



COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION

LOW MEMORIAL LIBRARY
MONDAY, OCTOBER 17, 1949
AT NINE O'CLOCK

Processional

Invocation

THE CHAPLAIN OF THE UNIVERSITY

Music

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY CHOIR

Come, thou fount of ev'ry blessing . . . *American Folk Hymn*
arr. John Powell

Come, thou fount of ev'ry blessing,
Tune my heart to sing thy grace;
Streams of mercy never ceasing,
Call for songs of loudest praise.

REFRAIN:

*I am bound for the kingdom,
Will you go to glory with me?
Hallelujah, praise the Lord.*

Oh! to grace how great a debtor
Daily I'm constrained to be!
Let that grace, Lord, like a fetter,
Bind my wand'ring heart to thee.

Prone to wander, Lord, I feel it,
Prone to leave the God I love;
Here's my heart, Lord, take and seal it,
Seal it from thy courts above.

Conferring of the Degree of Doctor of Law

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY

The candidate will be presented by
SCHUYLER CRAWFORD WALLACE, PH.D.
Director, School of International Affairs

The citation will be read by
ALBERT C. JACOBS
Provost of the University

Response

His Excellency
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
Prime Minister of India

Stand Columbia

Mother, stayed on rock eternal,
Crowned and set upon a height,
Glorified by Light supernal—
In thy radiance we see light.
Torch, thy children's lamps to kindle,
Beacon-star, to cheer and guide,
Stand, Columbia! Alma Mater—
Through the storms of Time abide!

Recessional

The Prime Minister and the President of the
University will receive guests in room 213 at
the conclusion of the ceremony

Public Information Office
Columbia University

Robert Harron, Director

FOR RELEASE AFTER 9:30 P.M.
(EST), MONDAY, OCTOBER 17

Citation read by Provost Albert C. Jacobs as the degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred upon Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, by President Dwight D. Eisenhower, Monday, October 17, 1949 at 9 P.M., in rotunda of Low Memorial Library, Columbia University.

Jawaharlal Nehru, foremost disciple of the great apostle of Indian freedom, indomitable leader of his people along the thorny path of liberation, wise counsellor and molders of policies of a reborn nation; a renowned interpreter of the aspirations of a great race, his intellectual leadership has combined a profound knowledge of the culture and institutions of the West with the great heritage and enduring traditions of the East; a champion of underprivileged peoples, his devotion to the noble ideals of universal peace and understanding have won for him the respect and acclaim of all mankind. Columbia is proud to welcome him as one of her distinguished sons and to award him the highest honor in her power.

* * *

Text of President Eisenhower's remarks
at the conclusion of the reading of the
Citation

I gladly admit you to the degree of Doctor of Laws honoris causa, in this University and confer upon you all rights and privileges which attach thereto, in token whereof I hand you this diploma.

* * *

Public Information Office
Columbia University

Robert Harron, Director

FOR RELEASE AFTER 9:30 P.M.
(EST), MONDAY, OCTOBER 17

Text of address by Pandit Jawaharlal
Nehru, Prime Minister of India, at
Convocation held in his honor in Low
Memorial Library, Columbia University,
Monday evening, October 17, at 9:00 P.M.

- - -
Mr. President:

I am deeply grateful to this great University and to you, Sir, for the honour you have done me in inviting me today and in conferring the honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws. It is an honour to be associated with this University and with the many men of learning and seekers after truth of this University and I shall treasure it. To have that signal honour conferred upon me by one who has played such a distinguished part in both war and peace adds to its value.

I have come to you not so much in my capacity as a Prime Minister of a great country or a politician, but rather as a humble seeker after truth and as one who has continuously struggled to find the way, not always with success, to fit action to the objectives and ideals that I have held. That process is always difficult but it becomes increasingly so in this world of conflict and passion today. Politicians have to deal with day-to-day problems and they seek immediate remedies. Philosophers think of ultimate objectives and are apt to lose touch with the day-to-day world and its problems. Neither approach appears to be adequate by itself. Is it possible to combine those two approaches and function after the manner of Plato's Philosopher-kings? You, Sir, who have had the

- MORE -

experience of a role of a great man of action as also that of a philosopher as head of this University, should be able to help us to answer this question.

In this world of incessant and feverish activity men have little time to think, much less to consider ideals and objectives. Yet how are we to act even in the present unless we know which way we are going and what our objectives are. It is only in the peaceful atmosphere of a University that these basic problems can be adequately considered. It is only when the young men and women who are in the University to-day, and on whom the burden of life's problems will fall tomorrow, learn to have clear objectives and standards of values that there is hope for the next generation. The past generation produced some great men but as a generation it led the world repeatedly to disaster. Two world wars are the price that has been paid for the lack of wisdom on man's part in this generation. It is a terrible price and the tragedy of it is that, even after that price was paid, we have not purchased real peace or a cessation of conflict, and an even deeper tragedy is that mankind does not profit by its experience and continues to go the same way which led previously to disaster.

We have had wars and we have had victory and we have celebrated that victory, yet what is victory and how do we measure it? A war is fought presumably to gain certain objectives. The defeat of the enemy is not by itself an objective but rather the removal of an obstruction towards the attainment of the objective. If that objective is not attained, then that victory over the enemy brings only negative relief and indeed is no real victory. We have seen, however, that the aim in wars is almost entirely to defeat the enemy and the other and real objective is often forgotten. The

3--Nehru address

result has been that the victory attained by defeating the enemy has only been a very partial one and has not solved the real problem, or if it has solved the immediate problem, it has at the same time given rise to many other and sometimes worse problems. Therefore it becomes necessary to have the real objectives clear in our minds at all times, whether in war or in peace, and always to aim at achieving that objective.

I think also that there is always a close and intimate relationship between the end we aim at and the means adopted to attain it. Even if the end is right, but the means are wrong, that will vitiate the end or divert us into a wrong direction. Means and ends are thus intimately and inextricably connected and cannot be separated. That indeed has been the lesson of old taught us by many great men in the past, but unfortunately it is seldom remembered.

I am venturing to place some of these ideas before you, not because they are novel but because they have impressed themselves upon me in the course of my life which has been spent in alternating periods of incessant activity and conflict, and enforced leisure. The great leader of my country, Mahatma Gandhi, under whose inspiration and sheltering care I grew up, always laid stress on moral values and warned us never to subordinate means to ends. We were not worthy of him and yet to the best of our ability we tried to follow his teaching. Even the limited extent to which we could follow his teaching yielded rich results. After a generation of intense struggle with a great and powerful nation, we achieved success, and perhaps the most significant part of that achievement, for which credit is due to both parties, was the manner of it. History hardly affords a parallel to a solution of such a conflict in

a peaceful way, followed by friendly and cooperative relations. It is astonishing how rapidly bitterness and ill-will between the two nations have faded away giving place to cooperation, and we in India have decided of our own free will to continue this cooperation as an independent nation.

I would not presume to offer advice to other and more experienced nations in any way. But may I suggest for your consideration that there is some lesson in India's peaceful revolution which might be applied to the larger problems before the world today? That revolution demonstrated to us that physical force need not necessarily be the arbiter of man's destiny and that the method of waging a struggle and the way of its termination are of paramount importance. Past history shows us the important part that physical force has played. But it also shows us that no such force can ultimately ignore the moral forces of the world, and if it attempts to do so, it does so at its peril. Today this problem faces us in all its intensity because the weapons that physical force has at its disposal are terrible to contemplate. Must the twentieth century differ from primitive barbarism only in the destructive efficacy of the weapons that man's ingenuity has invented for man's destruction? I do believe, in accordance with my master's teaching, that there is another way to meet this situation and solve the problem that faces us.

I realize that a statesman or a man who has to deal with public affairs cannot ignore realities and cannot act in terms of abstract truth. His activity is always limited by the degree of receptivity of the truth by his fellow men. Nevertheless the basic truth remains truth and is always to be kept in view and so far as possible, it should guide our actions. Otherwise we get caught up in a vicious circle of evil when one evil action leads to another.

India is a very old country with a great past. But it is a new country also with new urges and desires. Since August, 1947, she has been in a position to pursue her foreign policy. She was limited by the realities of the situation which we could not ignore or overcome. But even so she could not forget the lesson of her great leader. She has tried to adapt, howsoever imperfectly, theory to reality insofar as she could. In the family of nations she was a new-comer and could not influence them greatly to begin with. But she had a certain advantage. She had great potential resources which no doubt would increase her power and influence. A greater advantage lay in the fact that she was not fettered by the past, by old enmities or old ties, by historic claims or traditional rivalries. Even against her former rulers there was no bitterness left. Thus, India came into the family of nations with no prejudices or enmities, ready to welcome and be welcomed. Inevitably she had to consider her foreign policy in terms of enlightened self-interest, but at the same time she brought to it a touch of her idealism. Thus she has tried to combine idealism with national interest. The main objectives of that policy are: the pursuit of peace, not through alignment with any major power or group of powers, but through an independent approach to each controversial or disputed issue; the liberation of subject peoples; the maintenance of freedom, both national and individual; the elimination of racial discrimination; and the elimination of want, disease and ignorance which afflict the greater part of the world's population.

I am asked frequently why India does not align herself with a particular nation or a group of nations, and told that because we have refrained from doing so, we are sitting on the fence. The question and the comment are easily understandable because in

times of crisis it is not unnatural for those who are involved in it deeply to regard calm objectivity in others as irrational, short-sighted, negative, unreal or even unmanly. But I should like to make it clear that the policy India has sought to pursue is not a negative and neutral policy. It is a positive and a vital policy which flows from our struggle for freedom and from the teaching of Mahatma Gandhi. Peace is not only an absolute necessity for us in India in order to progress and develop, but is also of paramount importance to the world. How can that peace be preserved? Not by surrendering to aggression, not by compromising with evil or injustice, but also not by talking and preparing for war. Aggression has to be met, for that endangers peace. At the same time the lesson of the last two wars has to be remembered and it seems to me astonishing that in spite of that lesson we go the same way. The very process of a marshalling of the world into two hostile camps precipitates the conflict which it is sought to avoid. It produces a sense of terrible fear and that fear darkens men's minds and leads them into wrong courses. There is perhaps nothing so bad and so dangerous in life as fear. As a great President of the United States said: There is nothing really to fear except fear itself.

Our problem, therefore, becomes one of lessening and ultimately putting an end to this fear. That will not happen if all the world takes sides and talks of war. War becomes almost certain then.

We are a member of the family of nations and we have no wish to shirk any of the obligations and burdens of that membership. We have accepted fully the obligations of membership of the United Nations and intend to abide by them. We wish to make our full contribution to the common store and to render our full measure

of service. But that can only be done effectively in our own way and of our own choice. We believe passionately in the democratic method and we seek to enlarge the bounds of democracy both on the political and the economic plane, for no democracy can exist for long in the midst of want and poverty and inequality. Our immediate needs are for economic betterment and raising the standards of our people. The more we succeed in this, the more we can serve the cause of peace in the world. We are fully aware of our weaknesses and failings and claim no superior virtue, but we do not wish to forfeit the advantage that our present detachment gives us and we believe that the maintenance of that detachment is not only in our interest but also in the interest of world peace and freedom. That detachment is neither isolationism nor indifference, nor neutrality when peace or freedom is threatened. When man's liberty or peace is in danger we cannot and shall not be neutral; neutrality, then, will be a betrayal of what we have fought for and stand for.

If we seek to ensure peace, we must attack the root causes of war and not merely the symptoms. What are the underlying causes of war in the modern world?

One of the basic causes is the domination or the attempt to dominate one country by another. Larger parts of Asia were ruled till recently by foreign and chiefly European powers. We ourselves were part of the British Empire, as were also Pakistan, Ceylon and Burma. France, Holland, Portugal still have territories over which they rule. But the rising tide of nationalism and the love of independence have submerged most of the Western Empires in Asia. In Indonesia I hope that there will soon be an independent sovereign State. We hope also that French Indo-China will achieve freedom and peace before long under a Government of its own choice. Much of Africa, however,

is subject to foreign powers, some of whom still attempt to enlarge their Dominions. It is clear that all remaining vestiges of Imperialism and Colonialism will have to disappear.

Secondly, there is the problem of racial relations. The progress of some races in knowledge or in invention, their success in war and conquest, has tempted them to believe that they are racially superior and has led them to treat other nations with contempt. A recent example of this was the horrible attempt, so largely successful, to exterminate the Jews. In Asia and Africa, racial superiority has been most widely and most insolently exhibited. It is forgotten that nearly all the great religions of mankind arose in the East and that wonderful civilizations grew up there when Europe and America were still unknown to history. The West has too often despised the Asian and the African and still, in many places, denies them not only equality of rights but even common humanity and kindness. This is one of the great danger points of our modern world; and now that Asia and Africa are shaking off their torpor and arousing themselves, out of this evil may come a conflagration of which no man can see the range of consequences. One of your greatest men said that this country cannot exist half slave and half free. The world cannot long maintain peace if half of it is enslaved and despised. The problem is not always simple nor can it be solved by a resolution or a decree, but, unless there is a firm and sincere determination to solve it, there will be no peace.

The third reason for war and revolution is the misery and want of millions of persons in many countries and, in particular, in Asia and Africa. In the West, though the war has brought much misery and many difficulties, the common man generally lives in some measure of comfort - he has food, clothes, shelter to some extent.

The basic problem of the East, therefore, is to obtain these necessities of life. If they are lacking, then there is the apathy of despair or the destructive rage of the revolutionary. Political subjection, racial inequality, economic inequality and misery - these are the evils which we have to remove if we would ensure peace. If we can offer no remedy, then other cries and slogans make an appeal to the minds of the people.

Many of the countries of Asia have entered the family of nations; others we hope will soon find a place in this circle. We have the same hopes for the countries of Africa. This process should proceed rapidly, and America and Europe should use their great influence and power to facilitate it. We see before us vast changes taking place not only in the political and economic spheres, but even more so in the minds of men. Asia is becoming dynamic again and is passionately eager to progress and raise the economic standards of her vast masses. This awakening of a giant continent is of the greatest importance to the future of mankind and requires imaginative statesmanship of a high order. The problems of this awakening will not be solved by looking at it with fear or in a spirit of isolationism by any of us. It requires a friendly and understanding approach, clear objectives, and a common effort to realize them. The colossal expenditure of energy and resources on armaments, that is an outstanding feature of many national budgets today, does not solve the problem of world peace. Perhaps even a fraction of that outlay in other ways and for other purposes, will provide a more enduring basis for peace and happiness.

That is India's view, offered in all friendliness to all thinking men and women, to all persons of goodwill, in the name of our common humanity. That view is not based on wishful thinking, but on a deep consideration of the problems that afflict us all, and on its merits I venture to place it before you.

Public Information Office
Columbia University

Robert Harron, Director

FOR RELEASE AFTER 9:30 P.M.
(EST), MONDAY, OCTOBER 17

Text of remarks by Professor
Schuyler C. Wallace, Director
of School of International
Affairs and Chairman, Department of Public Law and Government at Columbia, in presenting honorary degree of Doctor of Laws to Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru of India by President Dwight D. Eisenhower

* * *

Low Memorial Library
Columbia University
Monday evening
October 17, 1949
at 9 P.M.

* * * * *

Mr. President, Honored Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen:

On behalf of the Trustees, the President, and the Faculties of Columbia University, it gives me great pleasure to greet you this evening.

During the past two hundred years, Columbia University has welcomed to its portals many distinguished guests. But no one of them has been more distinguished or more welcome than the guest we have with us tonight. I have the honor, Mr. President, to present for the degree of Doctor of Laws in Columbia University one of the world's most renowned statesmen. I do so humbly and simply.

Descended from an honorable Brahman family -- originally from Kashmir, Jawaharlal Nehru was born in Allahabad on November 14, 1889. Educated initially under tutors at home, he went

- MORE -

then to Harrow, and from there to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he took the degree of Master of Arts, then to the Inner Temple. Returning to India, he at first followed in his father's footsteps and became an advocate at the Allahabad High Court where, if he had so desired, he might easily have pursued a distinguished legal career.

Instead, he chose to throw his energies into politics, becoming first a member of the All India Congress Committee, then General Secretary, and finally President, -- dedicating himself by so doing to the cause of independence for his native land. Imprisoned in 1921 and 1922, and again both in the thirties and early forties, he and his associates persevered in the pursuit of their objective until on August 15, 1947, their efforts were finally crowned with success. Together with Mahatma Gandhi, our distinguished guest exemplifies in American eyes the full flowering of the movement for Indian independence.

Pandit Nehru, however, is much more than a great revolutionary leader. The role he played in the initial negotiations with Lord Mountbatten, his conduct of the post of Vice-President under the Interim Government, his course of action as Prime Minister of India, as Minister of External Affairs, and as Minister of Scientific Development, have all proclaimed him a great, -- perhaps I should say the greatest -- Indian statesman, fully meriting the support and adoration bestowed upon him in his native land.

But this is not all. Pandit Nehru has long since revealed himself as more than an Indian patriot and Indian statesman. More than any other single man, he was responsible for convening the First All Asian Conference -- in which all the Asiatic nations, with the single exception of Japan, participated. Beyond any other person, he stands today as the leading exponent not merely of freedom for all

Asiatic nations but of freedom for all the peoples of the world.

Pandit Nehru's activities, however, have not been confined to the fields of Indian and Asiatic politics. In a very real sense he symbolizes, both in his person and in his writings, a bridge between the East and the West. In English prose of surpassing distinction he introduces into Glimpses of World History -- the first of the three major volumes to flow from his pen -- a perspective which constantly reminds the Occidental reader that much of what he has hitherto considered universal history is, in fact, parochial in its character. I shall not pause to comment on his literary contributions further, other than to say that his Autobiography has already taken its place in literary history as one of the classics of our time.

But Pandit Nehru is more than a great Indian patriot and statesman, he is more than a champion of the oppressed masses of Asia, more than a distinguished literary figure, scholar and philosopher. He is, in a very real sense, a world statesman. He it was who, at a Conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers, devised the formula whereby India could become a republic, -- as she will do next January 27 -- and at the same time remain within the Commonwealth of Nations. He it is who, as Prime Minister and as Minister of External Affairs, has guided and guides Indian participation in the counsels of the United Nations.

Indian patriot and statesman whose energy and wisdom have not merely brought his country to the threshold of nationhood but have guided her early development, champion of the peoples of Asia, distinguished scholar and philosopher, world statesman! On behalf of this University, this traditional seat of liberty and law, I request, sir, that you confer the degree of Doctor of Laws upon His Excellency, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

Public Information Office
Columbia University

Robert Harron, Director

FOR RELEASE: MONDAY, OCTOBER 17

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, prime minister of India, will deliver a major address on his nation's foreign policy at the special convocation to be held in his honor tonight (Monday) at 9 o'clock in Columbia University's Low Memorial Library.

The address will follow the conferring of an honorary Doctor of Laws degree on the prime minister by General Dwight D. Eisenhower, Columbia president.

The impressive ceremony will begin with an academic procession in which the trustees, University Council and officers of the University, all in academic robes, will escort the prime minister to the rotunda of the Library.

Professor Schuyler C. Wallace, director of Columbia's School of International Affairs and chairman of the Department of Public Law and Government, will call on the Rev. Dr. James A. Pike, chaplain of the University, for an invocation. The combined college choirs will then sing an American folk hymn, "Come, Thou, Fount of Ev'ry Blessing," after which Professor Wallace will make the presentation address.

Professor Albert C. Jacobs, provost of the University will then read the citation for the honorary degree, and President Eisenhower will confer the degree. The prime minister will then give his address, and the ceremony will conclude with the recessional.

The ceremony will be witnessed by 650 guests, including leading statesmen of India and the United States; representatives of the State Department and the Indian delegation to the

- MORE -

2--Nehru convocation

United Nations; a group representing the office of the Indian consul-general in New York; educators from Columbia and other institutions who are especially interested in Far Eastern affairs; prominent Americans of Indian origin; New York City officials; and the trustees and officials of Columbia.

All Indian students at the University, numbering approximately 100, have been invited to attend the ceremony. Other students will hear the program over a public address system in the lounge of John Jay Hall.

Following the convocation, a reception will be held, also in Low Library.

The prime minister and his party will arrive on the campus at 6:30 o'clock for dinner with President and Mrs. Eisenhower at the President's House, 60 Morningside Drive. Dinner guests will include the prime minister's sister, Madame Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, ambassador from India to the United States; Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the prime minister's daughter; Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai, secretary-general, Ministry of External Affairs; Sir B. N. Rau, permanent delegate to the India delegation to the U.N.; B. R. Sen, minister plenipotentiary at the Indian embassy, and Mrs. Sen; Frederick Coykendall, chairman of Columbia's trustees, and Mrs. Coykendall; President William Russell of Teachers College, and Mrs. Russell; Professor Albert C. Jacobs, retiring Columbia provost; Dr. Grayson L. Kirk, provost-elect, and Mrs. Kirk; Professor Schuyler C. Wallace and Mrs. Wallace; Arthur Hays Sulzberger, Columbia trustee, and Mrs. Sulzberger; James DeCamp Wise, president of Columbia Associates, and Mrs. Wise; Professor Justin M. O'Brien, chairman of the committee on public ceremonies, and Mrs. O'Brien; and Professor John H. H. Lyon.

Most of the convocation program will be rebroadcast by Station WOR from 10 to 10:30 P.M., and on the Mutual network from

3--Nehru convocation

10:30 to 11 o'clock. The State Department will record the ceremony for rebroadcast to India and the British Commonwealth and for use over the Department's Voice of America radio network to Europe and Asia.

10 - 15 - 49

NEHRU'S ADDITIONAL REMARKS

I should like to add a few words, sir. I have been deeply moved by what you said, and by what was said about me in the previous citations; and I have felt as I listened to all that was said about me very humble. This scene that I see here under your distinguished presidency, will long remain in my mind. Indeed, I do not think I shall ever forget it. I shall remember this scene, and above all I shall remember the great courtesy, kindness, and generosity with which you have received me here and made me one of yourselves. I shall prize that honor, of being a fellow member with you of this great University, above the other honors that have come my way. I shall prize it not only in my individual capacity, as I believe that this honor was perhaps meant for more than an individual, and for the moment you treated me not as an individual, but as a symbol and representative of India. And here, sir, forgetting myself for a moment, I thank you on behalf of my country and my people.