Bernard Shaw is again in the news—but, we are afraid, without the full force of his usual wit and wisdom. We cannot, in the context of recent happenings, challenge his description of our Prime Minister as the most able, sensible and enlightened statesman in Asia, but there seems to be neither genuine wit nor authentic wisdom in coupling him with Stalin whom Shaw describes as the most able, sensible and enlightened statesman in Europe. Not that piquancy and paradox are quite absent in the Shawian pronounce-

ment; for it came on the heels of Nehru's associating India with a Commonwealth of Nations which is ranged against the Soviet Union in no unclear

words. Nehru has done just what Stalin considers a most unprogressive act, one that is as bad as, if not worse than, India's right to be an independent republic and to pursue neutrality as between the Western and the Eastern blocs does not take away for Stalin the sting of finding her within an anti-Soviet Commonwealth. Shaw seems therefore to have sprung a surprise on us by making Nehru out to be the Stalin of Asia and Stalin to be the Nehru of Europe.

But generally such a surprise from Shaw would carry an unexpected truth.

Here, however, is only a strange superficiality of vision, as if a great point was scored by asking: Are not both Nehru and Stalin Sinhalese and be-

lievers in a classless society and champions of the Secular State?

Nehru and Stalin

The fact, of course, is that Nehru is none of these things in exactly the same sense as Stalin. The possibilities of the two men are entirely different and, therefore, their lines of thought and action cannot run parallel, even though they may seem to start from an identical source. Why is Nehru a Marxist? It is because a sympathetic chord is struck in his heart by the enthusiasm Shaw so prudently described as betterment of the under-dog, the abolition of wage-slavery, the removal of social inequality, the destruction of Church-religion's obscurantism; and its support to the unjust ruling powers, the development of an outlook alive to physical and economic forces and not preoccupied with psychological and metaphysical factors. But when it comes to Marx's fierce recoil from everything in humanity's past and his insistence on a totally revolutionary re-ordering of society, his advocacy of class-hatred and ruthless violence, his intolerance of any other form of socialism than the one he preached, his apologetics of physical and economic factors, his extreme dislike of all private enterprise and his desire to make all men uniform in a non-religious anti-metaphysical atheistic outlook—

when it comes to all this poisonous stuff, Nehru can hardly be called a devotee of Marxism. Whatever in Marx negates Capitalist and bourgeois and Churchian malpractice is Nehru's creed, but whatever posits Communist and proletarian and materialist dictatorship finds no echo. Nehru is a negative Marxist, not a positive one.

In this he stands in sharp contrast to Stalin. And, because of the contrast,

he could stand in close association with Gandhi. Even Gandhi approached, although unconsciously, the Marxist system of sociology in some features of its programmes of land-distribution, income-adjustment and local governance, but he was poles apart where the fundamental axioms and beliefs were concerned. The breath of his life was faith in God and in the inner intangible values that have nothing to do with economic forces and that are to be found only in the individual conscience. In Communist Russia he would have either been locked up in a lunatic asylum or made to rot in a concentration camp or else liquidated after a trial in which he would have been found guilty of all defendants in Russia do, he had grossly gone against the illusional motherliness of the totalitarian State-machine. There is abso-

lutely no commensurability between Gandhi's Ram Raj and Stalinist auto-

cracy. And when at every step Nehru invokes the name of Gandhi, how can he ever be the Stalin of Asia?

Nehru and Gandhi

The entire Nehru-ideal of statesmanship is coloured by Gandhi's per-

sonality—in essential feeling as distinguished from essential conception. Gandhi was closest in his religious bent, he had definite ideas of God's existence; Nehru hesitated so much any intellectual assertion about religious truth, he keeps a detached non-committal attitude of mind which neither

encourages religious philosophy as such nor discourages it in its pure and non-sectarian form. He is a sort of agnostic who would not run down genuine religion or set up aggressive irreligion. Intellectually he reserves his judgment: that is the position his rather modernised and westernised

mind finds most comfortable when facing the strong Indian heart of him and its spontaneous, its intense, its unquestioning emotion of high deals. Gandhi attracted him and spellbound him not only because he had great

love for mankind or possessed a rare capacity for service and sacrifice, but also and basically because he struck Nehru as charged with a dynamic sense of the absolute in truth and goodness. He himself calls Gandhi's perma-

nency and influence "Socratic"; and what was Socrates if not a voice of the secret "daemon", the inner guide, the in-dwelling Godhead leading man to right perception and virtuous conduct? Gandhiji was not Socratic in the intellect; he was not a natural-born philosopher, but he did convey the impression of being invincibly urged and to the minds of most Indians he came as a successor of the Saints who have left luminous footprints on the path of India's long history. Gandhiji himself knew he was not precisely in the line of the utter Yogi and could not be classified as a Saint in the funda-

mental mystical sense; he lacked the concrete experience and realization of the Divine, such as Ramakrishna or Vivekananda had; but he did possess a genuine religious instinct in a strong form—and it was this instinct and vaguely through it the larger and deeper mystical consciousness of his beloved historical India that Nehru's heart felt as stirring in himself also the noblest and the bravest elements. Perhaps because Gandhiji was not either a Socratic philosopher or a Socratic practitioner of that trance of inner silence which on certain occasions used to visit the Master of Plato, Nehru's highly cultivated mind could remain non-committal and unconvinced in spite of the religious impact brought by Gandhiji. But, whatever the cause of his mind's humane agnosticism and despite his intellectual reservation of judgment, there is no denying that his emotional being is as far as can be imagined from the despairs behind the political actions of Stalin.

Statesmanship is not only a matter of policy guided by intellectually accepted doctrine and dogma: it is also an expression of conscience and inspired by character and disposition and natural feeling. At least a states-

man of the magnitude of Nehru or Stalin acts each in his own way from the whole being of him. And the heart of Nehru is so radically at variance with the heart of Stalin that nothing save sheer delusion by surface appearances can think the two alike in either quality or direction of states-

manipulation. The ability of China and most of the Communist countries cannot help functioning differently by virtue of their own psycho-

logical make-up. The ability of the one can never be equated with that of the other in both part of the motive and the vision behind.
RE-EMERGENCE OF ASIA IN WORLD POLITICS

BY RAJANIKANT MODY

MOTHER INDIA, MAY 20, 1949

Until the end of World War II Europe and America dominated world politics and now there is a tendency among the Western nations to continue their domination over the Asiatic nations. But it is clear that the times have changed and the Eastern nations are reappearing to play their part on the stage of world politics.

There is a general reawakening visible among the races of the East and although many of them are not as yet fully ready or up to the mark politically, signs are evident everywhere of a progressive revival of a new consciousness among them. This unredressed or backswiped was inevitable so long as the major- ity of them were cradled under an alien domination. But now that many amongst them have attained a high stage of political, social, and economic development, circumstances have changed.

The West and the East

Before the rise of Europe on the world-scene Asiatic nations were at the height of their glory, but the inv- itation to modernization slowly turned them into insignificant units of humanity. Now once again they are lifting up their heads and seeing the light of a new-born dawn. The dawn that has arisen in the East will spread its crimson glow not only on the Asiatic nations alone but on the whole world. Asia has never stood for a political actuality but only as a transmitter of higher values in human life.

The message of the West has most- ly been one of material progress and scientific achievement. The West has handed over after physical and vital comfort and well-being and vital living. The Asiatic mentality, on the other hand, the East will be a handmaid to the inherent spiritual aspirations and achievement of its deeper soul. Hence, if there was an almost entire neglect of spiritual values in the West, there was a miserable poverty of material values in the East. It is only recently that the West has begun to awaken to these higher values and the East has begun to awaken to the material values of life too is a field, and a very important field, for the manifestation of the spirit.

This is the one good result of the holocaust of war—that the whole of humanity has come closer together at least in idea or thought if not in material actuality. But whenever Nature gives rise to such an idea or thought in the mind of humanity she always tries to fulfill it if it is any other. If humanity learns anything from the experiences of the two world-wars it will be that it is no use accepting the material and economic life as the sole purpose of mankind and will turn to the East for the higher spiritual guidance. On the other hand, the East will realise that the sole preoccupation with the spirit at the cost of material life is also as incomplete ideal. The real solution lies in a changed out- look which synthesizes the highest attainments of the East with the richest material existence.

Asia’s True Role

Hence, it is clear, that if Asia is to re-emerge as a great power in the world, it should not be of the type of the West. Its message should in- clude a new vision of world-life, yet, not a unity that is obtained between the tiger and the goat he has devoured, but a free unity of the spirit. Until now the majority of mankind have believed that spirituality has nothing to do with politics and that the two should be kept entirely apart. But today the world is working towards a new artificial line of demarcation can hold against the erosion of the new spiritually-guided thought that is emerging from the very depths of the world-soul. If science is wringing out the narrow geographical divisions of nations and continents on the material plane, it is only because this world-soul at the back of the human mind is working towards a deeper unity of mankind. The latter is only a field for the working of the inner, a garb and a reflection and a clue. Whatever is the hidden or secret will of the inner soul, rise will up to the surface. Whatever is not grasped at present by the limit- ed human intelligence, will become clearer as the deeper soul gradually reveals its inner and irresistible in- tention.

If Asia is to become the leader of mankind, she should be so only in a spiritual sense. For, if she attempt- ed to become the leader politically alone, there would be only a repetition of pre-war conditions, with only an exchange of place between the East and the West. The facility of such an attempt is apparent to every thinking man. Into politics Asia should certainly enter, or rather re- enter, but not with the Euro- pean mentality. She has got something to give to the world, something very substantial and constructive, namely her spiri- tual outlook and idealism. A correct experiment of spiritually-guided politics and economy has yet to be tried in the present-day world. And Asia can positively take the lead and set an example. Able, self- less and devoted leaders should not be wanting who can work out such a unique experiment, and make the dream of a united and happy world come true.

The question of linguistic pro- vinces has practically been shelved, though the findings of the minority committee have been vigorously de- nounced by all parties concerned. Provincial autonomy is going only to be a name, a sham. Education, Health, Land, and Agriculture were handed over to the Provinces in 1921, as they would be in the Federal system; but the new Gov- ernment in Delhi have established ministries for all these departments and the Central Ministers are clo- mouring for more powers and more encroachment on the aiffairs of the Provinces.

Protest of the Provinces

The Provincial Ministers will not be willing parties to this. To give one example, Madras has already refused to be bound by the recent recommendations on medium of in- struction. The Provinces are also protesting about the sources of in- come. Thus Mr. B. Gopala Reddi, Finance Minister for Mysore, writing to Madras, replying to an address pre- sented to him by the Municipal Council of Tum Cunch, said: “We cannot tax industry, we cannot tax agriculture, and we cannot tax land. If you turn the Princes to Customs duties, nor have we the right to tax exports. Thus, ex- ports, imports, production, income and capital, all these are Central subjects, and they have left only land revenue and excise (it has vanished), and the tax on alcoholic liquors) and sale tax and sundry little taxes. Sanitation, medical aid, elementary education, rural road and irrigation marts are entrusted to Provincial Governments while the bigger revenues are allotted to the Centre.”

The Provincial Autonomy is working in India will be seen from a

“THE MOST ABLE, SENSIBLE AND ENLIGHTENED STATESMAN IN ASIA”

Continued from page 1

If the motive and the vision behind had been similar, Nehru would not have kept India within the Commonwealth. Nor would he, with the rest of his colleagues, have chosen as India’s sovereign status the constitution of a Republic. He would have striven for a totalitarian constitution and he would have not safeguarded India by Commonwealth links against the menace of Communism from the Eastern bloc which now seems to have Mao Tse-Tung’s China as a jumping-board in Asia and he would not have raised his voice against the anti-national activity of Communists in all South-East Asia, including his own country. In all these actions he is really Asia’s most able, sensible and enlightened statesman.

What Remains for Nehru’s Fulfilment

What remains for him to do in order to be, in the field of Asian states- manship, the most able, sensible and enlightened in an all-round way and in a context of the widest is to let the genius of his- torical India fully flower forth in his mind and thus permit also his heart to move unhindered to the fulfilment of its Indian- ness. In the first place, the modern renaissance would be the condition that India is a living Nation-Soul whose distinctive character is inner com- munion with the Divine—the Cosmic Self and Consciousness, the Transcendental Being whose emanation is both the universe and the individual. In the second place the Divine manifestation by a grandiose unity unmerging diversity by a splendid play of the many within the one and that India with her foundation in spiritual communion can best grow to greatness in her political career by a less centralized govern- ment, an administration which realizes not only a provincial constitution but also a harmonising co-ordination of a multitude of local linguistic cultural auto- nomies. Short of this efflorescence, no Indian with a sense of fine and pro- found values can make those values dynamic and receptive to the full in the national stamp. Of it, the socialism of idealists like our Prime Minister can scarcely bring to fruition the velocities and aspirations which take them far from the crude lip-service veneration of the Marxist Manifesto but which yet move towards a classless society and a secular State. For, the true- nesslessness is in the Godhead which remains one in the midst of all its diversity and the true secularitv is in the soul within us which is unfettered by credel forms and communal conventions and longs ever to turn the infinity and eternity of the Divine to the myriad uses of life and world and time.
I N D I A ' S  E C O N O M I C  P O L I C Y

By C. G. Sen
Secretary, The Unity Party

It is high time the Government of India came out with a clear and definite statement of its economic policy as it has done in respect of its political policy. The Ministers and men in the Centre as well as in the Provinces and States are contradicting each other.

Confusion in the Union Government

Sardar Patel said sometime ago that the Government of India, after nationalisation, is only seeking power. Mr. N. V. Gadgil, Minister for Works, Mineral Development, and Labour, has been pleading for co-operation of the industrialists, the labourers, and the consumer for an organised and speedy industrialisation of India. While inaugurating the fourth annual general meeting of the Delhi Board of the All-India Manufacturers Organisation on March 30th, he said: "if the industrialist can prove that even under a system of private enterprise an equal distribution of wealth is possible, then nobody is dogmatic enough to be adamant on the nationalisation of industries."

At the same time, the military Governor of Hyderaband was telling a Press Conference that the present Hyderabad Government had decided to take over the control and management of the major industries in the State, including the sugar, paper, textiles and chemicals. What will happen if a feudal private enterprise? About the same time when Mr. Gadgil was assuring the All-India Manufacturers Organisation that they need not worry about the possibility of their enterprises being nationalised, his colleague, Mr. N. C. Sentanam, the Minister for Transport and Railways, was telling the Indian Collery Owners' Association that: "As long as we have the industrial enterprise of production are the urgent needs of the coal industry." In these circumstances, we find the Indian Congress uterently, we find proof of the confusion in the Union Government. Which one is right? Is there not need for the Government to be more dogmatic on the nationalisation of industries?

Socialism & Capitalism

It seems that the heads of the United Nations Conference on their minds about nationalisation. They are troubled about the very same thing. But are they trying to give every facility to private enterprise? While we cannot say that they are, for instance, they are trying to limit the field of free enterprise. Whether the Government takes this position or not, the question is, "What shall we do to establish a mixed economy?"

We need not enter here into a debate on the merits of the two systems. It is enough to say that nationalised concerns are more efficient and give better value to the labourer or the consumer. Both nationalisation and private enterprise have their pros and cons, and we should judiciously accept a mixed economy as our settled policy. But in order to achieve the people to accept this, the stigma must be removed from the term "nationalisation."

We must not consider all support to capitalism as a sinister sin. For what is capitalism after all? People, mostly middle class and lower middle class people, save some money and invest it in commerce and industry for producing and supplying goods which the community needs and they take some profit as the reward. What is irrationality wrong in this? Could civilisation have developed without this capitalism? No doubt it has been abused, but what good thing in this human life has not been abused? What about socialism? Only those who deliberately shut their eyes will not see what the world has accepted in the form of Soviet Russia has degraded humanity.

Enlightened Capitalism in America

The remedy is not to put a ban on things as something evil, but to free them from the abuses. Capitalism was not the evil. It was when Marx wrote his Das Kapital. Through that change and transformation it has been seen in the form it has now taken in America. Many people still sneer at America as a nation of capitalists. If you go to any country in the world, you will find a capitalist, it is the way he is a person, he is a being, he is a human being. He is just as much a capitalist as you are and I am.

The American Federation of Labour believes labour will be a powerful force in the United States which has not been sufficiently educated to be able to choose intelligently between socialism and capitalism. And our educated community, is, that a large section of it, seems to understand the appeal of socialism, no doubt created by its propagandists and also helped by certain modern inventions. There is a tendency towards totalitarianism everywhere, towards more and more centralisation of power, and our new State has not become an exception. Socialism is a symptom of this power-grabbing; so far the reading of Sardar Patel is quite true. And as long as we do not resist it, our country will not be saved.

The free enterprise, allowing freedom to the individual to use his resources and inventiveness to serve the community, will not be saved. The industry must not be tabooed. And socialism means nothing more than nationalisation.

The American Government is now trying to establish a mixed economy in America. And it is trying to establish a mixed economy in America. And it is trying to establish a mixed economy in America. And it is trying to establish a mixed economy in America. And it is trying to establish a mixed economy in America. And it is trying to establish a mixed economy in America. And it is trying to establish a mixed economy in America. And it is trying to establish a mixed economy in America. And it is trying to establish a mixed economy in America. And it is trying to establish a mixed economy in America. And it is trying to establish a mixed economy in America. And it is trying to establish a mixed economy in America. And it is trying to establish a mixed economy in America. And it is trying to establish a mixed economy in America. And it is trying to establish a mixed economy in America. And it is trying to establish a mixed economy in America. And it is trying to establish a mixed economy in America. And it is trying to establish a mixed economy in America. And it is trying to establish a mixed economy in America. And it is trying to establish a mixed economy in America. And it is trying to establish a mixed economy in America. And it is trying to establish a mixed economy in America. And it is trying to establish a mixed economy in America. And it is trying to establish a mixed economy in America. And it is trying to establish a mixed economy in America. And it is trying to establish a mixed economy in America. And it is trying to establish a mixed economy in America. And it is trying to establish a mixed economy in America. And it is trying to establish a mixed economy in America. And it is trying to establish a mixed economy in America. And it is trying to establish a mixed economy in America. And it is trying to establish a mixed economy in America. And it is trying to establish a mixed economy in America. And it is trying to establish a mixed economy in America. And it is trying to establish a mixed economy in America. And it is trying to establish a mixed economy in America. And it is trying to establish a mixed economy in America. And it is trying to establish a mixed economy in America. And it is trying to establish a mixed economy in America. And it is trying to establish a mixed economy in America. And it is trying to establish a mixed economy in America. And it is trying to establish a mixed economy in America. And it is trying to establish a mixed economy in America. And it is trying to establish a mixed economy in America. And it is trying to establish a mixed economy in America. And it is trying to establish a mixed economy in America. And it is trying to establish a mixed economy in America. And it is trying to establish a mixed economy in America. And it is trying to establish a mixed economy in America. And it is trying to establish a mixed economy in America. And it is trying to establish a mixed economy in America. And it is trying to establish a mixed economy in America. And it is trying to establish a mixed economy in America. And it is trying to establish a mixed economy in America. And it is trying to establish a mixed economy in America. And it is trying to establish a mixed economy in America. And it is trying to establish a mixed economy in America.
A portrait of Sri Aurobindo was unveiled in the Court Room of the District Judge of Alipore where forty years ago he, along with others, stood trial in the Macindolla Bomb Case and was acquitted. It was in observance of the fortieth year of Sri Aurobindo's acquittal that the function was held, with the approval of the West Bengal Government and the Calcutta High Court. Mr. Justice Ramprasad Mukerjee presided.

With grateful acknowledgement to Aryan Publishing House, Calcutta, we are quoting from ‘Professor K. R. Srinivasan Iyengar’s biography, SRI AURABINDO, the stirring and uplifting story of a great soul, the profound spiritual significance it had in the life of India’s most gloriously endowed sons and therefore in the life of our nation whose architect of spiritual destiny he is today.’

I

THE ARREST OF SRI AURABINDO

Curzon had divided Bengal and insulted and enraged a great nation; and by a strange irony of circumstance, Minto was now called upon to face the mace. ‘Sedition’ was rampant, so thought the chaste officers of the Government; Brahmanandababu Upadhyaya, Bhupendranath Dutt, and others were haled up before the court and some of them were awarded drastic sentences or expropriatory fines. Upadhyayyaa himself had died in the Cellular Jail on charges of the bomb factory, but he was acquitted. For the rest, printer or publisher or editor or contributor, one was likely to be apprehended on the slightest pretext and tried for sedition.

These endless trials and the heavy sentences passed on the apprehended patriots seemed shocking to John Morley himself, and on one occasion he wrote to Minto in an outspoken manner:

“I must confess to you that I am watching with the deepest concern and dismay the thudding sentences that are being passed for sedition, etc. We must keep order, but excess of severity is not the path to order. On the contrary, it is the path to the bomb.”

Morley had correctly glimpsed the consequences of “excess of severity.” Some hot-heads wished to avenge the death of Upadhyaya by killing Mr. Kingsford, the District Judge of Mussafirpur, who had previously ordered the flogging of a young boy in the court. On the evening of April 19, 1908, a bomb was thrown by two barefoot boys at the supposed carriage of Mr. Kingsford; as a matter of fact, it really hit two wholly innocent people, the wife and the daughter of a certain Mr. Pringle-Kennedy. Whatever the provocation, the whole thing was utterly stupid and futile, as all such activities ultimately are. As Shyam Sundar wrote editorially in the Bandamatakas:

“Outrages of this kind have absolutely no sanction in our ancient tradition and culture. . . . Modernism is imitation of British constitutionism, this form of so-called Extremism, wherever it may be found to exist in this country, is imitation of European anarchism; and both are equally different from and absolutely alien to the spirit of National alarm which, though opposed by one and occasionally mistaken for the other, is bound to rise up to carve out the future of India, and realise the eternal destiny of her ancient and composite people.”

The most unfortunately under the circumstances—the Government lost their balance and sense of proportion and started arresting persons right and left. The miniature bomb-factory itself was soon enough located, and Barindra Kumar Ghose, supposed to be the chief brain of the revolutionary conspiracy, was arrested. With most of his associates, the situation was ominous and pregnant with sinister possibilities; and as the Bandamatakas wrote editorially, it was the merest affectation to deny that the Mussafirpur outrage had “created a most critical situation in the country.”

It was, perhaps, not wholly unnatural that the panic-stricken authorities should have suspected that Sri Aurobindo—wouldn’t be the elder brother of Barindra Kumar Ghose?—also was somehow or other connected with the revolutionary bomb factory. Orders were therefore issued for his arrest also. According, on May 5, 1908, at about 5 a.m., the Superintendent, the Inspector and other police officers “entered Aurobindo’s bedroom and, on opening his eyes, he saw them standing round. Perhaps, he thought himself in the grip of a nightmare, gazing on apparitions in the half-light of dawn. However, he was not left in suspense long, for he was arrested in bed and handcuffed . . . After securing Aurobindo’s, his bedroom was searched. ‘Search’ is not the word for it. It was turned inside out. The ransacking went on for three hours.” Sri Aurobindo himself has given a vivid account of his arrest and his subsequent prison experiences in his Bengali book, Kero-kakini. We learn from it that it was from his sister, Srimati Sarojini, who ran to his bedroom in a frightened condition, that he learned about the disposal of the police officers. He then tried to collect the loose leaves of the search, the officers found a number of essays, poems, letters, etc., which they took away from the house.

The arrest of Sri Aurobindo—and not alone the fact of it but also the manner of it—created a great sensation in the whole country. The Aurobindo House Patrons asked editorially: “But why were they (Aurobindo and others) pounced upon in this mysterious manner, handcuffed, and then dragged before the Police Commissioners? Where was the necessity for this outrage? . . . . . . It served no other purpose than that of wantonly outraging public feeling”. Besides Sri Aurobindo and Barindra Kumar Ghose, thirty-four others also were rounded up in connection with the Mussafirpur or even Nashipur, a poor student, by denying himself his daily tiffin, gave a magnificent contribution; the Poua Sarvanjik Shaha bestirred itself to make collections for the Defence Fund. And other individuals and agencies also interested themselves in making proper arrangements for the defence of Sri Aurobindo.

While all this, no doubt, gave an indication of the amount of goodwill in the country towards Sri Aurobindo, the actual sum of money that was collected from week to week was by no means satisfactory. After two months, hardly Rs. 23,000 had been collected!

Mean: “the preliminary trial was going on in Alipore before Mr. L. Birley, the Office-Clerk District Magistrate. The trial commenced on the 19th May, 1908. At the outset, the Magistrate asked Mr. Kingsford, the intended victim of the Mussafirpur outrage, being summoned to give evidence, said somewhat complacently: ‘I was Chief Presidency Magistrate, Calcutta, from August 1904 to March 1908. I had to try many sedition cases . . . . I acquitted as many as I convicted.’

The preliminary trial was a long one. When Sri Aurobindo was brought before Mr. Birley on the 11th June, “a black ring was distinctly visible round Aurobindo Babu’s eyes”; two days later—“Aurobindo Babu laughed heartily while conversing with his pleaders, only he looked a bit paler than before.” And so with interesting vicissitudes the trial dragged on; in the early part of August, Sri Aurobindo was tried at last, on the 19th August, Mr. Birley framed charges and committed to sessions Sri Aurobindo and the others.

Srimati Sarojini Devi had collected by then, as we saw above, only
The Spiritual Epic Of Alipore

by its high walls that I was imprisoned; no, it was Vasudeva who surrounded
me. I walked under the branches of the tree in front of my cell, but it
was not the tree, I knew it was Vasudeva, it was Sri Krishnasawaya
standing there and holding over me His shade. I looked at the bars of my
cell, the very grating that did duty for a door, and again I saw Vasudeva.
It was Narayana, who was guarding and had never left me. One
day on the coarse blankets that were given me for a couch and felt the arm
of Sri Krishnasawaya around me, the arms of my Friend and Lover.
This was the first use of the deeper vision He gave me. I looked at the prisoners
in the cells, thieves, the murderers, and the swindlers, and as I looked at them
I saw Vasudeva, it was Narayana whom I found in these darkened souls and
misused bodies.

Incorporation, then, far from breaking Sri Alipore, only remade him
in the hallowed mould of God's desire; the prison did not cramp his
movements, but proved rather a temple of liberation and fulfilment; even in
confinement he experienced the deeper peril not shortcoming, but only
the soul's utter joy and freedom; and even when he inhabited but an area
of forty-five square feet, he sensed the splendours of the Infinite and learned
to lose himself in the "vasts of God."

IV
CHITTARANJAN DAS'S HISTORIC DEFENCE

While thus all was felicity within, the world outside continued to be
agitated by the imprisonment of Sri Alipore and the protracted
and national trial that followed it. The case commenced in the Sessions Court
in October, 1908. Mr. Beadnicht, the District and Sessions Judge, who
tried the case, had been with Sri Alipore in Cambay, and had stood
second in Greek, while Sri Alipore had stood first. He had now the by
no means pleasant task of "trying" the chained and handcuffed Sri
Alipore on a charge of waging war against the King. Mr. Beadnicht
appeared for the prosecution (who obviously didn't want to take any
chances whatsoever); after the first few days, Chittaranjan Das—"the
Deshbandhu" of a later day—appeared for Sri Alipore. Srimati Saro,
vasini Devi and her friends thus succeeded in avoiding the "sharks" of
the legal profession and found in Chittaranjan a true "Defender of the
Faith". At that time, Chittaranjan was known to be a rising criminal lawyer; a
pleasome poet, and above all, an unflinching idealist and an advokate and
servant of the Mother. He came—and the prospect brightened at once all
around!

Chittaranjan, although he was not then the power in the legal world
that he became soon after, gave his whole heart and soul to the organisation
of the defence, and for the next six months dedicated himself to the sacred
task of defending Sri Alipore. We learn that "in this case 206 witnesses
were examined, 4,000 documents were filed, and he exhibits consisting of
bombs, revolvers, ammunition, detonators, fuses, poisonous acids, and
other explosive materials, numbered 3,000". Poet, idealist, patriot, Chittaranjan
enthusiastically came to his brother poet's rescue, and "he did all the other things
and abandoned all his practice" and "sat up half the night
day after day for months and broke his health"—and all to save Sri
Alipore; and he did succeed in saving him. But Sri Alipore knew all the
time past, though his friend Chittaranjan was the instrument, Vasudeva alone
was the prime mover and door!

It is not necessary here to go over the whole ground once again. Well,
the prosecution—though they sought to move literally heaven and earth—
failed to prove their case against Sri Alipore. Asked by the Court, Sri
Alipore said that he would leave the case entirely to his lawyers; he
himself did not wish to make any statement or answer the court's questions.
The case for the defence was that it was perfectly true that Sri Alipore
had taught the people of India the meaning and the message of national
independence; if that in itself was a crime, Sri Alipore would willingly
pennate his liberty to the charge. There was no need to bring in witnesses to prove
this particular charge; Sri Alipore readily and gladly would admit it and
he would be willing to suffer to the uttermost for having propagated
the message and elucidated the meaning of national independence. But let not
the prosecution charge Sri Alipore with having had even dreamed about,
which were wholly repugnant to his entire philosophy of life and conduct; he had taught the people of India how the ideals of demo-
craty and national independence could be translated into realities in terms
of Vedantic self-discipline and self-realisation. He had never had any axe
or lot in the terrorist movement, he had never countenanced it, he had
never approved of the actions of the people who had implicated themselves
in the movement. He was a Vedantic Nationalist, not revolutionary terro-
rlist!

Chittaranjan's speech for the defence was spread over eight days and it
was an eloquent epic of forensic art. What was Sri Alipore's philo-
sophy of the action—what was it in the individual and national plans? Just
this, affirmed Chittaranjan: Vedanism. Sri Alipore was not a politi-
cian in the ordinary, Western sense, but one to whom politics was as
spiritual an experience as it was religion itself. Chittaranjan continued:

Continued on page 8
THE WORLD CRISIS AND INDIA

"Synergist"

VIII: PHILOSOPHIES OF LIFE

In the essay Consciousness and Culture it was shown that a man’s religion and philosophy are his answers to the Sphinx Riddle and that these answers depend upon his knowledge of God, Man and the Universe, which again is determined by the nature of his consciousness; it is according to the particular psychological mould and cast of his being, and the type and level and range of his consciousness that he answers the eternal riddle — the particular philosophy of life he creates by his Goethe and outer nature, and it is only in conformity with his philosophy of life, that is, his beliefs and convictions about the nature of the Ultimate Reality and the world, that he forms his ideas of good and evil, right and wrong, justice and injustice, these ideas ultimately influencing his attitude towards other men and governing his conduct. This means that his ethical arises out of his world-view.

It should not, however, be construed from all this that every man acts out of a philosophical conviction; most men are guided or rather mis-guided by their lower nature, it is the “desire being” in them that rules their entire personality, the mind playing only a subservient role; in their case “thought is the slave of life” — but a general statement can be made that certain philosophical concepts govern a man’s actions, especially when he attempts to act deliberately. Even common sense, by which the majority of men act, has often behind it metaphysical ideas silently supporting it. In the famous phrase of Emerson, “Common sense is intolerable when it is not based on metaphysics”. It will also be found that often man’s everyday actions reveal his metaphysical convictions — whether he believes in free-will or determinism, in the immortality of the soul or in the utter dissolution of the entire being at death; whether he is a hero-worshipper, a stoic, a God-worshipper or an atheist. The philosophy of life he will embrace will be the one with which his being has an affinity. The “ultra-violet types”, to use a phrase of Koestler’s, will be instinctively drawn to others, and spiritual and religious teachers like Krishna, Christ and Buddha, and the intellectual and mystical types will find their affinity in Plato or Plotinus. At the lower end of the spectrum we have the mundane, middle-aged types who will most probably be attracted by Marx, Dewey or McCabe, with Freud supplying the gospel that gives the sanction. Between the two extremes we have those who have an attraction for one or the other group to a greater or a lesser extent — the Transcendentalists and the Idealists, the Humanists and the Altruists, the Utilitarians and the Hedonists. We see in all ages mental affinities drawing thinking men to different philosophies. Dante is drawn towards St. Thomas Aquinas and Aristotle, A.E. towards the Upadishtakas, Emerson towards Plato and the Greeks, Crimean towards Bentham, Carlyle towards Goethe and Fichte, while Shelley emphatically writes, “For my part I had rather be damned with Plato and Lord Bacon, than to go to heaven with Paley and Matthew!

Influence of Philosophies on Conduct

A man’s philosophical beliefs and convictions mould or mar his being; they give him a right law of action, a dharma, and lead him on to a greater life, or they create in his mind a false sense of values and retard his evolutionary progress. If, for example, a man implicitly believes in the theory of the “Survival of the Fittest through Natural Selection”, and is convinced that it is only through struggle that he can grow and develop and attain mastery, he will find it perfectly natural to follow the law of the jungle, because biologically he will be justified in doing so — he cannot possibly love his neighbour when he is expected by natural laws to subjugate him. Or again, if he seriously believes with Freud, that sex is the motive force of man’s life, and that the goal towards which he is striving is sex satisfaction, consciousness is only a sentry posted in his being by society, that he secretly harbours incestuous feelings for his mother, and that religion is “the unqualified preposterous neurosis of humanity”, it is quite possible that he may behave like a sex-starved neurotic. If he asserts that matter is the Ultimate Reality, that to believe in a Supreme Being, whether He be called God, Isvara or Allah, is a sign of cultural decadence, that religion is the illusion of the people, and that the end justifies the means, it will be irra- tional to expect him to act like, say, St. Francis of Assisi. Or if he says like the hedonist Eustace in Huxley’s Time Must Have A Stop, “Let me not put off till tomorrow the pleasure I can have today”, he will not act in the way we would expect the Stoic or the Carlyle when exposed with as much Art as nothing other than a vulture then, that flit through the Universe seeking after somewhat to eat; and shrieking dolefully because carrion enough is not given them? Close thy Byron, open thy Goethe. . . .

On the roaring billows of Time thou shalt be as the winds; and on the azure of Eternity. Love not Pleasure, love God. This is the Everlast-

"Values Have Lost Sanction"

We have stated that a man forms his laws of conduct in conformity with his philosophy of life and acts in the world according to its dictates — that his ethic arises out of his metaphysic; but we find that certain philo-

sophies of life do not rise to effect all, because moral and spiritual values are left without a sanction. This happens when partial truths valid only under certain conditions and circumstances, that is, for a certain order of reality or on a particular level of organisation, or only in a particular field of man’s development, are exaggerated into universal truths and made to appear as if they were valid under all conditions and at all times, and philosophies of life are erected on them. "Fear not the new generalisation," said Emerson; if he had been a sceptic, he would have added, "But beware of the false generalisation". It is the false generalisation, which are nothing but exaggerated applications given to partial truths, that have destroyed the spiritual values of the human race. When a man cannot find a single satisfactory reason why he should love his neighbour, and not use him as a means to an end, or subjugate him, he has destroyed him. When he finds that the social sanctions which stop him from doing things which have been conditioned by the evil by all saints, sages and prophets, is only a psychological formation in his consciousness artificially created by his upbringing and education, and that ethical restraints are unnatural demands put upon him by social conven-

tions which contradict his real instinctual nature, he finds it quite natural to prey on his weaker fellow-beings and to behave like a murderous maniac at the slightest provocation. This is the plight in which the West finds itself. In a society we have no sanction for anything, the products of the worldviews, because the find-

ings of science do not give rise to an ethic. It cannot give a satisfactory answer to David Hume’s question—"There is no reason why I should prefer the prick of my finger to the death of one thousand fellow-beings."

It must be here clearly understood that it is not our intention to undermine the findings of Biology and Psychology. On the contrary we have shown in the fifth essay that Darwin’s theory expresses a biological truth, though only a partial truth, for there are other factors besides struggle which contribute to the evolution of man. We can say the same about Freud, Pavlov and Watson who have made substantial contributions to Psychology and Psycho-physiology. Our main contention here is only this, that many of the ruling concepts of these branches of study are valid only in a particular frame of reference and cannot be made to yield a philosophy of life. If there is to be a comprehensive world-view, it must be based upon a spiritual metaphysic which alone can give an ethic, a dharma, a law of right action capable of governing man’s relations with his fellow-beings. A complete philosophy of life must take into account the whole of man’s nature, not only his lower animal but also his higher spiritual nature, not only the urges of his mental, vital and physical outer natural being, but also the Godward aspiration and mystic longings of his inner soul-being. Merely to declare, after an examination of a particular part of man’s being, that he is nothing but a bundle of conditioned reflexes, that his consciousness, if he has any, is only a by-product of bodily processes, that he has no soul or spirit, is to evolve theories from insufficient data. Man not only possesses a consciousness, he also has many ranges of con-

sciousness in his being which he can consciously control and which are valid only in a particular frame of reference and cannot be made to yield a supersonic consciousness. This range of consciousness is the fundamental part of his personality. Again, the turbulent, obscure and sexual “Unconscious” is not the only region in the inner depths of his being of which he is directly aware; his being is many-dimensional — just as there are infra-normal dark ranges in his inner consciousness, so also there are super-normal luminous ranges, which can be called the “Supercunscious”. These points as well as the validity and usefulness of the findings of Freud and others will be discussed later. For the present we shall restrict our enquiry to their effects on higher values and their sanction.

We have up to now examined only the psycho-biological reasons for the crisis in man’s consciousness and its consequent effect on his economic, political and social life. In the next essay we shall briefly examine how concepts which have helped to explain certain facts of human existence in a particular frame of reference, when exaggerated and popularised, have been instrumental in giving man a wrong world-view, a false philo-

sophy of life, a philosophy which instead of helping him to evolve further has only helped to sidetrack his evolutionary growth.

NEXT WEEK: Values and Sanctions.

"*Later Freud did admit the existence of other cellular institutes."
Q: 1. Most of the religious and popular beliefs of ancient times have been discarded by the scientific man, but not in all cases. Consider, for example, considering these questions in the light of Sri Aurobindo's writings, because Sri Aurobindo was not merely a Master of Yoga in possession of the Eternal Spiritual Truths, but also a Guide and Helper of men to understand the situations that arise in the course of its day-to-day existence. To understand the light of this guidance and to make it directly applicable to the concrete problems of life, a series of questions of common interest along with precise answers based on Sri Aurobindo's writings will regularly appear in these columns.

A: The word "superstition" has been habitually used as a convenient club to beat down any belief that does not agree with the ideas of the materialistic reason. This is, the Freudian explanation of mental processes is nothing more than an attempt to understand the human mind on its own terms. Science came in with a method of knowledge which extended the evidence of the mind cannot test. For many ages man cherished beliefs that implied a force behind, which acted on principles unknown to the physical mind and was beyond the power of the outward and the senses. Science came in with a method of knowledge which extended the evidence of the mind to its limits. The theory of evolution, for instance, is a very clear example of how science has expanded the limits of human knowledge. And the scientific method is not only applicable to the natural sciences, but also to the social sciences, to understand the forces and their development that shape our world. The modern understanding of the mind and the forces that shape our world.

Q: 2. But surely it can't be denied that there are a number of beliefs which are only blind superstitions?

A: We cannot go so far as to deny that there is such a thing as superstition, or even to say that it is superstition, without any ground, in something that is quite unsound and does not harm anybody. But the human mind readily clings on such names to believe in things which can be or are in itself true, and this is a mixture which very badly confuses the search for the truth. But precisely because somewhere behind the superstition or not far from it there is very usually some real truth, one ought to be cautious in using the word or sweeping away with it as a convenientronym the true, the good, and the beautiful. One should be cautious in using the word or sweeping away with it as a convenientronym the true, the good, and the beautiful. And, finally, it is evident that we are not the only ones who have been able to understand the forces and their development that shape our world.

Q: 3. Belief in magical and occult practices was common to all humanity before the advent of modern Science. What are the real nature and function of occultism?

A: Occultism is in its essence man's effort to arrive at a knowledge of secret truths and potentialities of Nature which will lift him out of slavery to his physical limits of being, an attempt in particular to possess and organise the mysterious, occult, outwardly still undeveloped direct power of Mind upon Life and of both Mind and Life over Matter. There is at the same time an endeavour to establish communication with worlds and entities belonging to the superphysical heights, depths and intermediate levels of cosmic Being and to utilise this communication for the mastery of a higher Truth and for a help to man in his will to make himself sovereign over Nature's powers and forces. This human aspiration takes its stand on the belief, intuition or intimation that we are not mere creatures of the mind, but of the soul, wills that saw all the mysteries of this and every world and become not only Nature's pupils but her adepts and masters. The occultist sought to know the secret of physical things also and in this effort he furthered astronomy, botany, chemistry, gave new impetus for he utilised geometry also and the science of numbers; but still more he sought to know the secrets of nature. In this sense occultism might be described as the science of nature and the supernatural; but it is in fact only the discovery of the superphysical, the surpassing of the material limit,—the heart of occultism is not the impossibility of knowing these things, but the will to know them.

Q: 4. What was the essential difference between occultism as practised in the West and in the East?

A: Occultism in the West indulged too freely in the romance of the supernormal or made the mistake of concentrating its major effort on the discovery of formulas and effective modes for using supernormal powers, it deviated from the real behind-the-scenes-so-called "superstition" of the all-sufficiency of the new method which really applies only to a limited field, is now becoming more and more evident. The word "superstition" is one which should be used either not at all or with great caution. It is evident that no system based on Occultism ever existed, but it would only be a small part even of that province; for wide and multiple are the possible fields, uses, processes of this vast range of little explored knowledge.

Q: 5. In the popular mind occultism is usually associated with magic and magical formulas like the mantras. The rationalistic mind considers these as fraudulent tricks intended to deceive credulous people. Is there no effective truth in these formulas?

A: This is only one side of occultism but it is not altogether a superstition as is vainly imagined by those who have not looked deeply or at all at this covert side of secret Nature's Force or experimented with its possibilities. Formulas and their application, a mechanism of latent forces, can be astonishingly effective in the occult use of mind-power and life-power just as it is in physical Science, but this is only a subordinate method and a limited direction.

Q: 6. What should be the highest and most important aim of the occult or magical practice?

A: The highest aim it is to discover the secrets of the mind and the life-power and the greater forces of the concealed spirit. The highest occultism is that which discovers the secret movements and dynamic supernormal possibilities of mind and life and spirit and uses them in their native force or by an applied process for the greater effectivity of our mental, vital and spiritual being.
THE SPIRITUAL EPIC OF ALIPORE

Continued from page 5

As in the case of individuals you cannot reach your God with extraneous aid, but it requires an effort of supreme effort — you must before you can realize the God within you; so also with a nation. It is by itself that a nation must grow; a nation must attain its salvation by its unaided effort. No foreigner can give you, that salvation. It is within your own hands to develop the spiritual potentiality. That is the doctrine of nationality which Aurobindo has preached throughout, and that was to be done not by methods which are against the traditions of the country — the doctrines he preached are not doctrines of violence but doctrines of passive resistance. It is not to be fought, his words will be echoed and re-echoed on India, but across distant seas and lands. Therefore, I say that the man in his position is not only standing before the bar of this court, but before the bar of the High Court of History.

Prophetic words — and more than prophetic words! On April 13, 1939, the Assamese acclaimed a unanimous declaration: "Not guilty!" Nearly a month later accepting the Assameses' verdict, Mr. Beauchcroft acquitted Sri Aurobindo. But many of the others among the thirty-six accused were awarded various sentences, though it is not to our purpose to follow their fortunes any further.

ON THE PILGRIMAGE OF ETERNITY

While still in the Alipore jail (the Government Hotel at Alipore, as Sri Aurobindo once humorously called it) he had composed a few poems revealing the strength of his new-found faith. The true path that God wishes His devotee to tread is not the proverbial bed of roses; it is shaded with sharp thorns and stately brambles; it is punctuated by the shocks of circumstance. He ever tells His devotee in no ambiguous terms the hazards that he should bravely face and overcome:

With wind and the weather beating around me
Up to the hill and the moonlight I go,
Who will come with me? Who will climb with me?

Not in the petty circle of cities
Cramped by your doors and walls I dwell;
Over me God is blue in the windows
And the wind and the storm rebel.
I sport with solitude in my regions,

Moments, and the Constituent Assembly

Continued from page 2

Of misadventure have made me a friend.
Who will livelargely? Who will live freely?
Here to the wind-swept uplands ascend.
I am the lord of tempest and mountain,
And I am the Spirit of the mountain.
Stark must he be and a kinsman to danger
Who shares my kingdom and walks at my side.

In another poem, THE MOTHER OF DREAMS, written in long lines of linked sweetness and interior double- rhythms, Sri Aurobindo's Muse rides triumphantly on the crest of a complicated rhythm and achieves a memorable articulation in eloquent praise of the Mother — "home—of—all, end—of—all", in Hopkins's phrase, who is, to the world, a manifestation Herself to terrestrial men and women. What visions are these that are these, what are these images, what is this bliss profound, — what are these that thus implicate us in their grandeur and impenetrable mystery? Sri Aurobindo's imagination and his spiritual fervour weave a velvet magic about these meandering and soul-enchancing lines; the poem is itself a dream world of incomprehensible beauty and felicity. One must read and chant the whole poem slowly and reverently — for truly it is endowed with something of the nonnae sakti of the revealed word — and then only one will be able to gain entrance into the deathless world of its making. We can but quote the concluding lines here, as a piece of utterance as any in the whole body of Sri Aurobindo's poetry:

Open the gate where thy children wait in the world of a beauty undarkened.

High-throned on a cloud, victorious I have eaped Maghavain the wind when the armies of wind are behind him:
Food has been given for my tasting from heaven and fruit of immortal council.
I have drunk wine of the kingdoms divine and have heard the change of music strange from a lyre which your hands cannot master:
Doors have swung wide in the chambers of pride where the Gods re- side and the Anuras dance in their manner;
For thou art she whom we first can see when we pass the bounds of mortal.

There at the gates of the heavenly states thou hast planted thy wand
Enchanted over the head of the Yogin waving.
From thee are the dream and the shadows that seem and the fatigueful lights that delude us;
There is the shade in which visions are made; sped by thy hands from celestial lands came the souls that rejoice for ever.
Into thy dream-worlds we pass or look in thy magic glass; then beyond thee we climb out of Space and Time to the peak of divine en-
deavour.

From the fullness of such poetic revelation, it is sacrilege to detract anything — and more exegesis must only end in destruction. Suffice for us to know that Sri Aurobindo had become, while in the Alipore jail, the sort of man who could leap into Infinity and render its untangleable wonders in such streams of vibrant melody. Sri Aurobindo — and this alone matters to us — has safely and purely come through the devouring coils of adverse circumstance; he has baffled the Everlasting No and affirmed the Everlasting Yes; he has ceased to be a "traveler between life and death" and become instead a Pilgrim of Eternity!

Recast the Whole Constitution

Now is the time to rectify those mistakes by following the true spirit of Indian Polity and making a com-
plex system of autonomy the basis of the construction; that would inevitably involve the redistribution of the provinces on a linguistic basis and also prepare the ground for the re-
moval of old divisions and divi-
sions. But this would mean the re-
creation of the new constitution so far enacted by the Constituent As-
sembly and the rejection of the Par-
liamentary form of government. It seems to be a far cry. If only our legislatures feel the pain of national election the country will not favour those who do not stand for a really Indian constitution which may or may not change their mind. The people are not suffi-
ciently conscious of the supreme importance of the issues that are being decided in a hurry; but let no one expect that they will remain so apathetic for long.
NEW TRENDS IN WESTERN THOUGHT
PHILOSOPHY AND MODERN ARCHITECTURE

By ANTONIN RAYMOND

Technology Review

Continued from previous issue

In America no real taste of modern architecture has yet been experienced. It was in seizing upon the current movement offering it as an additional style over the architect's bargain counter, thus throwing stock on the market it might have had to use. It is finally available for the instead of the wearers of the faddist. It is beholding coming out here and there in its true form, not as a white cube but as common sense, liveliness, aptness, excellence of plan, space, and light. It is taking hold at a time when the country is in a state of confusion socially and financially.

The clientele has changed, the wealthy individuals abandoning the field to the masses and their housing problem to the government and corporations and their projects, all of which will some day have to be wrested from the hands of the mere materialists. In part cause, and in part result, of the state of social and financial condition, over-emphasis upon selling has hampered Modern Architecture in America, not merely through the commercial exploitation which I have mentioned but—more seriously—through its effect on students. When almost every attempt to create is pervaded by the method for increasing sales, young people with good intentions and intelligence lose their direction and drift off with the rest, devoured by the same consuming anxiety to sell. Many of them think that where earning power is prime consideration, they must divest themselves completely from higher values. Most of the students leaving the universities preparing to practise architecture have vision and idealism. They are able to understand the realities of which I have been speaking.

The Modern Architect's Difficulties and Problems

But they come into a world which is incapable and unwilling to understand all that they have learned to cherish. They find that architectural practice is mostly in the hands of interior and exterior decorators belonging to the past era, and that these are well entrenched with the jobbers, including the government and industries. They find that they will have to work either for the salaried men of the old guard or, again, on other purely commercial projects. Yet if they keep in mind that people at large want and need good things and values, that the obstacles are false and therefore must fall under pressure, they will have the courage which will enable them to live through their difficulties.

Always they must take every opportunity to further their cause. If, for instance, the proposition is one calling for the production of cheap houses that must look expensive, to be built of poor materials simulating better kinds, in fancy forms to attract the vulgar, the problem should be faced squarely. It is true that the houses must sell, that money should be made. But wits can be used to foil ugly plots. One can scheme and maneuver and by wise planning slip into these buildings something that was not bargained for: a rational, pure construction which, like the bones of the body, is not apparent but upon which depend all exterior and interior harmony; or an efficient and unpretentious kitchen, the refining influence of which may some day spread to other apartments.

Cultural Values and Material Existence

Le Corbusier said that Americans were timid. I think their timidity is due partly, at least, to an inordinate fear of poverty, and then to a lack of faith that faithfulness to an idea will carry those through. The firm belief that solid or stable material existence can be reached only through spiritual realities is in fact, ideas are the basis of material existence. Lack of faith in spiritual realities in this country has been followed by material and social insecurity.

For instance, when a carpenter asks $10, $12, $14 a day for his work and works only about one-third of the days that he might work, even a motor car and an electric lock are not going to make him happy. The matter is that his monetary powers of accumulation have been raised too fast. He is, according to the Hindu sage, fourth in rank after the master builder. Yet today, although his name and knowledge he is still subservient to the architect, the architect is in no position to command him. Recently, when I put up an exhibition at Rockefeller Center, I found that I could not afford to employ a carpenter, and that one been willing to work for nothing, should not have been allowed to avail myself of his services. Therefore, with the help of architect associates, I did the simplicity and, that, according to the Hindu sage, would be a reversal in the order of nature. All are brothers only when the distinct duties to be performed and their individual parts are set in the universal scheme are recognized and accepted. A rise in the material standards of living should be preceded and accompanied by a rise in spiritual standards; it should be founded on a deepening sense of responsibility. Not only guns and mustard gas but over-stuffed armchairs and rich food wreck the race.

For matter provides us with the instruments and tools that become dangerous weapons in the hands of the unwise. Material power is "like a two-edged sword in the hands of a madman."

Now you may well ask what this seeming lengthy digression has to do with Modern architecture. The answer is to be found in the argument that great architecture must express the spirit of a great age. Our age is only now finding its spirit. It seems to me that people are reviving a growing desire for air, for space, for freedom from encumbrances. Greater simplicity and earnestness to nature will help to open their eyes to real things. They must discover that the culture which they seek so ardently is a thing not merely to be appreciated but to be lived. In this country the people are moved by a faith in the universality—desire to understand the arts and music, for instance—but that alone cannot be called culture.

True Culture

That is why an Eastern peasant may actually be more cultured, in the true sense, than a well-informed New Yorker. The former is living and experiencing the values of his race. His knowledge is in his bones; he daily exacts it, practices it. His politeness is based on a law of human relationships; the beauty of the things for its own sake comes from a very precise knowledge of materials, of color, of certain effects of the evocation of the form; and the form in which he fashionizes a purpose is interwoven with the order of his life. His life itself is beautifully related to the greater life of the universe that envelops him. His life represents the careful, well-balanced interweaving of spirit and matter. In comparison with his standard of living, the standard of the average American is low, however absurd that statement may be. The Oriental peasant has the sensibility of the artist. He sees and appreciates the beauty of his fields which so perfectly retain the water for the growing of rice and reflect the sky like a mirror. He has no word for beauty; in fact, in Japan there word does not exist. But he understands the excellent relationship between the field and his own needs and the laws of nature which have brought them together. That excellent proportion between supply and demand represents great art and beauty to him. His attitude is beautiful and shows that he has grasped the laws of nature, the laws of econo-mics, of universal effects, as so clearly and close in this country. The result of this profound knowledge and collaboration with nature brings with it beauty to which we shall also ultimately return, since before us we are enveloped by the gates of a new cycle of life.

I have drawn what was a certain idealized picture, but it is a real one. I have spoken of the peasant to show a way of approach to the solution of the problems that are before us in the world today. People are confused; architecture is confused. The sincere effort of Modern architecture is an effort toward the understanding. The architect therefore must seek to deepen his understanding of a world which is neither past, present, nor future, but eternal. He must use all the experience of the past, embodying its principles, not its forms. On the other hand, he must take things as they are—materials and people; he must face the present facts. Concluded.
BOOKS in the BALANCE

The books that will be reviewed here are not only those recently published. Those published some time ago but still deserving special attention will also be "in the balance."

WILL THE ATOMIC BOMB PREVENT WAR?

MILITARY AND POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES OF ATOMIC ENERGY. By P. M. S. BLACKETT.

Mr. Blackett and his supporters have apparently been greatly heartened by Professor Blackett's book. As this publication seems calculated to impair the prospects of reaching agreement on the Atomic Energy Commission, it may be desirable to examine some of its premises and conclusions a little more closely than would normally be worthwhile.

Prof. Blackett's Thesis

Professor Blackett's book sets out to prove:
1. That strategic bombing is ineffective.
2. That the Germans would gladly have abandoned from bombing our cities had they not been forced to do so as a reprisal against our attacks.
3. That atom bombs do not add very much to the bombing power of a nation.
4. That their use by the Western Allies was quite unnecessary as the Japanese were prepared to surrender anyhow.
5. That our hurried employment of atom bombs can only be attributed to our fear that Japan should surrender to us so that the Russians should get no credit for their collapse.
6. That the industrial use of atomic energy is enormously more important for a under-developed country like Russia than for America or Britain.
7. That the Soviet authorities are therefore quite right to refuse to have anything to do with the Baruch plan for its control, since this would enable the Western Powers to interfere with their intention to develop atomic power for peaceful purposes, and would probably threaten the secret location of their arms factories without giving them any immediate military compensation.

Value of Strategic Bombing

No one who remembers the attacks on Warsaw or Rotterdam will consider the allegation that it was Britain's hasty bombing of open cities worthy of notice. But the assertion that strategic bombing played little or no part in the defeat of Germany may be worth a few words of refutation, absurd though it must seem to anyone who has read the Goodall diaries or seen the state of Germany since the war.

When we recall the effect on our production of the mere 6,000 tons of bombs dropped monthly on England during the blitz, we are entitled to demand very clear evidence before we believe any statement that 50,000 tons a month dropped on Germany in 1944 made comparatively little difference to her output in the war.

Diagrams in Chapter 2 of the book purport to establish the case. Though plausible at first sight they prove entirely unconvincing on closer examination. The first shows a rise in the alleged German production, the third a rise in the number of aircraft turned out despite increasing bombing on our part.

These curves are unsatisfactory for various reasons. Not only was our bombing very inaccurate in the early stages of the war, but it was also continually light; more than two-thirds of the total tonnage of bombs on Germany were dropped in the last year. As the output curve in both diagrams conveniently breaks off about a year before the end of the war, the effect of this heavy, accurate bombing is not shown.

Moreover, the fact that Germany had hoped to win the war on her stocks, and only started mobilizing industry, working double shifts, calling in the reserves, and so on, in 1943, would automatically cause a rise in output which might well outweigh and conceal the effect of the small amount of inaccurate bombing which was inflicted on her before the summer of 1943.

As to the aircraft, there is the further point that effort in the German war industry was notoriously turned over largely from bombers to fighter aircraft in the latter half of the war—in itself evidence that our bombing was hurting them.

Since it takes at least five times as many man-hours to make a bomber as to make a fighter, it follows that the mere numbers of aircraft turned out, however accurate the bombing may have been, are not a measure of the damage done. A bomber is not capable of evading our weapons in the way a fighter is, and can therefore be destroyed with much greater accuracy, even though the total number of aircraft produced may be quite inaccurate.

These factors are, of course, mentioned in the text of the book. If they could be taken into account quantitatively some useful conclusions might emerge. But the uncorrected curves prove nothing; and, worse than that, they are apt to mislead the ordinary reader.

That our bombing caused 4.5 million workers in Germany to be diverted from other activities is a much more revealing piece of evidence as to the effect of strategic bombing on the German war effort than these elaborate diagrams.

Effects of Atom Bombs

Another point is the claim that the Japanese were ready to capitulate even before the atomic bombs were dropped—indeed, this is the gravest of all the complaints against our having used them.

This may or may not be true. If it is not, a large part of the book goes by the board. But if it is true, surely any normal person must attribute their collapse, at least in large part, to the experience they had of war in their own islands, namely strategic bombing by the Americans.

The argument intended to prove that atomic bombs are not very much more effective than ordinary bombs is vitiated among other things by the fact that it is based entirely upon the observed result of a bomb exploding a quarter of a mile above the ground.

The effects of an atomic bomb—very likely improved by a factor of ten or more—were larger than anything the author suspects—exploding on the ground and hurling great blocks of concrete and clouds of radio-active dust in all directions are never considered. The appalling difficulty of saving anything from the wreck, let alone re-pairing or rebuilding, if approach within a mile of the point of impact is barred for months after the explosion by the presence of lethal radio-active substances, is scarcely mentioned.

The immense difference between the destruction by ordinary bombs spread over a period of years and the destruction inflicted all over the country simultaneously by a few hundred bombers armed with atom bombs is brushed aside on the plea that such concentrated attacks perhaps would not be worth while.

To omit these vital considerations and to conclude on the strength of some rather superficial calculations that atomic bombs cannot prove decisive in war is very surely rash. The Russians evidently do not share these conclusions.

In any event, even were it true that atom bombs cannot decide who will win a war, no one can deny that they may often be used by nations which are unable to win a war. For the knowledge that most of their principal cities are apt to be destroyed within a week of the outbreak of the hostilities must act as a considerable deterrent on any aggressors, even in totalitarian States.

Why Were Atom Bombs Dropped?

The claim that the main reason that atom bombs were dropped as they were ready was in order to finish the Japanese war before the Russians could get into it is really rather naive. If the Western Allies were so anxious to deny the Russians any share in the war against Japan, why ever did they postpon Stalin at Yalta and at Potsdam to start hostilities in the Far East at the earliest moment?

The long and the short of it is that the use of these bombs was intended to hasten the end of the war. Even the author of this book would, I hope, not consider this aspiration very wicked.

Russia and the Barruch Plan

The pretence that Russia would be ill-advised to accept the Barruch plan for the control of atomic energy because this might delay the installation of plants for peaceful purposes will be accepted by few, perhaps, as unconvincing as the other arguments.

To build 6 million kilowatt atomic plants is a major effort even for a highly industrialized country. And to make any impression on Russia's need for extra heat, and power, scores, if not hundreds, of millions of kilowatts would be required.

Even if atomic power could be produced economically, the capital investments and industrial effort needed to add even a fraction to Russia's existing supply of power within a measurable period would be altogether beyond her resources. It is therefore preposterous to say that the fear that she might be hampered in her plans to develop Siberia by the use of atomic energy is a valid reason for refusing any form of control.

An Unfortunate Book

Everyone knows that an echo from the West reverberates much more convincingly behind the Iron Curtain than through any propaganda. It is therefore unfortunate that a book should have been published in England which inoculates the view that Russia has little to fear from the Western Air Forces in case of hostilities and, worse still, which encourages her absurd suspicions about the sinister intentions of the Anglo-American Allies.

All patriotic people surely share the wish that Russia should agree to some form of control of atomic weapons which would prevent an arms race almost inevitably culminating in war. It is because this book seems calculated to diminish our hopes of agreement that it is spread worldwide, while to exceed the fallacies in some of the previous arguments which form its main theme would be futile.

—LORD CHERWELL in "World Digest".

A Sparkling Jewelt Among Films

KALPANA

Starring—UDAY SHANKAR

The Great Dancer of International Repute

and a band of Classical Dancers,

A Western India Theatre Ltd.

BOMBAY.
THE MIND OF LABOUR IN THE WEST

Mr. William Green, veteran leader of the largest Trade Union Federation in the United States (A. F. L.) with more than 7,000,000 members, told members of the Central Committee of the International Metal Workers Federation in Washington on May 8 that "the enslavement of workers anywhere endangers freedom everywhere," and he condemned Soviet treatment of Labour Unions.

We quote here the speech of Mr. Green as it eloquently expresses the mood of the labourers in the West at this critical juncture in world affairs. He said: "As we survey the situation today, we are forced to conclude that any threat of aggression facing us comes from only one source, Soviet Russia. The record of the past few years is so shameful that we can no longer be hoodwinked by the new face of Russia in world affairs. This means that the peoples of this country, in whatever part of the world, will be able to hold fast to our freedom, and to assert our rights as a free people."

The time is ripe for the non-Communist, democratic labour organisations of the world to join together into a new and strong world organisation. We must be prepared to face the new problems which lie ahead. We must be prepared to stand up against the new threats which come from the East. We must be prepared to fight for our freedom, for the freedom of all the peoples of the world. The struggle is not over. The struggle is just beginning."

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MOTHER INDIA, MAY 28, 1949

Eleven

The Owl’s Banquet

BY "MINERVA"

The world regards Swinhorne, Emerson, Carlyle, Lamb, Shelley, Gladstone, Herbert Spencer, Daniel O’Connell, as great men. But some of the great men themselves have a criticism about several of this group. Here is what Swinhorne says of Emerson on the latter’s daring to make a criticism of Carlyle: "A gap-toothed and hook-nosed ape carried off first into notice on the shoulders of Carlyle and who now in his dotage, with a few, chatters from the violet perch of his own finding and finding." Carlyle has many hits to make. Thackeray at Lamb: "A more pitiful, rickety, gasping, staggering, stammering Tempest I do not know." This is at Shelley: "A poor creature who has said or done nothing worth a serious man’s attention out of the world of remembering—a poor, thin, spasmodic, hectic, shrill and pallid being." This is at Hazlitt: "The more we know the less we understand what comprises the mental and moral part of the character of (Hazlitt) upon the face of society a miscreant of his abominable, foul and etracious nature.

What is the most beautiful sentence in the English language? According to Havelock Ellis it is Tennyson’s: "When all is done, human life is, at the greatest and the best, but like a forward child that must be played with and humoured a little, to keep it quiet till it falls asleep; so to be read and to be enjoyed.

What is the most magnificent sentence? Ellis thinks it is Raleigh’s on the loss of his young love: "Death! whom none could advise, thou hast sent him. I stand dumb and aimless, what now have I dared, thou hast done and what all the world hath flattered, stricken with the stroke of death and despised; thou hast drawn together all the far-stretched greatness, all the pride, cruelty and ambition of man, and covered it all over with these two narrow words, RICH JACOBY.

Many students of language have objected to the capitalistic way in which words with similar spelling in English have a different pronunciation. But there is a subtle instinct in the race-soul forming a language and its sounds. Perhaps in the English words that have similar sounds, rimes often together, so that a uniformity of pronunciation would create an unpleasant effect. G. H. MacKeith tells us: "Suppose one were to give a uniform pronunciation to the letters ‘ough’ in the composition of words. Though he brought a bough large enough to put through the trough. The resulting谎 will be as absurd in sound as in sense." For instance, if the letters ‘ough’ were sound to ‘ough’ we should have the exclamation: "Tharf he bruffd a bough large enough to puff through the trough."

What used to be called Babri English is no longer used. Babri English is that which is rather a pity. For, where ordinary meanings are to be communicated, a sound word with a clear meaning, and the absence of the exultingly outlandish Babri English has diminished "the gaiety of nations" that no more do we have a letter ending like that addressed to an English official by one dearest of being appointed to a clerkship in the government office. It is to fill the fervency I solicit your indulgence in this matter, and will not this be a pet for you or for the Foreign Office."

The system of Education..."

"We, in the labour movement, have had our own experience with Communists in the trade union field. I used not go into their attempts to infiltrate the trade unions here in America at this time, and fall in Czechoslovakia. They gained control of the movement there, and used it..."
The National Government of India is quite alive to the manifold responsibilities of its new status. It has been aware that the problem of education must have an important place in the scheme of all-round re-construction of our national life. Now, the question is, how to guide the principle in the shaping of the educational policy of Free India?

There can be no doubt that India must quickly assimilate the rich heritage of modern development, industrial progress, and technological advancement, and bring herself to the level of the world's most advanced countries. There is no doubt that India's national life she must transcend all forms of mediaevalism and discouragement of the spirit of chauvinism or militant nationalism. But does it follow from this that Indian education should be better than the West, and allow her national system of education to be dominated by the purely secular and materialistic outlook of the latter? That would be ruinous for India as a force in the onward march of human civilization.

India has a distinctive national genius and a cultural heritage of her own. As the next great step in her development, the modern Indian national system of education is not enough for her to follow a policy of national freedom, self-government, and isolationism. India has a definite contribution to make to the modern world, a contribution in the re-arrangement of the world with a view to meeting the challenge of the present age.

Education According to the National Genius

The education policy of India was marked to serve that purpose. Quite naturally, it was not in agreement with the narrow materialism of the masses. It was not calculated to produce national heroes or international tycoons. It was specifically designed to manufacture tools and material resources, and administrative machinery of the vast sub-continent of India. In spite of all this, India has been able to produce a large number of first-rate leaders, and this point of action of whom any nation of the world can be quite legitimately be proud, it is to be attributed to the irrepressible genius of this ancient land. But the attainment of political independence has imposed the greatest necessity of providing the funds for the future development of the national genius of India. Now that India has succeeded in throwing off the foreign yoke, it is possible for a thorough reorganization of her educational apparatus with a view to her national genius that should by universal consent be given the topmost priority.

Now, what is the peculiar national genius of India? What is the fundamental basis of Indian educational policy? What is that outlook on life, that attitude to the world's affairs, which India has striven through the centuries to foster and develop? If the answer is to be given in one single word, that word is "Spirit." When India, the land of a rich civilization, has indeed been her single-minded devotion to the fundamental basis of the Indian civilization has indeed been her single-minded devotion to the fundamental basis of the Indian civilization, and to know the Spirit, the Atman, and to know the life of the Spirit: that has always been her one and only purpose.

By Dr. Haridas Chaudhuri

NEED FOR SPIRITUAL RE-ORIENTATION OF INDIA'S EDUCATIONAL POLICY

unique rhythm of harmonious living. It is obvious that both the U.N.E.S.C.O. at Paris in December, and Sir Radhakrishnan, have both agree that "What is essential today is not so much the rehabilitation of schools and libraries, or shops and factories, as the rehabilitation of man. It must be re-created. Until in the new world community, India has a dominant part to play in the rehabilitation of man. So it is imperative-necessary that the educational opportunities of India should be re-directed by a spirit of spiritual re-orientation of the spiritual heritage of India.

In ancient India the period of education centred round the Vedas, known as Brahmacharya which was the stage of intense self-purification for a life of dedication to the fulfillment of the divine purpose in the world. Brahmacharya essentially consisted in self-controlled, self-purification and self-realization under the direct guidance of a personal spiritual master. It is essentially needed today is to re-affirm the ancient idea of education as an intense self-purification for a life attuned to the Infinite consistent with the enormously altered circumstances of modern times. One cannot doubt that much emphasis has got to be laid today on technical education and specifically conditioned demands of Life and Spirit. It is clearly realized by the leaders of the nation that India can obtain its full fruition only in the Spirit, so the Spirit seeks increasing self-expression in and through life. It is not, therefore, that we should give up the action of whom any nation of the world can be quite legitimately be proud, but to be attributed to the irrepressible genius of this ancient land. But the attainment of political independence has imposed the greatest necessity of providing the funds for the future development of the national genius of India. Now that India has succeeded in throwing off the foreign yoke, it is possible for a thorough reorganization of her educational apparatus with a view to her national genius that should by universal consent be given the topmost priority.

Education On A Spiritual Basis

While giving a message to Andhra University, the writer in his power politics may yield place to a glance at the occasion of the presentation of the Sir Aswinia Aurobindo sounded a note of warning to the political leaders of India. He reminded them of the danger that by following certain tempting directions, India might think of itself not enough to become a nation like many others, "proclaiming power politics with a high degree of animation and extending zealously her frontiers and her interests, dominating even in the midst of the world." But Sir Aurobindo points out, "it would be a tragic irony of fate if India were to throw away her spiritual heritage at the very moment when in the rest of the world there is a movement towards a turning towards her for spiritual help and a saving Light!"

This is a very important point for us to remember at the present juncture of human evolution. India has a definite mission to fulfill in the world. This mission is in giving a new light to the world, a light of night of continuous calmness and calmness may rest in a century of achieving peace, progress and harmony, so that the nightmare of war and its horrors may sometim