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## **Jawaharlal Nehru Prime Minister of India visits Wisconsin on the invitation of state and university officials November 4, 1949.**

University of Wisconsin News Service

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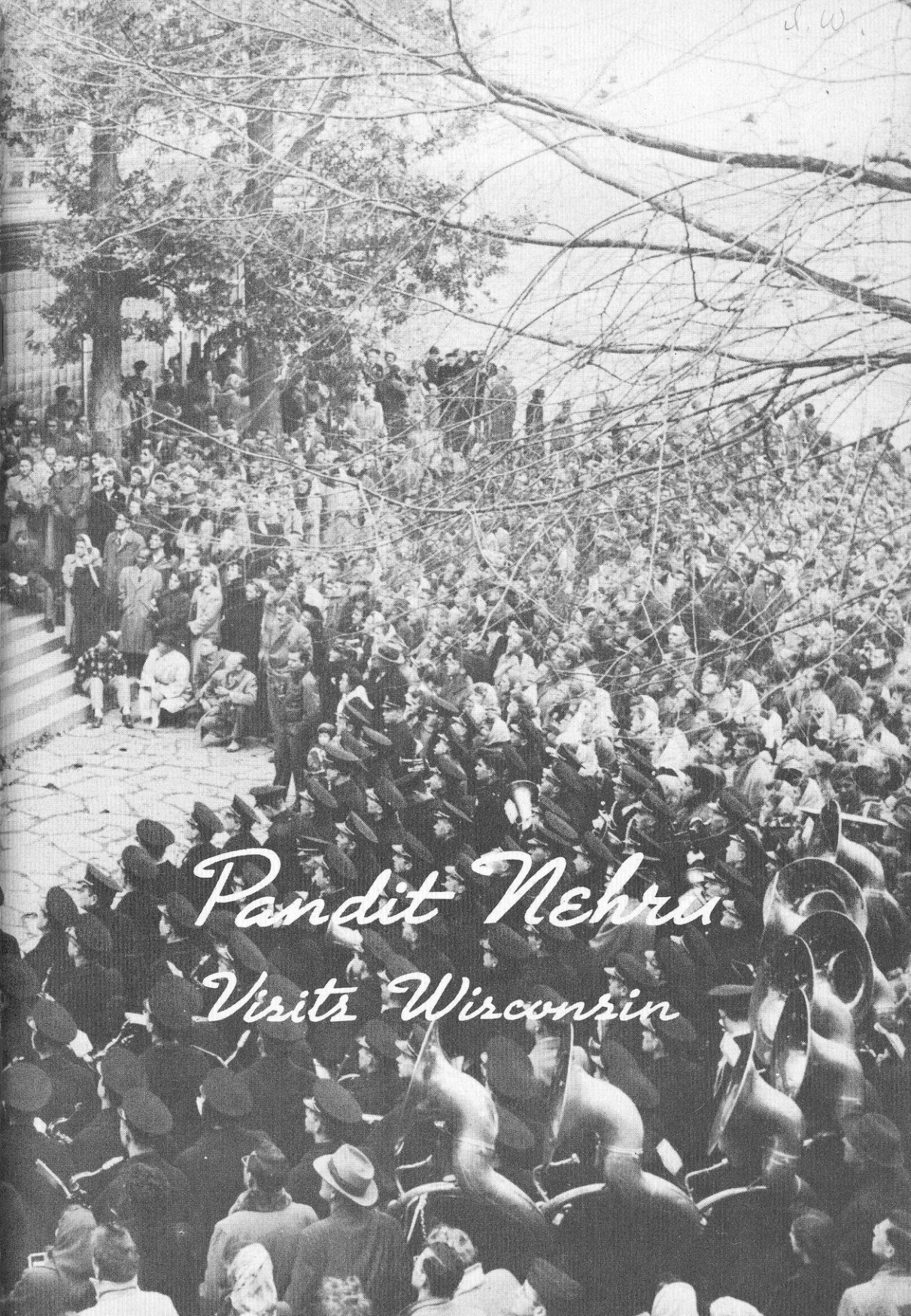
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S. W.



*Pandit Nehru*  
*Visits Wisconsin*

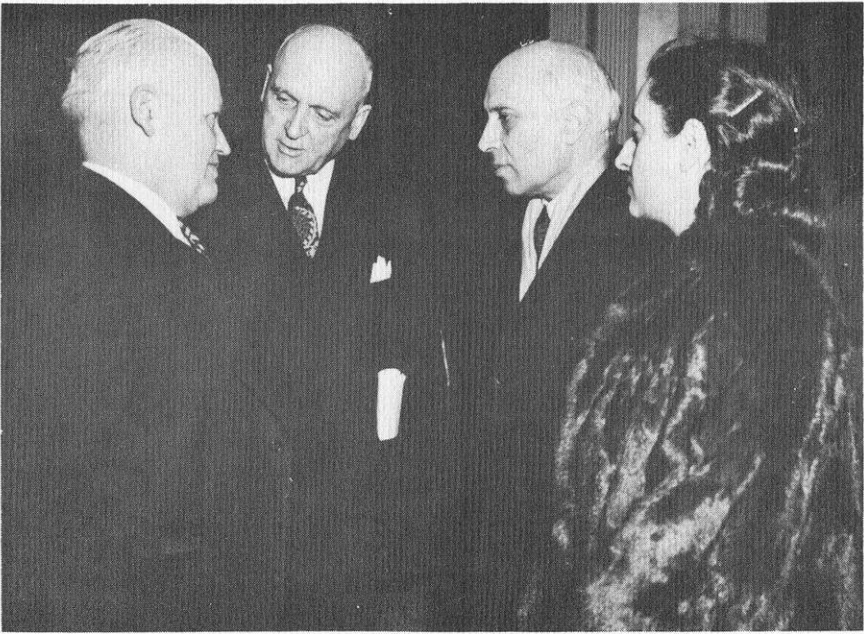




Jawaharlal Nehru  
Prime Minister of India

Visits Wisconsin  
On the Invitation  
Of State and  
University Officials  
November 4, 1949





DR. H. M. COON, superintendent of the State of Wisconsin General Hospital, explains to the guests the fields of teaching, research, and service carried on at the state's medical center



PANDIT NEHRU, his daughter Mrs. Indira Gandhi, and University of Wisconsin Pres. E. B. Fred tour the seed barn at a University Experimental Farm, prior to the program in the Union Theater

# The Program

PRESENTED AT THE WISCONSIN UNION THEATER, NOVEMBER 4, 1949

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Photos on the outside and inside of the covers show the crowds which gathered at the Wisconsin Union Terrace to hear Prime Minister Nehru's talk from the Theater Balcony, which followed his address in the Theater. Cover photos are by Gary Schulz. Photos on the opposite page are by Arthur M. Vinje.

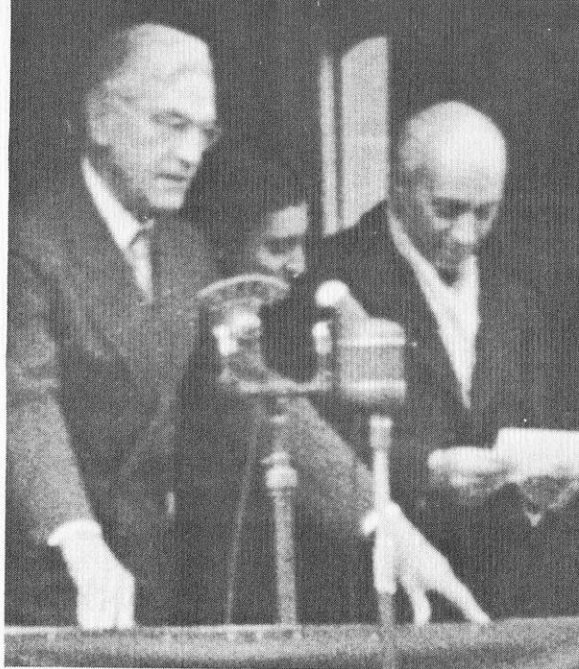
The transcript of this program was taken from a recording made by WHA, the University of Wisconsin radio station. The original broadcast of the program was carried by WHA, the State Radio Council FM network, and by other stations in both Wisconsin and Michigan. This publication was prepared by the University of Wisconsin News Service, with the cooperation of the University Committee on Lectures and Convocations.





# The Introductions

By Philo M. Buck  
U. W. Emeritus Professor



## G

I

HERE IS a beautiful ceremony in India to mark the welcome of an honored guest. He is decorated by a floral garland. Mr. Prime Minister and Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the India students of this University--and there are some fifty of them--have made the request thus to show you honor. May I add that there are three Pakistani students here who have asked to be included in this welcome. Panditji, the present and past presidents of the India Association, Mr. Thakur and Mr. Varma.

II

Pandit Nehru, Mrs. Indira Gandhi:

Eleven years ago to this very hour I was on the Pindari Glacier gazing at the white crest Nanda Koth, ten-thousand feet above me. It is one of the chief jewels in the crown of India --the Himalayas. It was a moment of deep joy and exhilaration. For it carried me back to the India of my childhood and mature age. *Mai bhi Hind ki beta hun*, I too am a son of India.

It is a moment of equal joy and exhilaration today when I greet this morning the chief jewel of the government of the Independent Republic of India, his daughter, and his official family, welcoming them to my American home and University.

But the greeting of our State of Wisconsin must be spoken by its first citizen. Panditji, I present His Excellency, Governor Oscar Rennebohm.

### III

I come now, sir, a step nearer home. It is fitting that you should receive the greetings of the many thousands of students of the University of Wisconsin, whose boundaries are the boundaries of the State, the greetings of its faculties, and of its administration. Mr. Prime Minister, I present our President, Doctor E. B. Fred.

### IV

We are to hear now a hymn that has never been heard before in this hall--the Indian National Anthem. It is by the well-known poet Rabindranath Tagore. India has been blessed with poets and poetry in these late years of her history: Her Excellency Sarojini Naidu, late Governor of the United Provinces; Rabindranath Tagore, the Indian Tennyson. We shall sing one verse of his hymn to India.

The hymn is in the vernacular. You have on the program the poet's own translation. May I say only that when he uses the word victory, in the vernacular *jai*, it is not a physical victory he is celebrating. It is rather moral; and the meaning of this word could as well be, hail, glory, joy, happiness, and a continued state of complete well-being.

We will now join in the Indian National Anthem, led by the students from India.

# Wisconsin's Greetings

By Oscar Rennebohm  
Governor of Wisconsin



**T**HE STATE of Wisconsin only a few months ago celebrated its one hundredth birthday. Since that day of its birth it has seen the returning heroes of three great wars. It has been honored by visits of statesmen and officers of the highest rank from this country and abroad. But never in this century of its life has it been more signally honored than by the Prime Minister of a new people who made good, and peacefully, their claim to national freedom. We greet you, sir, and are honored in this greeting, as the apostle of peace. We know the meaning of Gandhi's noble work, the resolved way of peace, as it was defined and practiced by your late prophet, Mahatma Gandhi.

We greet you as the moral and political leader of a nation that is embarked on the serious experiment of federal democracy. It is wholly fitting that on occasions like the one this morning we should exchange messages of good will, and promises of cooperation to the end that the ideals of freedom and peace may prevail among all peoples.

I greet you in the name of our State of Wisconsin. There is much that my state and your nation have in common. We, too, are a rural people with a fringe of industry in our larger cities. We, too, have the love your poets and people have for the countryside and the things of the soil. We, too, prize human nature for what it is in the eyes of God, rather than by its economic possessions. We, too, are a heterogenous people,



with different mother tongues, religions, and cultures. Like you we, too, are learning to dwell together in peace.

Pandit Nehru, we greet you.

# University's Greetings

By E. B. Fred  
University President



**Y**OUR EXCELLENCY, the University of Wisconsin, its faculties and students are honored today. But our first greetings to you are not to you as Prime Minister of a new and adventurous nation. They are rather to you as the leading representative of a country where culture and scholarship are prized above all worldly possessions, and the true aristocrat is a man of learning. And further, it is the long tradition of learning and culture in your family that we want to preserve as a memento of your visit. Our century-old University is yet a wide-eyed and exploring child in comparison with your unbroken tradition that goes back to the scholars who argued problems of philosophy with Alexander the Great.

We greet you as one who has done much to extend the opportunities for learning to all of your people. Your very title--*Panditji*--a term of respect given to the professed scholar, is an inspiration to those of us who are honored by academic titles.

We greet you, again, as one who is the moral and political leader of a people embarked on the responsible enterprise of democratic self-government. We see in your effort an opportunity--a golden one--for cooperation between your country and our America. The faith that inspired our fathers in building our commonwealth is yours. It is the faith of all free people. This faith burns brightest in the hearts of those like you who

are close to the tradition of a free and liberal education. Scholar, historian, publicist, statesman, reformer -- may I present His Excellency, Prime Minister Nehru.



# Pandit Nehru

*An Edited Transcript  
of the Prime Minister's  
Extemporaneous Remarks*




**T**HIS IS perhaps my last public address in the United States. During the last three and one-half weeks I have wandered about a great deal in this mighty country and have addressed a great many audiences of all kinds. Now my tour is at the point of ending and I shall very soon go back to my own country. I feel a little sad at ending this adventurous and exciting visit of mine. Yet, I must go back because the pull of India is great, and the pull of the responsibility that has fallen on me is greater still. I shall go back with regret, but with innumerable memories which will remain in my mind for a very long time.

I came here, not with any ostensible object to "do a deal" with anybody, but as I said on my arrival, to bring the greeting and good will of my people, and to try to learn as much as I could from this great country and her people. We have stretched out our hand of fellowship to the people of the United States, and that hand has been held warmly and shaken by thousands of persons. I have been rather soft in this matter, but even a hard-hearted person would have been moved by the cordiality of welcome and desire for friendship I have found in this country. It is because of this, more than because of the wonders I have seen of this country, that I shall go back with deep regret.

If I may, on this occasion of my last public utterance, ex-

press my thanks, I would like to do so, with all deference, to the President of the United States, who was good enough and gracious enough to invite me to come to this great country, to the members of his Cabinet and Government, and to innumerable people of distinction, and to people who are not known so much to the public, all of whom joined in welcoming me and treating me not only as an honored guest, but if I may be permitted to say so, as a friend and colleague.

I came here partly, I suppose, in my capacity as Prime Minister of India. Perhaps also I came here as something of a symbol of the new India, because in some ways I, as well as others, do symbolize that new India, that old and new country. I have little doubt that whatever my merits or demerits might be, this visit of mine to the United States has a much greater bearing than that of an individual coming here and meeting other individuals. It is symbolic, I think, of how this great country of the modern world is growing closer to a great country not only of the ancient world but, I hope, of today.

T HAS come to my mind often, during this tour, how history might have been affected if something had happened seven and one-half years ago which did not happen. It is rather foolish to think of what might have happened in the past. Still one can not help doing that, because it was just about seven and one-half years ago, at a time of great crisis in the world, and crisis in my own country, that President Roosevelt invited me to visit in this country. It was a rather informal invitation and we were in great difficulties at that time in India. A mission from England, headed by Sir Stafford Cripps, had come to India to consider and discuss matters with us. That mission, unfortunately, failed to bring about any results, though the crisis of the day demanded results.


It was then that I received a message from that great man, President Roosevelt, and I longed to meet him and to talk to him, and to put to him what I had in my mind, but I sensed that the situation in my country, at that moment, was too difficult for me to leave. I hoped to be able to leave a little

later, maybe in a few weeks or a month or two, so I allowed that great opportunity to pass.

I have regretted it so many times since then.

A few weeks passed, a month or two. Then other changes took place in India, and many of us were confined and prevented from exercising our choice about our movements. Thus, the opportunity of visiting the United States passed. Well, I could come again to the United States and I have come now, but unhappily I can never meet that great man who directed the fortunes of this country and molded the fortunes of the world for many years.

That is a matter of great sorrow to me.



HAVE come here now, in many capacities. Among them is that of a student. Circumstances have led me to become even more of a student in my later years than I was in my youth. It may be that since I was left to my own resources for many years of my life and could not do anything but study, I became a student. Anyway, I am thankful, because it has made life today, and the whole panorama of history, much more interesting to me. It has helped me to understand the present, and has given me a perspective which is enormously helpful when the burden of the moment oppresses me. It helps when one sees that his burden of the moment is, after all, something not too big in the long perspective.

We have to live in the present and to shoulder the burdens of the present, but sometimes we are apt to forget that the relative importance of the present is not quite so great as we imagine it. Something we may consider of extreme importance today, may be, in five or ten years, not very important. Looking at things from the long perspective of history softens any blow, and lightens any burden.

I had, of course, in me somewhere, if not in the conscious self, the sub-conscious, all the racial memories of thousands of years of India's history. That is both good and bad. It is a terrible burden to carry all that, but we are all inheritors of these traditions and have to accept them. If we like, we can lay stress on the good and try to forget the bad.

Then too, in these years that have passed, I lived very much



impressed, and even, if I may put it so, under some kind of a domination by a very great man, Mahatma Gandhi. I, in common with millions of my countrymen, was powerfully impressed by his personality and by what he told us. For nearly thirty years, we functioned under that spell. We grew up under it. Our country grew up and, on the whole, achieved something under his guidance which was very remarkable.



DO NOT pretend to say that the people in India are any better in any respect than people anywhere else. Sometimes it is said that, while the Indian people may be backward in technology and science and modern forms of progress, they are very spiritual and metaphysical, and all that.

I do not hold with that at all.

I do think that India has a philosophical tradition of depth which has lasted for thousands of years. I do think that India has a certain basic cultural background which has withstood the impact of ages and the impact of all kinds of disaster. Read India's history and you will find disaster after disaster.

There are good periods too, of course, and great periods. India is almost the only country which in spite of political division, separation, and disaster managed to carry on a certain continuity of its cultural tradition. There is something basically strong about India. I will not discuss what this strength is. The long course of history reveals that some foundation prevented us from going to pieces in spite of all disasters.

I was interested in this, and I tried to "discover" India. I even ventured to write a book about my discovery, but the more I tried to discover India, the more it eluded me. I found many aspects of her rich personality, but more and more aspects appeared which I did not know. I was, and I am, being continually surprised at something I find there. So, having spent a good part of my life in this attempt to discover my own country, and not wholly succeeding, you can imagine that I would not presume suddenly to discover any other country in a few weeks' tour. Nevertheless, I find that many people do expect me to do that, just as many people expect, and indeed think,

they have discovered India after a few weeks' tour.

But it was not mere curiosity that led me to try to find out what India was and is, and it is not mere curiosity that leads me to try to understand the springs of action and the basic strength of the United States. It is, ultimately, a desire to understand, to find out how I should act in the present, since I must act in the present. Problems come before me. We approach such problems through the mind and through the intellect, we arrive at certain decisions, but then another difficulty comes:

How to translate that mental decision into action?

An individual, to a certain extent, may act as he chooses. When you are concerned with large masses of individuals, however, action becomes a much more difficult undertaking.

Suppose you perceive a certain thing which you consider the truth and you want to follow the path of truth. You may, as an individual, follow it within the limitations society puts upon you. But when you want to move masses of human beings, when you function in public affairs, then you can make others function with you, only to the extent that they are receptive to that truth. So there is always conflict: first, the conflict what to do; second, how to do it or make others do it.

THE FIRST question is basic enough, and I have never been satisfied with the rather simple and naive ways of deciding quickly what one must do in the immediate present. A crisis, political or economic, arises and we get excited and are filled with apprehension and rush about from place to place, not only physically but mentally, and "do something." I am afraid my own background does not fit in with that kind of thing, although I am not considered a very static person. Nevertheless, I do not see why I should allow my mind to rush about in this way.


In trying to find out what the basic problem is, I look to the yesterdays of that problem, and to the possible tomorrows of my action. Today isn't enough.

It is because of this desire to find out how I should think, and how I should adapt my thought to action, that I have tried

to discover my own country first. In order to deal with the masses of people in my country, I had to understand their backgrounds. You may think, and you would be right in saying, that 75 per cent of the Indian people are illiterate. True, they are. We hope that illiteracy will go. It will take time. There are vast numbers involved, but we are determined to put an end to it and to do very much more in regard to their education as well. It is my own experience that a smattering of literacy makes a person more uneducated than an illiterate.

Having to deal with these large numbers of people--masses, millions--is both an enormous privilege and a great responsibility. Especially in the conflicts of the modern world is the responsibility great, for it is difficult to decide anything considering India, in isolation from the rest of the world. To understand India, it is also necessary to understand the rest of the world, historically, to some extent culturally, and otherwise. Thus, I have carried on as a student and I shall carry on for a long time.

I was happy when I was invited by the University of Wisconsin because my visit has been largely taken up by people of another kind. If I may say so, they were very interesting people, very important people, but nevertheless, not sometimes quite so interesting. I have had the privilege on two or three occasions of addressing university audiences. I enjoyed them greatly, and I like the idea that my last public appearance is before a university audience.

OW, THERE is much that I would like to say to you because I am eager to exchange what I have in mind for what you have in yours. I am afraid, though, that can not be done. There are, however, some things to which I should like to draw your attention, things which might lead to a train of thought in your own mind.

We talk a great deal about the East and West, and the Orient and Occident. Of course, coming here to the United States, this business of East and West gets rather complicated because Asia is to us West, and you call it the East. I have come East from Vancouver, where they call Asia the East, though it is

directly to the West. If any of you have read the old books the Chinese wrote about India, you will recall that the old Chinese always referred to India as the West Land, naturally, because India was West of China. That is the sort of confusion we have over the conception of East and West.

There is also confusion over national characteristics which great countries or small countries possess. India definitely has a certain individuality. But with all its background, India is not a static thing. It is ever-changing. Numerous people have come, numerous ideas have come, and gradually changed it. Yet, fundamentally, there is something which continues in it which I think is India specifically.

China is the same. Though changes take place in China, it retains the most powerful individuality that any country has had. So in other great countries of Europe, and so in fact, in America, as development came, but individuality remained.

The real world change took place, you might say, at the beginning of the industrial revolution. It started first in England, then spread into Europe and America. It put an end to the fundamental agrarian forms of existence. As countries became industrialized, and as they applied more and more science to their undertakings, they changed greatly. Their economy changed, many things changed. Even their mental habits of work and thought began to change considerably, and a big gap, a hiatus, appeared between the fundamentally agricultural country and the industrial country. People began to think that industrialized countries should be called the West, more or less, and the countries basically agricultural, the East. Of course, in the long perspective of history, this period of industrialization is a very small period, two hundred years if you like, three hundred at the most. But though it is just a tiny page in the book of history, it has made a tremendous difference.

Since the beginning of this period of industrialization, many revolutionary things have happened.

It crept in gradually, at first, and people did not attach much importance to it. We talked a great deal about a political revolution, the American revolution, the French revolution, and they were important of course. Yet, perhaps in the long scheme of things, the industrial revolution was more important than any political revolution. It has affected the whole life picture of the world's millions.

While large parts of the world remained agricultural, the



industrial revolution functioned in other parts. Various economies based on the industrial revolution arose and spread to countries which were becoming industrialized. This spreading continues today and it is affecting the world greatly.

Analyze the present day as a period when Asia is being industrialized, and consider the consequences. But do not fear those consequences. Industrialization of any one country should not result in the upsetting of any other national economy, because industrialization of another country really should add to the world's wealth, trade, and standards. This is the basic thing that is happening in the spread of industrialization to Asia. Because of it, the world may get a new balance, but you need not be depressed just because another nation goes up in the scale of things.


Industrialization has spread since England first came into the field. History says it started in England because of the inventive genius and ingenuity of the British people, and all that. May I add, however, that it was very greatly helped by Britain's possession of India at that time. It was helped in terms of India's gold and silver. It was helped by India's cheap raw materials and protected markets for British manufactured goods. The British got a tremendous push, that way.

For a long time the industrialized world had these large open markets which were not industrialized.

Now that is changing.

When all the world is industrialized, it will not function in exactly the same way as when half was industrialized and half was not. That is an important development among many other important developments of the day. I do not wish you to attach too much importance to it, but I feel it is a factor which is not sufficiently realized.

It is a slightly upsetting factor only for people whose minds have functioned in ruts and who do not understand change.



IT IS an extraordinary thing that the whole advancement of man is due to the mind of man. Yet, oddly enough, the mind of man often lags behind the pace of events, the pace of actual material changes.

You have in this country made unparalleled advance in technology and in the application of science. In many other countries too, much progress has been made. We live in an age which obviously tends to become more and more unified, more and more constricted, more and more limited by communication, transport, and so forth. Yet, we are still, in our respective countries, often exceedingly nationalistic in the narrow sense. The normal type of nationalism is a good thing, but when it becomes narrow and restrictive, it is not good. So while technological advance makes for one world, our minds are not quite advanced sufficiently to appreciate it, and we function in a narrow sphere.

Let me take you back to another historical parallel, the time of the French revolution and the American revolution. For the whole of the 19th century in Europe, the ideals of the French revolution were normally the ideals of liberals and radicals, and there were repeated revolutions.

While all people thought they lived in political revolution, they actually were living in the spread of the industrial revolution. People did not grasp the change although they were living through it.

The mind of man did not catch up to the pace of events.

Today, world progress in technology is even faster. And although it comes out of the mind of man, it again is faster than the mental adaptation to that progress.

It is strange how the mind of man lags behind change. It accepts change and lives up to it, but not until it is forced to, sometimes by a rather rude kick.

WE IN India have become independent and can, to the extent that any independent country can, fashion our own destiny. Of course that fashioning is limited by world factors.

Our first job after getting political independence obviously was to raise the standards of the people, try to end the appalling poverty of the people, and increase the wealth of the country. In fact, when we talked about freedom and independence to our people during the last twenty or thirty years, we always told them freedom meant not only political freedom but

also progressive economic freedom. We told our people that our first duty must be to raise the living standards of the underprivileged in our country, and they were the vast majority. Thus, the coming of political freedom is only a step toward our goal, and the much more difficult part of our work is still ahead.

We should have liked to be left in peace to work toward increasing the wealth, the productive capacity, the cultural and industrial capacity of our country. You in this University of Wisconsin, which has specialized in agricultural studies, will appreciate how backward many of our agricultural methods are. We want to change them rapidly. Apart from that, we must industrialize our country in order to increase its wealth. Even after industrialization, of course, India will continue to be fundamentally an agricultural country, with vast numbers of people employed in agriculture.

We have to do all this and we have to do it, naturally, by our own hard work. Nobody is going to do it for us, and we do not expect other people to do it. Certainly, however, it can be expedited by the cooperation of the United States or some other countries, and we would greatly welcome that cooperation. In the main, though, the work must fall on us, and above all, we want to concentrate on that work in our country, and raise the level of our hundreds of millions.



**D** IN A SENSE we are not interested-- that is the wrong word but I am using it because I can think of no better--we are not interested in world affairs. That is because we are so interested in putting our own house in order that we do not wish to meddle in other people's houses. But though we do not wish to meddle in other people's affairs, it is clear that we just can not ignore what other people are doing. So it becomes essential for us, if not to meddle, at least to interest ourselves in world affairs. Thus, we function in the United Nations. Just about two weeks ago, India was elected to the Security Council. So, whether we want to or not, these burdens of world affairs come to us. We knew we could not escape them, however much we tried. A country like India, becoming inde-


pendent at any time in history, and particularly in the conflicts of today, just can not escape that burden.

India is geographically situated in a very strategic and pivotal position in the center of south Asia. The whole history of Asia and India shows how India has been connected with movements in western Asia, central Asia and southeastern Asia. You may isolate western Asia from eastern Asia. They are different parts with different problems. But when you consider southeastern Asia or eastern Asia, India comes into the picture of both. It is so situated. If that was so in the past, it is much more so today, and we can not escape it. For that matter, we can not escape even the problems of other countries far from Asia.

Politics in the old days, if you read Machiavelli and his prototypes in India, largely consisted of being friends or enemies with your neighboring countries. You didn't think too much about other distant countries. Today, because of the development of transport, communication, and everything else, every country in the world has become your neighbor country. You can be there within a few hours, or he can be over you within a few hours. With every country your neighbor country, the problem of peace or war becomes very important.

First, neighborly peace or neighborly war results in world peace or world war.

Secondly, with a neighbor, you can not be really indifferent. You have to be friendly with your neighbor or hostile with your neighbor. Thus today, with all the world its neighbor, no country can be indifferent to what happens at the other end of the world. It must either be friendly or hostile. Of course, friendliness or hostility can be expressed in various ways, but pure indifference and isolation are completely past and over. We realize that in India. There is no way left except world cooperation.



IN THE context of these terrific world problems, how is one to approach a solution, apart from one's views of what is good and what is bad?

During the past thirty years, in solving our domestic prob-



lem of freedom for India, we functioned in a particular way which Mahatma Gandhi showed us. We functioned rather imperfectly. We didn't come up to his expectation. We were feeble folk. Nevertheless, in the main we tried to do so, and because we tried, we succeeded rather remarkably. During these thirty years we were trained in ways of action, and our minds were conditioned in a particular way. That technique of action was applied successfully in India under British rule. Obviously, in our problem, there was a special set of circumstances, and obviously you can not apply exactly the same thing in other countries and conflicts where the same set of circumstances do not arise. Yet, the philosophy behind our action and our mental approach to it has powerfully influenced us in our approach to world problems.

That is a factor to bear in mind. We realize, as I have said, that you can not give the same answer to completely different questions, or solve in the same way problems with completely different sets of circumstances.

We realize that, but our approach certainly has been conditioned by the past thirty years. However, it was conditioned as well by the whole period of India's history of thousands of years, a strong conditioning factor.

I don't mean to say all Indians think alike.

India, as I said at the beginning, is a country with a very definite individuality. You may like it or not, but it is a very strong individuality which has persisted, adapting itself of course, changing occasionally, but basically has persisted for this vast period of time.

For about two hundred years it was under foreign domination, and it suffered greatly under it. At the same time, undoubtedly, it learned much, and to some extent, profited by that learning. But it suffered and its individuality was suppressed, as always happens under foreign rule. If there is oppression, a nation does not grow, and this individualized nation for two hundred years or so was arrested and not allowed to grow. Had it not been under foreign rule, it might have made mistakes, very serious ones, but it could have learned by them, too.

**N**

OW, as soon as political freedom comes there is a release of forces. And in the sudden release of suppressed, arrested individuality, the new free forces may, in their exuberance, often take wrong steps, for individuality freed of suppression has a tendency to assert itself.

I am interested in this rather complicated psychological analysis of a nation's mind, not only because I am sitting in the chair as Prime Minister, but also because I am interested in the psychological reaction of masses of human beings.

A leader must be interested in mass psychology.

I find that people imagine that politics is a game of a half-dozen foreign ministers getting together and shaping the world, but that is not so. In spite of the greatness of those foreign ministers, they can only shape the world if they understand the urges of the people they represent. They can not ignore their own people.

So, I want to understand this individualized India growing up and suddenly releasing its forces, feeling it could stretch out its arms and legs, and even make faces at people occasionally-- a bad thing of course, a bad, rude, and vulgar thing, but just a release of its oppressed surface. I also want to understand that other thing, the Gandhi tradition of thirty years.

All these led to our trying to function in the world affairs in our own particular way. Indeed, we could function in no other way, because if we tried, there would be conflict in the minds and souls of our people. I can represent my people only so long as I do not go against their wishes. I have great latitude, of course, to go this way or that way in trying to convince them, but they must be convinced.

Statesmen have to deal with problems at their own level, but considering the state of turmoil and potential conflict of the world today, it is not much good to think its problems are pawns in a game of chess for two or three big statesmen to play.

We are living in a tremendous age. Of course, every age is an age of transition, and it is a rather trite thing to say, but I think we are living in an age which is changing at a pace beyond the minds of men to comprehend.

That process of change which started when the industrial revolution started, becomes more and more rapid. Today, it affects people's minds and people's positions and finally wears them away. It becomes so rapid our mental hospitals are filled with people. We lose poise.

Read about the ancient civilization of Greece. It was not advanced at all--very backward in technology. But in Greek literature you will find something with poise in it, with equanimity in it, with faith. There is no great fear expressed in spite of the Greeks' lack of knowledge of the most obvious things. They face life cheerfully, enjoying life, unafraid as citizens of the city or state.

Today we are wiser in hundreds of departments of human life. We are so wise that nobody can understand everything and so each person becomes very wise in one department. That is specialization--very important. But because each man is so enormously wise about his department, he knows nothing about the other departments of life. The wise man's views in the old civilization, Greek, Indian, or Chinese, of seeing life or accepting life, are found less and less today.

But still, I do not see why we should be afraid of what is happening in the world today. Problems are difficult. We have had, in the past generation, two great wars. That was a terrible thing, and it is easy enough for us to believe this party or that party was no doubt to blame. But fundamentally, it was the failure of this past generation.

Are we going to repeat that?

It is an awful thought.

Will we try to avoid it?

We should try to avoid it, and think about it not in terms of immediate expediency, in terms of fear or fright--do this to escape this--but think in a calm, poised way, think in basic terms, and think with a certain self-confidence and faith, not to be hurried by anything that happens or any invitation that is offered. We should try to apply our minds to the problem of how peace can be kept, not merely how to avoid the petty dangers or other consequences of the day.

# R

EMEMBER THIS finally, that we must keep objectives clear before us. I will give you an example involving war. You have heard of war to gain certain objectives. Now among those objectives, you have to fight the war because the enemy comes in the way of your gaining those objectives. Therefore, you have to defeat him, but in the course of the war you almost forget the basic objectives and the only objective that remains is defeating the enemy. Thus, you have changed your objective, and you don't know where to go and you get into trouble again. It is a very obvious thing. Nevertheless, the obvious is often forgotten.

I want to repeat to you, personally, something I have said elsewhere. During all these years of thought and action, activity and inactivity and passivity, this basic lesson of Mahatma Gandhi has more and more been borne upon me:

Means are always as important as the ends.

It is not good enough for you to have a good end in view. The means you adopt to reach that end are at least as important, because if you adopt the evil means to attain the good end, the evil means do not lead you to that good end at all. They lead you somewhere else. The end has gone away. To go to a right objective, you must go by the right path. If you go by another path, you go somewhere else. These precepts are important and sound very good, but they are difficult to practice. Nevertheless, if they are kept in view, and one tries one's hardest to function along these lines, I think they do bear rich fruit.

May I again thank you for your welcome and your courtesy and, through you, may I again thank all the people of the United States.





# Indian National Anthem

## Jana Gana Mana

By Rabindranath Tagore  
(English Translation by the Poet)

Thou art the ruler of the minds of all people,

Thou Dispenser of India's destiny,

Thy name rouses the hearts  
of the Punjab, Sind,  
Gujrat and Maratha, of Dravid,  
Orissa and Bengal.

It echoes in the hills of  
the Vindhya and Himalayas,  
mingles in the music of  
Jumna and Ganges,  
and is chanted by the waves  
of the Indian Sea.

They pray for the blessing  
and sing thy praise,  
Thou Dispenser of India's destiny,  
Victory, Victory, Victory to thee!







