





**S. RADHAKRISHNAN**

**ON  
NEHRU**

**PUBLICATIONS DIVISION**

*August 15, 1965 (Sravana 24, 1887)*



# CONTENTS

A GREAT EMANCIPATOR	7
MODERN INDIA HIS MONUMENT	12
A CONSECRATED LIFE	16
KEEP ALIVE THE TORCH	19
FREEDOM FROM PREJUDICE	20
HIS IDEALS	21
OUR DEBT TO HIM	22
"GO FORTH AND DO LIKEWISE"	30
A MAN OF DEEP HUMANITY	36
DEAR FRIEND OF CHILDREN	39
PART OF OUR HERITAGE	42
AN ENFRANCHISED HUMAN BEING	44
GANDHI AND NEHRU	52
NO GREATER INSPIRATION	54
HE GAVE US DIRECTION	55
THE COMING AGE	57
INDEX	69



## A GREAT EMANCIPATOR

IN a moment so charged with emotion, I do not wish to say much; nor is there any need for it. It is an occasion when all of us, men, women and children, wish to keep our thoughts to ourselves and render in a mood of reverence grateful homage to a life of great service and dedication.

Jawaharlal Nehru was one of the greatest figures of our generation, an outstanding statesman whose services to the cause of human freedom are unforgettable. As a fighter for freedom he was illustrious, as a maker of modern India his services were unparalleled. His life and work have had a profound influence on our mental make-up, social structure and intellectual development. It will be difficult to reconcile ourselves to the image of an India without Nehru's active and all-pervasive leadership. An epoch in our country's history has come to a close.

As a man, Nehru combined a fine sensitivity of mind, a rare delicacy of feeling, with large and generous impulses. To the weak, and the

Message to the nation on the passing away of Jawaharlal Nehru on May 27, 1964

frustrated his heart went out in profound sympathy.

He was an author of distinction. His *Autobiography*, which tells the story of his life and struggle without a touch of self-pity or moral superiority, is one of the most remarkable books of our time.

Nehru held the office of the Prime Minister of our country ever since the dawn of independence; and in the long years of his premiership he tried to put our country on a progressive, scientific, dynamic and non-communal basis. His steadfast loyalty to certain fundamental principles of liberalism gave direction to our thought and life. We can understand the endless surprises of his attitudes and actions; all these fall into their place if we remember his faith in democracy and freedom. He used the existing social and political institutions and breathed into them a new spirit, a new vitality.

Nehru, by his series of public utterances, educated our people in the appreciation of the values he cherished. He fought for a high level of human life and burnt his ideals into the understanding of the common people. By his own powerful and vibrant voice, which we will not hear any more, he created, moulded

and inspired a whole generation of Indians, kindling in them a loyalty to the first principles which he held so dear. It is not enough to have great ideals. We have to work for their achievement. Time is the essence of the situation and Nehru had a great regard for the sanctity of time. The pitiless exactions of time take no denial and so the great leader has fallen.

Though nurtured in a life of sheltered ease and comfort, he threw himself into the national struggle and became a great leader, second only to Gandhi. The role that he played in the national struggle and in the final settlement of the Indian question in 1947 are a part of recent Indian history.

Nehru realized even before the advent of freedom that our economic regeneration, our progressive modern lives, could not be achieved unless there was concerted planning. After the transfer of power, as the Chairman of the Planning Commission, it was he who gave dynamism and power to the various plans which are now being implemented.

The path of Nehru as a nation-builder in the early years of India's freedom was beset with fantastic difficulties and formidable challenges. The partition of the country resulting in the exodus of millions of people from one part of

the sub-continent to the other amidst scenes of appalling riots, loot and arson brought in its wake problems, political and economic, which defied easy solution. We have outbreaks of communal violence here and there in our country even now. This must have seemed to Nehru a terrific disillusionment in his great work, inherited from Gandhi and developed by himself.

It had always been Nehru's conviction that India cannot be viewed in isolation from other States of the world. Even before the advent of freedom, he was pleading that the Indian question was a part of the large movement of the oppressed people fighting against colonialism. He had a love of liberty, not merely for his own people, but for all the people of the world. He, therefore, expressed sympathy and support for all liberation movements in Africa, Asia and South America. He believed in the liberty of all without distinction of class, creed or country.

Nehru was a great believer in world peace and the concept of one world community. No one had shown greater faith in and allegiance to the Charter of the United Nations than Nehru. He realized that, in a thermo-nuclear age, war would mean the extinction of all civilized values. That is why he was convinced

that the true role of a statesman in this distracted world lay in the way of lessening tensions and conflicts and bringing about a climate of understanding and mutual accommodation, with a view to settling international differences without resort to the horrors of war. On several international questions, such as Korea, Laos, Congo and Vietnam, his was the voice of peace and friendship and his voice was always heard with respect.

His courage, wisdom and personality held this country together. It is these qualities which should be cherished if we are to hold on. Our thoughts today go out to him as a great emancipator of the human race, as one who has given all his life and energy to the freeing of men's minds from political bondage, economic slavery, social oppression and cultural stagnation.

Those of us who are left behind to mourn his loss could do no better than work for the ideals he cherished. That is the best tribute we can pay to our departed leader.

## MODERN INDIA HIS MONUMENT

FRIENDS: We are grateful to the distinguished guests who have come from abroad to express their sympathy with us and give comfort to us in this tragic hour of our history. We are extremely touched by their solicitude for us at this moment.

Jawaharlal was not merely a servant of the Indian nation but was a servant of suffering humanity. Appalled by the spectacular developments in nuclear physics, he felt that the greatest enemy man has to fight is not this nation or that nation but war itself. So he tried his best, by the principles of peaceful co-existence, co-operation and non-alignment, to bring about a better understanding among the nations. All conflicts spring from misunderstanding and by producing understanding we try to reduce the rigour of the conflicts.

The blow which has fallen on us is the greatest we have had after the passing away of Mahatma Gandhi, and Nehru was trying

Address at a public meeting held at Ramlila grounds, Delhi, on May 29, 1964, to mourn Jawaharlal Nehru



to put into practice all the great ideals which Mahatmaji taught us. You know the statement Mahatmaji made : "I wish to wipe every tear from every human eye." Jawaharlal was fond of repeating that statement and by the application of science and technology to the reconstruction of our social order, he tried to alleviate the suffering of our common people and make them feel that they were being treated as full first-class citizens of our country. Insistence on science and social reconstruction has been the fundamental feature in his outlook.

Besides, he felt very strongly that nations, like individuals, should also observe moral principles. They have to obey certain moral obligations. They cannot be regarded as above all rules. They must treat themselves as subject to laws. The State must have a conscience of its own. If it loses its conscience, it may pile up wealth, it may make extraordinarily powerful weapons, but its ultimate end is sure. So it is that Jawaharlal told us to practise morality even with regard to our State affairs. We have a sentence which says :

*dharmo rakṣati rakṣitaḥ*

If we protect dharma, dharma will protect us.  
If we neglect dharma, we will also be neglected

by dharma. It is a rule which is there in the nature of things and which calls upon all of us to practise some self-restraint even with regard to our national interests. When our economic and political interests come into conflict, we must throw away the economic and political interests and try to uphold the spiritual interests. On that famous day in 1947, August 14, Jawaharlal Nehru told us, standing there filled with the majesty of the hour, looking at the panorama of all history—past, present and future—“I have come to the conclusion that it will not be possible for us to regain our past glory unless we observe certain moral principles.” It is that pledge we have to take today when we remember him, that it is necessary for us to subordinate our self-interest and put the requirements of the nation and of humanity higher than our own self-interest. That is the only way in which our nation can progress. Whatever be the work which we are doing, the only question we should ask is : “Am I here trying to serve my own interest or am I serving the requirements of my nation?” That is the way in which every problem should be faced and tackled. . . .

I hope earnestly that all those who are here will not merely pay their homage to

Jawaharlal Nehru. No homage is necessary for him. Modern India is the greatest monument which he has built for himself. We should try to carry out those great ideals for which he had stood without any haste and without any rest. We must go forward building a new India.

## A CONSECRATED LIFE

FRIENDS: This day, last week, our great Prime Minister passed away. We are too near the event and too much under the influence of a powerful personality for it to be possible for us to estimate adequately the loss we have sustained. Yet we have to think of the broad lessons of Nehru's life. The great point about it is that he identified himself with the life of the people and tried to make their lives somewhat richer and fuller. He was great in spirit and true greatness consists in the realization that one is born not for oneself but for one's kind, one's neighbours and one's people. Destiny cast on him the role of not merely one of the prime liberators of the country, but one of its main builders as well. He strove in his life to secure for our people not only political freedom but social and economic justice. Indifference to personal comforts, to wealth and to possessions marked his career.

From the extracts of the will, which will be read to you in a few minutes by his sister

Broadcast on All India Radio, June 3, 1964, when extracts from the Will and Testament of Jawaharlal Nehru were released

Vijayalakshmi, you will see the role of these qualities in his life. In the building up of our country his main emphasis was on the freeing of our minds from the obsessions of dogmatic religion. Our great tradition in religion has been one of liberality.

The *Gita* has it:

*ye yathā mām prapadyante  
tāns tathai 'va bhajāmy aham  
mama vartmā nuvartante  
manuṣyāḥ pārtha sarvaśaḥ*<sup>1</sup>

“As men approach me so do I accept them; men on all sides follow my path, O Pārtha.”

God does not extinguish the hope of anyone but helps all hopes to grow according to their nature. Indian tradition does not insist on this or that form of religion but lays stress on the impulses which are expressed in all forms.

Nehru felt that every human being was essentially incomplete, that he had to be surpassed, that he had to enter a larger life of the spirit and of freedom, that he was still in the making and that he had to make himself. For those who live in the true spirit of religion, man in reality is spiritual, untroubled, undefeated, moving, thinking and acting under the direction

of the Divine. These extracts from his will reveal not only his consecrated life but his burning love for his people.

## KEEP ALIVE THE TORCH

(THE passing away of Jawaharlal Nehru marks the end of an epoch in the life of our nation. Yet the ideals for which he worked and the values for which he stood will abide for all time to come.) We find ourselves today overwhelmed with grief and a sense of loss. But we would not be true to his memory if we gave ourselves up to despair and uncertainty. Let us keep alive the torch which he lit for the freedom and progress of the country and unswervingly follow the path which he lighted for us. May his memory remain ever green with us—an inspiration for achieving the goal which he set before the country and the people. He did not fail us; let us not fail him.

Message on the occasion of the release of a commemorative postage stamp, June 8, 1964

## FREEDOM FROM PREJUDICE

THIS is the first meeting we are having of the Council of Ministers after the passing away of our illustrious leader Jawaharlal Nehru. We wish to place on record our very high appreciation of the devoted services he has rendered to our country and to humanity at large. We are all passing through a period of crisis. The only way in which we can show our respect to Jawaharlal Nehru is by adopting an attitude of freedom from every kind of prejudice in the matter of dealing with affairs which are brought to our notice.

Address to the Council of Ministers after their being  
worn in at Rashtrapati Bhavan, June 9, 1964



## HIS IDEALS

It is my privilege once again to say a few words to you on the eve of the seventeenth anniversary of our Independence Day. This would normally have been a day of rejoicing for us ; but we are living in the shadow of the loss we have suffered by the passing away of our great national leader, Jawaharlal Nehru, who left an imprint on our life and gave a new outlook to it. He strove to build a new future for India and gave to us a purpose in national life ; and we should adhere to this purpose and dedicate ourselves to the task of accomplishing it. He gave us the ideals of parliamentary democracy, a non-communal State, planned development, sobriety in international affairs, friendship among nations and peace in the world. There were many in our country who were impatient with what they called the unnecessary patience of Nehru, but being a democrat, he wished to carry the bulk of the people with him in whatever he did.

From message to the nation broadcast on All India Radio  
on August 14, 1964

## OUR DEBT TO HIM

A FEW days ago, an appeal was issued to the public in connection with the commemoration of the great services which Jawaharlal Nehru rendered to our country, to express our debt to him.

He left an impress on different aspects of our life. There is not any side of life in our country which has not been affected by him. Nations, like individuals, suddenly get a spurt, mobilize their resources, make a new start and determine their future. For us, the last fifty years have been a period of such shattering change. First Mahatma Gandhi, then Nehru. All the principles which developed during the period of the struggle were formulated in our Constitution. We had so many things to do but we tried to do all those things within the framework of democratic institutions. Ever so many countries emerged into independence after the Second World War. But many of them preferred to come under arbitrary and authoritarian rule. There are different kinds of demo-

Address<sup>e</sup> at the first meeting of the National Committee of the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, August 17, 1964

cracy—guided, controlled, basic and popular. We adopted parliamentary democracy, the rule of law and representative institutions. Jawaharlal Nehru functioned as the leading member, the guiding star so to say, in the Constituent Assembly, in the provisional Parliament and the Parliament itself. He made this Parliament the home of liberty and democratic practices. He attempted to do it and he succeeded to a large extent. He was tolerant even of the intolerant. He never proceeded by mere weight of numbers or majority rule. I remember two recent occasions which are graphic examples. When the proposition was put forth that the Law Minister should become the Attorney-General, it was set aside. When the Eighteenth Constitutional Amendment was proposed, it was taken up for consideration in Parliament; at the first stage it passed through, but when he saw there was much opposition to it, he dropped it. It shows how responsive he was to public opinion. His mind was not a dogmatic one but a flexible, hospitable one, ever ready to respond to expressions of public opinion.

That these democratic instincts got firmly rooted in our mind is illustrated by the way in which the transition was effected after he passed away—so smooth, so quiet and so

democratic. The whole world was stirred deeply by the way in which we effected that transition.

As a democrat he believed in the importance of the individual. No individual is to be thrown on the rubbish heap of humanity. He must be regarded as significant, as purposeful; and nobody—no State or organization—should try to suppress the individual. The State exists for the individual, not the individual for the State. That was his cardinal principle.

In ever so many speeches of his, he referred to these things. If we wish to give a chance to all the individuals of our country to develop, we have to increase our production, agricultural and industrial. So he adopted science and technology as the cardinal principles which we should apply to the development of our life. Whichever side we turn, we see industrial projects, we see colleges of engineering and technology and we find that a new spirit has come over the country which makes science important.

He was the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission. In a recent book by Beaton and Maddox, it is said that Canada and India are two powers which are ready to become nuclear powers; and in the chapter on China, that book

points out that China in 1963 may make nuclear weapons, but India, if she wishes to do so, can do it faster than China. This is what Beaton and Maddox have said. In other words, we are adopting the principle of developing our scientific power and energy, but we do not wish to use them for military purposes. We declared ourselves, without any qualification, to be in favour of developing nuclear energy only for peaceful purposes.

But the more important thing is not merely scientific achievement but the development of a scientific frame of mind, a scientific habit of thinking. Many of us are scientists in the class-room but when we get back into our own homes, we burn in the fire of superstition which leads to so much fear, morbidity and mental distortion. These things are happening in the rural areas more than in urban areas. These are the things which he protested against. He tried as much as possible to remove these superstitious habits of mind and practices which have come down to us through the ages. Some of them are good habits, some of them are bad habits. Bad habits we have to discard; good habits we have to preserve. He loved children and children loved him. What is the good of loving children if we are unable to give them full

scope for the use of their surplus energy? If we cannot make them civilized human beings, there is no point in saying that we love children.

Jawaharlal Nehru was a lover of beauty, of art. All these things made a deep impression on him and moved him. This world is a blend of laughter and tears. So many things in this world give rise to tears. Other things give rise to laughter. We have the great verse which tells us—on one side *vīṇā-vādyam*, on the other side *hā-heti ruditaṁ*; on one side pretty women, *nārī ramyā*; on the other side *jarājarjaravapuḥ*; broken, dilapidated bodies. On one side *vidvadgoṣṭhi*, assembly of wise men; on the other side *surā matta kalahāḥ*, drunken brawls. We do not know what this world is. Is it *amṛtamaya* or *viṣamaya*? That is the question. Nehru's attempt was to reduce the *viṣa* aspect, the seamy side of things, to wipe away the tears from men's eyes. He tried his best to give women a chance of expression, a chance of expressing themselves in this life. So it is that he was a great lover of art.

Most of all, in international affairs, he

<sup>1</sup> *Kvacid vīṇā-vādyam kvacidapi ca hāheti ruditaṁ  
kvacinṇīrī ramyā kvacidapi jarā-jarjara-vapuḥ  
kvacid vidvad-goṣṭhī kvacid api surāmattakalahāḥ  
na jāne saṁsāraḥ kimamṛtamayaḥ kim viṣamayaḥ*

believed that we are living at a time when even the term foreign affairs is irrelevant. In an increasingly inter-dependent world, we are taking global views, world views; we are not trying to take a small view of this or that country. Narrow nationalism is a form of political bigotry. He felt that war was not inevitable nor was peace impracticable. He adopted the policy of non-alignment. What is the meaning of it? Not that we are not committed to anything; we are not isolationist; we do not wish to engage ourselves in the conflict for power which the great powers are waging. He therefore tried to steer clear and to have the power of independent judgement, of independent action, and not as camp followers of this or of that particular group. His anxiety was that India should try to help, to mediate if possible; we are committed to the policy of the United Nations. That has been our goal. We sent our troops to the Gaza strip; we sent them to the Congo; we sent one of our Generals as the Chairman of the Korean Repatriation Commission; the same General is working in Nicosia in Cyprus. We are not given to cutting ourselves away from world affairs. We want to do our best to help world affairs, to bring about peace in this world. That is what we have been attempting to do.

All these things require a temper of mind which we do not possess, which we have to cultivate. A new world requires a new kind of man, a man who is free from attachment, from any kind of hatred, from any kind of fear—*vīta-rāga-bhaya-krodhaḥ*; we must be devoid of attachment, of fear, of anger. A new world, a brave world, and a petty generation do not go together.

With all his love of nature, of art, of music, of literature, he gave us an example of a human being—unique, great, a kind of human being that we should all try to emulate as far as we can.

Today we have met here to consider the first steps for organizing the business of the collection of funds, etc. Several complaints have been heard and I myself am anxious that we should not merely rename old roads and old institutions—that is a very inexpensive, cheap method of commemorating a great soul like Jawaharlal Nehru. We should try to avoid complaints of leakage and wastage and we must be careful that people do not feel that it is a kind of tax we are imposing, a levy which we are imposing. There must be spontaneous offerings from the human heart—that is what we are bound to get. The President of the Congress is receiving donations; newspapers are receiving



donations; I myself have been receiving donations. All these things will have to be regularized. What we are attempting to do is to regularize these things and do what we can to set the ball rolling.

## “GO FORTH AND DO LIKEWISE”

It is difficult to say anything definite about so protean a character as Jawaharlal Nehru who left us at the end of May this year. He was a person of immense intellectual gifts and of genuine social passion. He was one of the greatest figures of our century, an outstanding statesman whose services in the cause of human freedom were unparalleled.

In this turbulent, changing world, our country had also been shifting its axis of national and international conduct under Nehru's wise leadership. To him life was not a simple parade but a perpetual battle, a continuous conflict between what is and what should be. Great men are like lamps which are a light to others and destruction to themselves. Nehru wore himself out in the service of the country and no other thought ever occupied his mind.

It was his desire to free the Indian mind from the shackles of prejudice and superstition which have such a powerful hold on us. He wished

Foreword to *Jawaharlal Nehru—A Pictorial Album*  
published on the 75th birth anniversary of Jawaharlal Nehru,  
November 1964

to build a civilized State based on science and socialism and not on fanaticism and monopoly.

Nehru used to emphasize that for a balanced development of youth two currents of thought are necessary—the scientific and the spiritual. A scientific knowledge of the world in which we live is essential for the proper education of youth. A mere study of science, however, without a study of humanities may lead to dehumanization. By exposing man to a ceaseless barrage of propaganda, we make man into a machine, precise and predictable. Man is half animal. But in developing science and technology, man is half creator, half God. The never-ending task of completing himself, of transcending the limits of his own physical being is the meaning of his creativeness, of his non-naturalness, for it is in the process of completing himself that man shakes off the rigidities of nature. Spiritual wisdom is derived from a study of the classics. It is when we are young that we should study the great classics of the world. These classics are ageless—they belong to all ages. Classical training is the basis of a liberal education. A poet like Kālidāsa, or a dramatist like Shakespeare, reveals to us the variety of human nature in all its intensity and pathos.

Shakespeare, for example, is a universal

figure. His ideas, his moods, his emotions are felt not only by Englishmen but by readers all over the world. He understands not only the tumult and the surface but the depth of the world in which we live—"human nature with all its shameless richness and with all its suppressed ideas and emotions".

Classics are essential to help us understand human nature and make us adopt a tolerant, sympathetic and understanding view of what we come across. Too many people unconsciously build mental prisons for themselves, by ceasing to learn and letting their interests narrow and their attitudes harden. Their lives thus become enmeshed in a web of ease and routine. If we are truly human, we will have sympathy with the erring mortals. We must overcome the spirit of vengeance. We must seize the opportunity which history offers today. We should give new life to freedom within the stiff and war-mongering organizations that the machine age imposes on society. In this immense effort of the spirit, Nehru's life and ideals played a great part. Jawaharlal Nehru was given to the study of the classics. In spite of all political excitement, he found time every day to study the classics. Our youth should endeavour to copy this quality of Nehru's intellectual breadth.

The student trained in the classics has the capacity to take a stand within the self and to withdraw serenely into the incorruptible depths of his being. Freedom of thought is the nerve-centre of the spiritual life of man and his mental activity. Without that freedom, the whole of literature, the recorded fruits of that activity, would suffer to the detriment of human growth in character and civilization. Nehru was essentially a democrat who believed in the freedom of the spirit.

A sense of humility is induced in us by the study of the great classics. This quality is essential for the satisfactory functioning of democratic institutions. In a democracy the other man may be better, wiser. It is not right to hate those who do harm to us. If we hate them we will become equally harmful. We will not induce them to abandon their evil ways. Hatred of evil is a kind of bondage to evil. The way out is through love, not through hate.

Near the midnight of August 14, 1947, filled with a sense of the majesty of the hour and seeing as if in a flash the vast panorama of India's long past, her ancient greatness and glory, her subsequent defeats and disasters, her present troubles and tribulations, Nehru said : “A moment comes, which comes but rarely in history,

when the soul of a nation long suppressed finds utterance. It is fitting that at this solemn moment we take the pledge of dedication to the service of India and her people and to the still larger causes of humanity." No leader of a people could have striven more ceaselessly to redeem that pledge.

In our foreign relations Nehru realized that in view of our peculiar problems and past history, we should follow a policy of non-involvement in military blocs. The policy of non-alignment has been sometimes gravely misunderstood. But we in India know that non-alignment as conceived by Nehru was not a policy of passive neutrality in the conflict between freedom and tyranny. Those who knew him knew where his heart really lay. Nationality is justified when it stands for the right of a people to govern themselves. But when it develops an ambition to govern others or destroy them or shape them into alien moulds, it is unjustified and injurious. He had always been a friend and champion of freedom and democracy. Nehru brought to the problem a deep and abiding faith and showed in negotiation a depth of experience that certainly cannot be equalled in Asia, and a love of India that will not be matched again.

Whether Nehru's actual achievement was commensurate with his immense opportunities, whether greater circumspection could have avoided serious miscalculations, are questions which only the future historian can decide. It is difficult for us to answer these questions in a spirit of passionless objectivity. But this I must say, without doubt or hesitancy, that even his most determined critics could not dispute the scale and magnitude of his work and the profound impact he had on the life and thought of his people of this generation. Those of us who had the good fortune of knowing him a little, will exhort others to pattern their lives on his model and echo the words of the Christian gospel: "Go forth and do likewise."

## A MAN OF DEEP HUMANITY

THIS day, had he lived, Jawaharlal Nehru would have completed 75 years of age and started his 76th year. Fate ordained otherwise. His services to the nation are well known. As a fighter for freedom, as a maker of the modern, scientific, non-communal, socialist State, he had given to us a purpose. He was a powerful, challenging personality and a man of many moods, of varied enthusiasms. He had a far-away look; he looked into the distant vision of the world. He had a high sense of destiny for himself, for his country and for the world. All through his life he showed a passionate love for humanity. Though trained in Western institutions, deep down he had a passion for the spirit of this country—the spirit, which he felt was irreplaceable. “India clings to me as she does to all her children, in innumerable ways.”

Someone said he was an agnostic Lenin, following a Christian Tolstoy. This is a misrepresentation. He sometimes called himself

Speech on the occasion of the presentation of a bust of Nehru by the Chitra Kala Sangam at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, on November 13, 1964



a pagan. That showed his opposition to the prevalent religious beliefs and practices. But he was, deep down, an essentially religious man. He believed in a God of reason, in a religion which commended itself to reason.

I remember a meeting which was held in the Rashtrapati Bhavan for the presentation of Sri Aurobindo's portrait. There he sat silent, with closed eyes, pondering over the deepest values of life for nearly ten minutes. On the occasion, I said a few words about a passage in the *Upaniṣad* regarding the nature of Absolute Reality to be attained by rational thinking and spiritual insight. Human beings of great intellectual power have doubts, divisions and discords. The rational man has to grow into the spiritual man. That is the task set to each individual if he is to fulfil his destiny as a human being. This account in the *Upaniṣad* was the essence of science and philosophy. What else is there, he said. We have to grow and expand our consciousness so that it embraces all human beings. Religion is the evolution of one's consciousness. His scepticism had its roots in India's spiritual traditions. He held firmly the values of Truth and Love; *abhaya* and *ahimsa*—freedom from fear, freedom from hatred.

The true seekers are those who never end their quest. Even at the termination of one's life one is still searching. Fulfilment is a distant goal.

I saw him deeply moved on a few occasions. One was when he was awarded the Bharat Ratna. He spoke one or two sentences and sat down. Similarly, when he referred to the bypassing of Sela and the Chinese entry into Bomdila he was moved beyond measure. Such was his love for the country, such his identification with her people. His personality was a powerful, challenging one. He was a man of many moods but his essential character was one of deep humanity.

## DEAR FRIEND OF CHILDREN

**MY YOUNG FRIENDS:** It is the first Children's Day after Nehru's passing away. You will all greatly miss him today. He was a very dear friend to you all and deeply interested in promoting your welfare. Our great leaders—Gandhi and Nehru—both loved children, talked to them, played with them and made them feel their importance and significance for the future life of our nation. They treated children as friends. Both these leaders along with others wished children to have a full life. Both encouraged dance and song and told stories to children about the greatness of our past and wished to endow them all with a purpose for the future. Even grown-up people are advised to have the outlook of children—their pure innocence, their lack of sophistication, their reverence for life, their tolerance and understanding of others. These are the qualities which make for a civilized outlook on life. In whatever we elders do for the children, we must see to it that we do not cripple their spontaneity, that we do not injure their innocence and that we help them to look upon the whole world as their own kindred.

Children's Day message, November 13, 1964

The *vasudhā*, it is said, is our *kuṭumba*, our family. Science and technology have reduced physical distances and have brought people from different parts of the world nearer one another; and what is necessary today to make this close neighbourhood into a single community is the development of common ideals and common purposes. These ideals and purposes will be implemented by different people in different ways according to their own genius and tradition. We should not try to obliterate the differences. In this country, different races and religions, creeds and clans contributed to the making of the pattern of our culture. Children must be taught the history of different nations where they will perceive their uniqueness. They must be taught, even when they are young, the elements of modern science and technology. They must be given glimpses into world literature, so that their own minds are sharpened and feelings refined. It is my earnest desire that our children are treated as human beings and not as automata.

Nehru is an example for you all, the young children of India. He had a conviction that truth will prevail so long as we possess the strength of truth. He was not a blind admirer of our country. He knew that the country had

so much which was dead wood and had to be cast aside. He brought about a revolution in our thinking. He discarded established traditions and customs when they were repugnant to our conscience. He had a great vision of India's future which arose from the depths of our history. He wanted our men to be enlightened and compassionate, to be forgiving and generous. He did not wish us to adopt rigid attitudes. All differences with others will have to be settled in a spirit of friendship and goodwill. We must make the world safe for diversity and unsafe for aggression. Let us always look forward to the future and be adventurous in our spirit.

## PART OF OUR HERITAGE

FRIENDS: I am happy to be here this morning and inaugurate the Museum.

If you look into the origin of the word museum, you will see that it originally referred to the sanctuaries for the muses of the Greek mythology. In the 3rd century B.C. a great collection of books in Alexandria used by Alexander the Great was also called museum. There are certain museums in the world which celebrate individuals. There is the Franklin Institute in Philadelphia. This museum comes under that category because it celebrates a great name. You will see the very things which were used by him—daily articles, also his jottings, books, manuscripts and archives.

Jawaharlal Nehru was a great literary artist. He fostered the arts and literature in our country, and his masterpiece, the *Autobiography*, like all masterpieces of literature, is both personal and universal; it has a sense of self-revelation and it is a historic record. If you read that book, you will see a distinguished mind at work, a delicate sensibility, a mind which is lost in the

Speech at the inauguration of the Nehru Museum at Teen Murti House, New Delhi, November 14, 1964

battles of life; and yet Nehru had the tranquillity to write it out with so much of feeling, spirit and vigour.

There are other things too. One to which Mr. Chagla referred is the will which he drew up in 1954. I cannot forget the great speech he made on the 14th August 1947 in the Constituent Assembly. There was also the speech he made when Gandhiji passed away. All these speeches indicate to you a vibrant personality, a great character, beautiful, sorrowful, generous and free. You can catch him in different moods in all these things. It is true his voice is hushed. We cannot hear any more that living voice of Nehru. But through his writings you will hear what he had to say. He has become part of the heritage of our race and it is right that we should have a museum like this. I have pleasure in inaugurating it.

## AN ENFRANCHISED HUMAN BEING

FRIENDS: Dr. Zakir Husain has just related to you the way in which these volumes were thought of and now brought out; and he has given me this great opportunity of releasing these two volumes. One is a pictorial album representing Jawaharlal Nehru in different stages of his life, from his infancy to his last hour. The other speaks about the emerging world society.

Generally history makes the man, who, in turn, makes history. The influences which were brought to bear on Jawaharlal Nehru in the early years of his life had something to do with moulding the pattern and outlook of his life. While at Harrow he received a book as a prize for good conduct, I am told : Trevelyan on Garibaldi. He read the first volume and sent for the other books by Trevelyan on Garibaldi. He then felt the great and captivating personality of Garibaldi who was a revolutionary hero, who campaigned for the oppressed, who liberated and unified Italy. He thought, why should I

Speech while releasing two Nehru memorial volumes at  
Vigyan Bhavan, New Delhi, November 14, 1964



not do something similar? Garibaldi's life stirred his imagination and made him feel a great eagerness to relieve the poor, starving and impoverished people of India of their miseries.

. When he returned to India with that outlook, he tried to find out which were the political movements interested in liberating the country. He saw several but was greatly attracted by Gandhiji. He thought here was the man who had the noble task of liberating the country and who had also chalked out noble methods by which this liberation could be effected. He was a man, he thought, who represented this ancient, long suffering, tortured country, its greatness of spirit and its lowness of condition; both these things were embodied in Gandhiji. Nehru at once became his faithful follower and ardent disciple. He was an impetuous, angry young man when he came first; but Gandhiji tamed him, brought him into line with his method and made him suffer long periods of imprisonment. But nothing severed him from Gandhiji. Gandhiji himself said : "We have many intellectual differences, but our hearts are one."

Renunciation is the great method, which has been adopted by this country from time immemorial. The great people whom we adore and

honour are not kings, are not great industrial magnates or military heroes, but are ascetics, people who practised austerity and denied to themselves even bare necessities. If there is decency in this world today, if there is some dignity left, if there is some respect for truth and if we still hold such people in reverence, it is because of the work that has been achieved and done in this country by these great renouncers. So it was that under the leadership of Gandhiji Nehru struggled hard, worked hard. He knew that Gandhiji's methods of renunciation could shake empires, could make tyrannies tremble and could achieve liberation. When once this was achieved, it was not the end. He looked at the country, a rich country and a poor people. Why are these millions starving here? Why are they so impoverished? It is necessary for me, he felt, to raise the condition of these people. If independence is worth while, it must be independence which will give true independence to the individual, economic and social independence in addition to political equality. Science, he thought, was the one way in which we could transform our country. So he insisted on science. He asked universities to pay more attention to science and he applied scientific methods to whatever problem came up before

him. That was the way in which he worked. Science is not merely accomplishment. It is not external even. You have to introduce a scientific spirit and habit of mind. Why should the country suffer so long ? It is on account of the psychological obstacles which are there in men's minds. We are victims of caste prejudices, of religious bigotry, of so many social inequalities. We have subjected our people to all sorts of miserable conditions. For all these we have paid bitterly and if we are to get rid of these things, we have to adopt a scientific spirit in our social relations, in our mental habits. That is why Nehru said he was a believer in science. Science is not only search for truth, it makes for the betterment of man. That is why he insisted so much on the application of science and technology.

Are we all right today ? Have we reached our goal ? Can we be satisfied with our present conditions ? Look at the insufficiency of food. Look at the crises we are having in so many fields. Look at the political differences which vitiate our public life. Look at the way in which we are more anxious to build ourselves than build our country. If these faults of inefficiency, mismanagement and dishonesty are to be rooted out, a scientific habit of mind will

have to be applied not merely to the making of the environment but to the making of our own selves. That is why Nehru insisted on the employment of science and spirituality—spirituality meaning the existence of another dimension to our life which is beyond the merely physical. That is what he asked us to do. Even today we are in a backward condition if we look at the conditions in the rest of the world; and if we are today backward, it is because of the social disabilities which we impose on ourselves. The great, advanced countries of the world do not go about talking of caste and community. They stand as one—they are either Japanese, Chinese or something else. They do not go about asking what religion one belongs to. Gandhiji's song, *iśvara allāḥ tere nām*, tells us it matters little what name we give to the Supreme. So long as we have true religion, it does not matter what name we give to the Real. How does religion make any difference so far as our public services are concerned? Jawaharlal Nehru tried his utmost to carry out this principle of Gandhiji and asked us to beware of the impediments and obstacles in our minds which are standing in the way of our progress.

Next to it he felt that he was a citizen of the world. *The Emerging World* is the name of the

book which we have released today. A new world is emerging, a world with which our forefathers' were not familiar fifty or a hundred years ago. We see today that all nations are coming together and working together in different places; and Nehru adopted the principle of non-alignment. Non-alignment is affirmative, it is positive; it is breaking down prejudices, bringing people together, making them understand one another. That is the true meaning of non-alignment. Nehru introduced *pañcaśīla*. He meant by it the necessity for self-control even in public affairs. He attended the Bandung Conference, the Belgrade Conference; he took a leading part so far as the Agreements on Indo-China are concerned. In all matters he felt that humanity is above all nations. The task set to our generation is not the task of merely building our nation. It is a question of building up the whole world. That cannot be built up on any monolithic style. No nation could believe that it has the right to build the whole world in its own image. Every nation has its own genius and tradition. These are not to be obliterated; these are to be preserved and kept up for the making of the variety and richness of our world. We should regard ourselves as partners and pilgrims in the same quest. We should

try to help all individuals to reach the Supreme. Nehru quoted two Sanskrit verses in his *Discovery of India*, making them fundamental principles of the new world order. One was: Abandon your family for the community, abandon community for the nation, abandon nation for the world, and even the world for the sake of your own sacred soul. Individual freedom, the sanctity of the individual soul: what does it matter if you gain the whole world but lose your own soul ?

*āmārthe prthivīm tyajet, ātmalābhānna param vidyate*

There is nothing higher than the possession of your own soul, for the sake of which you may give up everything.

The other Sanskrit verse which he also translated and which Gandhiji also used to cite very often is :

*na tvahaṁ kāmāye rājyaṁ na svargaṁ na punarbhavam;*

*kāmāye duḥkhataptānām prāninām ārtināśnam*

I do not desire earthly kingdoms, I do not want heavenly or even better life; I want to reduce the sorrow of people who are sunk in suffering. That is enough for me. Social equality and individual freedom are the two basic principles of any righteous world order. Truth and love, these are the principles, *abhaya* and *ahimsā*. Nehru was an enfranchised human being. He

taught us these things. He practised these virtues in his own life, and it is a great thing for us to have had a soul like him to inspire us for many, many generations to come.

## GANDHI AND NEHRU

It is a matter of great satisfaction to know that an authentic account of the life and thought of Jawaharlal Nehru, one of the most outstanding figures of our century, will now be available to the American public in these volumes by Dorothy Norman, a good and devoted friend of Nehru. The book gives extracts not only from his published writings but from his utterances, speeches, interviews and press conferences, which are not easily accessible. Nehru was a dedicated servant of our people and humanity. He touched the conscience of the peoples of the world and made them feel responsible for the dignity of man and the promotion of peace.

In these first sixty years the influence of Gandhi on Nehru was immense. Gandhi, as an authentically religious man, wished us to banish any hatred or bitterness and to fight in a clean, non-violent way the battle of freedom for India. While freedom is a worth while objective, Gandhi taught that it should be won by peaceful methods, by self-suffering. Gandhi abhorred the use of violence and exalted the

Commending *Nehru : The First Sixty Years* by Dorothy Norman, December 5, 1964



virtue of renunciation. Renunciation has always been a part of our religious life. We who live in the world today do not realize how much we owe to the few who hazarded everything—their name, their nerves, their very necks, and who indeed paid with their lives in order that some vision of truth and beauty and freedom and decency may touch the earth. Nehru learned these lessons from Gandhi and practised them in his own life. He voiced the anguish of people suffering from political subjection as also their aspirations for freedom, equality of opportunity and higher standards of living. He was intensely interested in achieving world peace and we can pay the highest tribute to him by working for peace, without compromising with objectives of nuclear disarmament and international understanding.

## NO GREATER INSPIRATION

THE last year has been a testing time for us all. The great leader who had guided the destinies of our country since its rebirth as a free nation is no longer with us. We who are left behind can have no greater inspiration than Nehru's life of dedicated service in our task of attaining the ideal and fulfilling the vision he bequeathed to us of a united, democratic, progressive and prosperous India.

Amidst the suffocating gloom of Nehru's departure from us, the nation displayed, as it has done before in moments of grave crisis, a remarkable sense of unity and responsibility; and the transition to a new leadership was effected with commendable dignity and orderliness.

From message to the nation broadcast on All India Radio on January 25, 1965, the eve of Republic Day

## HE GAVE US DIRECTION

It is a year since we lost our great leader who loved us so much and served us so well. His qualities of leadership were well known. When we were confused and undecided he gave us direction. When we were lost in passion, he asked us to be calm and composed. When we were alarmed by the situation in the country, he stood like a brave warrior, asking us not to get disturbed unnecessarily. He knew that our country had lost its moorings. There was national deterioration. We were alienated from our roots. Through education, science and art he asked us to get back to our roots and behave as Indians worthy of the dignity of the country which had a great past and expected to have a great future. Through science and technology he asked us to transform our country and raise the material standard of our people. Even with regard to world relations he knew that humanity was on the verge of either destruction or renewal. We have either to advance forward into undreamt of advantages or go backward into

Message to the Films Division for release on May 26, 1965, the eve of the first anniversary of Jawaharlal Nehru's death

barbarism. He knew that hatred was rampant, that violence was widespread. He asked us to banish from our mind fear and hate. That is the only way in which we can live as decent, civilized human beings. We have to remember this day what he taught us and try to imitate his example and not be merely prisoners of hate and fear. That is the lesson which Nehru taught us.

## THE COMING AGE

FRIENDS: Tomorrow it will be a year since we lost our great leader. He was incomparably the greatest figure after Gandhi in our history—a man of dynamic force, intellectual power and profound vision. To these he added a feminine sensitiveness to atmosphere. He spent lavishly his rich and varied gifts for the cause of human freedom. He was involved in the major events of his time, national and international. He participated in them all while maintaining the highest standards of public conduct. Though he is no more with us, the qualities he possessed and the ideals he cherished remain with us.

Nehru had a sense of history. He looked not only to the past but into the future. This endowed him with the vision without which true greatness is not possible. In the Constituent Assembly he said : "Whether we are men and women of destiny or not, India is a country of destiny."<sup>1</sup> What is this destiny? Civilizations are kept alive when their values are recreated in men's minds. The principal values

Broadcast to the nation, May 26, 1965

<sup>1</sup>*Constituent Assembly Debates*, Vol. VII, p. 322

of Indian civilization are the freedom of the human spirit and the unity of mankind.

Nehru was essentially a free being. This freedom is a matter of mind and heart. If the mind is narrow and the heart bitter, there is no freedom, whatever else we may have. No individual is complete until he develops a sense of belonging to humanity. We are human first and foremost and not simply Indian or Chinese, American or Russian, Christian or Jew. At no moment in one's life could one say with certainty, "I am the whole man; I have reached my fulfilment." We are never complete. There is always more to come and that more is incalculable.

The social and political forms of family and class, race and creed, nation and society are there between the simple unity of man and the supreme unity of mankind; they are artificial, contingent and transitory and not absolute. Yet they are valuable in so far as they contribute to the unity of the world, to human fellowship. The growing inter-dependence of nations is upon us. Nations, religions and races cannot run away from one another, even if they wish to.

~~We~~ We have not lacked thinkers who rose above national feuds and religious clashes and put humanity above everything else. In our own

age we had, among others, Tagore, Gandhi and Nehru.

Nehru was a student of science and looked upon it as the means for the liberation of man. Science and the understanding it brings are the enemies of prejudice and of inert traditional ideas. Science liberates us from past institutions, from past assumptions, from past binding customs. Science and technology help to establish a free society based on economic justice and opportunities for all, a society which aims at the cultivation of spiritual values, of the spirit of service, of unselfishness. The spread of the scientific outlook and the industrialization of the country are due, to no small extent, to the influence of Nehru who strove to free the common people from the shackles of poverty, disease, illiteracy and discrimination. In this endeavour he succeeded to a large extent, though we have yet to wear down our superstitious traditions, break our selfishness and awaken our social conscience.

Nehru was a deeply spiritual man though he did not uphold any particular form of religion. He sometimes delighted in calling himself a pagan. This only meant that he was opposed to the formal, dogmatic, sectarian aspects of religion. Possessed of a scientific temper, he was interested in the empirical route to Reality.

The Ultimate *ānanda* which takes over the other categories of *anna*, *prāṇa*, *manas*, *vijñāna*, is the mystery in the heart of time. In the depths of the spirit is the pathway to the Supreme. Our strength is in the silence where utterance is not and where definition is unknown. A fundamental reticence marks the seers.

*anakṣarasya dharmasya śrutiḥ kā deśanā ca kā*

God's ways cannot be confined within the human grasp; otherwise we will make God in our own image. Religion is self-discovery, or perhaps recovery. It is the soul's dialogue with itself. Its secret is inwardness, self-scrutiny, inner cleansing, change of heart, renunciation, the unceasing attempt to create through love a new social order. We lived for generations sheltered lives, comfortable, indulgent and soft. We forgot the everlasting aims that matter for any people, self-respect, dignity, honour and sacrifice. In each generation we have to earn our heritage through blood, toil and tears.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Nehru observed : "Fortunately Indian thought, philosophy, can be easily separated from the superstitious and dogmatic part. They are not inextricably intertwined, though for many people they might be. It is not as if you must accept a basic dogma if you are to remain true to your faith. No such thing in India. You can discard every dogma and yet be true to your religion." (Jawaharlal Nehru, *Personal Interview*, New Delhi, February 25, 1960) .



We have to change the moral climate of our people.

Religion is not an escape from social struggle. Spiritual wisdom and social affairs must be brought into intimate relationship. One cannot be irrelevant to the other. Nehru fought all prejudices with passion and deeply distrusted all absolute philosophies and dogmas. He believed in a priesthood which is spread over all lands and religions, which interprets religion in terms of a 'spiritual' realization of the Kingdom of God on Earth. He worked for the spread of such a liberal, spiritual religion among the people of India. The communal conflict which disfigured our life gave him acute pain. He strove his utmost to remove the fanaticism which led to communal strife. We must grow out of our slavery to what is called orthodoxy.

If we are to live other than on sufferance, we have to put forth a united national effort. At a time like this when we are threatened by enemies within and without, national unity and discipline are our greatest needs.

The creativity operating within human life commits us to democracy, to the belief in the worth of the individual person. Democracy is not merely a form of government or a code of laws. It is a scheme of life, a set of values and

standards. We must defend democracy not merely with our heads but also with our hearts. He who is a fanatic at heart cannot be a true democrat.

Jawaharlal had a deep reverence for parliamentary institutions and he used to attend Parliament as his first duty. Though sometimes he was irritated by the heated behaviour and crude personal attacks of some members, he never lost respect for parliamentary institutions. He was deeply hurt by the activities of a few demagogues who tried to reduce democracy to mob rule but he never lost hope for the future of democracy in India. Plato told us centuries ago: "The penalty that good men pay for refusing to take part in government is to live under the government of bad men." Nehru wished us to be forward-looking and imaginative and to dream and make a new India based on freedom for all people and equality of opportunity for all. It is our duty to treat the parliamentary institutions with dignity and do nothing which is likely to impair their proper functioning. This does not mean that all our opinions are to be regimented. We have a right to disagree; only the disagreements will have to be honest.

While Nehru had a versatile, penetrating and

gracious mind, this did not exclude a tender heart. He loved life and was a man of intense feeling. He never lacked compassion for others. He was free from the cant, squeamishness, hypocrisy and self-deception of many people in regard to human relations. When complaints reached him about the misdemeanours of people, he took a tolerant view and made allowance for the credulity of the mind, the vulnerability of the heart and the discursiveness of human nature. He understood frustrated, unhappy neurotics who found themselves incapable of facing up to the standards and restraints of the social order. He would not judge human beings by stripping them of their humanity. This attitude is not the result of a simple naiveness or a strange innocence but of deep humility and gentle understanding of human nature. In the name of preserving the standards of society which have come down to us, we sometimes make ourselves responsible for many personal tragedies. No social institutions are too venerable for change. We are in the midst of a world revolution which affects every aspect of our life. Industrial development, educational progress, social and physical mobility of peoples, improved standards of living and opportunities for all individuals, these compel radical changes.

Gandhi and Nehru raised the status of women in the social, political, economic and educational fields though we have yet a long way to go.

Nehru was essentially a man of peace. He hated war not as an abstraction but for what it did to man. He loathed the instincts of fear and hatred which caused wars, the suffering it inflicted and the degradation of values it resulted in. Weapons of defence have now become weapons of universal destruction. Nehru understood the facts and implications of nuclear weapons. He worked for the abolition of nuclear weapons which meant death to millions and disease to more. Nuclear war is a catastrophe in which everyone loses; ending the threat of war is a victory for mankind. Peace was Nehru's passion and he believed that it was essential for the growth of humanity.

This world is today a mad-house where individuals exaggerate their racial superiority, religious pride or national egotism and thus become the victims of moral and spiritual blindness. If violence, which is a cowardly escape from the rule of reason, is rampant, the answer to it is the growth of decency and compassion. We have to view the world as one whole, a single community, a fellowship of human beings who have the same instincts of hunger and sex, the

same aspirations of generosity and fellow-feeling, the same faith in the Unseen. We are marching towards this goal of a world community in spite of blind alleys and setbacks.

Nehru tried to apply ethical principles to political problems. Under his guidance, India took a leading part in the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations—in Korea, Gaza, and the Congo. He was acknowledged to be a leader of the uncommitted and emerging nations of the world. He tried to prevent the division of the world into two warring camps. Non-alignment is not moral indifference. It is to keep the doors open for talks however aggrieved or angry we may be. The great powers must learn to live together in peace and friendly co-operation.

Limitless is human folly in politics. When some years ago T. S. Eliot was asked about the future of our civilization, he said, "Inter-necine fighting . . . people killing one another in the streets".<sup>1</sup> Civilization seemed to him a crumbling edifice destined to fall to pieces and perish in the flames of war. This despair of life cannot be the end of things. The tragedy of the human condition imposes on us the opportunity

<sup>1</sup>*Encounter*, April 1965, p. 8

and the obligation to give meaning and significance to life, to develop human dignity and work for the future and believe in the young. This is the cause we have to serve and the cause which must win if humanity worth the name is to survive.

There is a moral force, which, as the human race advances, more and more strengthens and protects those who possess it. If we allow the moral force which our country has long exerted, especially in the period of Gandhiji, to become diminished, or perhaps even destroyed for the sake of the costly, dangerous military apparatus, we take a fatal risk. The nuclear developments have changed everything except our ways of thinking and acting. We have to make a great effort to transform our minds and social conditions.

We have to remember on this first anniversary of Nehru's passing away that humanity is one and our commitment to humanity requires sacrifices of our personal prejudices and national passions. The road ahead is long, difficult and dangerous but the breath of spring is in the air. Jawaharlal taught us to be courageous and unafraid. "I am not afraid of the future. I have no fear in my mind, and I have no fear, even though India, from a military point of view,

is of no great consequence. I am not afraid of the bigness of Great Powers, and their armies, their fleets and their atom bombs. That is the lesson which my Master taught me. We stood as an unarmed people against a great country and a powerful empire. We were supported and strengthened, because throughout all this period we decided not to submit to evil.... I think if we banish this fear, if we have confidence, even though we may take risks of trust rather than risk violent language, violent actions and in the end war, I think those risks are worth taking.”<sup>1</sup>

This most lovable and magnanimous of men is an earnest of the age to come, the age of world men with world compassion. The best way to honour his memory is to get on with the work which he left unfinished, his work for peace, justice and freedom at home and abroad.

<sup>1</sup>Speech to the United Nations General Assembly, Paris, November 3, 1948





## INDEX

- Africa, liberation movement in, 10
- Asia, liberation movement in, 10
- Aurobindo, Sri, 37
- Autobiography*, 8, 42
- Bandung Conference, 49
- Beaton, Leonard, 24, 25
- Belgrade Conference, 49
- Canada, 24
- China, 24, 25
- Colonialism, 10
- Congo, 11, 27
  - India's part in peace-keeping operations, 65
- Constituent Assembly, 23, 57
- Cyprus, 27
- Discovery of India*, 50
- Eliot, T. S., 65
- Emerging World, The*, 48
- Franklin Institute, Philadelphia, 42
- Gandhi, Mohandas Karamchand, 10, 13, 46, 48, 52, 53, 63
- Garibaldi, 44, 45
- Gaza, 27
  - India's part in peace-keeping operations, 65
- Gita*, 17
- Harrow, 44
- India, 7, 15, 21, 24, 27, 33, 36, 45, 57, 62
  - Partition of, 9
  - Spiritual traditions of, 37
- Indo-China Agreements, 49

Kālidāsa, 31

Korea, 11

India's part in peace-keeping operations, 65

Korean Repatriation Commission, 27

Laos, 11

Lenin, 36

Maddox, John, 24, 25

Mahatma Gandhi, *see* Gandhi, Mohandas Karamchand  
Nehru, Jawaharlal

Homage to, 7-11, 30; faith in democracy and freedom, 8; liberalism, 8; as believer in world peace, 10; Will and Testament of, 16; commemorative stamp, 19; Memorial Fund, 22, 28; seventy-fifth birth anniversary, 30; Museum, inauguration of, 42-43; at Harrow, 44; Memorial Volumes, 44; adoption of non-alignment, 49; Gandhi's influence on, 52, 53; first death anniversary, 55.

Non-alignment, 12, 27, 34, 49, 65

Norman, Dorothy, 52

Nuclear disarmament, 24, 25, 53, 64

Pañcaśīla, 49

Planning Commission, 9

Plato, 62

Science and technology, 47, 55, 59

Shakespeare, 31

South America, liberation movement in, 10

Tolstoy, 36

United Nations, 27

Charter of, 10

General Assembly, 67

Upaniṣad, on the nature of Absolute Reality, 37

Vietnam, 11

CONSTITUTIONAL PUBLIC LIBRARY

22 SEP 1965