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### THE FOLLY OF UNITED LEFTIST FRONT

The latest slogan in the political warfare going on in India is: "All parties of the Left must unite against Congress." Sarat Bose originated the slogan. Jayaprakash Narayan has pointed out that a fundamental unity is indeed difficult to achieve because of the way each party's attachment to its own particular propaganda and because of moral disagreement on the methods of establishing and pursuing collective economy; he has asserted that the electoral tug among the Leftists. So, for practical purposes, the battle-cry of Bose remains effective. Possibly in the near future it may even lead to a straightening out of differences in the interests of a basic consolidation. The need, thus, is still acute for underlying the dangerousness of it. There are two reasons for the dangerousness.

Is the Arch-Enemy Congress or Communism?

The first is that here is a foreseen forgetting of the real evil which India has at present to face and overcome. The vision behind the familiar call for a united Leftist front is that Congress is the arch-enemy today. Congress has certainly exposed itself to criticism, but is it not folly on the part of the Leftists to make Congress's defeat their principal objective? Have they not, time and again, denounced the grave evil of Communism? Do they not know that the Communists are bent not only on disorganising Congress government but also on giving no chance ultimately to the party of either Sarat Bose or Jayaprakash Narayan?

The latter leader himself said not long ago at a public meeting in Calcutta that the Communist tactics of creating anarchy and disruption as a protest against the Congress policy must be condemned, since such violent and vicious tactics would lead the country nowhere and paralyse every scheme undertaken by any government whatever to improve the country's lot. If Communism is allowed to have its way, neither the Forward Bloc nor the Socialist party can function. And that's not all. The Communists are almost as much against these political groups as against Congress. They are the most deadly menace to India, with their utterly materialistic doctrine and opportunists strategy and their allegiance to an extra-territorial power. If the Leftists should unite in any form, it ought to be in the cause of combating the Soviet stooges who want to annul thehost that Indian culture stands for. And the union should join hands with Congress in order to carry on this combat effectively. To sidetrack the collective energy needed for the anti-Communist cause and turn it upon Congress is directly to strengthen the hands of India's enemies; for, the very first item on their destructive programme is the elimination of the one party that has seen through the hoax of Russia's "progressiveness" and under Nehru's wise guidance forged an indirect link with the Western bloc by keeping India within the Commonwealth.

Blind Spots That Threaten Civilisation

What is still more ironical, the Communists whom both the Forward Bloc and the Socialist party condemn and who in turn look upon them as renegades from the true ideology are the united anti-Congress front envisaged by these groups. The triumph in the Calcutta by-election which Sarat Bose claims as a resounding vote by Bengal for his party was to a considerable extent aided not only by Hindu sectarianists who view both the security and the international outlook of Congress with suspicion, but also by large masses of Communists. And it is this fact that leads most naturally to the second reason why the effort to unite the Left is fraught with danger for India. The Communists are willing to "gang up" with any Left party not simply because of animus against Congress. The Leftist mind has, among its blind spots, two of very immediate serious consequences which the Communists recognize as secret points of contact with themselves and which they can employ as points of departure for the establishment of their own power.

To begin with, it falls to discern the basic difference between the forces guiding the two European blocs. Although aware of the unilateral and unscrupulous totalitarianism of the U.S.S.R., it sees the western bloc of England, the United States and France as a steam-roller of imperialist and capitalist interests. No doubt, the western bloc has blenches, but at its base there is a great drive towards freedom, especially freedom of thought which is of more value than economic equality and which is one of the prime ingredients of Indian culture. Economic readjustment so as to remove the gross disadvantages under which huge numbers of men labour is surely necessary, but even if it is achieved we shall come to the end of genuine progress unless thought has a wide scope and suffers no such repression as in Russia. In the so-called capitalist and imperialist countries the intellect of man is at liberty to evolve even philosophies of anti-capitalism and anti-imperialism, and the critical faculty can be directed against the very heads of the State, whence in Russia no man dare philosophise except according to Marx and no man dare criticise Stalin who has to be hailed as the most enlightened and benevolent politician, the wisest philosopher, the acutest art-critic and the greatest scientist!

Side by side with the blind spot toward Russia's real difference from the western democracies there is the lack of vision of what is involved in freedom of thought: namely, the right of the individual. And once this right is granted we must grant also room for individual initiative in action itself. Thus the predominance of the State—the cardinal doctrine of Socialism—falls to the ground. The State has several important functions to perform—without it there can be little collective security and stability and a certain measure of what is called nationalism is perhaps the creature. And yet in these collective parts in industry cannot be denied altogether without risk of either stagnation or a devolving of power into the hands of a single autocrat or a single clique of bosses ruthlessly enforcing in a super-individualistic manner an annihilation of industrial experience by individuals. All Leftists are wanting in a proper realisation of the evolutionary importance of the individual, the importance that despite several shortcomings and aberrancies in the ideology of the western bloc is yet inscribed firmly within it.

The united Leftist front, therefore, cannot escape being a strong menace to the vital truth of individuality and to its continuance in the world with the help of the Atlantic Charter which strives to stem the flood of Stalinism. If the Leftist forces in India could completely divest themselves of the delusion that western democracy is not fundamentally different from Soviet government and is on many counts even worse, they would in some important respects conduct to national welfare as do their namesakes in Labour-governed England. When, however, we find them opposed to England herself and vaguely feeling that Soviet Russia, behind her monstrous aspect, holds a world of essential good, we despair of truly fruitful results from their union. By their misconception of the root-issue between the two European blocs, they will make the world safer for Communism. At a time when Mao Tse-tung is sweeping a savage antics across China and his partisans are rising all over South-east Asia and beating a brutal hammer at India's gates, the slightest access of safety to the Communist cause will be a misfortune for our civilisation.

Congress and the Leftists

The parties of the Left should make it their business to develop definitely an anti-Communist mind. This is the first condition for their union.
Finally, he brings the ancient Hindu idea of the divine immanence to an unparalleled grandeur of expression in noble prose and poetry. In this process he realizes a happy blend of the perennial wisdom of the East and the best of modern western thought; for he studied at London and Cambridge, and was acquainted with European culture. I could pick a thousand sentences from his writings and say of any one of them, trace its implications and you will be led into the deep wonderlands of philosophic vision. I have never read an author who can compactly be called a master. Gandhi is the greatest saint, Tagore the greatest poet of modern India, but Sri Aurobindo is the greatest thinker; indeed has attained incomparable truce greatness, as poet, philosopher, and saint.

Dr. Frederic Spiegelberg, Dept. of Asiatic Studies, Stanford University, Stanford, Calif., U.S.A.

I am very grateful that I came into contact with Sri Aurobindo so late in life, for after having wrestled with the ultimate problems of existence for years, I am now in a position to appreciate his answers to them. In 1947, I read his Life Divine, and was completely knocked over. I have never come across a philosophy so completely as Sri Aurobindo. He always knew why there was the necessity for a certain system of philosophy to exist at a particular time.

But the words philosopher, spiritual genius, mystic, seer, or saint, do not describe him correctly. There is a better word for him. Sri Aurobindo is a master. His words are the thoughts of himself, and they have an absolute value, a value that can never be questioned. They have always known why there was the necessity for a certain system of philosophy to exist at a particular time.

I am grateful that the coming generation of young American thinkers will widely and deeply be impressed by it, and it is not too soon.

My students and I send you, great master, our salutations to your birthday. I think that we study The Life Divine as thoroughly as we can, and as many of us have its entire new horizon. I am convinced that the coming generation of young American thinkers will widely and deeply be impressed by it, as many of us have the new horizon. Nothing on my recent trip to India has impressed me as much as being in your presence in highest gratitude.

The Foil of United Leftist

Continued from previous page

because Yugoslav nationalism refuses to kowto to Russia. Even if neither economic nor ethnic factors operate, there will still be purely psychological factors operating. These can most generally be summed up by distinguishing the soul of man from the ego of man. The soul is individual without being cut off from other individualities or from the universal: the divine Spirit is single yet manifold and in it there is no strife among the many multiplied divinities. It is the world soul that can be represented by the same formula. War can never be ended: some pretext or other will always be found for it. And the way to the soul does not lie in sheer collectivism, in the subjection of the ego to the State, but in the proper governance of the ego and in the guidance of it towards the soul: to phrase the matter otherwise, the soul is always trying to shine out through the ego and we must help it do so by an intelligent use of individuality rather than by making the State predominant. War cannot be avoided by mere economic or political changes, for whether we be capitalists or socialists, we are still soul-suspending ego. In order to cease being such we need, as outer machinery, a sort of balance between capitalism and socialism and, as inner progress, being and regulating the outer machinery, a conscious turn towards the Divine through a broad spirituality instead of through a narrow religiosity.

It is evident that the greatest obstacle to soul-growth is Communism: here only the outer machinery but even the inner process is repudiated. Congress holds the promise of both, provided it puts a check upon corruption. The Leftist parties which are now endeavouring to unite stand midway. But if they unite with the purpose of “downing” Congress they will be a peril to India and weaken the only solid bulwark the country has against the Communist threat. What they should do is to unite against Communism, then discard their own Leftist exaggerations, agitate against the corrupt elements in Congress, enable it to fight both Communism and their own Leftist excesses, and finally establish the beginnings of a mixed economy. One thing alone will then remain to set the country upon the real path of progress, the one thing of paramount value without which even the best of plans will get perverted and misused: the clear acceptance of a broad spirituality and the light of spirituality and the search for a leader who embodies such spirituality and can make it operative in every department of life, especially determining with a supra-intellectual insight the correct form which what we have termed “mixed economy” should take.
A "NATIONAL" LANGUAGE FOR INDIA: THE REAL PROBLEM AND THE RIGHT SOLUTION

B K R. Srinivasayya Iyengar

Our linguists, it would appear, are in passionate search of a "national" or "Indian" language. It is not clear how, or by whom, this enthusiastic search is to be conducted. Is it to be a search for a language or a language for a nation? What are the criteria? And what is the definition of "national"? If we ask the question, "What is a national language?" it may be said, "It is a language that is spoken by all the people of a country who are ethnically alike and who are bound together by a common culture and a shared history.

The concept of a "national" language is a product of the modern nation-state system, which emerged in the 19th and 20th centuries. Before that, languages were often associated with particular regions or cultures, and there was little sense of a single "national" language that could unite a diverse population. However, with the rise of nationalism and the spread of the nation-state concept, there was a growing need for a language that could serve as a unifying force for a nation's citizens.

The idea of a "national" language is often seen as a way to promote national identity and cultural cohesion. It is also seen as a way to distinguish a nation from others, and to assert its unique place in the world. However, the concept of a "national" language is not without its critics. Some argue that it can be used to suppress minority languages and cultures, and to promote a narrow and exclusive vision of national identity.

In the case of India, the question of a "national" language is particularly complex, given the country's diverse linguistic and cultural landscape. India has over 22 official languages, and many more languages and dialects. The question of a "national" language has been a source of debate and controversy, with advocates for and against different approaches. Some argue for a "national" language based on Hindi, while others advocate for a language that reflects India's linguistic diversity.

The question of a "national" language in India is also closely tied to the issue of education and language policy. The Indian government has a language policy that promotes the use of Hindi and other official languages, and many argue that this policy has had a positive impact on national integration and cultural cohesion.

However, there are also concerns about language policy in India. Some argue that the policy has been used to suppress minority languages and cultures, and to promote a narrow and exclusive vision of national identity. Others argue that the policy has had a negative impact on linguistic diversity and cultural richness.

In conclusion, the question of a "national" language in India is a complex one, with many different perspectives and approaches. It is a question that requires careful consideration, taking into account the country's diverse linguistic and cultural landscape, as well as the needs and aspirations of its citizens.
THE CLOSE OF DANTE'S "DIVINA COMMEDIA"
ENGLISHED by K. D. SETHNA

Dante Alighieri died in Ravenna on September 14, over six centuries ago. But we are remembering his death's day only to draw home the immortality of his genius by a rendering of the last canto of his great poem's third and final section, "Paradiso". This rendering is not, strictly speaking, a translation. It keeps Dante's form, the "terza rima", and presents faithfully as regards the main points the account he gives of the last stage of his journey in the other world, the attainment of the highest heaven. But it does not treat these points with an imagination utterly subordinated to the original. Even apart from verbal liberties, it takes up the atmosphere of a mystic's vision which has not exactly the same psychological colour and movement. Besides a certain personal difference of phase, there is also some difference of general milieu, the Orient has mingled its own soul with that of Medieval Europe and the Christian aspiration tends here to bear the touch of India's sense of spiritual light. Dante is to be emulated or falsified, he is absorbed and re-created. The style has not always the severe cut of the Danteque suggestion; whatever force comes into play is at times of a more "rich" type, yet it tries to preserve in the midst of "richness" a compact turn and a loaded significance which are not alien to the essence of Dante.

St. Bernard Suppicihces on Behalf of Dante

"O Virgin Mother, daughter of thy Son! 
Idol's pinnacle of shadowless sanctity—
Yet, with the lustre of God's union,
Outshining all in chaste humility
Extreme force-fixed by the supernal Mind,
Unto such grace rose thy humanity
That who thy word obeyed 
Sormed not to house His own vast self in clay;
For, thy world's sacred mystery engrained
The divine Love by whose unattached ray
My soul, too, this heart encircled of eternal peace!
A becomung magnificent maiden
Art thou to us of seiuour charities,
To mortal men hope's ever-living found!
So great thy power that, save its fulnesses
Shed purifying gleam, whose would mount
Unto this ecstasy might well desire
A媒gie sky-shower! Nor dost thou needful count
Grief's tear, but even ere its soil
Thou minglest with its bitter drop thy bliss.
Whatever bounteous world-unkindling fire
Sparkles below, thy heart's infinities
Hold in full blaze . . . . . Here kneels one that has viewed
All states of spirit from the dre abyss
To heaven's insuperable altitude
I, who have never craved the rapturous sight
With such flame's voice of zeal for our soul's good
As now for him implores thy faultless light,
Beg answer to this orison: O pierce
That gloom vestige of his mortal sight
By the miraculous beauty that bestirs
The sleeping god in man with its pure sheen!
Dissolve the immeasurable universe
Of ultimate joy, O time-victorious Queen!
Quench the blind hunger of his earth-despair
With flood of glory from the immense Unseen!
Deny him not Perfection — lo in prayer
A myriad saints with Beatrice surpass
Sinsless love-splendoured hands that he may share
The vision of inviolable Grace!"

Dante Approaches the Beatific Vision

The Eyes that make all heaven their worshipper
Glowed on the suppliant's mouth and in their rays
Streamed the mute blessing deep prayers drew from her.
Then to the Light which knows no dusk they turned
Full-open, gathering without one blur
What never in a creature's book has burned.
Neighing them the Vast where the gold laughter stood, End of each clay-desire in clay unlearned,
I ended every hunger in my blood.
Shivered was becoining up with smiling face
My soul, but to the crowning surcehced
My glance had winged already a long space; For, that high splendour shapes all Nature new,
One with the Pure that needs no power or praise
Beyond its own white self to keep it true
Henceforth so large an averted surprise
That words are shut in, memories scarce break through!
As folden dream-pageants from swaying eyes
At the rude touch of clamorous convers day.
Even so my spirit loses paradise.
Yet though the enormous rapture rolls away.
A silent sweetness trickles in my heart.
Even thus the snow is in the sun's hot ray
Unsealed or, when some ancient breeze did part
The sby's thin leaves, back to the unknown
Vanished her secrets of soil-saying art.

O Lustre seated on a relentless throne,
Rejoicing solitary and aloof
In others where no thought has ever flown
Out of the bound of earthly hours, endrawn
Once more the primal brilliance to my sight —
Slay my song's discord with Thy glory's shaft,
That I may leave of Thy miraculous light
A deathless sparkle to posterity
Empower with Thy unconquerable might
The dim voice of my mortal memory
To lift above the minds of future men
The burning banner of Thy victory
The grace withdraw not which Thou gavest me when
With superhuman courage I pursued
Thy beckoning bale of beauty till my ken
Reeled on the verge of dread infinitude!

In the depths divine the myriad universe
Clasped by a giant flame of love I viewed:
All that the wayward winds of time dispense
Stood luminous there in one ecstatic whole:
Beyond corruption and the taint of tears
Shone the divine destinies of man's soul!

The Crowning Vision of Dante

Stunned by that flash of limitless unity
I felt as though upon my being stole
The weight of one mate moment's lethargy
Heavier than the dead centuries that fall
On the Agro's plunge across the pristine sea!
What flickering earth-tongue has tongue to call
The spirit grown vast with this significance?
Each longing here attains the rapturous All —
Here life's lost heart of splendid beauty immense!
But the deep relish of divinity
How shall my words convey: Its radiance
Leaves my mouth stricken with helpless infaney
Draining in dumb delight its mother's breast.
Not that the Flame rose now more goldenly
(For ever unchanged its high perfections rest),
But my gaze found a growing miracle.
No power of human speech could have expressed,
As orb within bright orb unthinkable
From that abyss of tense beatitude
Swam slowly into my wondering sight until
The mystery of heaven's triune mood
In mingling fire and rainbow-beauty shone!
O Light eternal, in self-plenitude
Dwelling exultant, fathomless, unknown
Save to the immemorial infinity
A luminous omnipotence Thine alone!
Twas Thy supreme joy Thou showedst to me,
Thy grace most intimate masked by dazzling awe,
When, fixing on Thy uncurbed brilliance
My revering look, with heart o'erwhelmed I saw
Thy nameless grandeur wears the face of Man!
But as in vain without geometric law
An intricate figure one may strive to span,
So the impuissant scrutiny of thought
With which my laboured mind essayed to scan
This mighty secret, fell back dazed, disheartened,
Till Thy mercy flashed a beam on its dark eye
And the heart found the inscrutable knowledge sought!
Then vigour failed the towering fantasy.
Yet, like a burning wheel, past mortal bars
Desire rushed on, impelled perpetually
By the love that moves the sun and all the stars.
One of our chief aims will be to provide authentic guidance in regard to the many perplexing questions with which the common man is faced in his daily life. This cannot be better done than by considering these questions in the light of Sri Aurobindo's writings, because he is merely a Master of Yoga in possession of the Eternal Spiritual Truths, but also a Guide and Helper of mankind in the many trying situations that arise in the course of its day-to-day existence. To bring the light of this great man's knowledge and experience to the aid of all who are interested in the solution of problems presented by their own lives, we are beginning with a series of questions of common interest along with precise answers based on Sri Aurobindo's writings which will regularly appear in these columns.

Q. 1: The idea of Karma in ancient times was closely associated with a belief in rebirth. Is this association based on any inevitable necessity?

A. This close connection between Karma and rebirth was not a mere accident, but a profound, intelligible and inevitable union of two related truths which are needed for each other's completeness and can with difficulty exist in separation. These two things are the soul side and the nature side of one and the same cosmic sequence. Rebirth means a new turn in the cycle of Karma, and Karma has no foundation of an inevitable origin and no rational and no moral justification if it is not an instrumentality for the sequences of the soul's continuous experience.

Q. 2: Why is Karma necessary for rebirth?

A. If we believe that the soul is repeatedly reborn in the body, we must believe also that there is some link between the lives that preceded and the lives that follow and that the past of the soul has an effect on its future; and that is the spiritual essence of the law of Karma. To deny it would be to establish a reign of the most chaotic incoherence, such as we find only in the leaps and turns of the mind in dream or in the thoughts of madness, and hardly even there. And if this existence were, as by its plan of final completion and ultimate end, as if the future becomes the present and the present the past, as it does, the world might have to accept and worship this law. But if we see that every act one has ever done, every word one has ever spoken, every moment of one's existence has its effect on one's present condition, we see that the law of Karma is in accordance with the natural laws of the universe, and that to ignore it is to ignore the wisdom and plan of the universe itself. This law is in accordance with the natural laws of the universe, and that to ignore it is to ignore the wisdom and plan of the universe itself.

Q. 3: What is the necessity of rebirth to Karma?

A. If we give to Karma its integral and not a truncated meaning, we must admit rebirth for the sufficient field of its action.

Q. 4: What is the integral meaning of Karma, and why is rebirth necessary as a field of its working?

A. Karma is not quite the same thing as a material or substantial law of cause and effect, the antecedent and its mechanical consequence. That would perfectly admit of a Karma which could be carried on in time and the result come with certainty in their proper place, their just degree of balance of forces, but never in any way touch the human originator who might have passed away from the scene by the time the result of his acts got into manifestation. A mechanical Nature could well visit the sins of the fathers on the fourth or fifth or even four-hundredth generation, as indeed this physical Nature does, and no objection of injustice or any other mental or moral objection could rise, for the only justice or reason of a mechanism is that it shall work according to the law of its structure and the fixed eventuality of its force in action. We cannot demand from it a mind or a moral equity or any kind of suprahypophysical responsibility. The universal energy grinds out inconceivably its effects and individuals are only fortuitous or subordinate parts of its workings; the soul itself, if there is a soul, makes only a part of the mechanism of Nature, exists not for itself, but as an utility for her business. But Karma is more than a mechanical law of antecedent and consequence. Karma is action, there is a doer and a deed and an active consequence; these are the three joints, the three locks, the three reachs of the connexus of Karma. And it is a complex mental, moral and physical working; for the law of it is not true of mental and moral than of the physical consequence of the act to the doer. The will and the idea are the driving force of the action, and the momentum does not come from some commotion in my chemical atoms or some working of ion and electron or some weird biological influences. Therefore the act and consequence must have some relation to the will and the idea and there must be a mental and moral consequence to the soul which has the will and idea. That, if we admit the individual as a real being, is the reality of act and consequence. And another is the rebirth for a field of this working. It is evident that in one life we do not and cannot labour out and exhaust all the values and powers of that life, but only carry on a past thread, weave out some-

Q. 5: Is not the existence of the individual soul implied in the idea of rebirth? Would the consequence of rebirth follow from the very nature of Karma if there were only an All-Soul of the universe?

A. It would not, for Karma is in myriads of forms its past, working out some present result, spinning yarn of Karma for a future web of consequence. It is the All-Soul which would be the originator, who would perceive the force of the act, would receive and exhaust or again take up for further use the returning force of the consequence. Nothing essential would depend on its doing all those things through the same individual mask of its being. For the individual would only be a prolonged moment of the All-Soul, and what it originated in this moment of its being which I call myself, might very well produce its result on some other moment of the same being which from the point of view of my ego would be somebody quite different from and unconnected with myself. There would be no injustice, no unreason in such an apparently vicarious reaping of the fruit or suffering of the consequence; for what has a mask, though it be a living and suffering mask, to do with these things? And, in fact, in the nature of life in the material universe a working out of the passionate imagination or an illusion, or worse, as Schopenhauer would have it, a delirium and insanity of the soul, we might accept some such law of inconsequent consequence. But, taken even at its worst, this world of life differs from dream, illusion and madness by its plan of final completion and ultimate end; this law is not the act of a Mind in tatters or a machine in dislocation. The continuous existence of the soul in rebirth must signify an evolution if not of the self, for that is said to be immutable, yet of its more outward active soul or self of experience. This evolution is not possible if there is not a connected sequence from life to life, a result of action and experience, an evolutionary consequence to the soul, a law of Karma.

Q. 6: What is the real truth of the individual soul and what is its proper relation to the All-Soul or the cosmic spirit?

A. The original and eternal Reality, the Alpha and Omega, the Godhead is neither separate in the individual nor is it only a part of Pantheism, a cosmic spirit. It is at once the eternal individual and the eternal All-Soul of this and many universes, and at the same time it is much more than these things. This universe might end, but he would still be; and I too, though the universe may end, would still exist in him; and all these eternal souls would still exist in him.

But as his being is for ever, so the succession of his creations too is for ever; if one creation were to come to an end, it would be only that another might begin and the new would carry on with a fresh commencement and initiation the possibility that has not been worked out in the old, for there can be no end to the self-manifestation of the Infinite. Nasti etsa vritam me. The universe finds itself in me, even as I find myself in the universe, because we see this face and that face of the one eternal Reality, and individual being is as much needed as universal being to work out this manifestation. The individual vision of things is as true as the universal vision, both are ways of the self-seening of the Eternal. I may not see myself as a creature contained in the universe; but when I come to self-knowledge, I see too the universe to be a thing contained in myself, subtly by implication in my individuality, amply in the great universalised self I then become. These are data of mental experience, things known and voices of old, though they may seem shadowy and transcendental to the positive modern mind which has long pored so minutely on outward things that it has become dazed and blind to any greater light and is now only slowly recovering the deeper light through its folds; but they are for all that always valid and can be experienced today by any one of us who chooses to turn to the deepest way of the inner experience. Modern thought and science have noted the new knowledge given us in the old, do not contradict them, but only trace for us the outward effect and workings of these realities; for always we find in the end that truth of self is not contradicted, but reproduced and made effectual here by law of Energy and law of Matter.
Living and accurate expression of mystical and spiritual experience is rare. To convey the realities of this experience, in all their many-sidedness, and to show what the immense reaches of yogic evolution are, this series will present extracts from the writings of Sri Aurobindo and the Mother.

THOU hast passed over my life, O Lord, like a great wave of love, and when I was immersed in it, I knew in a way integral and intense that I had offered to Thee—when? I do not know, at no precise moment and, doubtless, always—my thoughts, my heart and my flesh in a living holocaust.

And in that great love which enveloped me, and in that consciousness of the renunciation made, there was an immense serenity vaster than the universe and a sweetness so intense and so full of an infinite compassion that a flow of tears came slowly from my eyes. Nothing could be further removed at once from suffering and from happiness, it was an ineffable peace.

O Sublime Love, centre of our life, Marvel of marvels, I find Thee again at last and I live once again in Thee, but how much more powerfully, how much more consciously than before. How much better I know and understand Thee. Each time I find Thee again, my communion with Thee is more integral, more complete, more definitive.

O Presence of ineffable beauty, O thought of supreme redemption, sovereign power of salvation, with what joy all my being feels Thee living in itself, sole principle of its life and of all life, marvellous constructor of all thought, all will, all consciousness. Upon this world of illusion, this sombre nightmare, Thou hast bestowed Thy divine reality, and each atom of matter contains something of Thy absolute.

Thou art, Thou livest, Thou are radiant and reignest.

January 13, 1914.

THE MOTHER
Prayers and Meditations

O MOTHER Divine, with what fervour, what ardent love I came to Thee in Thy deepest consciousness, in Thy high status of sublime love and perfect felicity, and I nestled so close into Thy arms and loved Thee with so intense a love that I became altogether Thyself. Then in the silence of our mute ecstasy, a voice from yet profounder depths arose and the voice said, “Turn towards those who have need of thy love”. All the grades of consciousness appeared, all the successive worlds. Some were splendid and luminous, well ordered and clear; there Knowledge was resplendent. Expression was harmonious and vast, Will was potent and invincible. Then the worlds darkened in a multiplicity more and more chaotic, the Energy became violent and the material world obscure and sorrowful. And when in our infinite love “we” perceived in its entirety the hideous suffering of the world of misery and ignorance, when “we” saw our children locked in a sombre struggle, flung upon each other by energies that had deviated from their true aim, “we” willed ardently that the light of Divine Love should be made manifest, a transfiguring force at the centre of these disintegrated elements. Then, that the Will might be yet more powerful and effective, “we” turned towards Thee, O unthinkably Supreme, and “we” implored Thy aid. And from the unsounded depths of the Unknown a reply came sublime and formidable and “we” knew that the earth was saved.

September 1, 1914.

THE MOTHER
Prayers and Meditations

ASCENT

The Silence

Into the Silence, into the Silence,
Arise, O Spirit immortal,
Away from the turning Wheel, breaking the magical Circle,
Ascend, single and deathless:
Care no more for the whispers and the shoutings in the darkness,
Pass from the sphere of the grey and the little,
Leaving the cry and the struggle,
Into the Silence for ever.

Vast and immobile, formless and marvellous,
Higher than Heaven, wider than the universe,
In a pure glory of being.
In a bright stillness of self-seeing,
Communing with a boundlessness voiceless and intimate,
Make thy knowledge too high for thought, thy joy too deep for emotion;
At rest in the unchanging Light, mute with the worldless self-vision,
Spirit, pass out of thyself; Soul, escape from the clutch of Nature.
All thou hast seen cast from thee, O Witness:
Were only eternity, peace and silence,
O world-transcending nameless Oneness,
Spirit immortal.

(2)

Beyond the Silence

Out from the Silence, out from the Silence,
Carrying with thee the ineffable Substance,
Carrying with thee the splendid and wideness,
Ascend, O Spirit Immortal.
Assigning to Time its endless meaning.
Elsinor enter into the grasp of the Timeless
Awake in the living Eternal, taken to the bosom of love of the Infinite.
Live self-found in his endless completeness.
Drowned in his joy and his sweetness,
Thy heart close to the heart of the Godhead for ever.
Vast, God-possessing, embraced by the Wonderful,
Lifted by the All-Beautiful into his infinite beauty,
Love shall envelop thee endless and fathomless,
Joy unimaginable, ecstasy illimitable,
Knowledge omnipotent. Might omnipotent,
Light without darkness, Truth that is dateless,
One with the Transcendent, calm, universal,
Single and free, yet innumerable living,
All in thyself and thyself in all dwelling,
Act in the world with thy being beyond it.
Soul, exceed life’s boundaries; Spirit, surpass the universe.
Outlimning the summits of Nature,
Transcending and uplifting the soul of the finite,
Rise with the world in thy bosom,
O Word gathered into the heart of the Ineffable,
One with the Eternal, live in his infinity,
Drowned in the Absolute, found in the Godhead,
Swan of the supreme and spaceless ether wandering winged through the universe,
Spirit immortal.

SRI AUROBINDO:
Collected Poems and Plays

DESCENT

All my cells thrill swept by a surge of splendour,
Soul and body stir with a mighty rapture,
Light and still more light like an ocean billows
Over me, round me.
Rigid, stone-like, fixed like a hill or statue;
Vast my body feels and upheaves the world’s weight;
Dire the large descent of the Godhead enters
Limbs that are mortal.
Voiceless, throned, Infinity crowns upon me;
Presses down a glory of power eternal;
Mind and heart grow one with the cosmic wilderness;
Still and earth’s murmurs.
Swifter, swiftly crossing the golden spaces
Knowledge leaps, a torrent of rapid lightnings;
Thoughts that left the Ineffable’s flaming mansions
Blaze in my spirit.
Show the heart-beats’ rhythm like a giant hammer’s;
Missed and voices drive to me from God’s doorway
Words that live not save upon Nature’s summits;
Eternity’s chariots.
All the world is changed to a single oneness;
Souls undying, infinite forces, meeting;
Join in God-dance weaving a seamless Nature,
Rhythm of the Deathless.
Mind and heart and body, one harp of being,
Cry that anthem, finding the notes eternal,—
Light and might and bliss and immortal wisdom
Clasping for ever.

SRI AUROBINDO:
Collected Poems and Plays
At first Sri Aurobindo took part in Congress politics only from behind the scenes as he had not yet decided to leave the Baroda service; but he took long leave without pay in which, besides carrying on personally the secret revolutionary work, he attended the Baroda Conference broken up by the police and toured through Bengal along with Bepin Pal and himself closely with the forward group in the Congress. It was during this period that he joined Bepin Pal in the editing of the Bande Mataram, founded the new political party in Bengal and attended the Congress at Calcutta which the Extremists, though still a minority, succeeded under the leadership of Tilak in imposing part of their political programme on the Congress. The founding of the Bengal National College gave him the opportunity he needed and enabled him to position his name in the Baroda service and join the college as its Principal. Subodh Mullick, one of Sri Aurobindo's collaborators in his secret action and afterwards also in Congress politics, in whose house he usually lived when he was in Calcutta, had given Mullick a letter for this foundation. Mullick was always sympathetic to the cause, and stipulated that Sri Aurobindo should be a given a post of professor in the college with a salary of Rs. 150; so he was now free to give his whole time to the service of the Congress. Bepin Pal, who had been long expounding a policy of self-help and non-cooperation in his weekly journal, now started a daily with the name of Bande Mataram, but it was likely to be a brief adventure since he began with only Rs. 500 in his pocket and no firm assurance of financial assistance in the future. He asked Sri Aurobindo to join him in this venture to which a ready assent was given. Sri Aurobindo saw his opportunity for starting the public propaganda necessary for his revolutionary purpose. He called a meeting of the forward group of young men in the Congress and decided then to organise themselves openly as a new political party joining hands with the corresponding group in Bengal under the proclaimed leadership of Tilak and to join battle with the Moderate party which was done at the Calcutta session. He also persuaded them to take up the Bande Mataram daily as their party organ and a Bande Mataram Committee was constituted to finance its work whose committee under the able direction of Sri Aurobindo undertook during the absence of Bepin Pal who was sent on a tour in the districts to proclaim the purpose and programme of the new party. The new party was at once successful and the Bande Mataram paper began to circulate all over India. Sri Aurobindo’s first pre-occupation was to declare openly for complete and absolute independence as the aim of political action in India and to insist on this persistently in the pages of the journal; he was the first politician in India who had the courage to stand firmly for this and to be successful. Aurobindo took up the word Swaraj to express its own independent and its soon spread everywhere; but it was taken up as the ideal of the Congress much later on at the Karachi session of that body when it had been already embraced in the programme of the Moderates for a year and half. The journal declared and developed a new political programme for the country as the programme of the Nationalist Party, non-cooperation, passive resistance, Swadeshi Boycott, national education, settlement of disputes in law by popular petition, etc. This programme received a welcome everywhere and the development was insufficient and the economical position of the schools precarious. Sri Aurobindo had decided to take up the movement personally and see whether it could not be given a greater expansion and a firmer foundation, but his success in the work was cut short by the repression and the general depression caused by it, most of the schools failed to survive. The idea lived on and it may be hoped that it will one day live an independent and strong form and body. The idea of people’s courts was taken up and worked in some districts; not without success, but this too perished in the storm. The idea of volunteer groupings had a stronger vitality; it lived on, took shape, multiplied its formations and its workers were the spearhead of the Movement of direct action which broke out from time to time in the struggle for freedom. The purely political elements of the Nationalist programme and activities were those which lasted and after each wave of repression and depression renewed the thread of the life of the movement for liberation and keep it recognisably one throughout nearly fifty years of its struggle. But the greatest done thing in those years was the creation of a new spirit in the country. In the enthusiasm that swept everywhere with the cry of Bande Mataram ringing on all sides men felt it glorious to be alive and dare and act together and hope; the country and timidity were broken and a force created which nothing could destroy and which rose again and again in wave after wave till it carried India to the beginning of a complete victory. After the Bande Mataram case, Sri Aurobindo became the recognised leader of Nationalist politics. He led the Congress at its meeting at Madanpur at the session of the Bengal Provincial Conference at Midnapore where there was a vehement clash between the two parties. He now for the first time became a speaker on the public platform, addressed large meetings at Burat and presided over the Congress which he established. Aurobindo had always taken care to give no handle in the editorial articles of Bande Mataram either for a prosecution for sedition or any other drastic action fútel to its existence; an editor of the Statesman complained that the paper pecked with sedition patently visible between every line but it was so skillfully written that no legal action could be taken. The manoeuvre succeeded and the life of the Bande Mataram came to an end, in Sri Aurobindo’s absence. Various Nationalist Movements Started The Nationalist programme could only achieve a partial beginning before it was temporarily broken by severe government repression. Its most important practical item it had much been to make the idea general and a few beginnings were made, but the greater results showed themselves only afterwards in the course of time. Sri Aurobindo was anxious that this part of the movement should be not only propogated in its own name by a practical organisation and an effective force. He wrote from Baroda asking whether it would not be possible to bring in the industrialists and manufacturers and gain the financial support of landed magnates and create an organisation in which men of industrial and commercial ability and experience and not politicians alone could direct operations and devise means of carrying out the policy; but he was told that it was impossible, the industrialists and the landed magnates were too timid to join in the movement, and the big companies were too great and interested in the peace and prosperity on the side of the status quo: so he had to abandon his idea of the organisation of Swadeshi and Boycott. Both Tilak and Sri Aurobindo were in favour of an effective boycott of British goods—but of British goods only; for there was little in the country to replace foreign articles: so they recommended the substitution for the British of foreign goods from Germany and Austria and America so that the fullest pressure might be brought upon England. They wanted the Boycott to be a political weapon and not a social boycott. The substitution of foreign goods was an impracticable idea and the very limited application of it recommended in Congress resolutions was too small to be effectively political. They were for national self-sufficiency in key industries, the production of necessities and all manufactures. India had the natural means, but complete self-sufficiency or autarchy did not seem practicable or even desirable since a free India would need to export goods as well as supply them for internal consumption and for that she must import as well. Sri Aurobindo observed that the programme for the boycott of all foreign goods was wide sweeping and the leaders had to conform to this popular cry and be content with the impulse it gave to the Swadeshi idea. National education was another item to which Sri Aurobindo attached much importance. He had been dissatisfied with the education given by the British system in the schools and colleges and universities, a system which was a professor’s in the Baroda College he had full experience. He felt that it tended to chill and impoverish and tie up the naturally quick and supple Indian intelligence, to teach it bad intellectual habits and spoil by narrow information and mechanical instruction its originality and productivity. The movement began well and many national schools were opened as a result. The idea of a national education was firmly established in men’s minds and the basis of the development was insufficient and the economical position of the schools precarious. Sri Aurobindo had decided to take up the movement personally and see whether it could not be given a greater expansion and a firmer foundation, but his success in the work was cut short by the repression and the general depression caused by it, most of the schools failed to survive. The idea lived on and it may be hoped that it will one day find an adequate form and body. The idea of people’s courts was taken up and worked in some districts; not without success, but this too perished in the storm. The idea of volunteer groupings had a stronger vitality; it lived on, took shape, multiplied its formations and its workers were the spearhead of the Movement of direct action which broke out from time to time in the struggle for freedom. 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About this period Sri Aurobindo had decided to take up charge of a Bengali daily, Navaj Shakti, and had moved from his rented house in Scott's Lane, where he had been living with his wife and sister, to rooms in the office of this newspaper. He could begin this new occupation early one morning while he was still sleeping, the police charged up the stairs, revolver in hand, and arrested him. He was taken to the police station and thence to Alipore Jail where he remained for a year. The magistrates' investigation and the trial in the Sessions Court at Alipore. At first he was lodged for some time in a solitary cell but afterwards transferred to a large section of the jail where he lived in one huge room with the others. The jail was overcrowded, and the prison authorities disapproved in the minds of the moderate leaders who composed a committee of I.P. and T.B. leaders. The British Court had refused to hear their old and tried leaders and clamoured against them, but at the bidding of a young man new to politics they had obeyed in disciplined silence as a single body.

**Period in Jail**

About this period Sri Aurobindo had decided to take up charge of a Bengali daily, Navaj Shakti, and had moved from his rented house in Scott's Lane, where he had been living with his wife and sister, to rooms in the office of this newspaper. He could begin this new occupation early one morning while he was still sleeping, the police charged up the stairs, revolver in hand, and arrested him. He was taken to the police station and thence to Alipore Jail where he remained for a year. The magistrates' investigation and the trial in the Sessions Court at Alipore. At first he was lodged for some time in a solitary cell but afterwards transferred to a large section of the jail where he lived in one huge room with the others. The jail was overcrowded, and the prison authorities disapproved in the minds of the moderate leaders who composed a committee of I.P. and T.B. leaders. The British Court had refused to hear their old and tried leaders and clamoured against them, but at the bidding of a young man new to politics they had obeyed in disciplined silence as a single body.

During this period his view of life was radically changed; he had taken up Yoga with the original idea of acquiring spiritual force and energy and divine guidance for his work in life. He became convinced that he could not live up to the life and work which he had continually been increasing in magnitude and universality and assuming a larger place took him up entirely and his work became a part and result of it and besides far exceeded the service and liberation of the country and fixed itself in an ever-broadening worldwide in its bearing and concerned with the whole future of humanity.

When he came out from jail, Sri Aurobindo found the whole political aspect of the country altered; most of the Nationalist leaders were in jail or in self-imposed exile and there was a general discouragement and depression, though the feeling in the country had not ceased but was only suppressed and was growing by its suppression. He determined to continue the struggle; he held weekly meetings in Calcutta, but the attendance which had numbered formerly thousands full of enthusiasm was now only of hundreds and had no longer the same force and life. He also went to places in the districts to speak and at one of these delivered his speech at Utpalpara in which for the first time he spoke publicly of his Yoga experiences. He started also two weeklies, one in English and one in Bengali, the Karmayoginis and Dharma, which had a fairly large circulation and were, unlike the Bande Mataram, easily self-supporting. He attended and spoke at the Provincial Convention of 1909 in which there was a large meeting at Howrah the two parties had not split altogether apart and both joined in Conference, though there were not all representatives of the Nationalist party at the meeting of the Central Moderate Body which had taken place the day before. The Supreme Thakur DasBanerji had invited the provincial conventions attended by Sri Aurobindo and one or two other leaders of the Nationalists to discuss a project of uniting the two parties at the session in Benares and giving a joint fight to the dominant right wing of the M.V.P.; for he had always dreamt of becoming again a united Bengal with the Extremist party as its strong right hand that would have necessitated the Nationalists being appointed as delegates by the Bengal Moderates and accepting the constitution imposed by the Viceroy. This Sri Aurobindo refused to do, insisting on a change enabling newly formed associations to elect delegates so that the Nationalists might independently send their representatives to the All-India session and on this point the negotiations broke down. Sri Aurobindo began however to consider how to revive the national movement under the changed circumstances. He glanced at the possibility of falling back on a Home Rule movement which the Government could not repress, but this, which was actually realised by Mrs. Besant later on, would have involved them from the ideal of independence. He looked also at the possibility of an indefinite and organised resistance movement in the manner afterwards adopted by Gandhi. He saw however that he himself could not be the leader of such a movement. It was with the scheme of the Indian National Congress which established the Shastridharmik forms which were all the Government that period cared to yield. He held up always the slogan of 'no compromise', or, as he now put it in his Open Letter to his countrymen published in the Karmayoginis, 'no-cooperation with control'. It was known to the financiers that financial control were given to popular ministers in an elected Assembly that he would have anything to do with offers from the British Government. Of this he saw no sign until the proposal of the Montague Reforms in which first something of the kind he desired to appear. He foresaw that the British Government would have to begin trying to meet the national aspiration half-way, but he would not anticipate that moment before it actually came. The Montague Reforms came nine years after Sri Aurobindo had retired to Pondicherry and by that time he had abandoned all outward and public political activity in order to devote himself to his spiritual work, acting only by his spiritual force on the movement in India, until his provision of real negotiations between the British Government and the Indian leaders was fulfilled by the Cripps' proposal and the events that came after that. Meanwhile the Government were determined to get rid of Sri Aurobindo, as the only considerable obstacle left to the success of their repressive policy. As they could not send him to the Andamans they decided to send him to Pondicherry, where he had a house, and in the end he was persuaded to go without protest and was allowed to leave Pondicherry.

Sri Aurobindo contented himself with publishing in the Karmayogin an article in which he expressed his rejection of depression and left the country, what he called his last will and testament; he felt sure that this would kill the idea of deportation and in fact it so turned out. Departure late, the Government could only wait for some opportunity for prosecution for sedition and then he came to them when they had already brought up a new case of sedition and young revolutionaries of Utpalpara took him to Calcutta; there he boarded the Dupeiz and reached Pondicherry on April 4, 1910.
BY WAY OF THE TIMELESS
THE DEVELOPMENT OF ALDOUS HUXLEY
BY N. PEARSON

A new publication by Aldous Huxley is always a literary event to be reckoned with. A distinctive novel like "Age and Angels," which depicts the possible consequences of atomic destruction, with the conquest of the Atom, is a major event; a reassessment of this modern writer's work is long overdue. As one cannot do full justice to his entire literary output in one short review, we shall examine here only his most recent writings which have a direct bearing on the newly emerging spiritual outlook of the present day.

Surveying the whole of Huxley's work, the most surprising thing about his earliest publication was a book of verse: "The Burning Wheel," published in 1921, in which passages one sees that he is not only consistently one of the outstanding writers of the day, but also one who has continually refigured the shifting pattern of the times as it has worn its period of upheaval between and immediately following the two world wars. But over and above all this he has been, and still is, one of the most potent influences that have taken hold of and brought into sharper prominence the deeper currents lying at the heart of the age. It is appropriate therefore, that for Indian spirituality and mysticism that life scope recent works have inevitably turned, as containing the crucial and long-sought search for a deviate pathway through the present chaos of the world.

From the NATURAL TOWARDS the SPIRITUAL

Briefly scanning his earlier works —"Crome Yellow" (1921), "Antic Hay" (1929), "Belloc and Warren Leaves" (1935) and "Point Counterpoint" (1936)—we find the full play of his paradoxical and disturbing interest in Huxley's work, not only in Europe and America where he became widely known, but also in India. For it is to Indian spirituality and mysticism that his more recent works have inevitably turned, as containing the crucial and long-sought search for a deviate pathway through the present chaos of the world.

"Beneath the surface" of the age, it is appropriate that there should now be a widening interest in Huxley's work, not only in Europe and America where he became widely known, but also in India. For it is to Indian spirituality and mysticism that his more recent works have inevitably turned, as containing the crucial and long-sought search for a deviate pathway through the present chaos of the world.

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NATURE—an ego and an eternal Self. It is the latter, the individuality that is the true spirit, the spark of divinity—what makes it possible to identify oneself with this inner spirit which is of a like nature with that of others. Thus, man becomes identified with the Divine Ground.

4. That man's life on earth has only one end and purpose: to identify oneself with this inner eternal Self, and so to unite with the Divine Ground. These doctrines are common enough to the spiritual knowledge of India—the home of the Vedic tradition of spirituality; they are found in all the other non-Abrahamic religions and can be traced back to the most ancient stages of human history. This is the true purpose, the real end and purpose of Huxley's work, and it is to this that I shall now turn.

The Method of Purgation by Horror

Although Huxley cites copiously from the writings of the Christian mystics and draws his thoughts from the wealth of material contained in the Indian scriptural works, it is in the mystical writings of the Zen Buddhists that he appears to find the fullest and highest exposition of this basic Perennial Philosophy. This is no accident, for Huxley himself later reminisced about the near kinship of Huxley's work with the wit and mordacity of those old Zen masters. For just as Zen, the importance of the present moment is of utmost importance, so the present moment of Dünkirk when everybody was expecting the immediate fall of England and the definite triumph of Hitler, and he had the satisfaction of seeing the rush of German victory almost immediately arrested and the tide of war begin to turn in the opposite direction. This he did, because he knew that behind Hitler and his Nazi forces there was a national spirit and a national will. The success would mean the enslavement of mankind to the tyranny of evil, and a set-back to the course of evolution and especially to the spiritual evolution of man. This was also to the enslavement not only of Europe but of Asia, and in India, an ancient land far too accustomed to the country had ever endured, and the undoing of all the work that had been done for her liberation. It was this reason also that induced him to support the Cripps' offer and to press the Congress leaders to accept it. But he had not, for various reasons, intervened with his voice. He supported the Cripps' offer because by its acceptance India and Britain could stand united against the Axis forces and the solution of Cripps could be used as a step towards the solution of the problem of the future. It returned to his reliance on the use of spiritual force alone against the aggression of Japan and the satisfaction of seeing the tide of Japanese victory, which had till then swept everything before it, changed immediately into a tide of rapid, crushing and total defeat. He had also after a time the satisfaction of seeing his predictions about the war justified themselves so that she stands independent with whatever internal difficulties.
A NATIONAL SCHEME FOR DEVELOPMENT OF ART

BY AGADISH CHANDRA KHANNA

Man as an evolving mental being has travelled far from his hoary animal forefathers and has developed, after satisfying the demands of his primitive instincts—food, sex and self-preservation. Civilised man even in the earlier stages of his development was a creature who was not averse to making things himself. Beauty, Harmony and Truth—these are the unchanging principles that have been revealed by the carving in stone of animal figures have been discovered in some of the pre-historic groto in Spain which exhibit these urges and artistic trends even before the advent of our yet-harsh civilization.

Quot for beauty, no less than that for goodness and knowledge, is in-grained in the very fiber of our being. Hence, it is not a manifestation of the Supreme Artist (Satyam, Shivan, Sundaram), the creator of the universe, the sun, the moon and the crimson dawn, the blue lute and the peacock’s tail.

Any scheme for the development of human personality, therefore, which ignores this ineradicable urge of man, the mental and the aesthetic no less than the vital being, will not only stunt his true growth by imposing an atrophy on his higher centres, but ultimately fail in its very aim.

Art Education in India

The ancient civilisations, it must be said to their credit, were fully alive to this. In our own country, for example, music, the arts and the sciences were inseparable in the education of the youth as the sciences and the art of war. The art of the bartender is not incompatible to him in the preparation of his drink; it is purely a manifestation of the Indian attitude towards art and the way Indian art can achieve a higher level of expression.

A New Scheme

An ambitious scheme dealing with this important subject has been recently taken up under the supervision of the Central Government. It has been formulated by Mr. Partha Utkal, the Head of the Art Department of the All-India Fine Arts and Crafts Society, and sponsored by the latter. The scheme will give birth to some of the finest features of the scheme, which, to begin with, will be a five-years one. Mr. Utkal suggests:

(1) Fine Arts (Drawing and Painting): 2 and 3 lakhs each will be made compulsory subject in both the Primary and Secondary Schools, and is also to be made an elective subject in the Degree course like other optional subjects. The surplus pictures with short notes and life skitches of the artists.

(2) Remodelling of the Art Schools in the country to suit our cultural heritage and by bringing Art Institutions in all such Provinces having cultural movements so that no such institution at present.

(3) Establishment of Museum and Art Galleries in all the big towns and cities to house specimens of art movements and exhibitions as per population. The educational institutions should be directed to send their students in batches by stages and at regular intervals under proper escort, to view and study the exhibits in their local Museums and Art Galleries.

Funding of a separate Directorate of Art in every Province under the Central Government for the promotion of Art.

A team of four qualified Indians (composed of artists and critics) should be sent to Europe, America, and other countries and also for securing first-hand knowledge of art movements and exhibitions of Museums and Art Galleries in those places. That their expert knowledge may be suc-cessfully utilized in the construction of our National Museum and Art Galleries in those places. That their expert knowledge may be suc-cessful.

(4) Awarding of scholarships by Provincial Governments to young artists for post-graduate studies in foreign countries. Conditions being that the students will have to keep a visual record of the pictures on the minds of the students, when they are in their most impressive and formative stage, will be incalculable.

The construction of art galleries and museums in all big cities, I believe Mr. Utkal would not be ungrateful for the constant gifts brought to him by the exceptionally stringent problems. The idea should, however, be taken up as soon as the present conditions of shortage of building materials permits. It is at the time that the westward crust, born a complex of inferiority and blind aping of Europe, should give place to a healthy self-confidence and to our own cultural heritage and inculcate artistic genius.

In an illuminating article appearing in the "Modern Review," some time back, Dr. Tarak Nath Das dwelt at length on the huge waste of money involv-
The GRIM FACTS
OF THE KASHMIR SITUATION

By "LIBRA"

Fact One

The time has surely come to look the situation squarely in the face. The situation is now so serious that the U. N. Commission on Kashmir has recommended, and therefore cannot offer a fair final solution of the dispute. The Indian administration, in particular, is inconsistent in its stand. On the other hand, the present government, in the United Nations, has been granted, on the other hand, that the resolution did not contemplate any such step. Later, Pakistan granted that the withdrawal of her own army and the large number of Azad forces would not remain intact; but the Commission did nothing to stop her shortening its talks to mean that these forces would be reduced only after the withdrawal of the Indian armies from Kashmir. Clearly there is no disposal of these dangerous forces at the right time the Kashmir issue will never be settled with justice. The U. N. Commission, by its failure to be single-minded, gross political ex-erse to sabotage the settlement. Its withdrawal of the Indian armies, the only realistic hope to expect real ultimate adjudication from it; in its present mind is to live in and with possibility of transit by this it had its recent arbitration-propsals been turned down, it seems to have no voice in spite of the recommendations by Truman and Attlee. The very basis of the India's decision on the acceptance of the Pakistan the agreement and India's refusal to be loyally neutral in the Kashmir-case.

Fact Two

The second fact is that, even if the Commission had followed a clear line of action, Pakistan will disarm and disband the Azad forces, a free plebiscite in a free Kashmir is impossible. Such a hope of electors is to indulge in extreme wishful thinking. We must prepare ourselves for the worst. The safety of the Kashmir region, the safety of the Kashmir people, the safety of the Kashmir Army is not only in mind with the Azad forces but also exceeds an operational command over them. There can be no two interpretations of the statement made by Sardar Brakhan at Rawalpindi on August 13: "Kashmir is a country of choice for Muslims and must form a part of Pakistan." The implication here is that by any means Pakistan must acquire Kashmir and whatever impedes her right of possession must be countermanded. It is evident that a plebiscite would undoubtedly impede that right: ergo, no more such measure is ever contemplated in the Kashmir-case.

Fact Three

The third fact is, as a result of Pakistan's decision, her forces, a free plebiscite in a free Kashmir is impossible. Such a hope of electors is to indulge in extreme wishful thinking. We must prepare ourselves for the worst. The safety of the Kashmir region, the safety of the Kashmir people, the safety of the Kashmir Army is not only in mind with the Azad forces but also exceeds an operational command over them. There can be no two interpretations of the statement made by Sardar Brakhan at Rawalpindi on August 13: "Kashmir is a country of choice for Muslims and must form a part of Pakistan." The implication here is that by any means Pakistan must acquire Kashmir and whatever impedes her right of possession must be countermanded. It is evident that a plebiscite would undoubtedly impede that right: ergo, no more such measure is ever contemplated in the Kashmir-case.

Fact Four

The fourth fact is that Pakistan is carrying on large military preparations. All the information given by the Hindustan Times recently regarding how busy India has been, buying arms from Italy and exploring the possibilities of acquiring British war equipment from Italy, are a public task in a nominally "dem- ocratic" condition. India cannot not make any direct sales to Pakistan, but the latter can acquire the edid a cold war with the inflating Britain does export them. "Candid" writing in the Times of India (August 25) states that there is mounting evidence of armed activ- ity by Pakistan on her side of the Kashmir border. A new road to Gilgit has also been built for heavy military traffic. As the editor of the Hindustan Times (September 4) points out, the whole econo- my of Pakistan, in fact, is geared to war purposes. While India has spent millions of dollars more than half her budget, Pakistan has budgeted to spend twice the amount it needs for welfare efforts. After allowing for the note of exig- ency, a report that is a common feature in Pakistani propaganda, we can have a very good hint about Paki- stan's mood and preparation from Liaqat Ali Khan's announcement, made on June 14, of his country's intention to fight a hundred years' war in Kashmir.

Fact Five

The fifth fact is that to her aims in Kashmir Pakistan has started, despite the cold war—"in the name of the Azad leaders, but it is Pakistan's own voice too, since the administration has been made that her army is not only one in mind with the Azad forces but also exceeds an operational command over them. There can be no two interpretations of the statement made by Sardar Brakhan at Rawalpindi on August 13: "Kashmir is a country of choice for Muslims and must form a part of Pakistan." The implication here is that by any means Pakistan must acquire Kashmir and whatever impedes her right of possession must be countermanded. It is evident that a plebiscite would undoubtedly impede that right: ergo, no more such measure is ever contemplated in the Kashmir-case.