workers, does not come back into the national pool for capital expenditure. With all its evils and patent injustices, the old order had its advantages in this respect. Money-makers are habituated to miserliness and accumulated wealth has an inherent tendency to remain unspent. As it was, even though most of the wealthy lived in an expensive style, they were few in number, and the total waste was not much. The result was that there was a large accumulation of savings, which were invested and ploughed back into industry, or development plans, or national loans. Money that goes into wages has, by reason of the relatively smaller quantum of the unit, a natural tendency to stick where it goes or to evaporate. It does not offer itself for fresh investment. This is an inevitable consequence of a wider distribution.

This does not mean that a wider distribution is bad and that the poor must remain poor, or that the traditional economy is the only proper economy. It only demonstrates that we must evolve a new technique for the raising of money for capital expenditure. We must go to the poor for the money required. In the old days, underwriters and banks and big combines of wealthy people took up all the loans issued by Government and the thing was over in a single day between the hours of eleven and one and sometimes less than that. But when the national income is distributed on a broader basis, and when the rich are taxed up to the maximum and they can no longer save legitimately but must, in order to live in ease

and luxury, draw on past accumulations, or adopt devious methods, we cannot hope to finance capital expenditure in the old ways. The poor have taken over the State and therefore the poor must help to make up the money wanted for development plans. If the workers and farmers do not consider themselves as partners and co-operators in the State, all development will have to stop, for no one else will, or can, pay for it.

Future welfare must be built on solid foundations. We must each lend a little, and as we are so many, we can get together quite a lot of money in that way. If a rich trader's business is taken over by the consumers and a Co-op. is formed, the consumers must each lend a little to replenish the stock and expand the business, and make the Co-op. a flourishing concern. So, if the State is to be a Welfare State, as well as a prosperous and growing State, it is necessary that the poor should make it their business to put money into National Savings Certificates. The holding of National Savings Certificates must be looked upon with pride as a kind of national decoration. It is a gallant act to put part of your money, though you are poor, into the hands of the State. Your National Savings Certificate is therefore as good as a decoration for gallantry. The State is your own and your little sum of money is safe there for your children. The State pays a handsome interest on the loans it carries. A hundred rupees becomes one hundred and fifty rupees, if you leave it there till your baby grows to the age of twelve. But interest apart, should we not enable our Government to develop the country? This they cannot do unless they build bridges, dams, reservoirs and power houses. and these

require preliminary expenditure which must be met from National Savings.

Let us all begin to think nobly and wisely. We have a new order to build up. Let us not be poor and unwise, but as we improve our income let us improve our minds also. Let us not be exploited by clever people. Exploitation by intellectuals who wish to break up the State, is as bad as exploitation by the rich. We must trust the State, though we may suspect everybody else. Millions of men and women cannot live together in peace without a strong and stable State. The National Government deserves and requires your help. You should make it strong, so that it may function confidently and efficiently.

There are very simple rules as to how to deal with these National Certificates. You can take your money back any time you like without waiting for the full period. On the amount so drawn you will not get any further interest, but you will continue to earn interest on the balance. If you leave a good amount to grow bigger and bigger, as you add to your account out of fresh earnings, you will stand on your own legs and no one will be able to exploit you. But if you do not do this, you will not only not be doing that which you ought to do for your own children but by refusing to go to the aid of your Government, you will be abetting those whose aim it is to bring about a set-back in our affairs. You will ruin the establishment of a Welfare State and have only a police State.

There are people who argue stoutly that there can be no flow of money except from the rich and therefore, in order to finance capital expenditure, the rich must be kept rich. Workers and farmers should in their own interest disprove this theory and

make national development schemes their own by assisting as I have explained. The small sums that the millions can contribute will make a larger total than some of the loans that were raised in former days when the rich treated them as their own affair.

Farmers and wage-earners, the Sahukars have gone under. Rise to the occasion by realising your new status. You are the new clientele of the Reserve Bank of Free India. I have talked about money matters. If it flows freely in good channels, money is the token of co-operation. Free-flowing money will bring about our triumph over the difficulties we face in our march to welfare. Ravana had secured a boon of invincibility against all the Gods and monsters of the world, but God took the shape of a humble man who had been forgotten by Ravana. God came down as man and went through all the incidents of human life, jealousy, exile, misfortune, trials and griefs, yet man triumphed over Ravana in the end. This is *Vijaya Dasami* the people throughout our motherland celebrate today. May you all have good luck and honour.

VI

GITA JAYANTI CELEBRATIONS

SOME people seek to misinterpret the *Gita*, in order to find justification in its teachings for crimes of violence. They concentrate on the battle scene. Their favourite chapter is the preliminary chapter and these people extract from Sri Krishna's teaching the doctrine of killing without compunction. There can be no greater error than this.

The *Gita* chapter in the *Mahabharata* begins by describing the agitation of Arjuna when he saw men arrayed on either side for mutual slaughter; and into this scene is fitted the exposition of Hindu Dharma. In spite of the beauty and appropriateness of the battle background conceived by the teacher who gave the *Gita*, we should take the *Gita* as a *Scripture* of Hinduism complete in itself, and not as a mere episode in the Kurukshetra battle.

The text which is chiefly relied upon for the interpretation of the *Gita* as a *Scripture* of violence is:

¹ *Antavanta ime dehā*
nityasyoktāḥ śarīriṇaḥ |
anāśīno'prameyasya
tasmād yuddhyasva bhārata ||

¹ अन्तवन्त इमे देहा नित्यस्योक्ताः शरीरिणः ।
अनाशिनोऽप्रमेयस्य तस्माद्युध्यस्व भारत ॥

¹*Ya enam vetti hantāram
yaś cāinam manyate hataṁ |
Ubhāu tāu na vijānīto
nā'yam hanti na hanyate ||*

²*Na jāyate mriyate vā kadācin
nā'yam bhūtvā bhavitā vā na bhūyaḥ |
ajo nityaḥ śāśvato'yam purāṇo
na hanyate hanyamāne śarīre ||*

These mantras mean:

'These bodies have an end in which dwells the permanent, indestructible and intangible spirit. Fight therefore without concern. It is equally ignorant to regard the Soul as slaying or being slain. The Soul neither kills nor is killed. The Self is not born nor does the Self die. Nor having once been, does the Spirit at any time cease to be. The Soul is unborn, unchanging, ever-abiding and is not killed when the body is killed.'

Now let us go back for a moment to a more ancient Scripture, the *Kathopanishad*. The Rishi that gave the *Kathopanishad* long before the *Gita* narrated what Yama said to Nachiketas:

³*Na jāyate mriyate vā vipaścin
nāyam kutaścin na babhūva kaścit |
ajo nityaḥ śāśvato'yam purāṇo
na hanyate hanyamāne śarīre ||*

¹ य एनं वेत्ति हन्तारं यश्चैनं मन्यते हतम् ।
उभौ तौ न विजानीतो नायं हन्ति न हन्यते ॥

² न जायते म्रियते वा कदाचिन्नायं भूत्वा भविता वा न भूयः ।
अजो नित्यः शाश्वतोऽयं पुराणो न हन्यते हन्यमाने शरीरे ॥

³ न जायते म्रियते वा विपश्चिन्
नायं कुतश्चिन्न बभूव कश्चित् ।
अजो नित्यः शाश्वतोऽयं पुराणो
न हन्यते हन्यमाने शरीरे ॥

'You are not born, nor do you die. You did not come from anything else, nor were made out of something other than yourself. You are unborn, eternal, everlasting and have always existed. You are not slain, though the body is slain.'

There was no battle context in the Kathopanishad and yet these verses are there, almost in the very words we find in the Gita. The Gita is not just an apology for war but it inculcates the doctrine of duty in general.

In our own *yuga*, Gandhiji, while holding the reins of a great political struggle, also taught in his own way the path of work and worship. The *Gita* was reborn in our time through the mouth of Gandhiji. Let us not merely utter the words, but revere the teaching. True reverence for the *Gita* lies in a sincere daily reflection on its substance and in shaping the mind and actions accordingly.

VII

MANUAL WORK

THE concern of the universities has been defined by an eminent authority as the discovery and passing on of knowledge. The functions of institutions vary, like the duties of individuals, with the time and place and sum-total of the context in which the institutions function. Relativity affects duties and functions, even as it affects everything else in the physical world.

It is attractive to treat the universities of India as being concerned with scientific and philosophic research like their sister universities in the advanced western countries. But universities have grown to be something definite in India and it is not wise or economical, even if it were practicable, to try to alter their settled character. Research is done to some extent and should be undertaken in greater measure. But without detriment to this essentially intensive work undertaken by a few, the main body of students in our colleges are a charge on the university for a more general purpose.

The function of the universities in India today is, more than anything else, to set the standard of behaviour for the cultured among us and to equip our

young men and women with the intellectual and moral equipment needed for active leadership in all walks of life and throughout the country. I am not addressing the young men of the University at this convocation, but I take this opportunity to express my affectionate interest in them and to appeal to them to shape their activities in such a way as to help to increase in the coming times the material and moral wealth of India.

The adventure of constructive work in a free country aspiring to do well should be no less attractive to youth than was the call of independence during the national struggle. Every department of life in free India requires sacrifice and the spirit of service. There is great work before our young men and women to which the new status of our country calls them in every station and rank of life. We have already seen disappointments and defects enough to make us realise that there is a greater need for courage and sacrifice in constructive work than was even demanded in the struggle for independence. Let us not be depressed or down-hearted on account of these disappointments, but with confidence in our moral and intellectual inheritance, work and make the needed sacrifices for the good of those who will come after us.

India has raised great expectations among the statesmen of the world. Gandhiji's glorious life and leadership contributed to this expectation of greatness. India can achieve nothing but what is contributed by its parts. So Mysore cannot give unless the young men and women of the universities make up their minds to do their part. I am shortly laying down my office. If in my retirement I learn that the people of Mysore are being led by good and able men and

that the University is turning out a queue of such men awaiting their turn to serve when the older men retire, nothing will give me greater pleasure.

But in this context I must re-emphasize once more what I have often pressed on the attention of educationists and parents. It is a mistake to think that the human mechanism of thinking receives adequate educational help through students only. Manual work is of the greatest importance in any scheme of education. In the years of childhood, it is the reaction to the external physical world that enables the child's talents to be evolved and to grow, and this is secured more by work and play than by a disproportionate concentration on the acquisition of the capacity to deal with written symbols. In the later years of education also, actual contact with the external, be it in worship, or in the laboratory, or on the playing field, is of the greatest importance as a necessary supplement to knowledge through words, written or spoken, lectures or books.

Much courageous readjustment and discarding of traditional notions is necessary if what I have stated is to be put into practice. If I ask that boys and girls should work, either in the home or elsewhere, while attending school, it is not because I want to save national funds, though that itself would not be bad, but because I feel that a substantial part of education is missed by the present methods. Work would cure that defect.

Incidentally, manual work has lost much of its proper appraisal by reason of its total elimination from the educational schemes of the middle and upper classes. The restoration of its proper dignity to

manual work is a national necessity. The equipment for leadership in our country in the present state of our affairs, in the highest as well as in the lower ranks, will be most usefully completed if a programme of manual work is made part of high school and university education. If the educational authorities cannot move quickly enough in this matter, I appeal to the young men and women themselves to volunteer to devote a part of their time, when at school or college, to useful work with their hands and feet, and this not in order to help other people so much as to complete their own education.

VIII

FELLOWSHIP OF FAITHS

WORDS are dangerous things, the greatest danger being that they make us imagine that we understand things when we really do not understand them. Words act like a musical rhythm and we are apt to listen to them without fully understanding their meaning. One of these days I hope we shall be able to deal with such subjects through mediums which do not merely make a musical effect on the mind through the ears, but that will go straight to the heart of our people. It would only be then that we could benefit by conferences on such subjects.

If you try to translate the word 'toleration' into any one of our own languages in India you will find it hard to hit it off exactly. We have no exact term for what is implied by religious toleration. But because we have no word for toleration which exactly conveys the sense, it does not mean that we are intolerant. On the contrary, it may mean that since our whole attitude to religion is based on tolerance, we have no special word for it. It is only when a man is without something that he has constantly to refer to it. As far as I am aware, there is no reference in our religious literature to the attitude of mind which is denoted by the word 'toleration' and, as I have just

said, I attribute it to the fact that our religion has always been based upon the spirit to which we refer when we use the word.

As was very ably explained by Swami Ranganathan, tolerance of a negative character is different from that which is implied when we use it in the present context of the Congress of Fellowship of Faiths. We tolerate and do not quarrel with one another, but let people do what they like within the limits of their liberties—that is the tolerance which is implied in any secular scheme of good citizenship. If you are not tolerant in a good secular State, you will be sent to prison, but when as was pointed out by Swamiji, you refer to tolerance in a fellowship of faiths, you mean something active.

There is all the difference in the world between the conviction of mind which backs your faith in a particular approach to the mystery of the universe, when that conviction is supplemented by arrogance and when it is mitigated by humility. A conviction that is supplemented by humility of approach creates tolerance. A conviction that is strengthened by arrogance creates intolerance. I have seen very good people in the course of my life—highly religious and pious people—whose whole external manner and behaviour are consistent with piety and devotion, but who are unfortunately convinced in a way which makes for arrogance. This leads to an intolerance which finds an outlet in many of the things that they do. I have also seen the other type of conviction, where the conviction is no less strong, but where the approach is accompanied by a full realisation of the limitations of the individual mind and knowledge,

and this produces humility, kindness and good understanding.

In our country, whatever the causes may be, our ancient religion became divided up into so many denominations in the course of time and was handled by such a variety of good and powerful minds, that the need for humility was soon discovered. In other countries, religions became imbued with the missionary purpose of convincing other people of the truth of a new faith, and the eternal conflict between that conviction and the resistance of the people around them, produced a militant attitude. In our country, the very variety of denominational differences produced an atmosphere which developed tolerance. While in other scriptures you will find an insistence on the certainty of certain dogmas or opinions, in ours you will find, even in the earliest records, an emphasis on the doctrine that all paths lead to God and truth. There is nothing in any ~~other~~ scripture corresponding to what we find in the relevant slokas in the *Bhagavad Gita*.

I do not mean by this that other scriptures do not insist on tolerance. Every religion insists on tolerance, but it is of a negative and secular kind. In our religion, in our *Bhagavad Gita*, particular emphasis is laid on the truth that all paths lead to God, and it is an article of faith that you should believe, among other things, that whatever be the form of worship a man may follow, God can be reached by him, even as you can reach Him through the method prescribed in the Hindu scriptures. This is a part of the Hindu faith itself.

The *Gita* says with reference to differing forms

of faith that every faith leads to *Iswara* and so, one should not be proud or arrogant. There is a great difference between a positive approach and the mere negative approach of live and let-live. I hope that the sitting of this Congress of Faiths in our country will result in special emphasis on and attention to this aspect of tolerance.

Ultimately, anybody who is intolerant will be brought to his senses, because the world will not tolerate intolerant people. People who are busy quarrelling with others will find themselves condemned by the opinion of the world. But that is only the negative aspect of Tolerance. It is another thing to realise as an article of piety that all approaches to the mystery of the world are worthy and sufficient. This has been stressed in explicit terms in the *Bhagavad Gita* and it should be our endeavour to see that this spirit spreads, and that we do not lose it in religious arrogance.

The conflict between science and religion has for some time been so important that it is likely to dominate everything else in such a conference. We are not dealing with the conflict between science and religion in this Congress. We should not look upon this Fellowship of Faiths as a mere mutual alliance of all faiths to fight a common enemy named science. That may be quite a good plan, but it will not create a fellowship of faiths, any more than treaties between aggressive nations will make for a prospective world peace.

If you are anxious to fight science, either together or singly, that is a different matter. But keep this before the Congress, namely that we should

learn to be fellows to one another because all religions lead to the same truth, and that we should practise humility and not that form of conviction which can rather be called the arrogance of dogmatism. If we could put the sugar of humility into the milk of conviction, we should get the *amrit* we want.

IX

FUNDAMENTAL RESEARCH

‘SINCE I came to India we have spent upon repairs at Agra alone a sum of between £40,000 and £50,000. Every rupee has been an offering of reverence to the past and a gift of recovered beauty to the future; and I do not believe that there is a tax-payer in this country who will grudge one anna of the outlay.’

This is a very fine utterance over which we shall ponder. There are many things which help progress indirectly and that are no less important than works of direct utility. We should be aware that money spent on fairs and festivities, is money invested for law and order. In the same way money spent on fundamental research is not money wasted on empty prestige, but is a good and necessary investment which progressive nations do well not to grudge. When we reach a critical point in anything, it is only science that can help us.

Take, for instance, the problem of food in India. It would be most wonderful if research could help us to develop a strain of rice that had shed its wasteful inherited habit of wallowing neck-deep in water. Some plant-expert will one day produce a variety of

paddy which, though of good quality, will be emancipated from this appetite for more water than it requires. We might then be able to raise an abundant crop of high-grade rice without gigantic irrigation works. Where there is plenty of rain, let the old rice-plant carry on with its wallowing in water like the buffalo, but where there is not much rain, we may have another kind of rice-plant which will yield all we want, but not demand water beyond what it requires for the building of its tissues.

In Canada, the wheat-breeding experts worked persistently until they chanced upon a seed which could cope with the frost better than the normal varieties and at once the width of cultivation was extended northwards by some miles. Extension by only a few miles northwards gave a vast breadth of wheat fields stretching across the whole continent.

This and other such things cannot be done unless we encourage and give the uttermost freedom to research. Even the Coimbatore sugarcane variety came, I believe, by a kind of accident. Science will not be a slave in chains. True to the feminine type, the Goddess of Science rejects the direct mercenary approach and prefers to be gracious by her own choice and only when you approach her for her own sake. If we limit the efforts and operations of scientific men to strictly utilitarian plans and schemes, we may achieve small and useful routine results, but the biggest discoveries are never made in that way. They are made, so to say, by accident and indirectly, and then the discovery produces an enormous gift for human progress and happiness.

I do not believe that in 1895, when X-rays were

discovered—I was then a lad at college and I remember my professor showing me the back of his hands made hairless by working with the new rays—I do not believe that anybody could then have imagined all the wonderful purposes associated with medicine in which these rays have been found progressively useful. It would be un wisdom to limit scientific research. It is a good investment to give as much money as we can to those eminent men who are devoted to the research for truth. Those who are engaged in great scientific research belong to the same class as our old Rishis.

Of course I am not unaware that sometimes these discoveries of fundamental scientists are seized on by Satan for the infliction of more miseries on mankind than he is now subjected to, and in this respect the atom has been a great offender. On the one hand, poor Einstein is working on the Expanding Universe and giving us equations which are hieroglyphics to me, but must be a wonderful joy to mathematicians. Einstein's expanding Universe can do us no great immediate damage. There is no harm in these equations. On the other hand, however, those eminent scientists who worship at the altar of the Infinitesimal, have brought the world precipitously near destruction. The offender is not really the Atom. It is the business of statesmen to agree to prevent the misuse of Truth.

Research is very often a game of looking for a needle in a haystack. Scientists may seem to be idling their time away and wasting plenty of money. But the needle can only be found by a particular individual if many are engaged in what seems to be profitless work. Of course we should not have

wholehearted idlers. It is permitted for scientists to seem to be idle, but there are real idlers, who should be ostracised. The search for truth must go on and India should put in her share of work in Science and take her share of fame in return. If the scientists of India make up their minds, they can raise India's prestige to a degree which will more than make up for any failures or defects in other fields. There is no medium for international prestige as effective as scientific research. Our laboratories are our best embassies.

'Flowers in the crannied wall,' sang Tennyson, 'I pluck you out of the crannies. I hold you here in my hand, root and all, little flower. But if I could understand what you are, root and all, and all in all, I should know what God and man are.'

Men of Science, on account of their knowledge of some of the secrets of Nature, contemplate with increased humility and reverence that which must ever remain outside the pale of human analysis.

May the love of Truth for its own sake, the spirit of investigation in all its vigour, and the good wishes of all those assembled here on this occasion, inspire those who will work in this laboratory.

INVINCIBILITY OF GENTLENESS

HOW unconvincing the assertion contained in the title would have been before the Gandhian epoch! Yet to-day it runs the risk of being trite and unimpressive.

Christ, and before him Socrates and the Indian philosophers, taught the *dharma* of gentleness and laid it down as the right way of life. But Gandhiji emphasized its effectiveness in achieving good ends even more than its ethical rightness. Born into an age of political and social conflict and thrown into the whirl of activities round those conflicts, he could not leave the doctrine of gentleness at the old point where it has stood from time immemorial and in all religions, but he put it on the wheels of dynamic worldly affairs and exclaimed, 'Here is the quickest and surest vehicle for all men; climb ye, all doubters, and see if what I say be not true.'

He demonstrated his plea by obtaining, through gentleness, the political freedom of India. It now remains for us to achieve glory by demonstrating that not only political emancipation, but order, prosperity and happiness, can also be attained through gentleness.

The sun is seen by us through sunshine. The

thunder in the clouds is felt by us through the waves of sound that comes through the air. Our senses can only apprehend reality through light, or sound, or smell, or when we cannot touch it. All or most of us, accept God's universal presence, but we none of us have sense-perception in respect of God. We appeal to reason, or we depend on faith in regard to the reality of God's presence.

Now, does not God radiate something, as the sun or a church bell radiates light or sound? Indeed I think He does and that love is God's sunshine. The mother's joy, the lover's bliss, the sweetness of every smile, the invincibility of gentleness—all these are nothing but the sunshine of God, who is everywhere throwing out His light, which we enjoy without knowing wherefrom it comes, or of what stuff it is made.

There are two ways of achieving anything, by force, or by gentleness. Force may attain its object, but leaves hatred behind. Force induces a resistance which may be overcome, but leaves behind something that robs the achievement of its pleasure. Gentleness dissolves all resistance and its divine quality makes it invincible. Who can resist God? Gentleness, which is His sunshine, is irresistible and always wins.

Every moment we have direct personal experience of the marvellous effect of kindness from others; yet we forget it and indulge in harsh deeds and unkind speech. So sang the Tamil poet who wrote twenty centuries ago:

'Truly it is strange that people speak harshly when they themselves have felt and experienced the joy that kindly speech begets. When gentle words are available, why do men

choose the word that hurts? Is it not foolish to pick unripe berries when ripe ones can be had for the plucking?'

The speech of enlightened men, says the same wise old poet, consists of 'truth soaked in affection.' Gentleness of speech is not pleasant falsehood, but that which is spoken by men who know the whole truth, and who, not misled by dry dogmas, are moved by overflowing affection towards the person addressed and therefore find the words that save truth from harshness.

Like heat, light, electricity or magnetism, love is also a form of universal energy. It is God's force, which shows itself in smiles and laughter, in kindness and charity, in gentleness invincible.

XI

TO THE PEOPLE OF MADRAS

I WAS sworn in to-day as Chief Minister of the State of Madras. May I say a few words to you before I enter on my duties and ask for a blessing? You are all aware of the circumstances under which the leadership of the Congress Party in Madras and the office of Premier for this State have been placed on my shoulders. I had planned and was living in anticipatory fancy in my garden of peace when suddenly the situation developed as it did and down came this like a bolt from the blue. The unanimous demand of the Congress Legislature Party reinforced by the insistent appeal of all its senior members created an immediate situation which I could not callously resist. The alternative would have been a denial of all the principles which I have been declaring and preaching as to the sacredness and nobility of all work such as one is imperatively called upon to perform for the community. It is no doubt recklessness for me to undertake this task which, as a friend observed in a letter to me, involves more than one of the labours of Hercules. But it is a recklessness compelled by duty.

I am old and can therefore claim the traditional right to respect and consideration

on that account. I depend very much on this to make up for the necessary deficiencies arising out of my age. I cannot run about the country accepting invitations to all sorts of functions as a young or middle-aged man could do. When I scanned the letters and messages of joy that have inundated me this week, I trembled with fear. "How can I expect to be able to fulfill the great hopes roused by this event?", I asked myself. But something within me said, "Why do you fear? Have you lost faith in God? Surrender yourself to Him and all will be well". The affectionate and almost superstitious confidence that I read in the numerous messages received by me indicate a countrywide fresh psychology which, I trust, will be in itself an asset. I referred the other day to agriculture and character. In respect of one of these, namely, character, there is nothing wanted from outside but one's own mind to be made up. I think our people have got tired of *adharma* and may God help them to resolve firmly and well. If I could see an improvement in the moral atmosphere around us, it would be the greatest joy of my life, and I shall not mind the travail and the risk involved in this strange, sudden event in my life.

I ask you all for your whole-hearted co-operation with me and every one of my colleagues. Do not think in terms of castes and groups, political, professional or otherwise. It is only the general confidence that has been shown in me that sustains me in this, my perilous adventure. I feel I shall have the goodwill of all good and patriotic people and their sincere co-operation in their respective spheres, be it in the Government Offices or in the bazaars or in other

places where the public are served; from those engaged in Government Service or in trades or in industries, or leading their quiet and useful lives as citizens, especially those engaged in raising the food the people live on and those engaged in building up the minds of boys and girls either as parents or as teachers.

Let there be a silent but determined war against evil thoughts and indecency of speech or action or entertainments, and against all forms of exploitation for selfish ends. Let every father and mother realise and remember that the good name of Madras will serve our children better than anything else we can make and provide for them. Let us try to recover this which I fear we have lost. The totality of character or reputation of the State is made up of individual behaviours which are entirely in the hands of each one of us. Always let us realise the immediate presence of God everywhere and at every moment. This is a fact and not a fable. Do not believe anything said about anybody without hearing the other side. Every responsible citizen should consider himself a judge bound by the fundamental laws of fairplay which are really the same as what is embodied in judicial procedure minus the formalities. Let us not slander one another. To slander others is not a form of public service or a substitute for our own good behaviour. May all our efforts be to raise ourselves and not to pull others down.

My acceptance of this task has rightly or wrongly evoked general rejoicing. It has also received the approval of group leaders although expressed grudgingly and guardedly. It is also an encouraging

circumstance that it has roused full-throated resentment in certain quarters, which makes me think paradoxically that I have probably done right. I appeal to everyone to relax from angry moods and tensions and fill their minds with patriotic devotion. Let us leave for our children a fairly happy Madras as an inheritance. Not property, but order, security and good government are the biggest wealth for the boys and girls whom we leave behind us. All property gains or loses value according to this great and important coefficient of wealth, namely, order and security. No violent changes will produce good. To wipe out large masses of people and indoctrinate the remaining citizens for two or three generations would be to produce a picture of homogenous comfort which we could exhibit in photographs and on the silver screen. But this would be no good. Means as well as ends should be good.

Indeed, ends are in the hands of God but we are responsible for the rightness of the means we employ. We are not responsible for ends attained, but we are fully responsible for the means we employ.

Brothers and sisters, pray for rain; pray for the poor and distressed in our land. There is no problem in our politics other than the problem of poverty and distress. No man can be happy when people around him are in distress.

XII

FROM PARTY SPIRIT TO DEMOCRACY

MAY I at the outset wish you all a happy and prosperous New Year. Those who have spoken to-day have made references to rain. My appeal to the people made over the air to pray for rain was not an empty formality. I made that appeal realising its full significance. Scientific knowledge and human ingenuity have taken us far and enabled us to achieve many things including the discovery of weapons of destruction. But human ingenuity is incapable of inducing the rain to fall on earth. For that we must have divine grace. I have complete faith in the efficacy of prayer and have no doubt whatsoever that what cannot be achieved otherwise can be achieved by prayer. It is only this faith and the confidence in the outcome of prayer that help to keep up the moral standards of society. Otherwise, men would have become more debased than animals. If we pray for the interests of the common good and not for ourselves, those prayers will surely be heard and answered. That is the reason behind my appeal to the people to pray for rain.

After my return from Delhi I had planned to live happily in a separate world of mine consisting of books like the Ramayana. But malignant stars have

conspired to exile me to the forest of the Secretariat with its trees of red tape and files. Nothing helps to bring out the best in one as much as trials and difficulties. Everything happens for the best and though the start may be beset with numerous difficulties the end will be a happy one. It is this faith that helps to sustain me in the present struggles.

When the struggle for freedom was on, the people of the land stood together as a single party and fought against the foreigner. They got freedom and when the British rulers left India thousands of British Officers who had administered the country retired. But this event had a feature unparalleled in the history of the world. The Britishers left India as friends and continue to wish well by India. No bitterness has been left behind and the people of this country entertain nothing but goodwill and friendship for the Britisher. Transfer of power in such a spirit has never occurred before and will not occur again. This is due to the unique method adopted by us in our struggle for freedom under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi.

When freedom was achieved Mahatma Gandhi advised the Congress to liquidate itself in the manner of a tree shedding its flowers when beginning to bear fruit. Trees obey natural laws and shed their flowers without pain or regret. Being members of a human organisation Congressmen, however, could not readily agree to this course. They thought that the process of voluntary liquidation would be a painful one and wanted to avoid it. But South India as usual led the way and set an example for the rest of the country. That is how I interpret the reverses

suffered in the recent elections by the Congress in Madras. Beyond this complex political situation created by the elections I see a bright vision of a good future. I may not be understood now but I am sure time will enable you to understand me better. For the establishment of real democracy the people shook the Congress tree and made it shed its flowers, something it was unwilling to do voluntarily. If the Congress party had continued to succeed at the polls everytime, people would not have learnt a lesson in true democracy. There would have been only flowers and not fruits. The rest of India wondered why such a thing took place in the intelligent South. I would say that the present state of things is direct evidence of our intelligence. A difficult situation has been created, so that the South Indian intellect might find a solution for it and show the way to the rest of India. I see in the present state of affairs elements favourable for the disappearance of party mentality and party spirit and the emergence of a people's democracy. That is my vision.

One hundred fifty two members of the Congress Party have decided to use me as an instrument to sweep and remove cobwebs from their houses and to clean their drains. I am one of those people who believe that there is no such thing as high job or low job. I believe in the spirit of a mother who will not shirk from doing what may be called scavenger's work and so animate all of us in the discharge of our duties. Our only consideration should be that the work we undertake is good and not evil. The one message of congratulation to which I have replied was a telegram from a Scavengers' Union. I think that their

message has given me satisfaction because I consider myself one of them. Every good work is noble and if we are called upon to do a job which will benefit the common good of the community we must accept it unhesitatingly. It is in that spirit that I accepted the Governorship of Bengal. Governorship is an office without power. As Chief Minister I can dismiss a Village Munsiff or transfer an officer whose wife is expecting to become a mother at any moment. But I can do nothing of that sort as Governor.

The situation in Bengal was different when I accepted the Governorship because of the prevailing Hindu-Muslim tension at that time. The situation here today is still more difficult because the conflict is an internal one. I could have avoided my present predicament had I listened to the advice of Mr. Nehru and agreed to remain in his Cabinet until April. I regard my present plight as a punishment for deserting Mr. Nehru. That is my personal view of the situation. If I can make you shed the flowers of party mentality and produce the fruits of non-party or people's democracy, I will not mind my troubles and will be happy in the feeling that I have been able to achieve something.

A reference has been made to the fact that in the notice of this meeting it is announced that I will participate in it and it was not clear whether I would be speaking or not. I really wish to participate in this meeting and not merely to speak to you. I assure you that I am prepared as it were to merge in you as salt dissolves in water, if only you will resolve to spare no efforts to change your outlook and save the country. Then my heart and yours could beat in unison. Party and communal feelings

are already beginning to disappear. If they show their heads at all, such manifestations may be regarded as the last struggle of a dying man. I feel everything will end in the common good as there is the guiding hand of the Great Power in everything we see around us. It is that power who designs the pattern and fits every piece into the pattern. It is this hand which I see working when I have once again been drawn out of my seclusion. If we agree that everything happens under His direction, then there is room for the belief that the end will be happy. Let us all strive for the change-over from party spirit to evolving a people's democracy. Let that change come quickly and let true democracy blossom forth in all its glory.

XIII

TO THE SMALL INVESTOR

VERY poor people, please switch off. This appeal is not intended for you. I am speaking to men who are better off, to the man keeping a hundred rupees or two hundred rupees lying fallow and who thinks he can spend it in buying something nice and good or who wishes to keep it unused for the time being. There are quite a number of such people. It is true in our country the majority of families have never seen a hundred rupees together at one time. It is for the benefit of these the Government is building anicuts, reservoirs and other works of lasting utility, for which the year's revenues are not enough and for which we require to raise capital. There are quite a number of people who have money which they can spare and invest in this good work. I am addressing these more fortunate people.

The Government raises capital by asking the wealthy to invest a part of their money in a Government loan. The great commercial, insurance and banking organisations know the value and the importance and the mechanism of Government loans. They invest their spare money and even a little more than that in the loans floated by the Government,

from time to time, for the building of great irrigation, electricity and other works of permanent utility to the State and of great benefit to the poor people. These big banking organizations and insurance companies know how good is the investment in Government bonds. They need not be told about it. They know that all their own enterprises, all their own business, can flourish and be safe and secure only if the Government is helped to make the generality of the people in the land happy and prosperous.

But I am appealing now to the small investor, to everyone who is potentially a small investor. In advanced countries it is the small investor who is the real asset of the State in this respect. There are a great many potentially small investors even in our country. The very rich man or rich company is a reservoir of reserve money but the small investor is like the rain drops that make the rain fructify the land all over. The rich are few, but the small investors are many and are spread all over the land. I am now appealing to these people. Unfortunately in our State the small investor is still only a potential investor. He does not know the procedure or the meaning of buying a Government bond. Even if he understands, he does not wish to take all the trouble for it.

A Government loan is not the same as private lending and borrowing. The Government is a very big *co-operative* organization. Unless each member of a co-operative society puts in his own little deposit, there is no fund for the society to build up general prosperity which is so necessary for the welfare of the State.

Go round and see this old country of ours which

we love. Go round with eyes and imagination alive. Look at the great big temples with their grand towers that seem to have been built by the Gods, not by ordinary men. Look at the old majestic banyan trees on the road-side and in groves. Look at the great tanks with their bunds and their overflow weirs and their sluice gates. Look at the "Mandaps" at the road-side now in ruins but we can still realise their original condition. Who built these towers? Who planted these trees? The people that lived before us—our ancestors: not for their own satisfaction, but for the use and advantage of coming generations, they spent their wherewithal and left these things to be enjoyed by us.

Have we similarly built anything ourselves for those that will come behind us? Not much, not enough. We are engrossed in our own pleasures and in our own misfortunes. Let us remember that we are links in an infinite chain of generations. Let us not leave behind a history of neglect, apathy and short-sightedness. We should build and leave some big things behind for the coming generations. We may not be able to build towers and temples to vie with the monuments of the piety and endeavour of our ancestors. But we can build anicuts and reservoirs and other works of this kind so that we may leave behind something to earn reverence and respect from succeeding generations and this is what we wish to do. That is why we float our Government loans. Every Government has an annual account of receipts and current expenditure. This is settled each year in the Legislature. Over and above this, every Government has to undertake some large items of work which cannot be finished in one year and which are

of lasting benefit. Such works are called capital works, the expenditure for which cannot, in the nature of things, be met from the year's revenue but for which succeeding years must contribute. This anticipatory expenditure on large works requires the raising of State loans. People are called upon to invest money in these works. Government pays annual interest and returns the principal after the stated period. This is the structure and the reason for Government bonds. This year, the Government of Madras has called for public investments towards a loan of Rs. 5 crores. Each bond is for Rs. 100. Anyone can take a Government bond for Rs. 100 or as many such bonds as he can buy and hold. He will pay not Rs. 100, but four annas less for each of these bonds. But he will get a bond for Rs. 100 and he will get interest thereon at 4 per cent per annum.

He can sell the bond to any one else at any time if he is in need of cash. That is to say, it is a negotiable bond almost as good as a currency note—a currency note that bears interest. There are stock-brokers who regularly do business in buying and selling these Government bonds.

There can be no safer bank or more theft-proof iron chest than the State itself. Nobody can steal your money if it is put in this bond. It also prevents you from yielding to temptation and wasting the money. On the other hand, the Government gets the benefit of your money without your losing it to any extent. Government spends the money on irrigation, electricity and other works for the welfare and prosperity of the people and returns the money when the period expires. In the meanwhile, you can sell or

raise money on these bonds very easily It is as good as gold bars.

Democracy means that everyone should share in the business of the State. There is no better way to do this than by putting a hundred rupees into the business of the State and having a concrete share in its affairs. The man who takes a hundred-rupee bond, holds a hundred-rupee share in the Mettur Reservoir, the Bhavani Anicut, the Pykara Works, the great Krishna and Godavari Anicuts, and the like. These works are yours and by taking a bond you become a recognised share-holder.

I do not want the rich people to feel that the business of the State is all financed by them. I want smaller people to feel that they have a big share in the business of the Government, not only in debates but by actual investment, a share-holding interest. If this loan is financed to a significant extent by the small investors, we take a big step further in the progressive democratisation of our Government. A sense of reality will replace the more or less theoretical share which adult suffrage gives. Let the small investor in our State feel that he has substantially contributed towards the finances of the State by taking a share in this loan that we have floated.

All the officials of the district will help you to do what is necessary if only you state your wishes to the nearest responsible official. Collectors and Revenue Divisional Officers have been instructed, actively to assist investors.

A word about our financial position. Examine our affairs as you would examine the affairs of a business corporation. Is the Madras State's balance-sheet good and sound? Definitely yes. All our liabilities

including Provident Fund deposits and every other kind of liability amount to a total of Rs. 92 crores as on 31st March 1952. Excluding our buildings and even those irrigation and navigation works which are necessary but do not produce much revenue, our productive irrigation and electricity works and our other productive assets amount to over Rs. 100 crores. Everything included, our total assets come to Rs. 131 crores. Our assets exceed our liability by 39 crores. We cannot show better than this, because, no Government should raise and keep more money than they can spend for the good of the people, present and future. The present loan of Rs. 5 crores is intended to be utilised entirely for irrigation and electricity works which are in progress. Money is needed in order that the works may be completed soon. No part of this money will go towards current expenditure. I say, therefore, to everyone who can do it, please take a share in this 4 per cent issue of the Government of Madras.

XIV

PROFESSIONAL SOCIAL SERVICE

I MUST confess I have been truly puzzled by the proceedings to-day. A lot has been said about the history of the institution and I have been thinking all the time of its future and what it is going to do hereafter. If anything could be smothered by too many influential people being in it, this institution must have been smothered long ago. I cannot understand, and rather dread, too many influential people at the top trying to produce results in the direction of social service.

When good men and women endeavour to achieve something, they deserve all our good wishes. I am here in my capacity as an individual and have accepted your invitation only in that capacity and not as Chief Minister. I will therefore, warn Mrs. Clubwala and her fellow intriguers that they will not succeed in committing the Government because of my presence. The fact that your request for grants, recurring and non-recurring, has been turned down should have taught you how unwise it is to rely on the smiles of princes and governments (laughter), and made you determined to work by yourselves, and to rely on yourselves. If you succeed, Government will

come to your aid; but if you depend on Government, you may not succeed.

The promoters of this institution have entertained a number of students for training in Social Service. But I know what the students have in their minds. They want employment. If the promoters of the institution have raised such an expectation, they should fulfil it. No doubt there are number of institutions which want personnel trained in social service with a good university education. This is what might be called professional social service. Perhaps this is a contradiction in terms according to old-fashioned ideas; but it is a reality now. There are now young men and women who have come forward to serve as employees of social service organisations. I have no doubt that they will make themselves useful by doing social service. I am also sure that the institution will train them well for the work and get them posts worthy of their efforts. That however depends on the institutions which absorb them. There are a number of institutions which are called government institutions but which really are social service institutions. It is the fashion these days for governments pressed by the people to take on all kinds of work. Government have thus taken up co-operation, women's welfare, rural and medical service, etc., all of which I will call social service. The Government will need the services of young men and women for discharging these functions. I hope you will succeed in inducing the Public Service Commission to recognise the diplomas awarded by the institutions and I, for my part, will help you in your efforts in this direction, provided diploma-holders are well trained. It is not necessary that appointments to Government

departments on the social service side should be limited only to the older people, advertised for usually. These positions might be opened to diploma-holders also. But that will depend on how the institution works, the staff it employs, the type of students you take in and the way you get through the training. It will take some years to judge these things. But I hope the training here will be good and the course neither too long nor too short.

The masses of this country though illiterate, are otherwise educated. They know the value of cleanliness, good behaviour, tidiness and all the other things that may be preached to them by trained personnel. Even those who dwell in the dirtiest of slums in Madras City know the value of cleanliness, that it is good to keep one's person, dwellings and surroundings clean. But they do not have the wherewithal to do it. All the efforts of social workers should therefore be to remove the difference in resources, to make a more just distribution of the resources of the country, to spread things a little wider, so that everybody may have a little of what there is. This effort is real social service.

In the old days, the very old days, it was the custom for people to be very charitable. Those who possessed something felt it was their duty, and they felt real pleasure, to give away what they had. They felt that to give was a greater pleasure than to possess or receive. Possession gave pleasure to the miserly; receiving gave pleasure to the active; but to the charitable-minded, giving gave much greater pleasure. The pleasure was greater still if the giving was done at a little sacrifice. This realisation however has disappeared these last many years. People

have taken to thinking that giving is folly, that they should receive, possess and keep and that if at all charity is to be done, it should be in an organised way. As an old-fashioned man, I regret this development and I am rather worried about it. It is said that indiscriminate charity encourages pauperism. That is the beginning of the process I have referred to. We began to dislike private charity and now we have gone to the other extreme. There is almost no such thing as private charity now. That is my regret.

Somewhere in between these two extremes, we should find the golden mean. We should not be indiscriminately charitable as we used to be in this country in the very old days. But there is something very valuable in personal and private charity which is lost in efforts made by organisations such as we have in view, requiring employment of trained personnel, etc. What we should aim at is that we should catch hold of people who are well off—young men and women belonging to rich families—and attract them to social service and train them for it so that they can go into the houses of the poor and use their trained knowledge and their resources in the service of the poor. That will bring great success to social service work. Training people who merely wish to get employment will involve finding resources elsewhere for social service and depending on associations, governments, Governor's and Minister's wives and so on (Laughter).

All this is good in the absence of anything else. But thinking it out fully in the context of our country, I would rather that we try not to advertise for graduates, double graduates and other such men but catch the interest of the rich, persuade them to send

their boys and girls for training, make them charitable-minded, get them to undergo a special training for social service so that they might use their wealth in the proper way in the service of the poor. I am sure we will not fail if we make such an effort.

I have known quite a number of young men and women of wealthy families who have gone into the Communist fold. When one examines the psychology of that phenomenon one will find that these young men and women are tired of their parents' ways and wealth and want to serve the people in another way. Personally I do not think that way is good or right. Instead of allowing the boys and girls to go that way we should draw them into social service institutions and train them to utilise their superfluous patrimony for the public good. They could be encouraged to spend their time and resources in a manner which would also please their parents. We will thus be able to remove the difference in resources among people and make the culture and knowledge of our country blossom forth. Professional social service is something which I dread. That is the point I want to emphasize. It is a contradiction in terms and nothing that is a contradiction will succeed.

I once again extend my good wishes to this institution and hope that Government with its welfare programme will find work for the people trained here. I have seen similar efforts in Bombay and elsewhere. Pupils there reach high standards and then they want to be sent to foreign countries for further training and on return at *Dharna* at the Prime Minister's place, for getting some new departments opened. That way, I think, is to tackle the thing from the wrong end. But even that way, I give my best

wishes. I hope you will find employment for the boys and girls you train. I would advise you not to take in too many students, but select boys and girls of the right temperament—charitably minded, sympathetic and compassionate young men and women—who will put up with disappointments in life. Unfortunately, the system of education here is hard to change. It is so efficient that it cannot be changed. A bullock cart can be made to go in any direction at any point of the road, but a train can go only a particular way on rails. May be, a time may come when these trainees will be chosen in preference to others. I promise that if I should get to be in charge of the welfare services, I will do what I can to employ these young men and women.

RURAL SERVICE

MAY I, at the outset, congratulate the new graduates on their success in the examination? I am told this course is a very difficult one, that the period of five years is too long and that there are too many examinations each year. You have in all, to clear fifteen hurdles before being qualified to cure people. A technical and professional course by its very nature must be difficult, and one has to satisfy the examiners thoroughly before being certified as competent for professional work. You will not gain anything by making professional examinations easy or cheap. The glory of Madras, if I may say so, consists in the high standard maintained by the University of Madras. (Cheers). I am glad that you young people here accept here this proposition. The University maintains the standard, very probably against the wishes of the students. But I would deprecate any attempt to bring pressure on the University to lower the standard and thus cheapen the degree and generally reduce the quality of service rendered by various professions. I am not quite sure whether such attempts are made in regard to all examinations. But I have no doubt whatsoever that the medical men that come out of the Madras University, whether they be physicians, or

surgeons, have always rendered a good account of themselves and the hospitals and medical institutions in Madras have gained world-wide reputation. I am confident that the graduates who have been declared successful this year will also keep up the standards.

It is not enough if you secure passes, and even good passes at that. You will have to maintain your study right through your life. Medical education is not completed when you get a degree. Though I am a layman, I know enough being constantly attended upon by doctors. Medical education does not end with college education; every year in practice you should keep your knowledge growing and study the results of research made by other people on various matters. I hope all the new graduates will find suitable employment quickly. I know you will get plenty of work provided you do not want fees. There are a lot of people who want your services, but they are not able to pay the fees.

So far as improvements to the College are concerned, the Health Minister and the Finance Minister will look into them. I can only guide you. The Finance Minister can only work within his limits, while the Health Minister can make recommendations. However, the Government must have the capacity to pay for all these things. There appears to be some confusion about the proposal to run a shorter course. It is a fact there is much difficulty in the supply of medical practitioners for service in rural areas, and Government have been anxiously considering what they have to do in order to meet the difficulty. It is easy to say that we want high quality. It is not easy to get in sufficient numbers, doctors who possess that quality and also are willing

to serve in rural areas. Therefore, it is for that reason that we are attempting to produce some less qualified medical men—but adequately qualified to work in the rural areas—and for sending up difficult cases to major institutions where they could be better attended to. I think we should not sacrifice the requirements of the rural areas merely at the altar of high standard and equipment.

After all, all those who are qualified to practice under the present regulation are not quite so much up to the mark as one imagines. There are degrees of qualification even among those who graduate. If we desire to equip all rural centres with fairly good medical practitioners, it is not necessary that the entire lot should be subjected to various written and oral examinations. The result is, we have to consider the alternative. If we do not do so, the places of qualified medical practitioners will be taken by quacks, ill-educated compounders and others who cure some and ruin the health of others. There will be a vacuum and nature will not allow it and patients will like to take medicines from any one, be he an astrologer, an ordinary compounder or a yogi. I have just received a letter from one of my friends that a yogi held out hopes of curing his son's illness if he was paid Rs. 128. in advance; my friend has asked for my advice. This yogi is a big fraud. The police have been set on him and they did not succeed in getting him arrested or even when once arrested, in being hard on him. Our policemen are very kind-hearted people. But it is no good being kind-hearted to criminals. Our policemen are soft-hearted. They might sometimes bear arms but they are part of us. One of our brothers might become a policeman; on

that account, he cannot suddenly become hard-hearted. Now this Yogi is far too rapid for the policemen to chase and has been going quickly from place to place.

That is why I say that if we do not send decently qualified people to rural areas, their places will be taken up by dangerous people. Persons who are refused admissions in the Medical Colleges and who are intelligent enough to read and understand things, and be of service to others, should be chosen and trained in a shorter course and sent to serve in rural areas. The more serious cases, they can send to the practitioners in urban areas. It is suggested that if conditions are improved in rural areas, doctors will be willing to go there, after taking their degrees. If conditions are improved in rural areas, then those places will also become towns. Then many of you will go there, no doubt. The main thing you all want is to earn money. It is not the rural conditions that deter you from going to villages. If you are sure of a salary of Rs. 500/- per month, never mind the conditions in the villages, you will go there. But money is not available there. People in the rural areas are poor and they cannot find money to run their families and also pay for doctors. Of course, people in the rural areas are now getting a slightly better wage and as such may be paying a little more for medical aid, but they cannot pay what the medical men expect and which I would like you to get. Therefore, do not blame us if we decide finally to put forward a moderate and quick programme and send qualified people. We may take a fairly lower degree of qualification for admission. And if we do that, do not tell us, 'you have gone back to the old

L.M.P.' or that the unification has been destroyed. We want to have cheaper medical practitioners only in the sense that they come without much cost. It is not impossible to make the course less expensive. My own view is that book-reading and written examination should be avoided and practical training should be given just as you find in other technical courses where workers and other practically illiterate persons learn their work and do their job well. The rural medical practitioners, whom we want, will neither be actually illiterate people nor necessarily graduates. If they are intelligent people; they can probably make more money than the medical practitioners in towns. The Government is therefore still examining this proposal. The problem of rural poverty and rural medical service is as difficult as a disease like cancer. But I hope we will be able to do something.

I would like the young medical graduates to serve first in the villages. If you find you do not like to continue there, you may later go to towns. You should, when called upon to treat a patient, first listen patiently to what the patient has to say about the disease. It will help you to diagnose the disease correctly. You must keep an open mind and not follow always the text-book method. Don't think that money is everything. The Hindu scriptures lay down that you should perform your duty faithfully and earnestly without looking for any return. It has been stated in the scriptures that to whatever profession one belongs, one should consider one's duty far more important and essential, never minding the money part of it. If we do our work, that itself will be worship of God.

You belong to a great profession, a rising profession. You also belong to a State which has attained great glory all over the world for the standard of work. May you all live up to that reputation and tradition.

XVI

BE USEFUL

THE presence here of the Vice-chancellor of the Madras university is in itself an inaugural address to the Union, because it is hardly necessary for me to give any advice beyond saying that you will receive inspiration from the life and work of the Vice-Chancellor of Madras University. After the explanation given by the Director of the College, I have a hazy notion of what is being done here, but I cannot presume to tell you anything of value on the basis of such hazy knowledge. You know so much more than most people in the country including myself. That makes me wonder what you are going to do for this country. When you know so much more than most people, it creates another difficulty of translating your knowledge for the benefit of the people. It looks as if we are starting institutions in our country under the forceful inspiration of Western countries, institutions which are so superior to the general level of civilisation and culture in our own country that we seem to float somewhere in the air and the common people remain where they are. However we are in a transitional stage and we shall overcome this transitional difficulty by and by.

From what I can gather, you are engaged in the process of translating knowledge acquired in the various sciences to industries in the country. At the same time your Director has also pointed out that those in charge of the industries in India are giving apologies for not absorbing trained engineers like you and that they plead slump, depression and the like. This is due to the ignorance of our industrialists and financial magnates who unfortunately make money too fast and have therefore no time to get themselves trained in modern science and knowledge. They do not understand the relative value of things. They have a craze for making money and when they fail to make money at the pace at which they are used to, they think there is a slump. They think there is something wrong with the world or with the Government more probably. They complain of heavy taxation and the like. But you, at this end, know how much money has to be spent for real progress. If our industries are to progress, they require trained engineers like you in all departments and if you have to be properly trained, you want equipment, buildings, professors and all that is required for scientific education. Being the first batch of students, you can see how much money is wanted for institutions like this and who has to pay for them. Properly speaking, industries which are to benefit by your engineering should pay for running it. But they do not understand this. They think the Government should pay for it. There is the delusion that the Government is somebody else and that somebody else must pay for everything.

I can very well envisage the difficulties that you students will have to face after you pass out of this

institution and I do not envy your lot at all. In order to make money, some industrialists might employ you. But it is very difficult to serve under uncultured men. As soon as you go, the employers will examine you from top to bottom to see whether you are sufficiently elastic in the first place or whether your science has made you too rigid. That is to say, if you are not able to adjust yourself to the requirements of trade and industry, they think all your science is no good. Then they will calculate how much more money they are able to make and if they find at the end of the year that the profits have not gone up as a result of employing scientific staff, they will reduce the staff. You must be prepared for such trials at the beginning. By and by, things will improve. Some company will have done well by employing trained scientists and others will begin to see the value of science, training and technical knowledge. In the beginning stages, you must be prepared for lack of appreciation. Do not be depressed by what I have said. Go through your training with single-minded devotion and be prepared for rough handling from those who have the capacity to employ you.

For a time you might find employment as teachers and professors in similar technical institutions and draw a moderate salary under the Government with dearness allowance attached. But the ultimate aim is that you should be absorbed into industry. For that purpose industry should thrive, and if the industry is to thrive, it should have good engineers. It is a vicious circle but I hope we will cut it somehow or other. I have a feeling that we are attempting too many things at the same time in this country. Will it not be better to concentrate on a few things and do them

more satisfactorily than spreading our energies over too many things. By attempting too many things we might achieve glory, but not results. The advantage that the nation has to derive from all these scientific laboratories and institutes takes its own time and its own course of development and evolution. Till then we should survive.

I want my young friends to be quick about what they do and not to complain that they are unable to do a thing because there is not such and such a piece of equipment. All the greatest discoveries of the world have been made without good equipment and under great difficulties and with nobody to encourage. In fact some of the great discoveries of truth were burnt. A realisation of this will enable you to reconcile yourself to the present difficulties. There is no use piling up demands and saying that nothing can be done unless those demands are satisfied. Every demand satisfied creates a fresh demand. Do I not know that a contented staff, buildings, equipments, etc., are necessary. But the secret of success for those among you who are geniuses is that you must be able to devise ways and means to do things in the absence of these amenities. I say this because gentlemen, I am in charge of administration for the time being and I cannot provide money for the improvements that have to be done. I know the limitations under which we have to work. You are not only graduates but graduates who have done well; not only done well but desire to do more. You are the very best among our young men. I would like to do everything for you; but where am I to get money from? So, you will really sympathise with me.

In the old days, only a few people had to be

educated and the large body of men did not wish to be educated. So we could tax 90% of the people and educate well the other 10%. Now things are different and the 90% also want everything. That is the problem of the present day administrators and they are not even allowed to think. There is a new mechanism of Government, democracy and party system, by which every man wants to pull down every other man. I have mentioned all this to impress upon you how difficult it is to finance an institution. But it has been done in the case of this institution. So all the more is your duty to make the best use of it. That is my appeal to you, young men. Do not waste any part of your time. Every moment lost cannot be regained. Do not allow even a minute to pass without making the best use of it. Concentration is the secret of all success.

You must bear with the Government and not make things too difficult for them. I am confident you will not go on strike because a holiday is not given or something else has not been done. But older people are adopting all kinds of methods in order to get something which they think they should get and which others think they should not get. We have introduced democracy in order to resolve by discussion differences of opinion. But the moment we introduced democracy there was also anti-democracy. Methods are employed which do not provide for opinion being exchanged and decisions being reached. Some kind of force, compulsion and things like that are being used as means for attaining the end. Take it from me, whatever may be our progress, unless we freely exchange our views and reach the truth by discussion and persuasion, we will

not be happy. Our ultimate aim in all things is happiness. The secret of that lies in our mental attitude and our mental approach. In a large country like ours, unless we bear with one another, we cannot be happy. There are all sorts of differences and you must know how to solve them without confusion and without anger.

XVII

HOME SCIENCE

AMONG the many things that confuse a person like me who belongs to an older generation is the holding of such All-India Conferences. It seems to me that by such conferences we are trying to make a very big country a small place of compressed size. We wish to have All-India Conferences on every conceivable topic. I thought that the limit was reached when somebody proposed an All-India Children's Conference. I cannot understand how all the children can be brought together or the few brought together can be made to represent the whole of India. Home science is again a matter concerning every home and now we wish to have an All-India gathering to discuss principles of running homes which are different from one another and of infinite variety. I must therefore congratulate the adventurous ladies and gentlemen who have organised this conference.

Now all culture, especially home culture, in India has been raised about four feet from the old level (Laughter). The old level was on the ground. We used to sit on the ground, eat on the ground, and teach on the ground. Now we sleep on a cot and dare not sleep on the ground. We eat off a table and

sit on a chair. In fact, we do everything four feet above ground level (Laughter). That is the great difference between the old culture into which I was born and the present culture for which you are preparing through Home Science classes in secondary schools and colleges. I am not joking but only expressing a universally applicable truth. To-day even the fire-place is four feet above ground and they cook either standing or sitting on a chair (Renewed laughter). Do not go away with the impression that I do not like change. I like change. But let us not imagine that we have lifted the whole of India by four feet. We have raised only a few families to this extent. The older home science was practised entirely on the floor and it will be some time before you can infiltrate the new science into it.

Nobody will imagine that Home Science is taught simply because one learns laundry work or some cooking. Home Science is a much bigger thing. It is the Science of family happiness. It includes quite a number of subjects. Good cooking, good house-keeping and things like that by themselves will not make a family happy. You must learn how to marry and live a married life. That is true Home Science. Home is made by married people and children and the science deals with that subject. Please remember that Home Science is not preparation for a profession or a trade; but it is preparation for marriage (Laughter). You may imagine that I have said something funny, or the laughter may be the natural reaction to mention of marriage. I am telling the plain truth here. Home Science is conceived to assist young people to live a good married life and create happy homes.

Training in courses like this is mostly utilised by people to become teachers in such courses. In this manner most of their attempts in this world get amputated. We prepare a number of young people to serve as teachers in the very process without getting to the end of the training namely, getting homes filled with mothers who know how to make those homes happy ones. What I want is that the aim of the Home Science curriculum, whether in the elementary school or the College, should be to deal with the science of happiness in the home and education should end in a practical application of what they learn to the homes to which they go.

The first thing a girl should learn is how to make her husband and her children happy. Most college girls easily lose their temper. The loss of temper is due to strain—the strain of too much study for the purpose of passing examinations. Married life will involve great strain, more even than the examination-life you are going through at present. You must know how to control your temper and how to speak the truth. When speaking the truth to one you love and for whose feeling you care, truth must be soaked in affection.

It is strain that makes husbands and wives lose their tempers when speaking to each other. Marital loyalty, which is preached to you, will enable husbands to bear with the temper of their wives and vice versa, but will not make for happiness or positive joy in the family. You may be able to iron a cloth especially when you are provided with a four-feet high table. But it is more difficult to iron out the wrinkles on your husband's face. For that, you require an attitude of piety and self-control. All this is Home

Science. These aspects of the Science are difficult to teach. That is why I say that Home Science supplements in certain respects what you have to learn generally. You have to learn self-control, kindness, affection and very many other things from literature and poetry. What you learn as Home Science is therefore not the whole of Home Science. A truly scientifically trained young man will learn to work with little or no apparatus. Similarly Home Science must be capable of being practised without electrical switches and tables. You must know how to get down from the fourth potential to a lower potential.

XVIII

GRAM-KALYAN

THE concept of the community project is based on the faith that *gram-kalyan* can be brought about by the joint efforts of the public services and the people if properly co-ordinated and directed.

During the next three years, there will be pilot plants of *gram-kalyan* in a number of places throughout the country. The essential principle of this plan is the gospel of work. All the people of the area must be persuaded to work in close and intelligent co-operation with the public servants and technical officers placed in that area. The community projects are pilot-plants of the idea of Bharat *Gram-kalyan*. The scheme will be implemented in selected places over three years. Thereafter it is expected that the work will stand on its own merit, and will be a model and an incentive to people in other areas, showing them the true and only way to happiness, namely, through work—manual work—the use of the body and intelligence with which the universal mother, Nature, has endowed us. The gospel of work was taught by Sri Krishna in the Gita. It was the theme of all Gandhiji's teachings through spoken word and writing.

When work is done by a group of people for the

good of all, the task becomes a joy in itself. The assured fruits of work in the shape of water or food or a transport facility or a sanitary amenity is one thing, but in the association of one another in a task, over and above the material result, there is a joy issuing out of it like the *amrit* that issued from the ocean when the Gods churned it. This joy can be felt only when men actually work together. Weavers weave each for himself; but when they all meet in the *Pavadi*, the warping ground, and each works for all, there is a festive atmosphere and a joy which even outsiders can see at the place.

The first thing to be achieved in *gram-kalyan* is the production of food, good nourishing food, and enough of it.

The *Taittiriya Upanishad* taught the gospel of food production long before the present age of deficit.

अन्नं बहु कुर्वीत तद्व्रतम्
annam bahu kurvīta tadvratam

न कंचन वसतौ प्रत्याचक्षीत तद्व्रतम्
na kañcana vasatau pratyāchakṣīta tadvratam

तस्माद्यया कया च विधया बह्वन्नं प्राप्नुयात्
tasmādyayā kayā cha vidhayā bahvannam

prāpnuyāt

Make plenty of food. This is a *vratam*, a sacred duty and a pledge. No one, who comes as a guest, should be sent away unfed. Therefore by every means available *yaya kaya cha vidhaya* make and keep plenty of food.

But man wants not merely food for his body. His intelligence and spirit require help and guidance for growth and happiness.

The programme of *gram-kalyan* includes improved agriculture and reclamation of all available land, the utilisation of all local resources and the making of good feeder roads to facilitate transport and so link up all the villages of the area more closely together. But it also includes education, sports and entertainments.

The Projects include the provision of facilities for the fuller education of working children and vocational and technical training for those who have no family craft to follow. Again, what is necessary for the betterment of the health of the area will be attended to, especially in the matter of good drinking water and the proper disposal and utilisation of human and animal waste. In Nature's wonderful workshop, as Marcus Aurelius wrote down in his meditations—and the same thing was sung in the Upanishads in other words—all waste matter is reconverted by Nature into something fresh and useful. There is nothing that decays but is again ready to be re-made into fresh living substance. Everything is food for something else and man's skill consists in utilising this great law of nature and making his environment clean and tidy. Waste is wealth if man knows how to assist Nature, that is to assist himself.

Special attention will be given to what is woefully lacking at present, viz., proper medical attention for those who need it. The development of cottages and small-scale industries to absorb all those who now over-burden the peasant families is an important part of *gram-kalyan*. Efforts will be made to bring into being satisfactory housing conditions for all classes of people suitable for their work and in accordance with their way of living. Sports and

community entertainments of a healthy, simple but exhilarating nature will be organized for men, women and children. More joy comes from an hour's good play than out of a purseful of money.

There are about sixty centres of this nature in India and in Madras six centres of *gram-kalyan* pilot schemes have been located in various parts. All officers of the Government will help to carry out the plans and in each district there will be advisory committees of disinterested men who will take a keen interest in the work for its own sake. Each project area will be divided into three blocks for co-ordinated development, each block comprising of 100 villages and a population of approximately half a lakh.

Success will depend on the spirit in which the people work and the officers guide and assist. It is not a gift from Government to the people. It is a plan of work for all the people including the officers of Government and the members of the Legislature, a plan of work for happiness wherein there is no fear of failure or disappointment, and wherein there is much joy, the like of which inspired men in olden days and which in recent times has almost been forgotten. The revival of this joy in working together and for the community's sake is, indeed, revival of life. It is a project of revitalisation of the community. It is called by the prosaic name of community project but it is *gram-kalyan*, a festival of Lakshmi.

XIX

DOCTORATE IN SYMPATHY

AS I rise to speak, I have not yet overcome the physical exertion of giving away the prizes (Laughter). Not only was it a competition in various academic subjects, but the audience seemed to consider it a competition in the shaking of hands (Renewed laughter). There was a variety of impressions on my own hand. It was practically an examination I held among all the prize-winners as to who created the best impression upon me. Some were shy, some were expert and some were middling. This indicates a difference in temperament also, the brightest boy being generally very shy. But the medals given are so many that I wonder why medals have not been prescribed for music, singing, etc. I hope, Father Principal will before next year, institute a prize in music also.

You young men of the Loyola College are the most fortunate amongst the students of Madras because you have a beautiful hall. It is a grand possession; it must have cost a lot of money. I wish we had more such halls built for us by our forefathers because things were cheap in those days. I admire the courage of those who laid the foundation and had schemes for halls of this kind. Nothing less than

the courage of the organisers of the Loyala College could have thought of and achieved this big hall. But as the Principal has observed, it is not a mere hall. It contains a world of 2500 souls—not 2500 bodies but 2500 souls. It is a great charge and I am lost in admiration of the unmarried gentlemen who have taken charge of so many children (Laughter). Without any practical experience of looking after even small families, they have plunged into this enormous task of looking after this huge family. But they have done it very well. I must say they have continued to do well throughout the years and I have been filled with admiration for their efforts.

There are many colleges in Madras—some of them managed by the Government, some by committees and some by Missions. But amongst these there is no doubt that this college has good reason to be proud of its history and the maintenance of order and discipline (Applause). I am pleased to see that the applause for this started from the students' end instead of the teachers' platform. It is only when we ourselves like, appreciate and are proud of discipline that the discipline will be of good quality. Otherwise, discipline will only be organised fear and nothing else. From the report that was read by the Principal and the prizes in gold and silver that I have given away, I see you have done very well in learning and emulating one another's achievements. When you are in any difficulties, you will get inspiration from these medals you hold. But among the 2500 souls, only a few got medals. I wonder if medal-giving is a good system at all. It does encourage the recipient to greater endeavour. I hope that those who did not receive medals will not mind

the fact but will carry on with their studies because more medals are waiting for them than could have been won in the college. In the world, I have often seen that the medalists have not done very well (Loud laughter). I will tell you why I say this. I never got a medal (Renewed laughter). Do not worry about not securing a medal. When you get a medal, it is a very good thing. If you do not get a medal, it is a better thing still. Do not exhaust your energies in the college. Reserve some energy for the world beyond and you will get lasting medals there.

The Principal spoke of plans for more hostels and buildings. All those who leave this institution and secure good jobs must send part of their monthly savings to this college. It will do them good when they come back for a reunion of old college boys to see how their money is helping to expand the college in every way. Whether it is big or small, you should send your money to your own mother. I am sure that the principles inculcated in every college under careful guardianship will have already created this desire among the students and my appeal might be quite superfluous. You should be proud of your college. You should also contribute to the maintenance of that pride. In that case a day may come when the number of old boys will be so large that the Principal will not think of Government contributions at all.

Your Principal appreciates the difficulties of the under-paid Professors and appealed for generous help so as to make their lot a better one. This the Principal has done when he himself and his colleagues are content to earn a petty amount all their life time, without any prospect of a large salary. For, I think, that is the motto of the Society of Jesus. While

the Principal, without thought of himself, was speaking on behalf of the unpaid Professors, I was all the time thinking how far the example of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus was influencing the students who left this college. Unless some of us at least make up our minds to live the lives which the Fathers here live like simple poor folk, the poor unfortunate country cannot bear the burden. The Principal spoke about the requirements of the college, the expenditure on staff, housing of the people, tuition fees, etc. If you make a rough calculation of these, you will see what a large sum is spent on each one of you, how the universities and colleges of this country spend a great deal on each one of you. Who is to pay for all this? The country, in the end, must pay for everything. If you have really earned your medals in Economics and Commerce, you can make a calculation of what the meaning of it is in terms of the burden on the people. These are no doubt excellent institutions. But can they support such institutions in growing numbers and keep them growing and prosperous? That is why I say that the burden is very heavy on the poor people of this country. We should take into account the average earning of the people and the amount of contribution they can possibly make to the national enterprise. You will then see that it is not altogether wrong on my part to think of this as a terrible vanity. We have lived in a particular atmosphere, isolating ourselves from the people of the country and we think entirely in our own isolated atmosphere. We think we should have these very necessary and very beautiful things. But what about the maintenance of them from below? There comes the vanity I have referred to. Unless a miracle

changes the condition of the people, they will not be able to do proportionate justice in this country to themselves, as they seek to do to some of the people.

It is quite easy to give college education to a select few and it is also quite easy to give very good secondary education to a select few. It will be possible to build beautiful laboratories, in each of which 20 persons can do research. If you take the magnitude of the nation and the number of poor students, then you will understand why I speak in this language. I am only explaining why I sometimes feel greatly depressed when I contemplate on the method of it all. I do feel greatly depressed because the desire is so great, the eagerness is so large, but resources are so limited. I have said exactly what I feel. We should hope for the best. The responsibility lies on the young men to realise the realities of the situation and to make the utmost use of the knowledge they have acquired, the utmost use of the time they have spent here in order that they might lift the nation outside to something which could be decently co-ordinated in colleges like this.

You should compare your condition with those outside the college. The children outside are just like ourselves when we were young. Can they ever hope to come up unless we do something very great for them? The students must ask themselves, "Are we helping people forward. To what use am I putting the knowledge I have gained. Do I waste my time or do I make full use of it?" There is no joy except when one serves others.

This is an institution that has grown up in the growing inspiration of Christ. We, in India, know how to venerate teachers throughout the world and

I hope all the students of the Loyola College will remember and venerate the inspiration which gave them the education. It is religious impulse that has created this institution. If you wish in your lifetime to grow into anything great, useful and good, remember that you should also act under the impulse of religion. Religion is not knowledge. Religion is a feeling. The fundamental feeling is the one called sympathy. Unless you develop that high-grade feeling called sympathy in English, nothing will be achieved. If you harden your hearts from youth and refuse to sympathise, then you will grow into a monster or worse, into a piece of stone—unorganic stuff. If you cultivate the art of sympathy, you will grow into something living and so help our country to grow up. That is what I call religious impulse. You all read the scriptures of Christians. In olden days, Hindu students used to walk away with those prizes and I hope this practice continues even now. You will find what I have said in the Bible. The sympathy I have referred to is what is called love or charity. It is this you have to develop, not mathematics or physics or science alone. I want you all to get a Doctorate in Natural, Spontaneous Sympathy and keep it with you throughout your lives.

LET YOUR WINGS GROW STRONG

AT the outset may I apologise for my misconduct in refusing to sign the autograph books that were presented by girl students. I would have signed these autograph books and many more if I had not given a promise to the Harijan Sevak Sangh that I would sell each autograph of mine for Rs. 5/-, collect the money and give it to the Sevak Fund.

Your President tried to make a business deal with the Chief Minister. Your college certainly deserves a big hall but all that a poor Chief Minister can do now is to give you good advice about it. (Laughter). I would suggest that every student of the College should subscribe Rs. 5/- to the College Hall Fund and even after leaving the College continue to pay this Rs. 5/- per month for his lifetime. This would make quite a big fund and the authorities of the College as well as the Government will also make their contribution. Until you are able to put up a good auditorium, you can use the big open space behind the College for holding meetings or can have an open amphi-theatre such as the Greeks were satisfied with in the olden days.

Your President congratulated the Principal,

Dr. Huq on having become one of the Members of the Public Service Commission. I hope your President means nothing more than that (Laughter). You have all understood my joke. It is hardly necessary to explain what I mean and there may be people who will misunderstand if I explain myself.

Reference has been made to the annual election of the President and other office-bearers of your Union. I would suggest that you agree to give some power to your President by agreeing to make him and other office-bearers of the Union guardians of the standard of behaviour on the part of college students. The President might be empowered to levy a fine of annas four on any boy or girl who does not behave according to the standard of the Presidency College. Enquiries are tedious and will create bad blood and cause delay and even injustice. The best thing is to levy a small fine which can be paid on the spot. I am making this suggestion in all seriousness. It is good to fear some one. Dr. Huq is far too good a man to infuse any fear in you. That is why I am taking Dr. Huq away from the Presidency College. I hope his successor will be as good as Dr. Huq. But no Principal will extract fear from you. I will congratulate any Principal if he lives without fear of you. (Laughter). You should therefore entrust the 'fear department' to your own elected President. I hope you will consider this suggestion at the next meeting of your committee and then place it before the whole Union. I trust, as good boys and girls, you will accept this suggestion. Then you will set an example to the whole of the student population of our country. When they find that the students of a pre-

mier college of a premier state have agreed to this self-discipline, they will also do so and you will have given a lead to the whole country in a very important matter.

Education does not consist in carrying a very heavy load of knowledge in your head. Will you call a donkey which carries a heavy load of clothes on its back, a well-dressed one? The knowledge that you have accumulated and the knowledge that you possess, is reflected and expresses itself in your behaviour every day. You must behave properly without thinking about it. The man who behaves well, but who is conscious of it, is a pompous man. Nothing can be done automatically unless you practise it every day. Therefore, the proposition I have suggested to you is a good proposition and important in the completion of your education. It is always good to ask your own representative to judge in such a matter. I hope you will give it further consideration.

It is necessary that people in my position should meet young people as often as possible. There is an advantage in coming together because familiarity breeds affection. I do not think that familiarity breeds contempt. On the contrary, I think that intimacy, which is a high degree of familiarity, breeds affection and produces respect and good understanding. It is only when you do not have close contact with one another that you dislike and suspect each other. Misunderstanding is due to want of intimacy, and universal affection can be generated by intimacy. By more and more contacts you will get to know one another more and more. If you develop this habit when young, later in life, you will be able to size up

anyone whom you come across, in no time. From such practice will grow your judgment of human beings and appraisal of character. So this practice of meeting one another is also educational and not a waste of time. If you are shy and do not meet one another, you will not know how to carry on the business of life. You will not know how to deal with your own family and children or to deal with friends and the world.

I am glad that all of you are members of the Union by statute. It is a much better state of affairs than in the olden days when voluntary membership was the rule and there were rival Unions. Competition existed among these Unions and latterly a number of politicians also formed associations of students; each association claimed that it was more patriotic than the others. Politicians think that they can have things done by getting at the students. Some people may ask me "Did you not do that in the days of Non-co-operation Movement?" In that also there was misunderstanding. I do not like that process. At that time all the students in India felt that they did not want a foreign Government. The issue was simple and whatever might be the difficulties in achieving independence, it was easy enough to see that a foreign Government was not good; and so the desire for independence was aroused.

But circumstances are different now. For instance, is an issue such as control and decontrol, one on which students should divide themselves? After independence all the issues that are raised in politics are issues of good administration and good laws to justify good administration. These are difficult issues and call for mature understanding. You may ask

me whether you are not mature enough to decide issues when you are considered mature enough to exercise your franchise. I will only repeat that advice given by the mother bird to the little bird, namely, let the wings grow a little stronger; then you can fly. The feeling that you are mature enough to decide issues shows that you have perfect confidence in yourselves. You think you are strong. You should continue to think so day after day till you are strong enough. My friends, you have big wings. They are growing strong under the patronage of your Principal and even your Union President. The time will come when the wings will be quite strong and then you can fly. Till then do not try to take part in the day-to-day political warfare.

As students you should not try to lay down standards of education. Can the steam-engine lay down a standard for its own boiler and crank? If you try to lower standards you will fall and others who have higher standards will be better off. So there is no use saying, 'Let us abolish examinations'. If there is to be promotion from one form to another without a test, the system of education will be destroyed. Tests are necessary. Tests are not intended to defeat your purpose. They are intended to encourage you to greater activity and so make you work hard; and they are also intended to test whether you are fit enough already or whether you should go through a further course. In practice, I know examinations are troublesome, but they are not bad. Suppose you want to act, do you not go through a series of rehearsals before you finally go on the stage? Similarly, examinations are necessary; but I want Principals and Professors not to be too rigid in these examinations.

Even after passing the University examinations, you will have to pass other examinations to enter service, and departmental examinations to get promoted or confirmed. After everything there is also the medical examination. So there is no end in life to these examinations and the fate of the human being is to undergo a number of examinations.

I take this opportunity to ask you not to be misled by slogans. Our Prime Minister has been saying this so often that it has also become a slogan. All the same I think it necessary to repeat it. How can you get the equipment necessary not to be misled? You study science to be good judges of nature or things in general. Scientific training enables you to come to right conclusions quickly on real data. You should not come to conclusion on imaginary things or on wishes and desires. Therefore you should pay attention to your studies. There is a story in the Mahabharata of a Brahmin doing *tapas* in order to be able to repeat the Vedas correctly. Indra asked him why he was doing *tapas* instead of studying Vedas and told him: "You cannot worry me with hunger-strike. You cannot get by a short-cut what can only be attained by hard labour and study." That is what I wish to tell you also. You cannot get on in life unless you devote attention and energy now to the work you have on hand and give your whole-hearted attention to it. Do not neglect your study. You cannot understand anything unless you concentrate on what you are doing at the present time. By that concentration you get 12 times the strength which you think you have. A beam of light concentrated on a point burns a paper. Similarly, ignorance will burn if you study without concentration.

TO WEAVERS

LIFE has become a complicated business these days. In olden days weavers used only hand-spun yarn and wove very fine fabrics. They became world famous for the quality of their workmanship. Now the situation has changed. They have become dependent on mill yarn. Another complication is that the mills that produce yarn also produce cloth. Mill-owners have their own problems to face. The Government alone cannot find a solution for this, though they have the responsibility and authority to do something on their own behalf. We have to protect the mill industry as well as handloom weavers and at the same time supply them with yarn. This has led to complications. Mill workers are nervous that if the mill industry is affected by claims of handloom weavers they might lose their jobs. The whole problem has become complicated as yarn that gets tied in knots and become difficult to set right.

There is no use precipitating things. The knotted yarn can be cut because it is not a live thing. But the knotted hair on the head cannot be cut and hasty attempts to set it right can only produce difficulties. I therefore appeal to you to have patience. Like naughty children who tear instead of setting right

their hair, some of the so-called leaders are instigating the weavers to stage hunger marches and create troubles for the very Government which is trying to do them a good turn. It is just like setting fire to a house in an attempt to cleanse it.

The people who have gathered at this conference must appeal to their more impatient and misguided fellow weavers to see reason and keep their patience for some time to come. Government is like a good milch cow which will kick when it is teased too much. No one doubts the suffering you are subjected to. But who in this world is not suffering at present? The big landlords who thought they were safe investing in land are now worried that it will be expropriated. The mill-owners who throve on the Swadeshi movement initiated by the Congress are now mortally afraid of their workers and some of them are now ready to hand over the mills to anybody who will take them and run them. Government service has also lost its attraction and no one is willing to take up a job as a Minister.

What I say of individuals and groups is true of nations also. America, though apparently very rich and prosperous, is suffering from a sort of political high blood pressure. In Russia conditions are such that there is no individual freedom and each man is spy to the other. Mr. Kumarappa had told me that a loaf of bread is sold in Russia for Rs. 200/-. Therefore, in the context of world events, we should not imagine that our own sufferings are very great. I earnestly request you to have trust in me and give me your unstinted co-operation in all that I may try to do for you.

TO MALAYAN STUDENTS

I AM glad to be in the delightful company of young men and women who are so cheerful and industrious, who are learning something here in India and hoping for a big future for their country Malaya which they consider a country worth working for and living in. From the way in which you, who differ so much from one another, seem to like one another I can see that you have already solved your problem of heterogeneity. You feel united as one already. I have come to the conclusion that all of you are bright, cheerful, intelligent and smart people and that you care nothing at all for differences of a religious or racial origin.

I feel sure that the people of Malaya will soon achieve their independence. In fact, they are independent already. They should not lay too much stress on their dependence. We in India committed the same mistake in thinking we were dependent on the British while all the time the British people were depending on us. Similarly, Britain depended on the Malayan people and not the Malayan people on the British. So, they are really independent and politically, they will be so soon. When you get political independence, do not quarrel among yourselves—

Malayans, Indians, and Chinese. Any one who lives there and is fond of that country should be recognised as a citizen. Only such an independence will be worth having. There are many free countries in Asia, but Malaya alone will be in the position of a Switzerland in Asia, composed of people of many races but living as one solid nation. I hope you will set an example to Asia as Switzerland set an example for Europe. Do not make too much of these differences of language and other things.

The Malayan language is remarkably simple, free from many of the grammatical hurdles of other languages; this makes the work easy for both the teacher and the taught. I would advise you to stick to that language. Then you will have no trouble in that beautiful Switzerland of Asia. Malaya will be as good as Switzerland, if you are intelligent, united and patriotic. If you work together without any differences you will be greater than your great neighbour India. You are young and I am confident that you will make Malaya independent, great and prosperous. You must also learn to be happy and the secret of happiness consists in being happy under difficulties. For that you must cultivate, while young, the spirit of cheerfulness.

There is no need for you to go to England or other foreign countries for your studies. You can come to Madras for your higher studies because the educational institutions here are good. I do not believe in sending our boys to outside countries for higher studies. Very often they do not return alone (Laughter) and sometimes they also learn a few wrong things. Students from Malaya can come to India and can also treat this as their own land.

I will see to it as will my successors that their applications for admission in colleges are not rejected. Their presence will be an education for the students of this country.

The percentage of Malayan people involved in the present troubles in Malaya is very small. The trouble in Malaya is the historical consequence of what happened there. It will soon die out. It has attracted a certain type of gangsters and being young and adventurous, they think that it is worthwhile carrying on. Even after Ireland attained freedom, the Revolutionary Army gave trouble. Similarly, the Bengal revolutionary gang continued for a long time. The revolution habit will continue even after the purpose is achieved. It will take some time for that habit to disappear. I am sorry that some Tamils were hanged apparently for nothing at all. But there is no need to get alarmed or vexed about it.

I am happy to see that the President of your Association is wearing national dress for this occasion; it is good to cultivate this external symbol of unity. I hope that all of you will adopt your national dress on such occasions. Singapore is a good name and you should not give it up even after you are politically free. People from India will have to go there for trade and other purposes, and like Ceylon, you should not start saying, 'Do not come here'. The whole world is going to become one ultimately. Nations of the world have got themselves entangled in one net or another from fear. They will ultimately become one. The atom bomb is so terrible that nobody dares to use it. Hereafter there will be no war because the atom bomb is there. They have gone back to cold war and so abuse one another. Let us give

our hearts to one another, let us be happy in each other's company. This is the secret of happiness in this world. Happiness comes out of cheerfulness, kindness and gentleness. That should be the aim of educated Malayan behaviour.

XXIII

BASIC EDUCATION

I WAS greatly heartened by what your Principal has said about me, and also by your reception. I have come here twice before. When I was young I used to hear people talk about this as 'normal school'. I wish they still called it so. The name 'Teachers' College' by which you call it now sounds grand, no doubt. You now have a model school; you have classes where you can try your hands on the boys; you try to make the boys begin to think by adopting various methods and even try to instil fear in them. I am told that a teacher is being trained here within a period of one year, though I think it should be a longer course. I am told that in the college a group of teachers can be got ready to teach boys and girls after a period of 12 months. If this is so, a week will soon be enough for a Doctor and two days for a Lawyer (Laughter). It is perhaps because you learn everything before becoming a graduate and you come to the college only to be calendered or polished. I personally think a much longer course is necessary for a teacher to get a B.T. degree. Take it for whatever it is worth and I leave it for your consideration—I think it should be at least three years. People now

prefer this course because they can take up the profession after one year. So it is not always the best men that come to the college. If it is converted into a three-year course, people will think twice before they take it up. If not for anything else, a longer period will be good for that reason alone. There is so much for the trainee to learn and they cannot handle students unless they have a longer training. Before learning anything you will have to forget so much and the greatest difficulty is to unlearn things. No doubt a longer course might mean some inconvenience and expenditure. If you want to become a teacher, you must become a good teacher, and you must learn a lot to become a good teacher. Now people want everything to be done quickly. They say time is of the essence. I am however of the view that time is not all the essence in such matters as training of teachers whose material is generations of people.

I am informed that some people even finish their course in three months before taking the B.T. degree. The idea of those coming here to take a degree in three months appears to be just to learn to adopt various means to make the boys begin to think, like instilling fear in them. It is no good instilling fear in boys to make them think correctly. Employers like District Boards who need teachers just send men of their category to undergo training for three months and take the B.T. degree. I am firmly of opinion that the three months' course is a farce. It is unimaginable that anything could be done in three months even though the man had been a teacher and gone through a degree course and had done practical work. It obviously means that the authorities

concerned think that it is far more difficult to do other things in the world than to teach boys. They seem to think that teaching is the easiest of all professions. Therefore, they prescribe terms of three months or one year. I cannot help repeating that the term of the course should be extended. I hope you will join with me in agitating for a longer term. It might mean some inconvenience. But unless we experience difficulties, we cannot do things in the world.

Your college is now nearing the centenary of its existence and has half a dozen institutions to specialise in. The basic school is a new ideal. Everybody is talking about it. My own complaint is that it is called 'basic'. It is a wrong term because when we give some name we should indicate what it is. The elementary school is a basic school and there is nothing wrong in calling it so. The beginning of education is denoted by "basic" or "elementary". But what is the distinctive feature of basic education? The distinctive feature is not that it is elementary or basic but that we teach through the medium of work in a basic school. Work is different from activity. Activity may be good or bad, may be useful or useless. In work, something is produced and what is produced is of some use to people around. Teaching through work is what was intended by Gandhiji when he referred to basic schools. But Gandhiji was not a master of the science of giving names and he thought that this basic thing was fundamental and very important and so he gave that name. That was done in a hurry. A man who is great is in a hurry also. He should have described the essential features of what he recommended.

Children learn much more by such methods as are recommended by the basic system than by text-books approved by the Text-Book Committees. Incidentally, I would suggest that all Text-Book Committees should be abolished (Cheers). The way in which my suggestion is received shows that it is the popular view. I am glad to learn that about 2800 teachers are being trained every year on the system of basic education. It may be that they are not good enough at the moment. But they are bound to improve with experience, and I hope they will gradually fill up the schools.

Some people think that this is a cheap method of giving education as the boys are made to produce something and that is why it is being introduced. Actually this is being introduced because it is a better method of education. Formerly, girls went through the mill in the house and learnt the household work. But today you find that they go to colleges to learn house-keeping (Laughter). They learn even from teachers abroad (Renewed laughter). No doubt they learn something in the college. But those things our girls used to learn in their houses in former days. During my recent visit to the Certified School at Chingleput, I saw that the boys in the school were all clever and they had learned already so many things—even pick-pocketing. But they are being taught there the multiplication table. In the basic system we teach in a straight way and not through symbols and so the children learn things quicker. The basic system is better, provided we go through it properly. But nothing is done properly in this world. It is very difficult to be trained in the basic system. Anything that is newly begun is difficult.

In the matter of education we have to deal with three generations at the same time. If we want to make any change in the system of education we have to deal first with the teacher who has already gone through the normal system of teaching. How to change him is the question. These teachers have their set ideas. Any new system of education involves difficulty in getting the teacher to accept it, in getting the university to accept it, in getting the Principal of the Teachers' College to accept it; and then the teacher has to accept it and practise it. It is much easier to change a man's religion than the system of education. I know how difficult it is to change the system of education because all are up against it. In the first place, the Director of Public Instruction is against you. The University is against you. All the Senators are against you. The Syndicate is against you and the college principals are all against you. It is because they are all brought up under a different system. If you bring in a new thing, they call you a madcap. They will pay heed only to big men like Gandhiji. People who accepted basic education did so out of fear of Mahatma Gandhi and not out of conviction. That is the difficulty. The second generation involved are those teaching. The third generation are those learning.

A correspondent recently asked me why I could not take steps to introduce some of the reforms in education which I suggested at meetings. There are so many difficulties and so many processes which have to be gone through. But officially we have introduced basic education. We have accepted it and therefore it will be gradually achieved. I wish that the Teachers' College should put its whole heart into it.

What I would advise is that in the basic system you should employ rural craftsmen, born craftsmen if I may say so, because in our country every craftsman is a born craftsman. You are born a weaver, a barber, a dhobi and so on. But what we now do is, we just take a man who has learnt the alphabets and taken a degree and put him near a craftsman. He learns literary crafts and we call him a basic teacher. Employ a born craftsman and it does not matter if he is illiterate. It is better if he is illiterate as what is required is the direct method of teaching. It is not good taking a half-baked school-master and calling him a basic school master. I hope what I say will get the approval of those who are functioning. Authority is nothing. I may pass orders. But the teachers have to carry them out.

A CHANCE TO THE UNPRIVILEGED

THIS meeting has now been going on for over a couple of hours and a section of the audience is, I am afraid, showing some amount of restlessness. This itself vindicates the principle on which I have based the new scheme of elementary education. When you, 'grown up children', find it irksome to sit in one place continuously for three hours, is it not wholly wrong to allow little children to be confined to class rooms for five hours? You have yourself proved that children should not be kept in class rooms for more than three hours. If the teaching hour is short, children will listen attentively to what is being taught and also remember what they have heard.

Though it may sound like boasting, I have all through my life tried to do only good to the poor. My opponents may argue that I might be doing good to the poor but that I am still caste-conscious. They may even go to the extent of saying that I do not like to see any person belonging to another caste coming up or prospering. That is a wrong charge, and I can only pity those who believe this. This again only shows that all the propaganda which is being carried on to remove caste distinctions has only resulted in aggravating the differences.

I have lost hope of convincing such friends by arguments and have come to the conclusion that their hearts can change only by the grace of God. I have had in my life experiences of such changes coming over people. I am, therefore, confident that in this matter also the hearts of my opponents will change and that they will eventually support this scheme. How else can we hope to spread universal literacy in 10 or 15 years? Where will we find all the money required for this purpose? The question of universal literacy is not important in this context and the absence of it is not going to ruin the country. We have a tradition and a culture which enables us to distinguish right from the wrong without being able to read or write. One may be illiterate and yet can be good and intelligent. What is required is goodness of heart and character.

I have not introduced the new scheme of elementary education with a view to fulfilling the provision in the Constitution in the matter of literacy though that will also be one of the results. I have formulated the scheme in the interest of education itself. This is not a matter to be argued on but one to be practised and tested. Still, when the system is being criticised in public and in the newspapers, it becomes necessary to answer some of the criticisms in order to remove doubts and fears from the public mind. I will utter a note of warning that while we are indulging in hair-splitting arguments about the scheme here, other states are busy giving effect to it.

The issue is quite simple. The need for having Basic Schools has been accepted and approved of by the Sergeant Committee. The main feature of basic education is that three hours a day should be devoted

to teaching the three R's and three hours to some craft. But we trained people as teachers who had no connection with any craft for generations. These teachers acquire some theoretical knowledge but are unable to do anything with their own hands. By entrusting basic education to such teachers we are only preparing the ground to prove that basic education is not a success. I once had a discussion with Mahatmaji on this subject and had suggested that artisans should be asked to teach crafts to children. The objection to this is that village artisans are illiterate. That is a wrong approach because, when a person knows how to read and write, the emphasis shifts to words and not to work. Again, an artisan who teaches his son a vocation can teach a class of students how to handle a chisel or a trowel. My own view is that only a potter should teach others how to make pots. A teacher with theoretical knowledge in pottery may know that, to make a pot, earth has to be mixed but he cannot do the actual mixing. There is no dearth of craftsmen in this country. If rules stand in the way of employing them as teachers, the other alternative is to send the children to these artisans and induce them to allow the children to watch them while at work. That is all that the new scheme seeks to do. In the absence of a better scheme all that I ask for is to give my scheme a fair trial.

One of the arguments advanced against the system is that a knowledge of family vocation will stand in the way of a young man taking to higher professional education or higher education leading to administrative services. This is also a mistaken idea, for a young man who knows how to use his hands will have preference in the matter of admission to

professional colleges over those who do not know how to use their hands. In this way students coming from villages will in future score over students coming from towns. This is the truth and I have no doubt that the scheme I have introduced will prove a success.

Before deciding to introduce the scheme I had asked the Director of Public Instruction whether three hours a day would be sufficient for teaching the three R's. The reply was an emphatic 'yes'. It was only then I decided to introduce this system. Should I have trust in my own Director of Public Instruction or should I go on consulting editors of newspapers? As regards training in crafts the success of the scheme will be in varying degrees in the beginning until those in charge of education learn from experience. The main occupation in the country is cultivation, and the cultivator must come to realise that the children coming to him are his own children and that he is as important a factor in the scheme of education as the teacher who teaches them how to read and write. This will take some time but no harm will have been done in the meantime.

The opposition to the scheme comes mainly from those who do not want to do any physical labour. There are others who ask whether there will be any examination in the crafts. That may come or may not come. But I would like you to ponder over one factor. Are not the children of parents with an educational tradition at an advantage now over children whose parents have no education at all? Should an examination in crafts be held, will not the children of illiterate artisans score over the other class of children? In that way will not

the handicap of the poor man's children be removed? The new system gives a chance to the backward people to progress. I would, therefore, appeal to you all to support the scheme or at least desist from opposing it.

DO NOT GET INTO DEBT WITH TIME

AS I rise to speak, my thoughts linger with Sri T. Vijayaraghavacharya, news of whose demise has cast a gloom over us. Our friendship had grown during the last 50 years and his demise has come as a great shock to me. Under ordinary circumstances, I should have excused myself from attending today's function. But apart from one's duty to carry on without any disturbance on account of private affairs, it appeared to me to be a special duty cast on me to express my feelings on the occasion when the person whom you had invited to preside has passed away.

You are, no doubt, meeting on the occasion of a college day. But all things in the world are inter-related. It is as well that students of medicine should now and then find themselves in the position of witnessing the inevitability of death. As I told you, we had grown up together from the time we were young. The romance of our friendship continued over many years. We taught each other and learnt from one another. It is a very strange thing that you put down Sri T. Vijayaraghavacharya to preside this day when it was allotted that he should pass away and that you should have chosen me, who was so intimately connected with him, to speak on the same

occasion. All this is a mystery along with the many other mysteries of the world whose meaning we are unable to understand. But we can draw a lesson from them—the lesson of humility and surrender to God in all matters.

In your address you have expressed the hope that this institution will become a good and unique one in India. I hope your wishes will be fulfilled. But remember this; your wishes will be fulfilled only when you work for such fulfilment. No wishes can be fulfilled unless we work hard and also pray. Work in a prayerful mood is what is wanted, if you desire that your institution should be considered as great and unique throughout India, as I think it is likely to be. This can come to pass only if all concerned give up laziness or the desire to get things done without working for them. It is no use passing an examination without deserving it. You cannot deserve a pass unless you work hard. You should not therefore postpone working to the next year or the year after. Any man gets into debt with time by postponing his work. It is foolish to imagine that what one borrows from time is something gained any more than money borrowed is money gained. Therefore, I urge you not to procrastinate in your work. You should also try to work intelligently. Even examiners have fairly good eyes and if you do not do well, you will not get a pass. You may agitate for all the world, you may go on a hunger strike, but a pass is a pass. You may get a pass for a hunger strike or agitation but not for having learned medicine (Laughter).

There is a story in the Mahabharata of a youth who tried to attain knowledge of the Vedas through

tapas. But the Gods told him that there was the open way to acquire knowledge through study, and he would be only wasting time if he tried to acquire knowledge of the Vedas by *tapas* instead of by study. Therefore, you should work hard, if you really want to make the college a unique one in all India, as I think it is already. In no other place is there such a good institution. There are not many colleges combining modern medicine with our ancient inheritance. That alone will not be enough. There must be quality also. You should learn all that there is in the old books very properly, fully and understand them completely. Remember that Ayurveda is not merely book knowledge but is meant to be practised. India stopped growing at a point, but knowledge and truth did not cease growing. While we were stagnating, knowledge kept growing. The Goddess of learning is a very impartial lady. Wherever she receives good attention, there she flourishes. That is what happened to the ancient medical knowledge of India. It was taken away from place to place like the rest of the goods of the world. The growing West was knowledge-hungry and was greedy to get knowledge from wherever it could. That is how knowledge of medicine, mathematics etc. spread from India to Europe in the West, and to China in the East. Hakim Ajmal Khan of Delhi once told me that what is called 'Unani' medicine is only Ayurveda which spread to other countries through Greece. The term 'Unani' means 'Greek'. But what good is all this pride, in the background of all that has happened subsequently? What did we do with the knowledge and what did others do with it? The Goddess of knowledge

was treated better in the West and she grew there. It is our own knowledge come back with additional beauty, power, and experience. Knowledge, however, is everybody's property. It does not diminish with distribution.

Because of the gap in our country's knowledge due to the fact that India stopped growing at a point while it developed in the West, there is now a need for a suitable technique to get over the gap. Fresh research is necessary. Research should be carried out not only in the matter of drugs, but also in regard to the knowledge of the human body itself. If one follows the funeral rites common among orthodox Hindus, such as *sanchayana* of bones on the second day, one will find that we were quite familiar with anatomy and physiology. People of the world know more now, indeed so much that the very bulk of this knowledge confounds. Integration of knowledge is as important as volume and so people are now reverting to integration even in the West. Particularly, treatment is giving way to generality of approach in understanding disease. The trend in modern medicine is towards such generalisation and to correct errors arising from over-particularisation. Indigenous medicine, as it is called now, has always stood for such a general approach. Your study of the indigenous as well as modern medicine should enable you to reach quickly the right way of approaching things. That is also another reason why I said this college has a great future, provided you work hard, diligently and industriously. You should start to work from now on. You will not be able to make up later if you delay doing things now. Forget everything else

that you might have heard from me, but remember these words. Study honestly, work honestly, hard and diligently. There is not much difference between one student and another. They are all gifted more or less alike, in brains as well as personalities. Let us not be disheartened by thinking that another boy is very clever and that we are not quite so clever. One of the worst things about our educational system is that it emphasises this competitive spirit. A system of constant competition such as is bred in schools and colleges stunts the growth of intellect as well as character and leads to jealousy, greed and envy which develops slowly but impresses the young minds. All of you will be successful if you work well and hard. If any one is not very bright, he should only work a little harder than before. Sometimes, one who takes more time to understand fares better in the long run for the delay; he retains things better. One who is quick at learning may often be as quick to forget.

Recently the Government of Madras have paid a lot of attention to the affairs of the college. A great deal of thought has been paid to the curriculum. I think it has now been greatly improved. We have to put in a lot more of modern medicine because that part of the curriculum requires more attention, more work and more time. The clinical work around you cannot be taken advantage of unless you can use more of modern medicine into it. It may be that you do right here or wrong there. But it is only through the process of trial and error that you reach true knowledge. No great harm will be done if in regard to the curriculum too we go through this process. You should not over-

stress the need for equipment. While some equipment is very helpful, we should remember that the most fundamental truths were discovered by men who had little or no equipment. Later discoveries made with a lot of equipment and appliances only confirmed or made additions to what the giants of earlier ages had discovered without equipment or appliances. The curriculum is like an implement. You can do many things even though the implement is defective. A better curriculum may come later, but what has been done even under the existing curriculum will be very useful still. I would advise you to leave worrying about the curriculum, posting of teachers, system of examinations or quality of text-books to those in charge. You must concentrate on learning and work hard and earnestly. The world will not go wrong because some of these things are defective. In the past many things were defective; even so, men acquired knowledge and did well. You can make a great deal of progress under any system. That does not mean that something defective should not be set right. I only wish that those who go through this system should not worry about these facts. Leave the business of reform to those in charge. Do not waste time over things which do not belong to your sphere, but carry on, whatever the conditions under which you have to work, and, sure as anything, you will do well.

SANSKRIT

THE fact that I have been invited to preside over a gathering of so many eminent scholars in Tamil and Sanskrit seems to be due to a hope that you can expect some substantial help in the new regime for Sanskrit. Reference has been made earlier to the incident in Vedanta Desika's life where he declined the invitation of the Vijayanagar Kings and Ministers and kept on to his life of dedication to learning. We cannot think of a greater example in Tamil Nad, of one who had lived the ideals which Sri Krishna taught. Such lives bring home to people the supreme virtue of the highest ideals of Hindu tradition and culture where respect is given only to the good and the learned and not to those in seats of mere power.

I would urge students of Sanskrit to study other languages and gain knowledge in other spheres also. Little help can be provided by the State in these modern days for those who say they will study only Sanskrit and nothing else. To extend help to them out of public resources may lead to difficulties and objections. Among those who have sent messages to-day is Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, one who is truly learned not only in Sanskrit and the Vedas,

but in English, in law, and in other fields of knowledge and entitled in every way to respect. There is another instance of some one very learned in Sanskrit who is also learned in other languages and subjects—Mr. Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar, whose study of *Sankara Bhashya* is as keen as his study of works of law. There is the other instance of Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, another great Sanskrit scholar, who was greatly learned in other subjects. All these instances only show that the learning of Sanskrit by itself, although laudable and praiseworthy, will not suffice; you should learn other languages also. I can understand the plea for more time to be allotted for the study of Sanskrit in schools and colleges, or more assistance to be given to students to learn Sanskrit also. It is not correct to call Sanskrit a “dead language”. No language ever dies. What dies is really one’s capacity to learn and wield a language, not the language itself.

In this connection, you should bear in mind that much of the difficulty of learning the language arises because of its grammar. Sanskrit grammar is particularly difficult. But the fact that so many people devote themselves to its study, despite its great difficulty and its comparatively poor remunerativeness, shows their keenness. People who devote themselves to learning, irrespective of other considerations, are entitled to respect. Such persons are impelled by a sense of duty to their ancient inheritance. It is as praiseworthy as the action of one who cherishes and attends on a decrepit relative in her absolutely useless old age. We need not pay such people or even get them public honour; if at least we could protect them from trouble and difficulty

and disregard, we would be doing a great service. I plead inability to do much of what has been suggested for Sanskrit; but I will urge you to realise the truth that few people send their children to Sanskrit colleges unless they have failed totally in their efforts to get them admitted into other institutions. There are very few who take to learning Sanskrit in the true spirit of devotion to learning for its own sake. I do not blame anyone for this; it is largely conditioned by the times. But, to those who take to Sanskrit, whatever the reason, I will merely repeat my earlier advice, not to stop with learning Sanskrit but gather other knowledge also, if they want to do well in life.

The study of Tamil has made great progress from what it was some years back. Even schoolboys to-day speak and write better Tamil than formerly. Indeed, they seem to have learnt so much that they believe that a high-flown style is the true work of scholarship. So they speak and write their mother-tongue in a style which their mothers do not understand. As against this, there is another extreme which too has to be avoided, the tendency to import foreign words into the mother-tongue needlessly, like mixing up English, Hindustani or other words in ordinary Tamil, written or conversational.

In regard to the study of Sanskrit also there is greater interest to-day than prevailed among people in my younger days. There are at present several factors which, I believe, will make for the future well-being of Sanskrit. That language will prosper, and people will themselves begin to bestow care and attention on its growth. If I now attempt to do anything in that direction by imposing anything from

outside, it will only lead to a "Kurukshetra" All languages are the gifts of the Goddess of Learning. Every language has its own excellence and its contribution to make to the total of human well-being. We should try to learn as many languages as we possibly can or wish to. Learning Sanskrit will not impede one from learning Tamil. In fact, learning another language will strengthen and enrich the learning of one's own language. One who studies Sanskrit and then reverts to the study of Tamil will find greater joy in the study than one who attains real knowledge through either language. We should not indulge in vain pride that learning Sanskrit alone can lead to real *jnana*. We should not, on this account, indulge in foolish quarrels. Instead, let us turn our anger against real *ajnana* and tendencies to evil. I would suggest that students engaged in learning Sanskrit should gradually persuade other students also to learn Sanskrit during such hours as they can spare. We should instil in these students a taste for learning. A lot can be done through persuasion and voluntary effort. If I tried to impose anything in this connection on students, it would lead to needless difficulties and conflicts. I wish the students and the college all prosperity.

XXVII

A RELIGION FOR MODERN TIMES

MANY earnest men from foreign lands have studied Hindu religious philosophy and some of them have shown a measure of understanding that is truly surprising when one remembers the great difference in religion and tradition between these scholars and their subject of study. In spite of their talent this difference in milieu is a real and great handicap in the way of just appreciation. As for our own savants, the trouble has always been that one is apt to fail to see the wood for the trees. The chief aim of my present exposition will be to bring the civic aspect of Hindu philosophy into prominence. I claim that the philosophy of Hinduism is particularly suited to create and shape a conscience for the effective performance of those civic obligations without which there can be no progress in modern times.

Secondly, I claim that no religious philosophy is so consistent with modern scientific knowledge as that which forms the common fundamental of the worship of the Almighty in India, and this is important as there can be no normality or psychological well-being with inconsistencies prevailing between religious practice and accepted knowledge. Last but not least, I wish to emphasise that the catholicity

that lies at the root of Hindu philosophy makes it specially suitable for creating conditions in the present-day world for ordered advance in the way of general happiness.

If it is thought that the history of civilisation in India has failed to prove my proposition in respect of Hindu philosophy and civic conscience, I may submit that the fault lies in the latter-day decline of devotion to that philosophy and not in the philosophy itself. The falling off in recent centuries in living devotion to the philosophy to which people have continued to give external allegiance was certainly due to political conditions which interrupted the natural link between creed and life. We have an opportunity now to test the validity of all the civic claims I have made for the Vedanta philosophy; for now we have conditions and opportunities conducive to shape daily life on the basis of religious conviction.

It is my firm belief that Vedanta as conceived and developed in ancient India is a faith particularly suitable for modern times. Indeed, it is my conviction that it is more consistent with the discipline and knowledge that have come to stay in the world through science than most other religious philosophies and beliefs, and for that reason it is more suitable for whole-hearted adoption and practice today than ever before.

Other religions are more or less based on fear—that is on the punishment that may be inflicted by a supreme authority. Some phases of Hindu religion that have survived Vedanta may seem to suffer from this common frailty of dependence on what may be called the postulate of monarchic rule. But it may

be generally and truly stated that Hindu philosophy rests more on the rule of law than on the authority of a Ruler—on law as understood by natural philosophy, not authoritarian law enunciated by law-making bodies for execution by courts.

We read in Chapter IX of the Bhagavad Gita, verses 4-10, that all beings abide in God but He stands apart from them. He is the origin and the support of beings; yet, He stands apart from them. He uses Nature and creates again and again all this multitude of beings, keeping them completely dependent on Nature. It is a part of His scheme of sovereignty that Nature brings forth the moving and unmoving and in consequence of it, the world evolves. A study of the Upanishads will show that the universe is recognised therein as the result of a gradual unfolding of the creative power inherent in the primordial substance. It is a remarkable achievement of intellect and imagination—it would not be incorrect to call it inspiration—that the rule of law as known in science was anticipated in the Hindu scriptures.

It would not be wrong even to claim that the philosophy of Hinduism anticipated the basic theories of biology and physics. The very approach to things that one can read in the Upanishads is a scientific approach. There is constant insistence on adherence to truth and investigation. Hindu faith does not rest on the unusual or the miraculous but is linked to unchangeable law. Religions, running counter to the discipline of physical science and demanding compartmental loyalty, can only lead to hypocrisy. My claim is that Hindu philosophy steers clear of this.

Just as Vedānta anticipated the basic ideas of

science in respect of evolution and prepared the ground for harmonising religion with science, so also the Hindu seers saw long ago that the profit motive, the civic right of unrestricted competition, was inconsistent with human progress. The Hindu scripture lays down in clear and emphatic terms the doctrine of work for the sake of society according to capacity and not for profit. The Gita lays stress also on what is a necessary corollary of this, the equal dignity of every form of labour. It furnishes the motive power for the altruistic performance of work by elevating it to the level of religious worship and piety. This is what is known by the oft-repeated, but I fear inadequately understood term, *Karma Yoga*. It is not for profit but as an offering to God that one is asked to work. If a man is devoted to his particular duties and performs them, he wins Beatitude.

When a man performs his proper duty, he worships Him from whom the world issued and by whom all that we see is pervaded. It is better for one to do imperfectly the duties that fall to his lot than to do those of others perfectly. One should not abandon one's natural duty even if evils seem to adhere thereto. Every human activity involves some evil as fire carries smoke. He who works with mind detached and free from selfish longings is the real sanyasi. In these terms the Gita explains true renunciation.

The Gita thus supplies the spiritual foundation necessary for the new economy that is everywhere sought to be installed in the modern world in place of what has been found completely inadequate, namely, the motive of private profit. Yet these very

texts, which I have just now condensed and rendered into English, have lent themselves in the hands of ignorant critics to the interpretation that the verses are an apology for the selfish preservation of privileges. Perversity and prejudice can convert elixir into poison.

In modern conditions, wherein costlier standards of living have come to stay and increased population has created very difficult problems, the common weal must have the dominant claim over the activities of every individual and people must govern themselves and live under a regulated economy. This regulation causes widespread and deeply felt pain. It hurts because it goes against the instinctive desire of the individual to be free. Therefore, regulation should be so designed as not to completely stifle individual liberty and initiative and the joy that flows therefrom. The pain of a regulated economy is due to the fact that the regulation comes from outside, imposed by an external authority. Properly designed and placed on a spiritual basis, a regulated economy need not be inconsistent with individual satisfaction and individual zeal. The restraints and habits of mind that are required to be developed for altruistic action must flow from faith and inner conviction.

Community-effort is but the sum total of individual effort and it cannot be brought into being unless individuals work with zeal, deriving joy therefrom. Joy can only be in the individual because a corporation as such has no feelings. We should therefore find and furnish a compelling motive to the individual, a motive not of fear but of joy. I claim that Religion is a necessary and appropriate force for

effective and just regulation. It is only a spiritual faith and force that can make men work and enable them to find pleasure in working for the common weal. And this is the very doctrine of life that forms the kernel of Hindu religious thought and was preached so long ago in the Gita.

There is hardly any one who now believes that the old scheme of life, which gave prosperity to Europe in the nineteenth century, has now any validity. Individual competition has to give place to regulated co-operative economy in varying degrees of pace in the several departments of life. This new economy, not based on self-interest but on something else almost the opposite of it, calls for a spiritual and cultural basis contra-distinguished from a material selfish basis. Communism may talk of a materialist dialectic and claim success. But it is forgotten that revolution and misfortune and widespread trouble produce a state of mind which temporarily functions like spiritual faith. Where a new order of non-competitive economy has in any measure succeeded, it is due to the fact that what is equivalent to a spiritual upheaval resulted from widespread revolution or war which enabled the ruling out of the motive of selfishness. This was a good enough temporary substitute for religion. But it cannot last for all time.

The prosperity that undoubtedly resulted in Europe from the economy of private enterprise and competition necessarily carried with it inequality of distribution. The very power of that economy was derived from difference as power is derived from a fall of water. Some people had to live in squalor, may be in the same country or may be else-

where—the latter was easier wherever it was possible—in order that prosperity might be built up at a visible point. But now squalor is considered disgraceful, whether it be among certain sections of people in the same country or elsewhere, and it is considered criminal to be found building up one's wealth on other people's poverty. It is now the accepted doctrine of economic conduct that wealth should be produced without producing unhappiness anywhere. Inequality or unhappiness is no longer considered as inevitable or tolerable. Economic competition, obvious or concealed, is now considered to be only another edition of the law of the jungle.

It is not considered decent to leave the Devil to take the hind-most. It is no longer considered right to look upon individual effort and individual life as a private and sacred enclosure into which no trespass is to be allowed. In the interest of society as a whole these trespasses into private affairs are now deemed not only permissible but obligatory.

Unfortunately, however, those who happened by the accidents of history to lead movements for the demolition of old economic ideas and for the establishment of the all-prevailing dominance of the public weal and for the re-organisation of society on a non-competitive economy, were tempted by an immediate strategic advantage. They saw that discontent must be produced in order to help a violent revolution and religion fostered contentment. They worked therefore for the demolition of religion, treating it as an opiate and as a part of the old economy. The protagonists of equality thus demolished or sought to demolish—let us hope unsuccessfully—the spiritual basis for human conduct, the very thing required to

make conduct unselfish and directed towards the public weal rather than to one's own individual advantage. Religion acted as a consolation and helped men and women to bear misfortunes; it helped men in particular to tolerate inequality; and since inequalities must go, they said we must remove everything that helps men to bear with it. They therefore concluded that religion must go, if not by force then by other subtle pressures.

Thus, what could support the new economy of unselfishness, indeed what alone could support and furnish power to the new idea of unselfish production of wealth, it was decided to destroy. This was suicidal and an unnecessary addition to the programme of economic revolution, and though for the moment its adverse effect was concealed by the prevailing spiritual power of a revolutionary upheaval, the substitute could not last for all time. It was not the intention, nor was it possible for men and women to live for ever in a state of war and on the emotional ecstasy of antagonism. So, the new economy of production of wealth had in course of time to be supported by all sorts of make-shift compromises to give some sense of personal advantage.

What obviously supported the old economy of work, viz., the profit-motive, came to be re-permitted in concealed ways. The law of selfishness cannot altogether be substituted by force nor can unselfishness be maintained by the mere vigilance of the State. The supervising power has a tendency to deteriorate and get less and less powerful, and compromises by way of concealed personal advantage have to be provided in place of the old frank acceptance of the rule of personal profit. But these make-shifts cannot serve

the purpose so well immediately, or be self-sustaining for long-term purposes.

The truth is that society, though the concept is grammatically singular in number, is physically and psychologically plural in reality. It is not one living organism. It is made up of many individuals, who can never get rid of individuality and what flows from it. We may develop altruism by several means, but we can never wholly do away with the individual. If this is accepted as correct, how then shall we keep the individual fully alive in spirit and in action and yet make individual activity truly subservient to the general interest? The claim I put forward is that the Gita code of conduct, which is organically connected with the philosophy of the Upanishads, gives the answer. The secret lies in the substitution of the compulsion and vigilance of the State by a religion that develops an inner law more vigilant than the eye of spies and more effective than the arm of external law.

Now I come to a feature of Hinduism that is unique among all the religions of the world, ancient and modern, viz., its specific and positive doctrine of catholicity. The Hindu tradition prescribes that it is not open to any Hindu, whatever the name and mental image of the Supreme Being he may use for his own devotional exercises, to deny the Gods that others worship. He can praise the name and raise the image of his choice to the highest, but he cannot deny the divinity or the truth of the God of other denominations. This unshaken tradition of Hinduism makes it possible for pious fervour to operate on conscience and spirit without disturbing the peace of community life in a composite world. It makes Hindu religious

thought as modern in suitability as it is ancient in conception and development. This unique and all important aspect of Hinduism is emphasized in several important and oft-quoted verses in Chapters IV, VII and IX of the Gita. Forms of worship may differ, but all lead to God.

In whatsoever way men approach God, the Gita emphatically lays down that God blesses them. Whatever the path that men may take in worship, it assures us they reach God. The Gita teaching of course referred to the unit of goal of all forms of worship that were prevalent at the time. But the doctrine is stated in such wide terms and so broadbased on essential principle as to be applicable to every variety of religion.

When one contemplates how the Hindu seers so clearly and so long ago saw the truth that justifies this catholicity, one cannot but be lost in wonderment and reverent admiration. This, what I may call the brightest jewel in our inheritance, is a teaching of the highest value for peace and progress and for the world's happiness and spiritual advancement.

All this may be accepted, but the sceptic may ask, 'What about renunciation? What about *karma*? How can Hinduism, which preaches *Sanyas* and Fatalism, be suitable for an age wherein hard work and the due performance of civic duties are so essential?' I shall seek to deal with these queries. First, let me state definitely that it is not the teaching of Vedanta that men should renounce activities and become anchorites. Vedanta demands renunciation, but the renunciation is different from what is referred to in the argument against the suitability of Hinduism for the modern citizen. It is renunciation of false values

renunciation of attachment that the Vedanta wants in its votaries.

What is preached in the Vedanta is enlightened and true evaluation of essentials and a spirit of detachment. And this is explained and reiterated in the Gita quite as if this very query raised now had specifically been put to Sri Krishna. *Buddhi* and *asangha* are insisted on, not *sanyas*. Indeed, the performance of tasks with detachment is the lesson that is dinned into the reader in every chapter of the Bhagavad Gita. It is not necessary to quote passages. There is no room whatsoever for doubt on this head. The Upanishads and the Gita want men to get rid of the impediment to true social co-operation, viz., the desire for pleasure and pleasurable sensations. It is this desire that leads to error, anger, confusion of mind and pain and grief.

The ideal citizen should perform his tasks and duties with detachment. His activities should be in general interest, not for selfish gain. This is the great teaching of the Gita that has justly made it as famous in modern times as it is classic in the Vedantic tradition. Out of the Upanishad teaching and its doctrine of the ultimate reality, the modern citizen can derive a fearlessness of spirit which, added to the detachment and rigorous execution of duties preached by the Gita, could make of every citizen a veritable giant in the service of society.

The resolution and fearlessness that characterised Mahatma Gandhi's long, strenuous and dedicated life were inspired by this philosophy and this religion. This single illustration from recent history is perhaps more convincing than hours of argument.

Coming to *karma*, the doctrine that makes

Hinduism what it is, is nothing but the great law of cause and effect in things spiritual. You cannot, in the material or the psychological world, get rid of the effects of what you do. And as the body is not the whole of the matter but there is an immortal Spirit dwelling in and making the human being what he is, death does not end the chain of sequence. The working agent, the Spirit in the body, does not and cannot die with the body. He shapes himself moment by moment by his activities, mental or physical. At death, he does not disappear into nothing but enters a new tenement which he has built for himself by his life-activities. This is Hinduism. You may accept it or reject it and search for other theories. But if accepted, the Hindu theory of *karma* gives the highest sense of responsibility to the citizen.

No explanation or theory in regard to the ultimate nature and cause of things can be made proof against all logical difficulties. Our Knowledge is necessarily finite and we cannot discover and resolve the mysteries of infinity. On the assumption of the soul as the basis of personality, it can be claimed that no theory can be formulated more in harmony with known laws of nature than the Hindu doctrine of *karma*. It is the application in the moral sphere of the law of conservation of energy as established by the physicists. Indeed, both the physicists' law and the doctrines of *karma* may be looked upon as parts of the same universal law.

It is wrong to think of *karma* in terms of what may be facetiously called its western halfbrother, Fatalism. Destiny, as taught in Vedanta, does not involve an unscientific attitude towards natural laws or a loss of faith in human effort which is Fatalism.

Karma is just the unalterable law of effect following cause. Newton put it in clear terms with respect to physical momentum. The Vedanta puts it down for the motions of the soul. Is it possible to do a thing and escape its consequences? One cannot expect a particular result to happen for which something else appropriate to produce that result could have been done. Given a certain thought or act, the natural result cannot be escaped.

This is *karma*. Is it not well for citizens to see this truth, to accept it as binding doctrine and perform their tasks and duties and avoid the prohibitions, not in fear of the Magistrate, but remembering this inescapable law?

The law of *karma* does not do away with free will and the value of initiative or endeavour. On the contrary, it is the truest charter of freedom and initiative. The thoughts you entertain, the words you choose to speak, the acts you do, the restraints you exercise on yourself, all these produce their full fruit; no effort goes for nought. If no one can be robbed of the fruits of his labour, is it not true freedom?

There cannot be any better freedom in the world for man than that his future is entirely in his hands. The very meaning of the word "Karma" is work. It is the law of work that is laid down in Vedanta, not a doctrine of negation of human effort. *Vidhi* is law, not blind Fate.

Need I say anything more to demonstrate that the doctrine of *karma* is as far from Fatalism as poles are asunder. Man evolves himself according to his thoughts and actions and even death does not terminate the opportunity for remedy and progress. This is Hinduism. Pious Christians and Vaishnavites

may here feel a doubt. If *karma* is inescapable and sin must go through what it has unfortunately earned, is there no room then for Grace in Hinduism? Yes, there is. Grace comes through penitence and penitence is human effort and victorious effort. Grace is not the caprice of the Lord. When penitence has truly been achieved by the soul, it so completely changes the heart of the penitent that he attributes it to the caprice of the Lord. But that is only one of the beauties of the joy of penitence. It does not alter the law of *karma*.

Penitence is an act that has its full reward like any other act. Penitence is the victory of the soul in its battle against evil and the conquering soul feels the victory contemporaneously with the battle itself. It is a rapturous combination of the pain of battle and the joy of victory. Sin is worked out in *karma* through true sorrow and suffering undergone by the sinner. There is no contradiction between the doctrines of Grace and of *karma*.

A question may be asked here. Supposing one accepts the doctrine of re-birth, what good is it, however to be told that something will be fruitful in a future birth wherein we shall have no memories of the past? How can it foster or further individual initiative or endeavour? Why should I labour or renounce or retrench my present joy for one who will come to exist in another birth with whom you identify me but which identity is not felt by me now or will be felt then? Thus may the pleasure-seeker pose his difficulty. The answer is this.

Friend, do you not derive a joy in doing the right thing apart from its effects or your own advantage? The joy of right conduct is inherent in human nature.

All recorded and unrecorded experience confirms this for every one, big and small. Members of a family or of a village intuitively work for one another and derive pleasure therefrom. Though they may obtain no personal advantage from it, they are immensely happy when they do it.

People are not indifferent to the good of their village or their country. The joy of right conduct and of mutual helpfulness is as real as the universal force of attraction that the men of science call by the name of gravitation. The Great and Universal One has become many and the many seek to become one again and are attracted to one another. The original unity reasserts itself in the shape of the several forces that attract things and beings to one another. Men sacrifice themselves for the good of the State, for the safety of future citizens and for their happiness in the coming generations. In all this, men and women derive a joy which is instinctive and not argued from hopes or expectations of present or future rewards for such conduct.

We do not know who will enjoy the shade of the trees we plant on the road-side. Still we do plant them. In regulating our conduct for re-birth, we follow a similar process that contributes to peopling the future world with good men and women. Posterity is 'ourselves' according to Hinduism. Let us do what we can to raise a good race. Let us be good and where we have sinned, let us repent. Let us plant our souls in the good earth and be born again as good men, be it even without memories which, if we had, we could not bear the painful weight thereof.

Let us be re-born, purified and better, than we are. If we all try thus, the world will ultimately be a world

full of good men. This is the plan of Vedanta, the eugenics of souls, a scientific plan to bring into existence a better breed of men. Have we not laboured to improve the breed of poultry and cattle? Have we not succeeded wonderfully therein? Let us improve the breed of men, bodies as well as souls. The hens do not remember their previous state. What does it matter? The cows do not recognise the progress that animal husbandry has brought to the race of cows. What does it matter if we shall not be able to remember who we were? Indeed, it is better we do not remember.

The object of right living is to a Vedantin two-fold—one's own true happiness is attained thereby and one also contributes to a better world through rebirth. From simple rural co-operation to patriotism and from patriotism to Vedanta, it is an integrated whole in widening circles. Co-operation improves the village. Patriotism produces a better country-wide state of things. Vedanta will bring into being a better world.

Summarising what I have attempted to explain, religions that contradict the conclusions of science cannot but degenerate into formalism and hypocrisy and Hindu philosophy can claim to be peculiarly in harmony with the latest knowledge. Secondly, if human happiness and progress depend on doing away with selfishness and have to be based on a new economy of social co-operation, Hindu philosophy furnishes a faith and a culture which are peculiarly fitted for such reorganisation and which can support and strengthen the compulsory laws of a democratic State. Thirdly, Hindu philosophy has raised catholicity and tolerance to the level of positive and cardinal reli-

gious duty. Hindu philosophy has thus potentialities to make the greatest positive contribution to civilisation. It has no quarrel whatsoever with the physicist or the geologist, and yet it offers a firm spiritual foundation for a new co-operative and catholic polity for the governance of the world. It is not an opiate but can be a powerful driving force and automatic regulator.

XXVIII

INDIAN COMMUNISTS

I have come to Malabar many times, more than thirty years ago as well as recently. The latter-day flying visits have not left such deep impressions in my memory tablets as what remain like events of yesterday, the memories of my many countrywide wanderings and long sojourns of 1920 and the period immediately following, during the inauguration of Non-co-operation. Those were great days. My old friends and colleagues of that period are almost all gone out of commission, dead or incapacitated. Even the young volunteers of those days who served with filial affection and high-pitched patriotism are now, most of them, out of commission for one reason or another.

Malabar's political atmosphere was then very different. It is not an exaggeration to say that it was the brightest spot in South India as far as enthusiasm for Swaraj went. You may wonder if I say that I was then vastly popular in Malabar. The young men gave me their loyalty in a manner that made their elders fear me as one who came to disrupt families. There were then only two camps—one a camp for the spirit of adventure to achieve freedom, the other a conservative camp that nervously held on to safety and,

therefore, to Britain. To-day things are very different. We have achieved the political objective. But the object of all political institutions remains yet to be achieved. We have hard constructive work before us. On the one hand, all sorts of slogans are hurriedly composed and shouted without much understanding. On the other, people are after making as much money as possible. A limited view of life has resulted in greater greed, and moral values have deteriorated. I am certain if there is to be hope for India and for Malabar, moral values should be restored; moral values can be restored only if we grasp the truth that time is eternity, and God and goodness are realities that must guide life.

I am glad the temporary attraction that in recent times Communism seemed to exercise on the youth of Malabar has proved to be only an attraction of adventure and not of reasoned choice. The disillusionment has come—Communism has lost its glamour all over India wherever it had found some footing. In Malabar, there are conditions that favour a free and adventurous spirit among young men relatively more than in other areas. The family and the property system prevailing among the intelligent and significant sections of the population leave young men comparatively free for adventure. The social order here tends to release a great quantum of youthful energy. There is a simplicity of life here that helps sacrifice and adventure and which has survived the onslaughts of urban changes in other parts of India. All these causes explain the temporary progress made by new ideas in this area. But truth must finally triumph against temporary illusions and it has largely triumphed all over the country and in Malabar also.

One can understand Communism hiding itself in the old days behind non-political names and institutions when repressive laws were being operated against it. It had justifications then to go underground and to wear masks. But now, when there is no ban and when Communists can sit in Parliament and State Legislatures and shout their doctrines and programmes and publicly organise their work, why do they still delight in "peace movements", "student federations", "progressive writers' associations," and "cultural congresses" and such other numerous masks? They seem ever to seek devious ways for catching fish and not the straightforward way of discussion and persuasion on the main issue. That must lead to the conclusion that there is something wrong in their ideology; otherwise why are they shy of daylight?

Be it what it may, I am glad to tell you that the Communist Party in India is not very happy now. They are, it may be said, in the doldrums. Many of them doubt whether it was wise to win in the elections and take part in open parliamentary work. They feel they were better off underground. They feel parliamentary activities have resulted in jealousy, ambition, supine satisfaction and rifts. They are, therefore, desperately looking out again for something that may confuse the issue. So they look out for some unauthorised procession and a lathi charge, some unnecessary strike and marches of unemployed workmen or sit-down demonstrations. These may make their men forget their doubts and differences and also confuse the public mind. Desperate remedies disclose the existence of a desperate disease. Communism has crossed over the peak of its success in India and it is now on the decline—a precipitous decline.

If Communists give up parliamentary work they will be doing a foolish thing. If they go underground or do acts of economic or other sabotage, they will have to be dealt with severely and it will be done. If they are wise, they will stick to parliamentary and open work. That is the straightforward way when the law allows it. They will get everything just from me. Of course, they cannot commit murder or other grave offences and hope to get away with it. That is the only condition that I lay down. I shall deal with everything else sympathetically and justly and with no party bias. The truth is there is no future for Communism in India. There is too much reverence for true religion and proper respect for moral value in India for Communism to make headway.

Why, even in Austria which is only 40 miles from the Iron Curtain, where occupation forces are still encamped including the Soviet forces, where all the rich oil resources are managed to pay heavy reparations to USSR, where the Communist Party is doing its utmost to win the people in that country during the last three elections held during a continuous period of over six years, not more than five per cent voted Communist in any election. Ninety-five per cent opposed Communism. Why? Because the people there have seen things. In all the Southern European countries under Communist rule or domination the party men are well off, but the people are hungry. In Hungary which was a most prosperous country previously, which exported food to other countries, now there is hunger and ration cards. Same in Bohemia, that is Czechoslovakia. It was the finest industrial country in Europe once upon a time. It sold to all civilized countries and got all it wanted. To-day it

is still fully industrious but engaged in heavy industry only for the sake of Russia. Its food supply is under ration. I say all this from very long and closely cross-examined talks I have had with responsible and well-informed people. Be it as it may, Communism is down and out in India. Of course, the shouting will be all the greater. All the same, people have once for all lost the glamour that for a time misled them. Some rich men have a tendency to help the Communists out of fear. No one need be afraid of Communists. Fear is a bad policy in all matters.

Like the pathological bacteria that look out for vulnerable points, the opponents of the Congress have tried to seize upon trouble spots. They try to beguile workmen into strikes and to get credit by intimidating employers to agree to terms. But workers have begun to understand. They, in turn, desire to exploit the self-appointed leaders and use them. They know who is paying them wages and through whom they finally get what they ask for. No section of the community, least of all poor workers, can prosper unless the country as a whole enjoys steady prosperity. Stoppage of work and, what is worse still, the constant fear of dislocation prevents general confidence and prosperity which are the foundations for the well-being of every section of the community.

The issues raised in favour of the tillers of the soil have to be examined calmly apart from slogans and party considerations or election reactions. The vital thing for the country is the steady production of agricultural wealth. The actual conditions of agricultural work should be kept in mind and every effort should be made to see what is likely to produce the largest benefit to the people, what arrangement

will bring together all that is needed for good, continuous cultivation of the gardens, the corn fields and the maintenance of live-stock. This is the essential thing; not what is it that will bring a larger number of voters to this party or that. He is a traitor to the country who does his parliamentary work from the point of view of votes forgetting the true interests of agriculture and the lasting prosperity of the land.

The bogey of Communism may now be put aside. But that does not mean our work is done. We have made ourselves trustees of the affairs of the people and we should in the discharge of that trust, remember God, forget selfishness, and do our duties wisely and without haste, with patience, imagination and understanding.

THAKKAR BAPA INSTITUTE

We all know how difficult it is to collect funds and complete a construction. The report on the working of this institution shows that like every household, this institution also has its tale to tell, that in spite of large collections made, the expenditure is larger. This is only natural. We do not get what we want and we require a little more than what we are able to get. The buildings I have been asked to open are very beautiful, no doubt. But it must be remembered that the children going through their course of studies in these buildings have not seen such nice buildings in the surroundings of their home-steads before coming here; nor are they likely to see them after their studies here so that their presence in these new buildings might perhaps be likened to a dream and nothing more.

This institution, which started in 1932 as an industrial school for Harijans in some huts, has grown steadily and has today about 150 boys who receive training in all crafts. Mr. Vaidyanatha Aiyar has all his life devoted himself to the service of Harijans and in order to solve their difficulties and troubles, is doing research in that direction. He himself has stated that those who leave this institution are not

able to work by themselves as they have not the necessary capital. Therefore, they have to seek employment under somebody else. The Secretary's report mentions in one place that the importance of manual work should be recognised. This is true. Still the question is whether the term 'manual work' is properly understood. Do people honour those who do manual work? It is only then that they can understand the term 'dignity of labour'. Mr. Vaidyanatha Aiyar seemed to express regret that the students of the institution after leaving it, had to seek labour under someone because they had no capital. This only means that we do not respect persons who work with their hands. We have not yet got rid of the feeling that manual labour is undignified.

It should be understood that even in the case of the tiller of the soil, it is not the tiller who labours but the cattle. The tiller is only in the position of an employer who has bought cattle and other necessary implements for a price. There are, on the other hand, workers who pull and push carts on the road. When they carry goods on the carts, the workers pull and push carts, but when returning home with empty carts, sometimes, the workmen themselves get on the cart while others among them draw it. The question is whether people show respect for work. They do not. And the same impression is also left in the minds of children in institutions that it is better for them to be employers each in their turn, even if it involves them in a certain amount of borrowing. So long as this impression is left on our minds, we cannot progress. Progress can only be achieved if people show respect to labour. This should take the form of people feeling that those who labour are superior

to those who do not. The question might well be asked, does the labourer do his job as if for an exhibition or to show that any labour is dignified? Do people show respect to the workmen? If so, it will be of value. Those who learn any work at institutions such as this might be willing to do similar work elsewhere, whether or not they have the necessary capital to be employers. They must be willing to do a job under someone else's supervision.

The idea of dignity of labour applies not only to institutions like this but to others as well such as the Agricultural College or the Textile Institute. Those admitted to institutions like these are but a drop in the ocean. What is worrying those in charge of such institutions is to secure jobs for all those who have had training there. It is the same story with all these institutions. Yet, many get on without such aid and the whole world goes on that way.

If a person such as myself goes to a village, the first thing he asks for is the service of a washerman. Otherwise, he will have to return with dirty clothes. Washermen and the like really constitute workers. Do we have institutions to train such workers or wood-cutters or sweepers? How can we understand the meaning of the dignity of labour unless we change our whole attitude to life. People may get angry and say, "This man wants to perpetuate caste". But I, in my turn, will ask: "Do these men, want the barbers, washermen, carpenters and others to become clerks? Do they want these people to leave off their true work and become unreal workers like clerks?" It may be desirable for some people to be clerks. But not all can get work of that sort. Where are we to collect funds, and from whom, to run the Govern-

ment? We will have to collect funds from the workers themselves; if a levy is not made on the actual weaver, it is done through the middle man, the seller of the commodity.

The passing of examinations and competitions of various kinds are all a big gamble. Those who fail are naturally angry. They are also satisfied with a job once they get it. But having secured a job, they want to go up and up, and if they are unable to do so, they are filled with anxiety. That kind of competition does not exist amongst the masses. They carry on with their work. But people may ask, "Does this connote advancement?" I will only say that other countries have progressed because they did not attach too much importance to Government jobs. Each one did his work in his own sphere. This hostel building is large enough to accommodate 150 pupils comfortably. Suppose, however, I issue an order permitting the use of the premises by the workers of Madras. How many, do you think, will come and occupy the premises? I am sure it would be 10 times the number and they would also shout 'Long live Rajaji.'

The question to ask, however, should not be one concerned with the size of the building but the education given there. What do the children learn here? It is that which will carry them through their lives. The life that they live in the institution will make them disinclined to mix with their fellowmen and relations in the countryside. It is no use doing 'window-dressing'. Those interested must secure for the institution sufficient endowments from which the outgoing students may be equipped to start a business of their own. Others must be willing to put the knowledge of the crafts they learn here to useful purpose

and be willing to serve under another if they cannot set up business on their own account.

I do not wish to discourage you by saying all this. Not every one can land a big job. Every reform is bound to meet with opposition. Even against the boycott programmes during the non-co-operation movement and the temple entry movement which had the support of the people, there was at the beginning keen opposition. The boycott programme was opposed even by the big newspapers. The temple entry reform received opposition from no less a person than the late V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, who was himself a reformer. We should not, therefore, be unduly deterred by opposition.

If we wish to progress, we must have regard for the person who does work, forgetting for the moment that he is a worker, but only respecting him for his labour. It is said of the late King George V of England that he was sent on board a vessel at a time when he should have been at school and was made to do manual work with the result that he learned to respect people who worked with their hands. Therefore, he became a good king. Similarly, I would ask children to respect men who work with their own hands. Some teachers may ask: "How will my son respect the ryot? We must make the children respect the ryot also. It is not necessary that the child should do the work of a ryot. But he should be encouraged to respect manual work and the person who does it. It all depends on how we bring up our children. Children retain their childhood impressions for life. What I, therefore, wish to impress on the inmates of this institution is that you should give up ideas of becoming small capitalists yourselves. To

the authorities I would say that it would be better for you to teach the children under rather difficult circumstances than in an easy manner. For instance, in the matter of weaving, I would recommend that students be taught on the pit looms instead of being seated on wooden frames.

I hope the inmates here will keep the premises clean by their own efforts instead of employing sweepers for the purpose. It would have pleased Thakkar Bapa if he were alive to see the institution grown to such magnitude. You must all be good; love each other and learn whatever crafts you might be inclined to learn well. India has always taken pride in the fact that her people do their jobs well, without having anybody to supervise them. If that motto is borne in mind, all of us will prosper.

XXX

THE CINEMA

We want the people of our country to progress, to be happy and not to be sad all the time. We do not want them to become bad people. Nobody can deny this. We are all aiming at making our people good. But what happens is, when we have a certain programme or aim before us, we go all out to achieve that aim and so we go astray. When we attempt a particular objective, we get lost in the means which we employ in order to reach that particular aim and that is where our difficulties arise.

All of us know the original sin with which we are all born and the sex urge nature has put in us. Nobody can deny this. What is the good of ignoring it? Does anyone need any further instalment? We are all bad enough as we are and therefore anything that adds to our sinfulness is very dangerous. All my advice can be explained on that basis. All of us can agree on that. Nature has implanted in man a greater sex urge than in the beasts, which is quite an unnecessary and superfluous urge. This has increased and is still increasing on account of a number of causes and I feel that we should not do it. We must manage our affairs without doing it. Our aim should be to weaken this urge because there is so

much of it already that it is high time that we try to reduce it. I may be wrong; but I feel that somehow or other on account of various causes, this picture that has been produced in your factory and which is being put repeatedly on the screen in all places and at many times has added to man's quantum of sex urge. I attribute many of our modern difficulties to this and, therefore, it is our business to tackle this problem. I agree that we cannot abolish it. I will frankly tell you my difficulty. This is the one thing that counts with me and nothing else.

You may make any amount of money; it does not matter at all because the Government will get it, if not in one way, by another way. Somehow or other, money will come to the Government. I am only concerned with this single matter. We do not want our people, men, women and children to turn to bad ways. This is our only fear. I know that even the people who are now in this business do not want our people to become bad. The thing is, how can we get people to come to see the cinemas? It is a vicious circle; the more you increase the urge, the more it will serve to bring the people to these places. We must cut it somewhere because it is a vital thing. I am not a puritan; I can see crime without being upset about it, provided it does not affect the generality of the people. But, when all people are being affected in a particular way, the danger is very great. How can we progress in other matters if everybody who walks in our streets were continually thinking only of this stuff all the time. I can say that if only men could see what takes place in their minds, we would be disgusted with the world. All the time, every time, he forgets his own

melancholy, his own affairs, his wife's and child's difficulties; he is thinking of this thing only. We must reduce it. If only we could see it with our minds, we would have reduced it. Unfortunately, our mind is opaque and we cannot see what takes place in it. And so it is allowed and, therefore, is going on. What is the cinema doing? It is no doubt entertaining; but there are many methods of entertainment.

It is not necessary for social reformers to advise the people and the film industry as to what they should do. But it is the responsibility of all of you to strive to reduce the sexual urge in man. I want this Federation to consider this aspect a little more. You should not be carried away by the fear of loss of popularity. Our people are fundamentally good and, therefore, if you can devise a method whereby you can reduce the sex appeal, I am sure you will succeed in reducing this poison. You must not imagine that the only duty of the Federation is to fight against the Government to secure a reduction in the taxes. I do not want people to go to the cinemas because they are likely to become bad. The other day I told the people not to go to the cinemas, not because I disliked the men in this trade, not because I disliked the technicians and the artistes, but because I thought that poor wage-earners had a better use for their money although that might mean loss of a little entertainment. They have a better use for the money and that was why I asked the very poor people not to go to the cinemas. I did not ask the very rich people; the rich people can go and ruin themselves. But let me explain myself strongly on this point as my coming here might probably have diluted my appeal. I am glad that Mr. Vasan has asked

me—rather dragged me here—by his moral persuasion and appeal.

I might have overstated it. But that does not matter. The reason is my fear for the people. Do not think that the educated man is pure. The more educated a man is, the greater is the evil working in his mind; if only I could show by an X-ray apparatus the working of his mind, I could reveal that his mind is full of evils. There is no doubt about that. That was why all great saints confessed that their minds had all been impure. There was no exaggeration in that. Intelligence and education would not save them. God alone could save them.

Just as you combine to secure reduction in our taxes, just as you mix colour and sound and attend to all other business by which the unreal is made to appear as real, you should unitedly try to reduce sex appeal in the film and introduce other appeals. You will not succeed by merely abolishing one appeal. One does not usually succeed by negative approach. You should introduce positive subjects in order to get rid of wrong subjects. There are numerous topics in this world besides sex which may be made entertaining. There are infinite varieties of entertainment by the use of which we can crush out the already superfluous and harmful urge that is in everybody's mind. That is the technique that you should adopt.

Apart from the danger to public morality, I am very much concerned with those people who are engaged in the industry itself. Are they, particularly the women, safe? The dangers involved are unthinkable. There are no such risks in the ordinary factory except that the people working there may be injured

physically sometimes. But here the soul is endangered. At every stage of this industry, it is full of risks and requires very careful vigilance and very careful watch by the directors to prevent this danger.

More than that is the amount of blackmailing. You people provide a good target to worse people outside, who are attacking those who are engaged in the industry. They want to use blackmail. Alongside Vasan's Gemini Studio, there is a whole lot of journals which are started in order to blackmail the artistes.

The blackmailer is like Vishnu himself. He disappears from one place only to appear in another place in a different name, in a different *avathar*. He is brought before the Chief Presidency Magistrate's Court; but he appears in another place as *Vamana*.

The blackmailing that is going on is a terrible danger to the business. It is on the increase. There are two urges in the world which have no limitations—the sex and the money urge. Nature has not implanted the money urge in man. The present civilisation has done that. Everybody wants to make money by writing about others scurrilously; so the blackmailer gets money. I promise on behalf of the Government that all this blackmail will be put down and the artistes, directors and others will live safely. I promise this as long as any vigour is left in me.

You also have to be very careful. It is not enough to be good only. Nature has been very cruel to us. It has implanted in our minds a vice, which cannot be justified from any point of view. We have to be very careful. We must develop courage in this matter. Many of the things that are said are false, but there are great dangers if there is any truth in them.

By some cataclysm if this business comes to an end, I do not think I will be very sorry, not because of my criticism of this industry but because of this great moral danger, which will then be removed from us. But, we cannot become pure by negative aspects. Let us mix and be pure, you would say. In the schools people mix; they mix in their families. But can we rightly say that we mix up in families properly, men and women? We isolate ourselves and this isolation still continues and hence the danger is an even greater one.

Take for example electricity. The more you keep things apart, the more the danger of their coming together. You must mix in families and at community-dinners where people go on looking at one another and not at the meals. We must mix at all levels. Then the production of films will become less dangerous. Then the level of mixing at studios will not be different from the level of life in our society.

This is not the case in other countries. There is no blackmailing there. If I put before you a sheaf of cuttings, which Government translators send me every day—perhaps you do not read them, I have to read them—I tell you, it is disgusting. In other countries you do not have it. Because there is so much mixing of the people there, they are quite safe. But here it is not so.

I shall not detain you any longer. I just wanted to explain to you why I have been talking, doing and thinking as I do. I am open to change. I have an open mind. I claim to know the moral side of it and you have not touched on the moral side. It is this that explains my attitude. It is not as if I foolishly believed that you are all making a lot of

money. You are quite right when you say that you have not been able to invest in the loan. There might be some people who would say that you did not help the Government. But there are those who can give and I am not angry with you on that account. I know you are not very well off. If you prove to me that there is no moral danger, I will be the first man to plead for full entertainment being given to the people. If you assure me that there is no moral danger, I am not against entertainment. I am not a puritan of that type. But this danger I fear. We must all be very careful. You must raise the moral standard of the audience, the artiste, the management, etc.

Please, therefore, take it that you have a sympathetic opponent in me; you have not got an obstinate and unthinking opponent, but one who believes in entertainment. I believe in entertainment; I believe that man does not live by bread alone.

I welcome colour pictures. So, I understand the difficulties in producing colour pictures. You have said that it will cost four or five times more. But our people want colour. Look at the dresses of our women folk. Even the poorest women buy coloured clothes. There is no reality for our people without colour. They cannot appreciate, understand and interpret pictures without colour. It requires training. I, therefore, ask your Federation to keep this idea in mind and to go in for colour pictures.

The people want piety and religion and if only you can produce Puranas in colour, you would make more money. I would advise you to put colour and our Puranas into pictures. Do not follow the smutty West to attract people. You had better not depend

upon sex appeal, but depend upon the appeal of religion and appeal of colour. I am not entitled to give you advice on this matter, but I am generally expected to give advice on all matters in the world. I want you to concentrate less upon talk and more upon scenes. That is to say, go back to Charlie Chaplin. Have less talk and noise but more action and reality. As most of our people are not literate, they can understand moving stories without anything being added to it by way of words. You can produce pictures based on religion in colour and on the movie pattern and not on the talkie pattern; you can send it not only all over India but all over the world. You can have a little music and a little chorus, explanation now and then. Produce one good picture, Mahabharata or Ramayana, as I have described and produce it on behalf of the Federation. Every man, woman and child will understand it.

EDUCATION THROUGH WORK

I must, at the outset, appeal to you all to listen carefully to the several arguments advanced in support of the new scheme of education and give it a fair trial. The matter is complicated. It is unfortunate that small matters should have become so complicated. Big questions get through without any trouble or complication but, sometimes, small matters are not easily understood. This appears to be a natural phenomenon. We all readily understand that a stone is dangerous. But we do not easily understand the potentialities of the air with which we are surrounded. I would compare elementary education to the wind; we should realise it is powerful. It will sometimes blow off trees. Like the wind, elementary education should be spread all over without being noticeable. I will even call elementary education "Life's breath".

It is, indeed, regrettable that it should be said that there is a big conspiracy behind the new scheme. Probably, because I am its author, some people suspect that there is something behind it. If some other person would have done it, by God's grace, every one might have accepted it and the scheme might have worked successfully. I made similar suggestions over 30 years ago. I thought that somebody would do it

but ultimately no one took it up. I myself did not take up this question in the past. In my old age I thought that I should put it through. People may ask why I am keen on implementing this scheme and not pass it off to a better person. That is one side of the question. On the other hand, I have left this undone all these years and feel that I should attempt it at least now. For some time people might abuse me and then there will be an end to it.

I cannot understand why there should be so much agitation over this simple issue. There have been many occasions in the history of this country when several changes have taken place in the field of education and no one has protested. It was said in olden days that Indian History should be studied. Later, the order was changed and there was a ban on its study. Nobody protested then. Similarly, study of English History was made compulsory and subsequently this order was rescinded. Then again there was no protest. Similar treatment was given to the subject of Physiology. There was no reference to it at all either in the newspapers or elsewhere. People in olden days were fortunate but I am unfortunate because, for the small change I am introducing, there is so much protest.

As I was sitting at the meeting here today, it struck me what could have been the reason for the opposition. I would like to share with you what has occurred to be as a possible reason. Caste differences were there for a long time and I cannot say whether it is wrong to observe them. Inter-dining and inter-marriage have for ages been confined to various communities. A weaver confined his social activities to his own community. So also a washerman and those

engaged in other professions. This compartmentalisation did not allow the people to mix with each other freely. The Englishmen who came in opened up schools, wanted all those who desired an education to come and join the schools. You should not mix up the system of education prevailing then with the modified system of education which we are introducing. Sometimes fees were levied in those schools and on other occasions not. The management was entrusted to the municipalities. Whosoever found it convenient sent their children to school and the number of those attending schools increased because the recipients of this education were provided with jobs, big or small. Those who got jobs drew salaries without much effort. A stage has now been reached when there is unemployment among this class of educated people. These people feel the same disappointment which those who lose in the race feel. In a horse race everyone cannot draw a prize and those who win are very pleased. Others mourn their loss and even go to the extent of asking why the Government do not abolish racing. This attitude is not adopted by the losers when they first go in for betting. Everyone cannot get jobs, just as all who bet cannot draw prizes in the horse race. If that happens, then there would be a heavy collection of taxes. Otherwise, it will not be possible to pay salaries to all. People have also come to realise that all those who are educated cannot be given salaries by the Government. The result is that there is unemployment of the educated class. I am not saying this as applying to Brahmins. Whoever gets himself educated is not sure to get a job and that is the position.

Already there are signs that students are not

enthusiastic about continuing their studies after the intermediate class and perhaps after some time they will feel the same way after passing the S.S.L.C. To my mind, the confusion that is created in the minds of the people and the mistaken notion that education gets employment is the cause of what I call the disease.

Owing to this background, the word 'education' has acquired a wrong connotation. Its real meaning is "learning". It does not mean bookish education. That is the reason for the confusion. Criticism is made and fear expressed that the full period of education under the new scheme has been reduced by half and it is said that a full meal has been cut half. This is a mistaken notion and there is no substance in this fear. What is required is that everybody should know how to read and write. Everyone without distinction of caste or creed or profession should acquire this knowledge as life's breath. People should discern the difference between this system of education and the one that prevailed during the days of British rule. The question is whether it is reasonable to see that every one is taught to read and write, whether he is a labourer, a rickshaw puller or a washerman. It would be a good thing for every one of them to be educated. How this is to be achieved is the question. There are some who want to produce specialists. The job of the Government, however, is to see that every one receives some education. There is no connection between education and getting employment. If we realise the truth of this, the implications of the new scheme will be clearly understood.

A small change introduced under the new scheme is that the duration of instruction in schools is reduced

from five to three hours. I have the authority of educationists to say that three hours are sufficient to teach the students to read, write and learn arithmetic, allowing for festival and other holidays. If it is possible to impart education in three hours, why should children be troubled for five hours. Some people criticise that if a child is left alone, he will climb a tree or somehow idle away his time. This class of objectors seem to say that they have entrusted their children to the teachers to be looked after all through the day and that they are disappointed that their children are being sent back to their care much earlier. I only pity those who raise such objections.

The real question is how the leisure hours can be utilised by the children. It is enough if the children spend the time in play and also incidentally learn with interest and pleasure some vocation. The thrill that children get from flying a kite can be appreciated; children learn a lot by flying kites. When I was a student, I was very much attracted by the potter's wheel and used to run up to watch the potter at work. This was a great experience for me. Can boys of the S.S.L.C. standard make pots? I am sure these boys will not be able to understand the technique of pot-making. If the children watch the pot-maker, then they will learn the technique of it. Similarly, children can watch the mason and other craftsmen at work. It was suggested that these crafts can be taught by trained teachers within the school. This suggestion cannot be accepted because our past experience with these teachers has not been very encouraging. Further, this requires buildings, equipment and finance.

Another criticism is that there are no industries

in the villages. There are many industries in the villages. Only people must have eyes to see. Wherefrom do you get all the articles you find in the market? Have all the potters perished? In spite of the lorries, the bullock carts still exist and are rendering great service. These carts must have been made in the villages by the village artisan. Are they not village industries? Construction of houses is going on in the villages. There is so much of interesting work in this sphere. There is no point in saying that the artisan should be brought to the school. Where is the danger in the children going to the artisans?

Details in working out the scheme can always be discussed and examined. The scheme will be successful only if there is a change in the attitude of the people. Schools in villages remain isolated from the people. This situation must change and the whole village should be converted into a polytechnic. I want everyone to learn a craft. People who oppose the new scheme, I am forced to say, are really opposed to vocational education. Everyone should be trained to use his hands and an interest in this direction should be created in the early years of life. This will certainly contribute to the prosperity of the country. The modified system also gives plenty of scope for higher studies. If we do not put our limbs to use, we will be like a hen which, in spite of possessing two wings, is unable to fly. My idea is that if you are not able to get a job, you should be able to use your hands and so earn a living. Some people suggest that we might have education first and later on learn some vocation. This does not recommend itself to me because I am of the view that everything should be learned when we are at an impressionable age. I would appeal to

the people and, in particular, to the villagers to support this scheme. I want at least one person in each village to guide the children. If more men are forthcoming, we can even have a *sangham*. It does not matter if the guide is uneducated. I have no doubt that after five years of elementary education, with three hours schooling every day, the children will have learnt to use their head and their hands as well.

THE HANDLOOM

No sacrifice is too great and no measure too harsh, if such measures will avert the disaster that is slowly but surely advancing on the handloom industry. Unemployment cannot be tackled merely by imparting information or by giving temporary subsidies which will act as incentives leaving the people to themselves thereafter. In a country such as India, unemployment among working families or among the intelligentsia is the result of social and industrial misarrangements which must be boldly rectified.

In striving to make the lives of handloom weavers less miserable and more secure, co-operation will certainly help upto a point. Those who co-operate will have a distinct advantage over those who keep out. But the interests of the handloom industry as a whole can be solved only by removing the causes that have brought the handloom weavers to the present plight.

The largest industry which is carried out in the individual workers' own cottage, in town as well as in village, in North, East, South and West in India, is weaving on the handlooms. The largest amount of unemployment ensues when this industry is interfered with by competition or hampering restrictions. The most willing body of workers in all the wide field

of labour in India are these weavers and their wives and mothers and unmarried sisters. They have fought bravely, and so far successfully, first against foreign mill-manufacture and next, against Indian mill-manufacturers.

We cannot allow the capitalist mill industry to create unemployment on a monstrous scale. This would be the inevitable consequence unless we discard fallacies and take heed of the situation. No sacrifice is too heavy, no measures are too harsh if we find that by such measures we can avert the disaster that is slowly but surely advancing towards us.

May the weavers trust in God and may the leaders of the Co-operative Society look upon the organisation as a temple and look upon the day-to-day work involved as sacred worship

SELF-CONTROL IS CULTURE

Culture is not just art or literature or dancing or music or painting as it prevails among a people. It is the pattern of behaviour generally accepted by a people. Culture is far removed from freedom. No man of culture feels free. He imposes on himself all sorts of restraints. So then, the culture of a people is the pattern of restraints which that people have, as a whole, after trial and error, through generations settled down to accept in the interest of social order and happiness. There is joy and pride in the acceptance of such restraints and no resentment or pain. In that sense there is freedom in culture as an essential part of it. It is this which distinguishes culture from State-regulation. "State-regulation" began as a protest against the anarchy created by indiscriminate individual freedom and the greed and competition that resulted from it. The practice of State-regulation has resulted in the discovery of several evils, in the remedy worse than the disease. In the cycle of human progress, the slogan of "freedom" has, therefore, been raised as a counter to excessive State-regulation. The one comes from Moscow and the other from America. But neither the slogan of "freedom" nor the slogan of "State-regulation" can solve

the difficulties of humanity. The right slogan is "self-control" and that is the message of Indian philosophy, and the culture that can be claimed by India as its own.

Every culture is based on and bound up with a definite idea. The culture of Greece was bound up with the sense of beauty. The culture of Rome was developed round the sense of order and law. The culture of India is built round the central idea of self-control. The way of life, the pattern of behaviour accepted as correct and esteemed by the people of India as worthy, by the common folk as well as by the enlightened, is the way of self-control as laid down in the Upanishads and the Bhagavad Gita and emphasised in recent times, with the whole force of a political revolution behind it, by Mahatma Gandhi.

Therefore, before we discuss culture on the Indian background, it is necessary to dwell on the essentials of it even if it may seem we are using the occasion for a religious discourse. The first two verses of *Īśāvāsya Upanishad* put this down in simple and brief language.

God pervades everything in this world.

*Īśāvāsyamidam sarvaṃ yat kiñca jagatyāṃ jagat |
tena tyaktena bhunñjīthāḥ mā grdhaḥ kasyasvid dhanam ||
Kurvanneveha karmāṇi jijīviṣechchataṃ samāḥ |
evaṃ tvayi nānyathetosti na karma lipyate nare ||*

ईशावास्यमिदं सर्वं यत्किञ्च जगत्यां जगत् ।

तेन त्यक्तेन भुञ्जीथाः मा गृधः कस्यस्विद्धनम् ॥

कुर्वन्नेवेह कर्माणि जिजीविषेच्छतं समाः ।

एवं त्वयि नान्यथेतोऽस्ति न कर्म लिप्यते नरे ॥

*Asūryā nāma te lokā Andhena tamasāvṛtāḥ |
 tānste pretyābhigacchanti ye ke cātmanahano janāḥ ||
 Yastu sarvāṇi bhūtāni ātmanyevānupaśyati |
 sarvabhūteṣu cātmanam tato na vijugupsate ||
 Yāthātathyataḥ arthān vyadadhāt śāśvatībhyaḥ samābhyaḥ ||*

Dedicate everything to Him while doing the things you do and enjoying the things you possess. Do not entertain covetous desires.

Life involves necessarily activity and work. Work involves necessarily some evil or other, particularly attachment to the fruits of activity. If one must work, as one must live, there is no other way to escape the contamination of evil except by dedication of all activities to the all-pervading Supreme Spirit.

Whatever you do, do it as an act of dedication to God, be it small or be it big, whether it is trivial business or is a thing of great and general importance. This is how Brother Lawrence is said to have lived. Even when cooking or scrubbing the floor or cleaning the vessels, he did his work in company with his God. He worked and he laughed with God by his side.

There is a soul in the body that functions in the material world. He who denies the soul and identifies it with the body and thus kills his own soul will find the world all dark and without any light to guide his steps.

असूर्या नाम ते लोका अन्धेन तमसावृताः ।
 तांस्ते प्रेत्याभिगच्छन्ति ये के चात्महनो जनाः ॥
 यस्तु सर्वाणि भूतानि आत्मन्येवानुपश्यति ।
 सर्वभूतेषु चात्मानं ततो न विजुगुप्सते ॥
 याथातथ्यतोऽर्थान् व्यदधात् शाश्वतीभ्यः समाभ्यः ॥

Why? Because their minds are led by desires and will wander into evil and grief. The soul can conquer the wandering mind and the senses. It can control the senses and prevent their attachment to sensuous pleasures which lead men to ruin. All that one thinks to be other than oneself, moving or unmoving, near or far, should be seen and realised to be part of oneself. The sense of separation from those around you should be overcome.

What I have explained is a rendering of the first six verses of the *Isāvāsya Upanishad* and it is also the teaching of the Gita. The Upanishad proceeds to explain that by the result of the life and discipline taught therein, one will attain equanimity and reach knowledge and the power of enjoying all that comes to one to the best advantage. You will thereby, says the Upanishad, properly enjoy the things of enjoyment for years and years, that is, in the right way and not leading to pain and grief.

All Indian culture is bound up with this doctrine of self-control based on a recognition of the existence and the functioning of a soul within and pervading the material casement.

Civilisation in modern times has developed into and identified itself with man's control over his environment, man's control over nature. In the pursuit of this objective, civilisation has forgotten the prime requisite for happiness, namely, control over oneself. We have learnt very greatly how to control nature, but we have not learnt how to control ourselves. Control over nature and man's environment has extended beyond all expectations and has in recent years spread out to a dangerous field, namely, to the obtaining of psychological power over the minds of men and

women. Humanity is reduced to the condition of material nature and the rulers of the world have developed a technique to control the minds of men and women, even as they have succeeded in controlling material nature. The attempt to control the minds of men and women, as if they were raw material like coal and iron, took shape in Hitlerism and Communism.

If civilisation means happiness, this must not be permitted. If men and women are reduced to something like coal and iron, where are moral values, the weights and measures by which we judge progress and civilisation? Moral values cannot be allowed to become the plaything of psychological technique.

The culture of a people is essentially the prevailing pattern of joyous restraint accepted by the people. If this is so, what then does freedom of culture, for which your organisation stands, mean? Does your conception of freedom contradict self-restraint? I think not. I consider the slogan of your organisation means only this—that restraint should be developed from within, in accordance with truth, to replace the restraints that are imposed by the State. Truth is another name for moral values. Truth should not be sacrificed at the altar of other objectives. It is to this, I think, you give the name of cultural freedom. Freedom does not mean licence, absence of self-restraint. No one can be free of the restraints imposed by moral values; nothing can claim liberation from the shackles of truth—the chains imposed by moral values.

Now, Hitler claimed when he was in power and the Communists claim that truth is not an inviolable temple. Their activities, past and present, are based on the conviction that truth is just what we agree to be truth and nothing more permanent than that.

This cannot be accepted. When you stand for freedom of culture, I presume you claim that no direction should be given to culture in disregard of the respect that is due to truth, that is in disregard of moral values.

Now, there are some who argue that truth continually grows, that it is not static, that it is ever a matter for further research and, therefore, there is no sense in talking about the absolute essentiality of regard for truth or for moral values. I agree that truth is not entirely disclosed to man but there is such a thing as an unalterable desire to seek the truth and unqualified respect for what we, for the time being, believe to be the truth. The opposite approach is that we do not know the ultimate truth and, therefore, what the ruling party has decided to be good for the people is the truth.

What I most dislike in Communism is the deterioration it works in moral values and the respect for truth. When regulations lose the life-giving governance of moral values and when indoctrination is deemed lawful and proper in order that some objective may be reached, then there is loss of freedom which your organisation and all of us deplore. And this is what happens when Communism is allowed to rule. This is what we have in mind when we say that freedom is lost in Communist-ruled countries. God is dethroned in those countries as the first necessary step to dethrone truth and in order that nothing may stand in the way of whatever the ruling party decides on such data as are accepted by them as good for the people. In fact, "the people" is a phrase that has, with Communists, replaced moral values. Of all the slogans that I dislike, I dislike most this misleading slogan of

“the people”. It is sought to replace every moral value, everything sacred. Even justice in judicial matters is, according to the Communists, justice only when an indoctrinated crowd shouts it. The party that has got hold of power makes the people what they are, if not in one generation, in two or three. And this was sought to be done secretly before, but it is openly done now. In fact, it is acclaimed to be lawful education. The difference between culture as we understand it and culture as developed in Communist countries is this that we respect truth and have regard for moral values which are deemed inviolable.

It may be that everything is relative and we have to be content with truth as we know or believe it to be. But it is something to love what we regard as truth. It is disgusting altogether to shape life not caring for moral values. You know that a child grows. It will be, in course of time, quite different from what it is now. But you love it with all your heart. You do not stint in your love or in your attention because the child will grow into a big man later on. Truth grows but we must love it at all stages and not regard it as an illusion. I consider that this is the meaning of the slogan of freedom by which this organisation swears.

But, for my own part, I would love it that instead of making ‘freedom’ the banner of our struggle against Communism, we set up self-control, that is, the restraint of our activities based on moral values as our battle standard. Not freedom which may deteriorate into licence and anarchy, not State regulation which may deteriorate into tyranny, but ‘self-control’ is the right slogan. As against the culture of

unrestricted liberty which is the slogan on one side and the culture of all-round State-regulation which is the slogan on the other side, India stands for self-control, which is neither freedom nor regulation from outside. This is what Gandhiji stood for, what the Bhagavad Gita preached and what was solemnly voiced forth in the ancient Upanishads. This alone will save the world from anarchy as well as from the slavery of totalitarianism. To cultivate self-control, faith in Divine rule is an indispensable prerequisite condition of mind; without it, we may talk of self-control but it is not possible. Only when it is based on faith in Divine rule, that self-control will be a joy and a fulfilment and progressively increase, instead of being pain and travail and remaining so all the time.

The culture of India is based on and bound up with self-control. It is the characteristic fundamental of Indian thought. It is this alone that can establish true freedom, not to be confused with the free play of individual ambitions. It is self-restraint, control from within, that makes art artistic, beauty beautiful and order orderly and enjoyable.

XXXIV

NUCLEAR WEAPONS

It pains me very much to feel that the Western powers are going wrong in what they are doing and that it has fallen to my lot to be pointing it out in unequivocal terms. I would have felt far happier perhaps if it had been the other way about and I had to point out only the faults of another party. I have said at another meeting how greatly we are bounden to America and I need not repeat the reason here. It is however good that I repeat my hope that what I say should be interpreted as the anxious thoughts of a friend and not as a carping criticism from one who is not concerned with the welfare of America or the other Western powers.

So much has recently appeared in the daily press about nuclear weapons that everyone now knows quite a deal about them. It is possible to know a lot in a vague way and yet not have it all in order in the mind so as to be able to come to reasoned conclusions. The papers daily bring fresh news of what is done and said about these nuclear weapons. We may thus, by verbal familiarity and repetition, even lose the sense of danger about them. This is the reason why I am before you to attempt to explain the points involved.

Much has been said in defence of science in general as if science itself stood accused and we were in need of being told about the advantages of scientific knowledge and progress. I am completely in favour of the search for truth that is called science, lead it where it may. I do not, for a moment, support State or Church control over knowledge. It is impossible and undesirable to put restraints on the search for truth, but it is desirable and possible to put restraints on the application of what we unravel out of the mysteries of Nature. If we control our *application* of knowledge, there is no danger in knowledge itself. The responsibility lies with those, who rule the affairs of men not to misuse science, or employ men of science for wicked purposes.

There is a spate of written and spoken matter concerning the constructive uses for atomic knowledge. Most of this comes from Governments and Government agencies, not the Scientists or Industrialists. The industrial use of Atomic Energy is not likely to spring out of Government hand-outs. It is all totally irrelevant for my plea which is that we should prohibit the production and the use of nuclear weapons and that we should stop the test explosions which are being carried out and so contaminate the atmosphere and waters of the world and endanger present life and the normality of the human species for future generations. I can see no relevancy in these political tributes to Atomic Energy unless the Governments, that want to keep nuclear weapons going, wish to confuse the public mind.

Who hates or disrespects science? Who disbelieves in the power of knowledge as capable of being used for good purposes? How does the possi-

bility of using Atomic Energy for good objects justify the present use of nuclear weapons for indiscriminate mass destruction and injury to future generations with all the incidence of cowardly assassination? Everything in the world can be put both to good and bad uses and atomic energy is not an exception to this rule. The good use need not be called up to confuse a calm examination of the bad uses of the prohibition thereof. If it is proposed to poison the wells of enemy countries, and some people object to such methods of warfare, is it relevant to talk of the excellent medical uses to which arsenic can be put? It is not intended or proposed as possible that we should speedily use up all the nuclear material available so as to starve out the military requirements. On the contrary, it is proposed to use mostly the waste by-products of the regular military use of such material.

Those borderland days, when old theories of science were put to severe trials, were truly great days. Soon came thereafter the break-up of the whole atomic theory and I knew enough, even after I left college, to follow what was going on in the world of science which brought matter and energy together into one equation. I do not hate science or its wonders. But I wish to warn those who examine the issues of disarmament and prohibition of anti-civilisation weapons of the irrelevancy of all this talk of the blessings of the atom. One should love science but we should hate the manufacture of nuclear weapons for cowardly mass destruction leading to the annihilation of the civilisation that man has achieved.

Disarmament does not mean an end to scientific progress. The prohibition of nuclear weapons for purposes of war does not mean the closing-down of

laboratories or research in the field of fundamental or applied science for the good of mankind. On the contrary, the prohibition of nuclear weapons for war would mean the release of the monopoly of governments and the abolition of secrecy which comes into operation to prevent the spread of knowledge when anything is held for war purposes. The present military use of atomic science, in fact, prevents the free exchange of knowledge which is necessary for the progress of science and its beneficent application. What I plead for is the emancipation of science from the trammels of war.

When in fear and trouble, men's brains like those of the other animals are sharpened. It is true that war and its fears and hatreds quicken the brains of the men of science engaged by governments. War is said to be the mother of inventions. What a mother! Let us not fall in love with war because some clever things are discovered in time of war. Secrecy goes with the work of science in war and secrecy impedes science. It is reported that a very eminent Cambridge scientist who wished to go to America was refused permission to do so. I read that a broadcast proposed by an eminent scientist in America was recently prohibited and he had to restrict his talk to subject-matter already widely known. I believe that the most valuable report of an important commission was delayed by an order of the American government and only published when government policy demanded it later.

Before going in to the question of the prohibition of nuclear weapons and the issue of disarmament which has been mixed up with it, I should like to point out, indeed I should like to emphasise, that the most

urgent matter is the immediate prohibition by International authority of the test explosions which are going on in spite of every protest. It will not do to suppress only the bang as Churchill indicated with his flare for taming democracy. What is demanded is to stop both loud or silent radio-active poisoning of the world atmosphere and of the clouds from which comes the rain for men, beasts and plants. The world has some rights in spite of the fears of one great power of aggression by another and their mutual dislikes. It is truly scandalous that these tests should be going on when eminent men of science, one after another, have pointed out the grave danger to world health and to future generations, in the clearest possible language that men of science can command. I cannot believe that any civilised nation can ignore the evidence which has been adduced and which is accumulating every day. The *News Chronicle* (March 24), which gave information on the effects of nuclear radiation, quotes: "Professor Rotblat, an experienced and responsible nuclear scientist, says in an article in the *Atomic Scientists' Journal* published this morning that it is imperative that data on the dose of radiation we have all received from nuclear tests up-to-date, and the rate at which this does is increasing, shall be known to the Government and published.

"Would 75 H-bomb tests over the next 30 years bring everyone in the world to the point where many children might be born mentally or physically deformed in generations to come? Professor Rotblat thinks it may be so. The Federation of American Scientists is similarly alarmed over possible genetic disasters of the future. But, on both sides

of the Atlantic, the Governments utter soothing and reassuring statements." No government can decently claim the benefit of doubt in such a case in its own favour as lawyers do in criminal cases. Where danger to humanity is apprehended by men of science, the thing should not be done.

It was reported that an attempt was made on behalf of India at the recent Commonwealth Conference of Premiers to get an international agreement immediately that all these test explosions should be stopped but the attempt did not go through. Surely, when the West has more than enough of these nuclear weapons, further production and test explosions might as well be stopped at once. I am aware that the strategy of nuclear weapons requires a lot more testing. Indeed, I would grant that testing in the actual battle-field will soon become necessary as no amount of parade drill is equivalent to battle practice! Tests may be necessary even to reduce the intensity or the area of destruction so as to conventionalise the new weapons. Whatever be the motive or necessity, the cold war Powers have no right to disregard the right of the world to continue in good health and in the prospect of successive uncontaminated generations of men and women being born.

There are people in the world with a troubled conscience. There are others who do not suffer at all in this way. The bombing of Japan at the close of the last world war is troubling the conscience of America. The point is irrelevant for the present issues. Indeed, all matters relating to past history, where men and rulers have committed mistakes, are irrelevant when we propose to do something to correct all those errors and to avoid future calamities.

All the same, America is proud of her ideals, past and present, and anything that leads to the detriment of her moral position has a tendency to cause pain. Let me dwell on it for a moment. There is no question about the fact that the use of the atom bomb over Japan followed closely upon a successful test in a desert and that two bombs were burst one after another with only a very short interval, August 6 and August 9 of 1945. About the advisability of this atomic bombing, there was just an exchange of information in an informal way between the President of America and Mr. Churchill. Stalin was kept uninformed till the last moment. It was felt that something should be mentioned to Stalin. This was perhaps done but nothing was conveyed beyond a vague and incomprehensible hint. One could understand this because the American Government at that time was not sure whether such valuable, secret and dangerous progress in military science could safely be conveyed to Russia even though at that moment she happened to be an honoured ally.

It does not matter, however, whether it was the entire responsibility of America or it was shared by others. The moral issue is not altered on that account. So far as we are concerned, if it was wrong, it was wrong, whether it was done by one or more than one or by all of them. The crime of Japan was that she was on the wrong side during this war. A further crime in the opinion of the West was that although Germany had been completely crushed by that time, Japan's courage could not be overwhelmed by defeat and that some groups of the Japanese nation were prepared for mass suicide rather than for

unconditional surrender. This was called fanaticism and so, any new monstrous weapon could be permitted by Christian morality. More American lives could not be sacrificed to meet this fanaticism although all power had been knocked out of Japan by that time. It is best I refer to Churchill's narrative and as far as possible in his own words.

"A more intricate question was what to tell Stalin. The President and I no longer felt that we needed his aid to conquer Japan. A devastating attack on Japan had continued from the air and the sea. Among the principal targets were the remnants of the Japanese fleet now dispersed for shelter in the inland sea. One by one, big ships were picked out and by the end of July, the Japanese navy had completely ceased to exist. The homeland of Japan was in chaos and on the verge of collapse. The professional diplomats of Japan were convinced that only immediate surrender under the authority of the Emperor could save Japan from complete annihilation. The only point the Japanese were particular about was saving of the Emperor's honour. This was known to the allies. A message had been sent by the Emperor to Stalin. It had not been addressed, probably because it was not clear to the Japanese then to whom the Emperor's letter should properly be addressed; but Stalin knew what it contained and it had been delivered by the Japanese Ambassador. It was meant either for Stalin or the President of the U.S.S.R. It stated that Japan could not agree to what was then called "unconditional surrender" which included the handing over of the Emperor as a war criminal but Japan was prepared for admission of defeat and cessation of war. It was

decided by the allied authorities not to recognise this appeal and to give an ultimatum calling for an immediate "unconditional surrender." This was published on July 26th. By that time terrific air bombing of cities had already become familiar to the world and leaflet-throwing was also a familiar process. A large number of leaflets were thus thrown over Japan warning her not of the atom bomb but of destruction by bombing. In fact, as I have already stated, even Stalin was very imperfectly informed and deliberately kept out of any information beyond this that a novel weapon had been got ready and tried and would be used. He was not told about radio-active or atom action. The two bombs were thrown on August 6th and August 9th. We know the rest."

It would be a mistake to suppress, writes Churchill, that the fate of Japan was settled by the atomic bomb. Her defeat was certain before the first bomb fell and was brought about by overwhelming maritime power. Her metropolitan army had capitulated without striking a blow. Her shipping had been destroyed.

Now, Churchill is not a negligible authority. These are the circumstances under which I believe one is entitled to say that there was no real necessity to use the atom bombs and the unnecessary use was due to either of two causes: (1) That although Japan was crushed completely, it was intended to save wasteful sacrifice of American lives in street and house-to-house fighting before she could be reduced to complete enemy possession and therefore the new weapon and its horrors had to be exhibited, or (2) the irresponsible urge of science to demons-

trate itself when the ground for the demonstration was all clear. My own view is that the second cause prevailed and the political authorities of America were induced to accept the decision to use the bomb by reason of this urge operating on those who were working on military science. Those who have lived and worked for science and research in the mechanical arts can understand the intensity of the urge to which I refer. Progress in science is based on the natural force called curiosity. There is an equal and obverse force operating in science, the hunger for demonstration of what has been discovered. But again I wish to remind you that this is irrelevant for the present discussion of policy. One who believes in the Law of Karma may well attribute the present tension and the pain and anxiety now suffered by all the victorious allies to the moral consequence of crimes committed by the triumphant allies. Triumph leads to delusion and error. As a result of that American use of the Atom Bomb and following it, science has progressed, but equally rapidly has the Law of *karma* pursued those who triumphed. Little consolation it is for those who do not believe in the Law of *karma* to be told all this; and perhaps it may even hurt.

Leaving the Law of *karma* aside, the use of the Bomb had its immediate effect on Russia, between whom and the other two victorious allies there was already growing up fear and suspicion as to the future. It is a matter for surprise that the inevitable result was a quickening of Russian scientific research to meet the newly demonstrated power of America; and we have what we now have. We need not give

the name of *karma* to this; but it is in accordance with the permanent pattern of human affairs.

My earnest plea that nuclear weapons should be done away with can be justified entirely on reasons of pure military strategy and commonsense. Apart from any question of ethics or the future of civilization, I am convinced that it is good for America and for all the Western nations that these weapons be given up boldly, openly and as soon as possible, if only from the point of view of their own self-preservation and future safety. My advice for unilateral action apart, we have now a definitely clear and reiterated proposal of the readiness on the part of the U.S.S.R. that all nuclear weapons should be destroyed immediately and no more of them should be made. Here then is a splendid opportunity for the West to accept the position without putting forward any further conditions. Let us not try to find and attribute this to base motives or fear. This proposal, unfortunately, is strenuously opposed by America. And Britain supports the American unwillingness and the machinery of political parties and the press have been successfully roped in.

Here is an incubus sitting on the world. Everybody really wants to get rid of the incubus. "But", says America, "the world is not yet free from fear. We suspect, we distrust, we fear aggression. This is the only thing that enables us to feel strong. We cannot drop it." Now one can understand this, if this new weapon had been only in America's possession. Unfortunately it is now with the other party and, as Churchill put it very graphically and very correctly, it is no use relying merely on keeping ahead in the race. The other side's capacity for

destruction, however much less than what is ours, is yet so great that the difference is irrelevant. In this admitted circumstance of extreme danger, if the other side definitely offers that the new weapons should unconditionally be given up by all parties, is it not time that we accept that offer even though America might reject the proposal that she should act in the unilateral, Christian, Gandhian way? It would be wisdom to show at least relative courage if not the absolute kind of faith that is required for unilateral action.

In spite of this, what does America say? "Set the balance right in regard to strength in conventional weapons and man-power before we deal with nuclear weapons." She asks for a favourable balance in conventional weapons and man-power or at least equality before she can give up nuclear weapons. This is neither wise nor reasonable. There is no reality in the idea of equalisation of strength in conventional warfare. One can understand the ideal of total disarmament. But there is no meaning in asking for equalisation. Equalisation between whom? It is a wrong assumption that the world must, for purposes of war appraisal, be divided solely on the issue of communism and anti-communism. The pattern of international grouping cannot be assumed always to remain what it is at present. Whatever arrangement we make for equalisation of conventional arms on the basis of the present pattern of friendships, it would be of no avail if the pattern alters. Russia was with the West against Hitler. Indeed, she fought all the time in a manner which drew the admiration of the world. America came to help Russia and the Yalta papers show that Roosevelt was

quite fond of Stalin and his people. We cannot rely on any particular pattern of likes and dislikes or alliances in assessing dangers and safeguards. It is only those who lived in the days of Hitler who can realise the intensity of hatred which had developed against Germany and the German people as a whole. The entire nation to a man was behind Hitler and his atrocious ways. But now the world is ready and eager to put Germany on her feet, arm her and trust her. It is a hopeful turn in the affairs of man, and we should welcome the fact that so much hatred and fear can be forgotten by men as if it were just an ugly dream. But it also proves the folly of relying on any particular international pattern as a permanent thing.

Again, apart from the pattern of international grouping, is there any commonsense behind the demand for an assessment of strength in conventional warfare? Would anybody believe that much time would be lost in adding to conventional strength in equipment and man-power if the necessity arose? Again, although it is a matter of faith and not of reason or argument, let me say I am fully convinced that the power of the West is quite sufficient even if nuclear weapons are out of the field and so there is no cause for fear. A great issue is involved, in solving which we should set aside all other considerations. It is not right, therefore, that the acceptance of the Russian proposal entirely to abolish nuclear weapons by international agreement should be delayed on grounds based on the relative strength in conventional arms. The world would hail a decision on the part of the Western powers if the offer of the U.S.S.R. in this respect stands accepted by the West and the great incubus is removed. Let us not revert to the

feeling that Russia has made this offer because she is weaker in nuclear weapons. Let us remember what Churchill has stated on this point which I have already quoted. Weaker she may be today but she has enough to destroy Western civilization if she makes up her mind. Why did Churchill fear the Japanese suicide men? When a certain point of desperation is reached, there is no question of deterrence through self-interest. Mad courage takes the place of calculation and history has recorded many instances of this.

When once this nuclear incubus is removed by solemn international agreement, it will not be easy for many reasons to revert to it suddenly by a party guilty of aggression. The time lag necessarily operates. It is no reason for not doing the right thing now.

If the world is freed from this incubus of nuclear weapons, is there much ground to fear aggression and a new world-war with conventional weapons? A set of people will tell us to be afraid. But let us remember that the results, positive and negative, of war are much better understood now than ever before. International negotiations will have a much better change in the present world than they ever had before. It is therefore not reasonable to demand what is called balanced disarmament and make it a previous condition for doing anything on the nuclear weapon issue.

We were told the other day that both America and India have the common goal of peace before us. This is true, but we should not forget that means are as important as ends. The great difference between America and India is that the means America is

adopting for establishing peace on earth do not appeal to India. The *Daily Telegraph* wrote on March 21: "The pace of nuclear rearmament is getting faster. Can it avoid becoming furious? Can the pacific *end* prevail over the warlike *means*?" The Avadi Congress passed the following resolution: "The ominous developments in respect of atomic and hydrogen bombs are a menace, not only to world peace but to civilization itself. Evm the experiments of the hydrogen bombs, if continued, threaten the entire world by their far-reaching and unascertained effects, which may lead to grave and permanent damage to human life and civilization. The total prohibition of the manufacture and use of atomic and hydrogen bombs and other weapons of mass destruction is imperative if civilization is to be saved from destruction. This Congress earnestly requests all concerned to bring about a cessation of the experiments and the immediate consideration of this matter by the Disarmament Commission of the United Nations." This is the Indian position. It is no use confusing our Prime Minister with the Commonwealth policy on nuclear weapons.

U. S. A. does not accept this, and that is, the issue I am dealing with. The free world, according to American opinion, must demand 'balanced disarmament' in respect of all weapons, and meanwhile, till an agreement is reached on balanced disarmament, she must continue to make test and stock nuclear weapons. What is the atmosphere likely to result from the U. S. A. continuing to manufacture these weapons and making the necessary tests, and in order that they may have the necessary deterrant effect, to announce from time to time her increasing

and accumulating strength? This process would necessarily develop a certain climate, a climate of increasing fear and distrust. Can any agreement towards disarmament grow or be given effect to in this climate? Can any plant of peace but fail to wither in this scorching condition?

It is simple logic that if America and the Western powers cannot agree to disarmament in respect of nuclear weapons wherein they are superior, much less could it be expected that the other party would agree to disarmament of conventional weapons. Stopping of further nuclear production is not an adequate offer when you have an established present superiority. The idea that it is easier to obtain general disarmament than to give up nuclear weapons is based on the belief that the terror of nuclear weapons would induce people, by nature wicked, to do the right thing at once. The more I examine the position, the more nonsensical it seems to me. These ideas remind one of the country behind Alice's looking glass in Lewis Carrol's book where, if you ran in the opposite direction, you got more quickly to where you wished to go.

Distrust and fear are at the root of the present international malaise. If we desire to change the situation, we should do something to remove the causes of fear and distrust. May be, it is a vicious circle but we should cut it somewhere and in any case, the opposite, viz., doing what will create more distrust and fear is no remedy. But that is exactly what we are doing through nuclear weapons and by the stand we are making in respect of them. We are told that war is the real enemy and not the nuclear weapons and we should, therefore, all try to

prevent war and, meanwhile, both sides should go on making nuclear weapons and rattling the sword and use the possession of nuclear weapons as an instrument of terror in order that men may agree to end war. Clement Attlee wrote in an article in the *Daily Mirror* in the first week of March: "Proposals for banning weapons of mass destruction get us nowhere. War cannot be regulated like a football game. It cannot be humanised. It must be abolished. Delay increases the danger that some spark may set the world ablaze."

Is it not absolutely absurd that we could abolish war in such a hurry? We are asked to believe that it is impossible to give up these weapons which, instead of helping to win wars, certainly lead to bringing an end to civilisation. Yet, we are asked to believe that we can get war abolished straightaway. The testimony of history is contrary to this.

My plea is that, instead of talking of what is impossible in the present climate and so deceiving ourselves and deceiving others, we should take up the lesser issue of the removal of nuclear weapons because they threaten mankind in general and not one warring nation or another and its interests or peace of mind. The Western thesis is that we are arming to disarm, obtaining peace through terror, etc. Attractive epigrammatic forms of speech, they will not help to make what is psychologically impossible into a possibility. And we forget continually that the instrument of terror is possessed by both sides and there is enough of it on either side although one may have more of it than the other. Winston Churchill spoke the truth the other day that "it is no use relying on keeping ahead in the race of

nuclear weapons. The production is rapidly reaching the point of no return when the other side's capacity for destruction, however much less than ours, will be so great that the difference will be irrelevant."

The British war-horse has understood the position. Yet, he wants Britain to make more H-bombs as if America has not enough already.

We were told the other day that the disarmament talks have made some progress; I should be very glad if, even beginning at the wrong end, disarmament in the true sense became a reality. Whether they begin with nuclear weapons as I want or with conventional weapons as America desires, as long as a satisfactory situation is reached, we shall all be glad.

My view that they should begin with nuclear weapons is not a religious dogma to which I hold fast even if the other way about succeeded. But let me read the *Daily Telegraph* of March 21: "Disarmament is a monstrous paradox. It becomes more necessary as the Powers move farther away from it. The bigger the hydrogen bombs we build, the more urgent becomes the need to control their production and prohibit their use. Certainly, the current disarmament talks in London, which apparently have reached a deadlock, give no cause for hope." *The Times* of March 21 said: "The London talks have achieved nothing, and there is no sign that the Soviet Government thinks of them as more than an opportunity to divide opinion." *The News Chronicle* of March 21 wrote: "Mr. Eisenhower observes that the current United Nations meeting on disarmament has got nowhere." After these concurrent expressions of opinion on the part of important London papers, it is difficult to believe that

anything has been or will be achieved beginning with conventional weapons, keeping nuclear weapons going.

There is a report that Harold Stassen has been appointed to a newly created post, namely an Assistant Secretaryship for disarmament. Much hope has been expressed over this gesture. But an important British paper has expatiated on this appointment in a way which leads one to think that it is just a budgetary job to reduce unnecessary and overlapping expenditure. Since, according to American policy, nuclear weapons have come to stay, much expenditure on the old fashioned weapons could be cut out and so, someone has to work on this! Does this lead to any hope? Disarmament in one direction plus rearmament in another and worse direction is not much of an improvement.

The Archbishop of York, Dr. Garbett, made a tremendous speech in support of the British H-bomb programme. He repeated the American thesis that the nuclear weapons will provide a good umbrella beneath which the work of peace-making can be continued. I am afraid that this thesis has found a great deal of hasty acceptance in British thought, in spite of previous doubts and native commonsense. The leaders of all the political parties in Britain have rallied together over this policy of Peace through terror with remarkable unanimity. The fear of a world-war starting with aggression by the U.S.S.R. has seized the Western mind and is leading it blindly into very erroneous policies which takes it in a direction contrary to where civilisation has to go. We have a repetition of Hitler's days when the fear of Jewish conspiracies was responsible for a calamitous situation.

In order to support the thesis of apprehended

aggression and the consequent need for going on with nuclear weapons as a deterrent force, we are referred to three grounds.

The Western Nations have had the experience, they say, of what happens when they are weak. They have seen, they say, how their weakness tempted Hitler to aggression. Secondly, they refer to the temporary unpreparedness of America which led to the Northern attack on Korea. Thirdly, they point out how Czechoslovakian freedom was trampled upon by Soviet Russia.

As this fear of aggression is at the root of the unwillingness to give up nuclear weapons, it is important, though unpleasant, to analyse the position in respect of these three grounds. First about Hitler. Would it not be better to agree completely to forget those days? Have not all nations, including Russia, learnt lessons from Hitler and from the war against Hitler? Is it sensible to assume that the U.S.S.R. will repeat the errors of Hitler? The history of no nation is so clean as to enable us to refer to past history for present purposes. Indeed, I would suggest that the policy of hugging nuclear weapons is itself a dangerous copy of Hitler's vast errors.

Next, as regards Korea, is it so completely clear that the partition of Korea into North and South was so good and permanent that we should consider any attempted unification to be aggression? Of course, all violent efforts are to be condemned but can we maintain that the use of violence to unify Korea should be deemed a proof of unalterable Communist aggressive spirit? I think it is unfair to use what happened in Korea as a ground for holding on to these new dreadful weapons.

The third ground for apprehending Communist aggression is what happened to Czechoslovakia. Even before the war came to a conclusion, soon after the Allies smelt victory, there was a deplorable competition among the powers whose coalition had been only for the purpose of defeating Germany and was not rooted deep. There was a race between Britain and America on one side and Russia on the other to occupy ground with their armies which they respectively believed to be either their just reward for sacrifices suffered or necessary for national security. Czechoslovakia was, all through that period, assumed to fall within the Soviet zone. Czechoslovakia was, at the very outset, taken under Soviet control. What happened subsequently is not relevant. Czechoslovakia was 'liberated' but the earliest opportunity was taken by Soviet Russia to regain what she felt to be her own. I am not taking sides. I wish nobody played with the freedom of nations in the manner in which it has been done. My only point is, what happened in Czechoslovakia is not adequate reason to feel that the moment nuclear weapons are given up, Soviet Russia will start aggression again against the West and will not abstain from throwing the world into a fresh world war.

The narrative of events and politics given by Churchill in the last volume of his History of the War, which he most appropriately calls Triumph and Tragedy, should be read before anyone judges Russia about Czechoslovakia. Written in 1953, the two chapters "Western Strategic Divergences" and "Growing Friction with Russia," chapters 27 and 29 respectively, throw a lucid light on the motives and strategies followed by the Allied powers *as against each*

other while they were completing the campaign against Hitler. It may be truly said that long before March 1945, the war was silently waged by Britain against Russia more than against Hitler. Britain's leader felt that America did not understand the real issue in Europe. According to him, "the indispensable political direction was lacking at the moment it was most needed" and it therefore became Britain's duty like a good shepherd to guard the sheep against the wolves that were about.

Churchill categorically states the points of strategy and policy as he saw sometime before Germany fell. Soviet Russia had become a mortal danger; a new front must be immediately created against her onward sweep; this front in Europe should be as far East as possible; the entry into Prague of American troops was of high consequence; a settlement must be reached on all major issues between the West and the East in Europe before the armies of democracy melted. In May 1945 Churchill wrote to Truman: "We should hold firmly to the existing position obtained or being obtained by our armies in Yugoslavia, in Austria, in Czechoslovakia on the front reaching up to Labeck."

Churchill confesses in his vivid story: "While the conference at San Francisco was agreeably planning the foundations of a future free civilised and united world, and while the rejoicings in our victory over Hitler and the Nazi tyranny transported the peoples of the Grand Alliance, my mind was oppressed with the new and even greater peril which was swiftly unfolding itself to my gaze."

One has to read these two chapters of Churchill's story written entirely from the point of view of

Britain's hopes and fears to guess what must have been the corresponding feelings on the other side, and to judge whether the Russian moves in Czechoslovakia and the other border areas was aggression pure and simple or just the same security strategy as on the other side the West sought to carry out.

Past history in respect of Czechoslovakia cannot, therefore, help us to come to correct conclusions as to what we should now do to save civilization. The Yalta disclosures have served, if nothing else, one good purpose—that we should not now rake up what was thought or said or decided upon or done in the flush of victory, in those ugly days of ambition, hatred and folly. I have no objection to reasonable suspicions and reasonable vigilance. But I object to the misanthropy of unalterable distrust and uncontrolled, unreasoned fear. These are our real dangers and real enemies. We should not allow worry and suspicion to develop into madness and anti-civilizationist folly. I have no objection to defence plans. But I object to blind faith in retaliation as an effective form of defence or 'deterrence' as now intimidation is re-named. Retaliation has been sufficiently demonstrated to be no defence.

We cannot assume, at one and the same time, contrary psychologies in our enemy. We believe that he is so madly aggressive that he will forget all lessons of history and create a new world war. At the same time, and contrarily, we believe that talk about total destruction will deter him. Deterrence requires occasional use of the bombs and that is fatal.

I object to anybody assuming that the U.S.S.R. will proceed beyond her present boundaries and start a world war even if we, by international agreements,

drop all nuclear weapons on both sides. I want nations to pursue the path of friendship, to be cautious but to be friendly, to watch each step and go forward in the path of trust and friendship. I want nations not to go the contrary way, viz., to create terror, hoping it will deter the enemy from doing what is wrong. I do not want nations to announce and rehearse preparations to evacuate cities when nuclear attack is threatened. All this does not create an atmosphere for friendliness to grow. I do not believe that there is any danger so great as to bring about a feeling of desperation. The weaker party is always likely to get this feeling and then he will not mind the consequences and may do what we just do not want him to do.

I do not want government departments to be talking about the vast power that lies in the Atom to do good when it is irrelevant and premature and is just counter propaganda against the growing world opinion that it is cowardly to be occupied in producing instruments for mass killing by pressing a button without even the compensation of personal sacrifice and risk which go with conventional weapons.

No one hates nuclear *energy* as such; no one hates atomic power or constructive uses thereof when such uses are ready to be brought into operation. But, the talk of such matters undertaken by the political and military arms of a government serve only as propaganda.

I do not approve of people talking about the 'atomic age' having arrived and to believe and make others believe that there is no escape from it. I am wholly against men throwing the blame on abstract phrases when what counts is human action or human

forbearance. The atomic age comes through the activities of men, not by itself. We want it to come in one way and not in another way. I do not approve of people talking of the atomic age having come in order to make people accept nuclear weapon policy. It is our business to see that the atomic age in this sense does *not* come. Such talk is a form of escapism, throwing the blame on the age, as if we are compelled to it by some superior natural agency. We should not develop a kindly attitude towards evil saying that evil has come to stay.

An incidental matter is that the preparation of nuclear weapons by the great powers leads to a considerable quantity of by-products which are most deleterious to local health. A lot of these by-products are accumulating in the nuclear weapon manufacturing countries and have to be got rid of. They carry radio-activity. It is possible to utilise them to good purposes abroad. Now, what happens if we buy such stuff? We get radio-active energy but we co-operate with the manufacture of nuclear weapons by the cold war nations, which is bad. I would rather prefer waiting to manufacture radio-active material ourselves without co-operating with evil.

If any official reports lead people in America to think that there is in India a want of goodwill for America, it is entirely due to the stupidity or impatience of those impression gatherers. There is deep-rooted respect and gratitude and even partiality for America among intelligent sections in India. Indeed, they are unwilling to do anything that is likely to give the impression of antipathy to America.

“I do not think”, wrote Bertrand Russell in a recent book, “that the sum of human misery has ever

in the past been as great as during the last 25 years", and the reviewer of Russell's book adds, "with the latest advance in technique, it looks as if we might surpass even that achievement. It is literally true that, if the species were to exploit to the full the resources of destruction now at its disposal, it would be the end of humanity as we know it".

There is irremediable catastrophe facing the world. Yet, the "realists" will not listen to Bertrand Russell or to the evidence of the greatest men of science or even to smaller men of the world among whom I claim to be one. Is America to be the nation Providence has chosen for the melancholy task, to perfect and use this last weapon of destruction and bring about the supreme climax in the brilliant play of civilization that man, born out of the ape, had in his foolish conceit started enacting?

Again and again comes up the question of realism. Can there be anything more unrealistic, I ask, than this notion that we can defend ourselves through retaliation when we know that there is enough and more of these weapons on both sides? Which master strategist will arrange the sequence of retaliatory measures so as to prevent, one after another, American civilization from being utterly destroyed, British civilization from being utterly destroyed, Russia from being utterly destroyed and all hope of civilisation in Asia from being similarly destroyed? Captain Liddell Hart, one of Britain's most eminent experts on war, has roundly condemned all these defence plans as absurd, insane and lunatic. "After devoting forty years to the study of warfare", says Captain Liddell Hart, he has now to face up to the fact that "this accumulated knowledge has become

useless, that any war in the atomic age would lead to the destruction of all the nations concerned". Now, this conclusion should not be used by either side merely to threaten the other side. It should be utilised to come to only one conclusion, that this new defence scheme of retaliatory use of nuclear weapons should be given up. The way should be shown in this abnegation of folly as soon as possible while still it can be shown. It should be obvious to those conversant with war psychology that, as soon as the lunacy begins to take concrete shape, the weaker will be much more desparately inclined to make an anticipatory attack than those who believe they are stronger. Here lies the greatest danger for the democratic world. Safety does not lie through preparation for retaliation as far as nuclear weapons are concerned.

This last Christmas the "comfortable words" were spoken from Cathedral Hill and James Reston commented on it that "for all its bickerings and divisions, Washington has sought in these past ten years to carry the message of Christmas into its foreign policy", and that "it has striven to carry the Commandments into its relations with other nations". So it is that I have dared to persist as I am doing, though it may look strange for an individual like myself to play the part of adviser to great and powerful nations. I know that there are many hearts in America and Britain and France beating in sympathy with what I say although they dare not express their views in America lest they be thought Communist at heart. I believe there is a fundamental loyalty to the word of Christ in America such as there is not in other places and on which Humanity's fate hangs.

Brotherhood Week was celebrated according to a

21 years' custom in the United States and Canada in the last week of February and Dwight Eisenhower, who was Chairman of the 1955 Brotherhood Campaign, sent a message which contained these words: "In the face of forces which work to lock each man within the prison of his own mind, which make friend distrust friend, nation distrust nation, it is imperative that we heroically, by word and deed, give voice to our faith; that every man is indeed his brother's keeper, that no human being in the world can escape his spiritual involvement in what happens to any other human being, that no man in the troubled sea of mankind can be an island".

RELIGION IN EARLY UPBRINGING

I shall fulfil my duty this evening by communicating to you my thoughts on a difficult, and these days generally untouched subject, viz., Religious instruction in schools for the very young. The beginning and the end of what is the matter with us in these days is that we have forgotten God. This was what Carlyle said when science and colonial expansion had made men so materialistic and arrogant in the West. Colonies have now disappeared and science has seen that she has overreached herself. A new wisdom is dawning in the West, but in the East we still see governments and legislators suffer from that same forgetting of God that Carlyle deplored as prevailing in his days. And that forgetfulness of the biggest thing on earth is a serious defect in all arrangements that are being made for the betterment of the people.

National progress is bound up with good character as much as with sound intellect and bodily vigour. This will be admitted as a pious proposition. But I want sustained thought to be bestowed on this important truth about the foundation for national progress. Character is even more important than vigour of body and keenness of intellect. While it may be enough if a sufficient number among the

people possess bodily and intellectual strength to run the civil and military departments to enable them to govern and to preserve internal order and protect the people from external attacks, character is an essential equipment for the bulk of the people who have all to work in daily co-operation with one another to make progress and prosperity. Character is the soil on which all else must grow and, if that be defective, nothing can come to fruition. Men should be honest, faithful to their word, respect mutual obligations, be kind to one another and value spiritual good above personal gains. Otherwise, the community as a whole cannot progress, whatever learning some of us may possess and whatever be the percentage of literacy in our population. Literacy does not make character, not even higher education such as is got in schools and colleges. Watching the trends in our country, one cannot help looking to the future 'with very qualified optimism' as Lord Attlee defined my mood the other day. It is a fact I am full of anxiety. What do we see around us? Everyone, bestowed with a little above the average intelligence and some education, desperatively hunts for money and does not mind what means have to be adopted. In addition to this, misguided outlook of life, snobbery and vanity are increasing and not decreasing as one would have expected to happen after the assumption of the dignity and responsibility of national independence through the Gandhian method of spiritual resistance. I know that when one speaks to young people, such as have gathered today to receive their charter of culture, robust optimism should mark one's utterance. But I see a grave situation and I wish to suggest a way out of it. I must state

the truth as I observe the prevailing condition in order to suggest a cure for the malady. Every thinking person must agree that the need is great for a keener and more widespread sense of duty than prevails now among educated men. A sense of true values as distinguished from material and selfish values is the basic requirement for an improvement of the national situation. If this proposition is accepted, not merely as an academical truth but in all seriousness as a question of life and death, it should form the basis for an immediate re-shaping of our educational policy. Our hope must lie in the upbringing of the young and we should at once search for the means to realise this hope.

In all countries and in all periods of history, if we sift matters without a biassed mind, we can see that, with all its drawbacks and defects, it was religion that nurtured a sense of true values and fortified men against despair and against temptations of all kinds. We can see this in the social and economic history of all the peoples of the world that led vigorous and co-operative life. All civilization is rooted in religion. If we debar religion from schools, we discard what has proved effective throughout the ages for the development of character. We consider it safe policy to be negative about it in school instruction in order that we may avoid difficulties but the result is far from being safe for the nation. We sedulously spread a doctrine that condemns the prevailing customs relating to religion as superstition and thereby help to banish religion even from the home-life of the pupil. Even the routine of school attendance makes family observances in regard to religion next to impossible. Apart from the physical

difficulties, the ideas inculcated in school render sincere participation in family observances impossible. We have thus effectively created a complete void in respect of religion. We must inevitably drift from bad to worse as the days pass and the momentum of old forces steadily decreases and disappears.

Everybody admits that we must develop in the young the spirit of reverence and awe, but we do nothing for it beyond just asking for it. It is not in the pockets of the young to be got at by merely asking for it. We have to create it by such means as would bring it into existence. For this we do nothing while we cram the young people's minds with learning for exhibition at the examinations. We have created a complete moral void for the growing boys and girls and when the disease takes shape in imbecile indiscipline, we deplore it in an equally imbecile manner. Are we not doing our utmost, positively and negatively, to keep out from the mind of our boys and girls the idea of moral governance of the world by a Supreme Being? Our forefathers and the forefathers of all the great nations of the world lived on and drew strength from the contemplation and worship of the Supreme Being. Out of that worship, they drew what was essential—the power to withstand false desires and base passions and have high ideals of conduct. Now, we provide no object for sentiments of awe and reverence, no inspiration for the development of a sense of values beyond the material. Religious observances and instruction cannot thus be given up at home and in schools without grave damage to national strength or character.

In Britain, which surely has not lagged behind

in the great march of scientific discovery or in the battles against superstition or fanaticism, all children in schools, wholly or partly financed by local authorities, are today given religious instruction. A daily corporate act of worship is prescribed unless any parents object. In the 'Voluntary' school, there is opportunity for denominational religious instruction and in the 'County' school, religious instruction of undenominational Christian character is given. Over a third of the schools maintained by local education authorities in England or Wales are 'Voluntary' schools. Services in the school chapel and religious teachings are an essential part of the life and education of the independent public schools and most of these schools are linked to some religious denomination. I have taken all this about schools in Britain from the most recent, authoritative, official publications.

We in India suffer from a fear complex about religion. We have rightly placed impartiality on a high level of importance but we seek to execute that impartiality by the negative process of excluding all. This attitude is the consequence of past Hindu-Muslim controversies and conflicts and a touching faith in negative parity. But it is time we shed this fear and adopt a positive policy of confidence. We were taught by the Father of the Nation that all religions are equally worthy of reverence. And this was not an invention of his for political ends. He based this teaching on irrefutable Hindu religious texts of the highest authority. Let us not interpret this to be mere tolerance and satisfy ourselves by giving to all people the liberty if they like to practise their respective religions. We should organise posi-

tive facilities in school for the religious upbringing of our boys and girls, each in his or her family religion and this should be done specially in the lowest forms where pupils of the impressionable age group are being schooled. Let us treat all religions as we treat languages, giving to each a true sense of religion through his own medium. This will help the growth of true understanding among followers of different religions in India. As all religions and all denominations insist on rectitude, piety and reverence, this course will foster among all a general sense of higher values. That which is the most important part of education, *viz.*, the cultivation of a sense of spiritual values and of duty, will not be left neglected. The young should be brought up to detest vulgarity and improper conduct, to abhor base thoughts automatically even as we move away from unclean food. The value we set on material good and money is today taking vacant place of religion and leading us to nemesis. All our national plans depend for true and efficient fulfilment on character, a sense of true values, a firm adherence to the obligations of duty and a horror of dishonesty and selfishness. Can we achieve this essential foundation if we shut out all religion in schools as we are now doing? Attempts are made to apologise for religious practices by converting all tradition and all religion into fable and figure of speech and allegory. This compromise of religion with materialist scepticism is, in my view, fatal. Would there be any Christianity left if Jesus and his life and death become a mere allegory? Would any force or inspiration be left in Buddhism if Buddha is not conceived as a

divine person? Could any power for good be left in Islam if the Prophet is not conceived as inspired by God? Moral teachings have no vital force unless the teaching is associated with a divinely inspired personality. Morality can run on a previously acquired momentum only for a limited period. When the momentum is spent, it will cease to move and only selfishness will remain. Religious upbringing in the tender and impressionable period of life is, in my opinion, essential for national progress and prosperity. We shall be deceiving ourselves if we act on any other assumption.

If we do not wish national character to deteriorate with accelerating speed, every pupil in school should be positively brought up in the religious faith and essential observances of his or her family. There is nothing impractical in this course. Modern Physics and Astronomy furnish material for a great superstructure of awe and reverence. They can and should be made into powerful allies for religion as the students grow up. Science once posed as a conqueror but now science is a great ally to Religion. Science has outgrown its original materialistic all-embracing arrogance. Higher science has become as spiritual and mystic as the Upanishads. But science can be of use only if in the earliest and impressionable period we lay the foundation by conserving the faith to which pupil's family belongs, all the faiths that built and conserved the societies that make up civilised humanity.

After a great discourse in an Athenian grove that Plato has recorded, Socrates asked his young inquiring friend to join him in a prayer in these terms;

“Beloved Pau and all ye other Gods who haunt this place, give me beauty in the inward soul. May the outward and inward man be at one. May I reckon the wise to be wealthy and may I have such a quantity only of gold as a temperate man can bear and carry.”

May we not in India wish that our young men and women should be brought up in this Socratic appraisal of wealth and wisdom and of beauty and happiness? Can this be done without religion? Socrates required the Gods for it and prayed to them. May we afford to discard God and believe that we can do without Him?

Religious instruction, to each according to his requirement, must be an integral part of school life. Then our boys and girls will grow like the early Romans and Spartans to be a sturdy race whose character serves as the firm pile-driven foundation of all our national plans for progress and prosperity.

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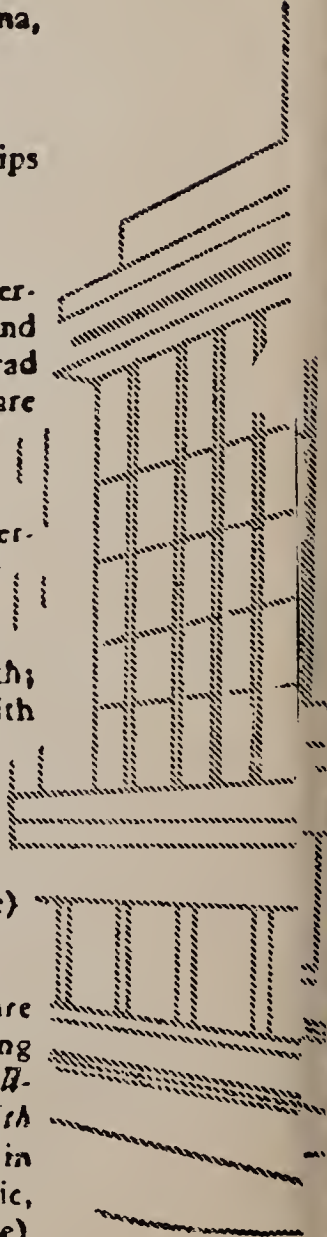
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CHAKRAVARTI RAJAGOPALACHARI, popularly known as "Rajaji" or "C.R.", was a great patriot, astute politician and incisive thinker. As a close associate of Mahatma Gandhi, as an ardent freedom-fighter, as Chief Minister of Madras, as Governor of West Bengal, as Home Minister of India and as the first Indian Governor-General of India he has rendered yeoman service to India and left an indelible impression on our contemporary life.

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