A HIMALAYAN BLUNDER

In recognising Red China the Indian Government has committed a mistake whose gravity begging description. We have made a New Year's gesture which would rank as one of the stupidest in our history if its stupidity were not surpassed by its perilsomeness. Again and again we have praised our admiration for the U.N.O. and declared that this is our high hope of a broken world. But we have ignored the glaring fact that the U.N.O. is still considering Chiang Kai-shek's case against Soviet Russia, a case purporting to prove that the Red regime of Peking is a sign of Russia's basting of Peking. The N. Charter by acts undermining the political and territorial integrity of China and that this regime cannot be looked upon as a spontaneous people's movement. Common decency and consistency should have stayed from rushing into recognising till at least the "Little Assembly" to which the case has been sent had passed judgment. But we have been in a tearing hurry lest any other member of the Commonwealth should forestall us in recognition and make Mao-Tse-tung suspect our much-counted independent foreign policy. We have, in short, given our recognition of all rules of fair play to Nationalist China. We have kowtowed to Mao who appears to us the big bully at our borders. No doubt, we are entitled to an independent view and do not need to abide by the U.N.O.'s verdict. If the U.N.O. throws out the Nationalist charge, we still have the right to support Chiang, and similarly we can claim to support Mao in spite of that body's confirmation of Dr. T. S. Tulang's "Jaucies." But we are in a most unhappy haste and wish to weigh nothing and listen to nobody's opinion.

Why have we been so precipitate? It is because we are convinced that the entire Chinese nation is behind Mao? Such can hardly be the case, since there is clear evidence of uprisings in China at various places where somehow or other Mao's grip has relaxed. And these uprisings have had little to do with the Kwantung. They have been spontaneous and have existed in all parts of China. They show that the Chinese, while being fed up with Chiang's incompetent and corrupt bureaucracy, are equally resentful of Mao's Marxist militarism. If granting or withholding recognition meant our siding with Mao or sympathising with Chiang and if we felt that on the ground of Chinese popular opinion we could do neither, the question that should have guided us is: How do Chiang and Mao stand respectively in terms of our own national life and culture? Here the answer depends entirely on whether Mao the Communist represents what is represented by the Indian Communists against whom our Government has issued a drastic charge-sheet and whom our Prime Minister has unequivocally labelled as enemies of India and subverters of all our values.

Connection Between Mao and the Indian Communists

In general, nobody in his senses can deny that Communism is a world force and, except for Yugoslavia, not a national movement in each country. Every book in Soviet Russia intended for the indoctrination of the masses underlines with Stalin's explicit approval a Leninist principle which may be stated thus: "After consolidating Marxism in Russia, inspire revolutionary movements in other countries, help them to overthrow by violence the existing governments and in the event of necessity come out with even armed force against these governments until Marxism is established everywhere." The European Cominform is proof of this principle. And Peking Radio's broadcasts on November 28 confirmed the creation of a Far Eastern Cominform to support Communist-led movements in Southern Asia. Liu Shao Chi, Red China's spokesman at the Peking conference of Communist delegates from twenty countries including the Soviet European bloc and China, said that the Chinese people must give their moral and material support to these movements. This sufficiently connects Mao with the Indian Communists.

But there is more than a general connection. We have proof positive of his hostility to the Indian Government and to Nehru in especial. Peking Radio, in preparation for the conference on a master-plan for revolution in Asia as well as in the Pacific, shouted against the "imperialism" of India and attacked Nehru no less than Dr. Bhatia and hoped that both their governments might be swept away. Again, less than a week after Nehru's birthday, the New China Radio broadcasted a letter from Mao to the Indian Communist leader Ramakrishna, in which it was openly stated that India would not remain long under the yoke of imperialism and its collaborators. This leaves no shadow of doubt that if Mao were working in India he would be at the head of the Indian Communists. Hence he must be Enemy Number One of all the best in Indian life and culture.

The line this gives us in the matter of recognition is clear. If the Indian Communists occupied by force a part of our country and went on enlarging their hold, would we ever think of granting them recognition? Mao who is in fullest possible accord with them, in the same standing, in China as they have here. Is it not absolute suicide for us, both nationally and culturally, to have perpetrated the Himalayan blunder of making him a New Year's gift of recognition?

Our Prime Minister's personal sympathy with several of Mao's economic slogans is well-known. He has talked time and again of the Chinese Communists as being chiefly land-reformers, agrarian progressives. But would it be our Indian Communists, with whom Mao's sympathy lies, agrarian reformers? Would he say that they should be regarded chiefly as apostles of a better land-arrangement?

And if the Indian Communists are, as our government admits, antinational, anticultural, the establishment of a Communist China Embassy within our midst and opening wide of our gates to Mao's partisans will be a sure accession of strength to the party we have condemned. With every moment of their presence we shall be more and more digging our own graves. Already we have enough subversive activity: was there not sound sense in drawing a line somewhere and, in the face of unquestionable signs of Mao's intentions, refraining from sabotage further our vital interests and the interests of our civilization?

The Specious Argument of So-called Realism

It is difficult to understand what exactly could have blinkered the Government's eyes. There is the specious argument of so-called realism. All over England it has been tricked out in one dress or another. Even Mr. Churchill, the champion of anti-Communism, has used it. But England's mind is easy to read. What weighed with it was commercial stakes—1000 million pounds invested in trade with China. It forgot that, as Christopher Buckley has said, throughout South-East Asia and especially in Malaya where the Communist party is banned and the British are fighting its armed rebellion for the last 18 months, recognition of Mao would be interpreted as a signal diplomatic defeat for the Britons,—in fact, as a Far Eastern Munich—and lend an additional impetus to the rebels. It is, therefore, negligible to think of and we cannot believe England's great love of liberty will not sooner or later assert itself; yet we can find at least some show of an excuse in the reluctance to let a lot of money go down the drain. It is a kind of low realism to value money so worshipfully, and to it Mao is likely to seem a big enough reality. We have no excuse at all, either good or bad.

The core fact of Mao's wide conquests cannot impress a sober intelligence with any finality rendering his regime radially real. No doubt, it is pretty solid as far as military strength can make it such. Yet it is not so
solid as fatalities might imagine. Did not Major-General Claire Chenuall, an "old China hand" who helped stem Japanese advances with his Flying Tigers, express his reservations about China, with the help of an American
military mission such as is aiding Greece and of an international air-force
patterned after the Flying Tigers, China could still be saved? Another
consideration diminishing the seeming solidity is that the Russian bloc is in
even greater danger. To supply China with the air-force assistance China's industrial backwardness would be almost perpetuated and
the present bold façade reveal an interior crumbling from inherent
weaknesses. But even if actually a reality and not just a mental
appearance to a first superficial glance, its lease of life is not quite
independent of our inner acceptance of it, our installing of it within
our consciousness. The British rule in India—hardly comparable to
Communism, yet undesirable enough in its own context—was at one time
the soldest thing conceivable and all efforts against it seemed doomed to failure.
But we never gave it acceptance within our consciousness. If we had, we
should never have got prepared to remove it when world circumstances
tended in our favour. Because we refused it the last touch of subtle
dynamism that comes only with the mind's and heart's surrender to a pheno-
menon, one of the most stone-solid realities in history fell to pieces and left
us a free India.

The argument from realism is most inconclusive, to say the least. And
when it is a matter of recognizing, as impressively real, a regime based
on principles absolutely opposite to India's—that is, principles of stark mate-
rialsism, in the less than highest vision of spiritual and human experi-
ence of the Divine and the Eternal, principles of utter collectivism re-
ducing the importance of the creative individual to a zero and regimenting
the adventuress many-sided intellect of man—the realism involved is a shabby
and half-hearted realism that history has recorded and an encouragement to all that would mitigate against our future greatness and
self-fulfilment. And, mind you, it is a wanton realism, for there was
nothing compelling it. It may be both inadmissible and unforeseeable at pres-
cent to cut off relations with Stalin whose conduct in arms is Mao accord-
ing to his own pronouncement during his recent visit to Moscow, but world
conditions has not dug Mao to a more or less extent into the life of every
country. Here we could easily have insisted on the triumph of our prin-
ciples. Our failure, therefore, is supremely shameful.

False Alarm over Nepal

Alarmists exclaim at the ugly shadow of Mao near our own
frontiers. Mao has revived China's right of suzerainty over Tibet. The
right is remote history and international jurists are not willing to concede
it easily. But if there is the right, it can be said to belong to the legitimate
ruler of China and if Tibet does not regard Mao as a legitimate ruler she
cannot be blamed for resisting him. Unfortunately, except for her diffi-
cult terrain, she has no defence to speak of. It is quite on the cards that
soon she will be added to Mao's territorial possessions. But the story is
different with Nepal. Mao will perhaps wish to reach out through Tibet and
interfere with Nepal's present status. Nepal has good defence
resources, and it is not quite certain that Mao's political influence in
India has been very extensive. Nepal is exceptionally in the security of this neighbour of hers, since there are
sixteen railroads leading from the Nepalese border into our country and
the Gurkha soldiers are an important part of our own army. An extension of Mao's rule to Nepal will open easy attack by him and consequently
cannot under any circumstances be tolerated. It will mean definit-
ely a prelude to a war between China and India. What the alarmists
declare is that if we did not recognize Mao he would precipitate a military
clash with us.

But the alarmists are mistaken in two respects. India's recognition of
him will not stop his coveting Nepal if interference in Nepal is an item already included in the communist plan for self-aggrandisement in Asia. Secondly, India will not be alone in her fight with him over Nepal. The
influential British periodical, The Manchester Guardian, suggested in an
editorial on November 18 that if Nepal's security was going to be in the
way jeopardised India must forestall the danger. The editorial goes further and says: "If, in India's designs for the security of Nepal, British support is desired, it would doubtless be forthcoming." So there is not the slightest
case for fear that Mao would come to military grips with us. He knows
too well that we shall have the strongest support possible from Britain and,
if necessary, from the U.S.A.: the latter, we may recollect, established diplomatie relations with Nepal in 1947 and emphasized on that occasion the
threat to India's security by the Mongoloids. Of this country's remotest proximity, and of the danger to Mao with Nepal will be the signal for a world war and Mao will never be ad-
vised by Stalin to start such a conflagration. Perhaps he will be asked to
defend himself from attacking Tibet: as late as 1946 the British Government
had informed China's ambassador, which was then in C-3, of the British interest in preserving Tibet's autonomy and wished to have direct rela-
tions with Lhasa through the Government of India, and the latest reports from
London indicate that though Britain may acknowledge Chinese
suzerainty over Tibet she will do so only if the Tibetans are allowed to enjoy
full local autonomy and if there is no disconcerting talk by Mao of "liberat-
ing" Tibet. India is in the same boat. In the Chinese military occupation: steps would immediately be taken to stop even infiltration tactics. By refusing to recognize Mao we ran not the least
risk of a threat by his troops. We could have turned a deaf ear to the
alarmists.

The Night Ahead and America's Light

However, short of military conflict, Mao's basic antagonism to demo-
cracy like India would do it no good in the struggle against China. Our
friendliness can only give this worst a more subtle garb and at the same
time immensely increase its possibilities of harm. Not to have grasped this fact is political puerility. And as a result of the puerility we stand today
on the verge of disasters we can scarcely dream of. Once before in the
near past we took a plunge down the precipice. That was when we reject-
ed the Cripps proposals which seemed to come on the urge of a great
inspiration and sudden change of heart. No doubt, they were imperfect,
but we could have accepted their major substance and tried to ship-shape
whatever was rough in them. No doubt also, a turn towards conservatism took
place again in the Churchill cabinet and considerabily hampered Sir
Stafford Cripps's movements. But our own perverseness and distrust were
a low ebb if not one toppling number of the best party could also the God-given chance of working for the benefit of our country and its culture by returning a decisive "Nay" to the question of recognising the monstrous
growth of Red China.

One despair of Indian leadership. Not that Nehru's government is
particularly to blame: other parties, had they been in power, would have
acted differently. The Socialists were the most clamorous for esta-
blishing diplomatic and trade relations with Mao. There was hardly a
leader of any effective party in India with vision and idealism enough to
refuse recognition. India under Congress has at least three achievements to her credit in the international sphere. One is her dogged stand against
either Cripps's absurd political ideas or India's recognition of Mao. The
second is her choice to be a republic without leaving the Commonwealth.
The third is her close approach to the United States of America. Her Commonwealth or other American patronage are, for her resolve not to join either the Western bloc or the Russian satrapy a weapon menacing by the heartless Hammer and the soulless Sickle. Parties in opposition
to Congress would have taken, saิต-aia Kashmir, no less firm a stand; but
none of them would have done their bit so well for civilisation at large.
Whatever its faults, Congress is the least blind of all the political parties
in action today. So when we despair of leadership we are not starting a
campaign against Congress. But being the least blind does not make Congress
an illuminatied party. Some of its acts of short-sightedness are ghastly and
the recognition of Mao when every instinct of idealistic and spiritual culture
as well as every instinct of self-preservation and peace-preservation should
have dictated the contrary course is the ghastliest. Leadership is indeed at
least the scope of this country and the function of the Congress as the
field of the starglued hammer. If you keep your brave eyes lifted to the light of your ideal and with your strong
hands direct and defend the civilized world in the night that has gathered
all around!

At the moment, in the field of international politics, America remains
the bulwark of freedom and civilisation. It is much to be hoped that Britain
and other remaining Commonwealth countries will not follow in India's
guided steps but give hearty co-operation to Mr. Truman and Mr. Acheson
in their determination to boycott Mao at all costs. Even if the Common-
wealth fails, America can still by single opposition make a good deal of the
damage caused by the Chinese mass movement. China is in the fortunate
position of having one of the most starglued hammers keep your brave eyes lifted to the light of your ideal and with your strong
hands direct and defend the civilized world in the night that has gathered
all around!
NEW YEAR THOUGHTS ON PACIFISM

By "LIBRA"

The conference, first at Tagore's Shantiniketan and then at Gandhi's 'Sevaagram, of about a hundred pacifists from thirty-four countries of the world, has struck a responsive chord in the heart of every Indian. All our ministers have shown willingness to co-operate with these pilgrims of peace, but in an innumerable assembly the ideal of peace is felt to be as old as India herself and ingrained in her immortal culture: one of our best known scriptural phrases is the ancient Vedic message, sarva jahugaha bhavatu, "let all people live in happiness through peace"; and we have heard of better message for the New Year that has come to complete the first half of the twelfth century.

But "peace" is a veritable proteus of a word. There can be a dead peace, or well as a living one. Was it not said by Gautama about the conquest of Germany by the Romans: Sollvidivium factum est pecesse appetillum, "They make a solitude and call it peace"? Nor is it necessary to put a country to the sword in order to create the peace that is dead. If a country is either efficiently enmasculated, or ruthlessly regimented, we have a certain passivity or uniformity of mind which has the appearance of peace but is really a state of death in disguise. Even the peace that can prevail among free peoples may not be a living one in the true sense of the word: it may be so superficial, so superficially hobnobbed with war is found to be a distasteful and a co-operative opportunism has play. Or else an open conflict may be absent and yet a selfish feud on the ideological level go on and a self-interested emotional throat-cutting continue. Surely this is not the peace we are supposed to and odd passions from far and near mean and the old phrase from the Rig Veda implies.

Should Pacifism Proclude War?

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, in a recent broadcast, defined peace as "goodwill in action." A fair working definition, we may grant, but also a bit of a platitude like to be pretty imprecise unless we go beyond the purely ideative plane. For, active goodwill, as commonly conceived, cannot exist by itself and cannot persist for any length of time unless, as ordinary functions, it is a mixture of the rational, the infra-rational and the supra-rational. He tries to order his life according to his intelligence, but constantly the tiger and the ape in him break out, laying waste the neat and glittering tracts of observation; and his life is then a reversal to animal instinct. It is often a sudden reaching forth towards something grand and godlike, some power more wide than the intellect, and "a light that never was on sea or land" upsets his reasoned arrangements of attitude and gesture, so that he behaves with a splendid strangeness which sets at nought his virtues no less than his vices, his philosophies as well as his fantasies. Goodwill in action is the voice of man's reason in its ethical aspect; but if reason is only the middle term between what is below and what is above, how shall this goodwill be a lasting and effective force? Not that it is an utter contradiction of the below and the above: there is in the former a certain instinct of mutual aid while in the latter to be found a spon- taneity of universal oneness, but the infra-rational has also a violent com- petitive impulse and the supra-rational brings at times a power that is situa- tion at which the mere mind trembles and with which it can scarcely reconcile its principle of war-shunning pacifism. On one side, "Nature red in tooth and claw on the other the disdainful disposition of Mahabali the Goddess who carries the Eternal Truth like a sword to cleave violently to the darkness of ignorance and evil. No doubt, there is also Mahalakshmi the beneficient Goddess, but she does not exclude the divine Warrior of the worlds; a subtle identity is between the two, most difficult for the human reason to understand and most disturbing to its ideotive apotheosis of goodwill in action.

Although the brute competitiveness of the infra-rational is to be curved, the sword-sweep of the supra-rational cannot be rejected. The cry of Sri Krishna at the battle of Kuruksetra, "Fight and win a mighty kingdom!" is too clear to be allegorised away, too insistent in one form or another down the ages, especially at their turning-points, to be drowned by any milliennial sentimentalism. So we must stop contracting peace to war: under particular circumstances war cannot help having justification, and not only defensive but also offensive war, since frequently the best method of defence is attack. A squallish recoil from physical combat and indiscriminate violence would be both unphilosophical and deluding reality, and would vitiate an evolving world in which truth and falsehood, right and wrong, beauty and ugliness are pitted against each other. Of course, every effort must be made to avoid such combat and destruction, compromise should go on all sides; but there are situations where analogous essential logic is involved. No more convenience or superficial advantage should be cherished inordinately, yet a final resort to arms must not be looked upon as an evil. Consequently, from the highest point of view, absolute ahimsa, unmitigated nonviolence goes by the board at the very beginning of a discussion of pacifism. And when our Ministers make the apology to the Conference of pacifists that they are keeping an army and navy and air-force because they are too weak to follow correctly the ideal of pacifism and that this weakness should be made a weapon of the pacifists, the pacifists are making a false fetish of ahimans and completely confusing the issue. Most of the pacifists seem to themselves in no least confusion, for the name of Gandhi as the apostle of non-violence is lavishly strewed in their speeches. If ahimsa signifies renunciation from shedding all blood except one's own even when one is confronted with Hitler's pansers or, to take a smaller yet sufficiently tautological example, with the killing of sharks in the interests of scientific advancement broke into Kashmir, then ahimsa is just an unconscionable collaborator with anti-civilisation forces and, far from being a merit, a pernicious mistake. To refuse to see in some collectivities of human beings on certain occasions a history a streak of the diamond, which cannot be help but requires to be ended by physical attack is sheer blindness to facts. The last war threw these facts into so much relief that a host of sceptics, C. E. M. Joad the most prominent among them, who used to laugh at the idea of peaceful means for the control of evil, have come to the conclusion that God by the curious road of finding themselves unable to overlook the existence of some sort of devity acting from beyond the realm of Nature. Even in the absence of the markedly diabolic, we should be able to see the element of the infra-rational as quite likely at several times to need violent opposition on our part. Ahimsa, leading to an apologetic attitude towards our armed forces as if in keeping up the martial spirit we were defauling an ideal of peace, is an utter futility. If the pacifists gathered in India consider the avoidance of war by all means and the pedestalling of ahimsa at all costs to be the essence of their philosophy and their work, they are on a wrong track and, for all their noble intentions, doing disservice to the world. Identify "goodwill in action" with extreme ahimsa and you immediately disqualify it from being a worthy pursuit.

What we have to pursue is noble effort to avoid war for selfish motives with the breed of hatred and greed which is the only real problem in the context of international politics. Selfish motives: there is the arch-evil which pacifism should work to remove. As a result, the mere avoidance of war is not the sumnum bonum even if war be something to be shunned, but there is a lot more that has to be done. It is not only the shape of tank and bomber. As a reminder of this truth, the phrase "goodwill in action" is genuinely useful and plunges towards the heart not only of what is meant by the various peoples who are our brothers but also of what is implied by our own ancient culture. The heart of meaning here may be broadly put as: a state of consciousness unagitated by selfish mo- tives and therefore so far as these motives go, at peace with the world and expressing that peace in action worth in active and serene creatures.

Goodwill and the Supra-rational

The question, however, remains: Can the active goodwill possible to rational man be quite clear of selfish motives, and function effectively in the interests of genuine peace? There is a strong tendency today to look on man not as a middle term between the infra-rational and the supra- rational but as the final term of the evolution always supposed, and advancement is considered a further and further refining of man's rationality, and the contrast it presents to what is below it—the animal kingdom. Many an Indian is inclined to be an agnostic: he does not deny the existence of gods and, yet, he powerfully supports the idea of a theology in which the mind is raised in its intense humanitarian activity than in their intense experi- ence of the Divine and the Eternal. He even wonders whether this experi- ence is not a kind of magnificent illusion and thinks that their humani- tarian activity should be disengaged from it altogether. Perhaps there is an attitude almost akin to Bertrand Russell's, as declared in an interview several years ago with Dilip Kumar Roy. Said Russell: "I believe in ecstasies as data of definite experience, but when they imply visions of the highest reality I cannot accept them; for, the lofty principles you speak of are by no means the results of these mystic illuminations. As a matter of fact such ecstasies render the mystics distinctly self-centred and selfish. Through such transports they become more and more subjective and get more and more loth to lead a healthy life of varied activities and lose inter- est in things for themselves. Consequently their joys tend to become more and more similar to the joys of the voluptuary and the drunkard." But Dilip Kumar Roy, unable to shut his eyes to the lip-slippery argument in such a statement which grossly exaggerates the incidence of perversity and morbidity in the annals of mysticism, opined that it was just a conver- national emphasis and that Russell whom he found (and rightly) admirable in many respects did not really leave the bound of mysticism out of the picture, since he also made the fine pronouncement: "The organised life of the community is necessary but it is necessary as a mechanism, not some- thing to be valued on its own account. What is of most value in human evolution is the idea, the thought, not the organisation."

But Russell, we are afraid, did not make any authentic concession to mysticism. For, as his book Religion and Science proves, what he means by the message of great religious teachers is "equanimity in the midst of the vast, the miniscule and the infinite". The way in which this knight mystics speak of but which are attainable, according to him, without mysticism and should be as attainable rather than in conjunction with an erroneous belief and an aberrant psycho- logy. To those who are in a total forgetfulness of the different ways in any type it is absurd to imply that Buddha's supreme equanimity and
compassion are possible without his Nirvana or Ramakrishna's intensely radiant nature and healing atmosphere can be achieved without his realization of the Divine Mother. Qualities of the soul reach their acme only through the soul's awakening to its own reality and the corresponding spiritual awakening. In any case it should be evident that selfishness would be subdued most effectively if one has the experience of an ever-peaceful, infinite-enjoying state of consciousness which the small ego of man is utterly enshrouded and that unless a Divine, Mahayana Buddhism is luminous Cretaceous of the world, is realised by the heart no emotion of human brotherhood can attain an extreme life-transforming pitch. Call mysticism a holy hallucination, if you are bent on the experience of the various dimensions of the world's finest figures, but you cannot escape logically granting that nothing, down to and inclusive of the hallucination can give rise exceedingly to "what is," in Russell's own word, "of most value in human life." If you admit certain so-called moral virtues to be essential in conduct, you cannot bypass the mystical quest of the supra-rational which renders them the most beautiful, potently potent, the most widely practicable.

Gandhi's, whose name dominated the pacific conferences, was not a mystic in the real sense in which Ramakrishna or Vivekananda, Bhagwan Maharsi or Sri Aurobindo is, yet whatever intensity of feeling and unfalsifiable behavior he brought was born directly of his fervent faith in a God who was to him the perfect father of all creatures and the light of a stainless truth. To this Jesus follows Gandhi's ideal and goal without sharing this faith is always to act under a strain, for the full sanction and support from within will be missing. And if anybody does follow them ever with withholding sympathy from Gandhi's religion, he is acting according to a certain view which he has arrived at the divine intuition of the Divine even though the intellect may refuse to acknowledge it or to formulate it as a philosophy. So complex is our human nature that it is easy to be better even a little bit better and be scientifically coloured or else Marxianized turgid intellect, running counter to the strong, feeling towards absolute ideals and towards a law of compassionate righteousness independent of the material flux and temporal contingency which are so much a part of a materialistic Marxism world-view. Thus always hinder and often misguide this feeling. The cleavage within cannot help diminishing the chances of success for genuine pacifism.

And when the agnostic is the common variety and not the exceptional who divinely denies the Divine, the case is worse. Every man has a fund of moral energy, but mostly it is a very small fund and, if there is no direct lift in him towards the supra-rational and all the lift is indirectly through the refined sensibilities of art, the abstract imperatives of logic, the magnetic concentrations of scientific fact or the ego-tempering calls of social relationship, he is likely at almost every step to feel the tug of the infra-rational. Hatred and greed will never be accounted for in, as scientific or supernaturalistic world-view must always hinder and often misguide this feeling.

New Year Thoughts on Pacifism

Religion and Religionism

Pacifism, therefore, should identify itself with faith in the Infinite and the Eternal. More inspired in at least theory, than the conventional forms of Seragemonous, frail and the Brahmanic Congress of World Fellowship of Faiths which is to take place at Delhi for three days from January 6, Delegates representing various countries and religious denominations, will be meeting to further world peace through the medium of religion. The International Congress has its origin in the second Parliament of Religions held in India in 1925-29 and opened by Rabindranath Tagore. In its sessions there will be an open acknowledgment of the supra-rational source from which alone the true, the beneficent and the good can flow to the earth. However, we must admit that a religious orientation of rational man is insufficient to transfigure life so long as there is no marked turn towards mystical experience. For, religion tends to degenerate in to submission. What should be a matter of soul-discovery and of living contact and communion with the divine depths and heights of our being stops with a narrow creed, a rigid ritualism, a bigoted churchianity. The rational mind, if not influenced powerfully by the beat and rhythm of existence and transcendent source; or another as the total verity: it cannot hold many things together in a harmonious synthesizing view, the utmost it does is to attempt the sub-simulation of everything under one particular aspect which it exaggerates out of all proportion to its cruel and transcendent source; and at last aligned to the supra-rational. Progress has come often to been attack on religious system and much of the modern world's intellectual and social development is due to its trick with the religionism that was rampant up to the European Renaissance.

But this break, for all its benefits of reaction towards freedom and wideness, is a negative force and must sooner or later lead to an armistice materialism and a shipwreck of precious values. Religion true to the depth and heights of being from which it is a shining visitor to rational man is what should replace the credal, formal, sectarian stuff that is in vogue; and it is in the same breath for the householder in this age that one of his duties is to rally the religious and the religious leaders to the householder's strength so unctionally upon the dreaming and yearning heart. The turn not in the direction of ears so discerning that in that of mystical experience should be the sequel to the leap away from formalism. One of the first signs of the desirable turn is the intellectual attempt to find in the study of the various denominations into which the world of believers is fragmented; a parlament of religion, an international congress of faiths, aiming at unity and peace, is therefore a right movement. And it is indeed a good augury that the New Year should give us, however tentative starts on disOWNing ways and means to establish brotherhood in kindling. It is always significant and happy omen that such a congress should take place in India. But there has always laid upon spiritual realization upon direct experience of the Divine. The motto of the International Congress of World Fellowship of Faiths is Oranta viscit amor, "Love conquers everything." Beautiful words of their sentimental idealism and reach man meaningful cantones made with the supra-rational. A gospel of "sweet vanquishing victory" set in a religious key cannot be the master-instrument of genuine pacifism. Although action," it will never without the rhythm of an mystic experience, re-turn the human heart to a divine harmony. There may be no supra-rational has been absorbed and taken up into mainifold, repressed, religiously — yet are there on the way to realizing the goal so integrally revealed in that fourfold manifold of Sri Aurobindo's: Arouka taking to a voiceless supreme delight, Life the Eternal with close breast, An unsolved mind drenched in the Infinite, Force one with unimaginable rest.

Yes, it is the mystic and the yogi who alone can bring the secret of world unity, the love that will conquer everything because it bears with it the direct consciousness of the immortal, the illimitable and the perfect, has at all time the first-hand impression of the supra-rational truth and beatitude, and is no honeyed wine of etheric imaginations nor vox unicae, and is ipso facto service in the name of a distinctly paternal God, nor the well-meaning mistresses of indoctrination content with a result of superficial ascent and formal knee-bending before the tables of the ten commandments or the eightfold path. If there is a God in whom all beauty and harmony, an effort must be made to know Him as we know the sun of mid-day, feel the impact of our flesh and the flesh of those who are dear to us, live Him as our humanism and our desire, manifest Him as we manifest the weight and warmth and vigour of our bodies. In short, be an altogether forth on the via mystica, we must strive to reach in our lives an incarnation of that inner experience such that we worship. Congresses of faiths soon become, for all their speeches and lip service and practical measures unless the mystic and the yogi infuse life out of them. The great motto of holy words and high declarations that made famous in its own day the first Parliament of Religions at Chicago almost half a century back, only one creative cry has remained—the voice of Swami Vivekananda. It is hammer-struck because it arose from a living realization of the Infinite and the Eternal. Vivekananda uttered his name with the actual mystical experience glowing within him of the one Supreme Self of selves present everywhere and the mighty Mother Spirit from whom the entire universe springs.

His message may not be quite complete since with superficial dynamism it still mingled the feeling that man's fulfillment is ultimately outside earth and that physical existence, the life-force and the mind-energy have to be a stupendous how the shooting the goal out of the cosmic into some absolute more than we need a cessation of the warrior, the hero, the kathryna in pace, or an outward political of social co-operation among earth's peoples precariously sustained with the help of a sort of religious universal religion with a re-enriched good our brute brain. The integral Godhead "Force one with unimaginable rest," and our earth-being and its multi-plurality of unity that supra-rational Powerower from which all things and its members have originated because of some truth or archetype of them. A divine creative and all-transforming peace is our prayer in the New Year conancing the second century and a half of the twentieth century. But, though we may look even beyond Vivekananda's time, we are most appropriate in connection with the endeavour to establish world religion. Without men like Vivekananda this endeavour will little more than a glow-worm illumination, and neither moon nor star will shine for it, much less will dawn the day of

MOTHER INDIA, JANUARY 7, 1956

NEW YEAR THOUGHTS ON PACIFISM

—Continued from page 3
Reform is in the air. There is no lack of plans and panaceas. The trouble is with Man—not the Plans. The Commissions get busy, look round, take a cue from America by the dozen, even when it emits no light. The still small voice of sanity is more often than not drowned by the propagandist iteration of the faddist, the fad-fool, a political aroma. Conflicting cries confuse the judges, and prejudice wax supreme. Like many other things, education too is in the hands of a system!—a new educational system—if "system" it can be called—is a legacy of British rule. The foreigner no longer meant well; he did what he could; yet the facts remain that he was not able to communicate with the masses.

National independence is now more than a vague hope or a vain longing; it is here; and it is for us to cherish. This is serious, for it may make us a new people, with the flame of knowledge in our souls, and the blush of fresh youth on our eyes. Education too should become national, it should flourish freely and fruitfully on our soil, drawing sustenance from the stored-up meager savings. We are in need of our old golden vessels and verities, but not rejecting the breath of free air from foreign soil, and acquiring the truly unique human needs and national objectives but in no hummrous mold of the university career. The trying war-years and the excruciating after-war years forced upon us the need to give a new orientation to our education. But if the old, the established, the reasonable, the first taste of freedom has by no means been an unalloyed sweetness. Present-day education lacks the healthy challenge of each phonetic hour which man is made to be an integral part of our involved life. Is a dynamic becom- ing, and we must not be therefore afraid of change but that the change should be implicit in the situation, not artificially imposed from with- out. The university is, and has been, part of the base of the state, if we mean to rejuvenate the edifice of the state, we should really begin by strengthening the foundations. Education today is the prime concern with the problem of the national regeneration. If in the future our selves we do not care for the events, we shall have endangered the issue of the battle of our future.

The education of the people of in- dependence must be looked upon as viewed as an organic whole, and not piecemeal under a system of piori- ties. There are not wanting vehement politicians who parrot the extreme view that primary education is alone the state’s primary concern. There are others who would, if they could, make real education secondary in so-called "secondary education," and cram the school curric- ulum with all sorts of odds and ends. As for university education, the feeling is general, if not universal, that it is a half a hansom—a and therefore on him no speech! Colleges and universities are looked upon as an ornament and hotholds of political action (or reaction) at their worst. It is said, though not surprising, that such views should be held at such a time, when universities and colleges have indeed a lot to answer for. But, while the criticism is understandable enough, without real substance, and we can no more conceive of a body without a head, or a head without a brain, than an educational system without the universities, or universities without the colleges, or colleges without the primary schools—should remain, and they should grow in puissance and use-fulness as the voice of reason is growing, as supporting from the lower grades of education, receiving abundantly the benefit of the educational nourishment being the state’s need more than its charged, the charge of the nation’s and its many-chambered armoury.

The Various Reports

While the war was still going on, the Central Advisory Board of Educa- tion issued, in January 1944, its Fourth Post-War Education Development in India, now generally known as the Sargent Report, after its author, the former Secretary Na- tional Advisor to the Government of India. It was a compact yet com- plex and ambitious document, and its most striking feature was the pal pal virtue that it surveyed the Indian educational structure—ram- mitted as it was and still is, the whole, covering the various stages of education from nursery to nursery, and also glancing at adult education, technical, commercial, and art edu- cation, and other cognate phases such as health, recreation, and un- employment. Although by no means exhaustive, it surveyed the monumental Jadavpur Commission Report of 1918, the Sargent Report too has rightly evoked a great deal of comment and criticism and rates—among the Indian aspirations of the Brahmaputra hopes which have not materialized so far.

The Sargent Report devoted a valuable chapter to university edu- cation, and among other things re- ported, as the Jadavpur Report had done twenty-five years earlier, the Bottle Argument, the mole- rization of the Intermediate course to the secondary grade of education. The three or four following years 1944 were a period of uncertainty, and so long as the political situation continued to be fluid—sometimes even fraught with explosive potency—no deter- mined forward move could be taken. The birth of independence, however, and the birth of a new India, gave a new lease of life to the Indian educational system. At first misguided enthusiasm wish- ed to meddle with education in a high-handed fashion, with potentially more sober counsels to prevail. The Government of India appoint- ed in late 1948, the Indian Education Commission "to report on Indian University Education and suggest reforms whereby the universities may be more fully equipped to suit present and future requirements of the country". The Commission was headed by Professor Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, President of the Indian Republic. The Commission was under the chairmanship of Dr. T. V. Chandy, Dr. Zakir Husain, Dr. Lalkosh- tensendr Mridulon, Dr. Meghnad Saha, Dr. R. N. Bahl, and Prof. N. K. Chaudhuri. An extremely exhaustive examination of the various problems of education was made, and an exhaustive questionnaire spread over sixteen folio pages was prepared, and the questionnaire was sent out to publicists, legislators, educa- tors and other interested persons, an important man— and "about 600 replies were received from the persons so addressed" (as left behind) the wastage of only 80%!
The Commission enterprisingly spread its net far and wide and caught plentiful fish, if not in the shape of written answers, then in the form of oral evidence. The Commission besides other documents like the mimeographed Report of the Scientific- Mass Power Committee, recent publications like the Harvard Report on Liberal Education, as well as the Indian Society and McGrath’s Science, is known that Education is light of life, of nation and its many-chambered armoury.

In the meantime, the Government of Mysores had appointed another educational commission of vision and of wide and varied experience ex- tending over half a century, to report on education in the Mysore state, and his excellent Report, based on a personal examination of the problem in all its aspects, was pub- lished a few weeks ago. The first part of the Report is an Education Commission—a bulky mass of 700 pages, about the times as voluminous as the Reddy Report—has also been just issued by the Manager of Publications Delhi. The almost simultaneous publication of these two Reports, associated respectively with the names of Dr. C. R. Reddy and Prof. Radhakrishnan both former Chancellors of the Andhra University— an interesting coincidence—gives us an opportunity to study them side by side in the urgent con- text of university reform in India.

The Reddy Report and the Radhakrishnan Report

Dr. Reddy’s Report is a three-part edifice of unity, cohesion, and individuality; it is a one-man’s job, and hence unnecessary convolutions forged up a stretch of several decades; and, though in the main bearing upon conditions in Mysore, has necessar- ily a wider application. Dr. Reddy had taken a leading part in the organization of the University of Mysore in 1916, and he is in conse- quence able to construct on the levels of the founders with the actualities of the hour, and even to restate the significance of education in the light of his own experience at Andhra and his recent contacts with the universities of Great Brit- ain. The Reddy Report, then, is clear and lucid and forthright, there are no confusions and confusions, no loose ends and lacunae. You can agree with and esteem it to a point at any rate you know where you are with him.

The Radhakrishnan Report is at first glance inclusive and more com- prehensive than Dr. Reddy’s report. It is, inclusive because it confines itself to university education; other commissions are more comprehensive because it reports on each of the universities in India (including Mysore) and also because its detailed recommenda- tions are made to the Department of Education at the central, collegiate and university education. Ten determined individualists, drawn from the cranks corners of the world, constituted the Commission, but they have achieved the miracle of a unanimous report, "... how did the miracle happen?" While not in the least a model of opinion, outlook and emphasis", the authors of the Report explain that it "ex- tremes in the essence of the issues in a spirit of mutual respect and tolerance, and not an attitude of indifference on the part of individual members to their "... the mountain of accusations. The Report is not a compromise bet- ween various opinions. We jointly affirmed... adopted the conclusions reached". A unanimous Report carries with it the force of a well-thought-out plan. It could be made the basis of an immediate and fruitful beginning of action, and there should now be no justification whatever for the Ministries of India to continue their aimless and somnambulistic meanderings and pettifying postponements. Yet, while the text of the Report is amenable, there is a question which, after all, the search for unanimity, the grave to which they have not have reduced the Report to an intellectual hotch-potch, a bedrag- gled mass with no unity. How- without integrity, and especially with- out a soul of its own.

Again, the feeling is not to be easily assuaged, for there is a somewhat hastily made up—that most of the reports on individual universities are so scrappy as to be almost useless and even misleading on the part of national material has been imperfectly digested—that the drafting of the final report has been very indolent, and is unoriginal and without char- acter. The bibliographies are unimportant curiosities, as are the appendices, while they throw light on only a handful of the American members of the Commission, have little material relevance to the final Report; and the figures supplied by the Ministry of Education regarding the budget estimates and the grants is an unanswerable commentary on the efficiency of the Statistical Section of the Ministry of Education, and of the Ministry of General Education. One would suppose that, having obtained the figures from the different Governments, the Ministry would have tabulated them in a way that might facilitate comparison. For example, with reference to the Allahabad University, the percent- age of government grants to total income is given as 52.58 in 1946-47, 72.58 in 1947-48, and 26.5 in 1948-49. Who would suppose that, having obtained the figures from the different Governments, the Ministry would have tabulated them in a way that might facilitate comparison. For example, with reference to the Allahabad University, the percent-
SRI AUROBINDO, THE LEADER OF THE EVOLUTION

PART II OF "THE WORLD CRISIS AND INDIA"

BY "Synergist"

SECTION III: THE NEW WORLD-VIEW

(1) THE CULTURAL CRISIS AND THE PROBLEM OF THOUGHT

Continued from previous issue.

The following extracts taken from the Arjya indicate the nature of the task he set before himself when he started editing it. He writes in The Ideal of Human Unity: "The surfaces of life are easy to understand; their laws, characteristic movements, practical utilities are ready to our hand and we can seize on them and turn them to account with a sufficient facility and rapidly. But they do not carry us very far. They suffice for active superficial life and living. But they do not solve the great problems of evidence. On the other hand, the more profound experiences, the potencies, the hidden, all-determining, are exceedingly difficult to us. We have found no plummet that can fathom these depths; they seem to us a profound obscurity from which the mind recoils willingly to play with the small and false and facile radiations of the surface. Yet it is these depths that we must know if we wish to understand existence; on the surface we get only Nature's secondary rules and partial by-laws, which fail to lift us over the difficulties of the movement and to organise empirically without understanding them her continual transitions.

Nothing is more obscure to humanity or less seized by its understanding, whether in the power that moves it or the sense of the aim towards which it moves than its own communal and collective life. Sociology does not help us, for it is only given reality and manifest in the working of the cosmic process. This tendency has given rise to idealistic and spiritual philosophies of life. Some of the finest minds have conceived themselves with this axiological problem, and have strongly advocated the creation of a new world-view based upon a metaphysical having as its first postulate the Spiritual Reality—a Divine Being or an Absolute beyond time, space and causality, an undifferentiated Divine Ground. By which while all exist but which exists above and beyond Reality whose existence alone can give a meaning to man's spiritual aspirations and ideals and in which values find their highest absolutes. They feel that only such a philosophy can give a meaning to life. It also satisfies the enlightened philosophical reason of man for it has a verifiable hypothesis—not verifiable in the daily experience of the unregenerate and the spiritually untrained, but verifiable in spiritual experience of those who have trained their mind. This new metaphysics has, therefore, gained immense popularity with the Divinised Self. Martrin, Ouspensky, Heard, among others, have each in their own characteristic way, to destroy the materialistic view of existence and to pave the way for a spiritual one. Heard, whose writings generally have a great theodical value, speaks of a new Cosmology with its consequent ethic and a psycho-physical and spiritual discipline by practising which one can grow into a greater consciousness and attain mystic union with the Divine Reality, and Huxley speaks of a new Metaphysics, the only true connates of all the beings in the Divine Ground, and successfully answers, in his Ends and Means, Albert Schweitzer, who is of the opinion that a mystical world-view cannot yield an ethic as it is supra-social. Not only philosophers, metaphysicians and mystics, but also social philosophers and historians have made valuable contribution towards this end, the most notable among them today being Sorokin and Toynbee.

It is interesting to note in this connection what Sri Aurobindo wrote in 1918 in the Arjya, the journal of philosophy he was then editing. He not only saw the need for a complete philosophy of life that can explain the eternal problems of existence, give a meaning and purpose to life on earth and show both the goal towards which it is proceeding, but actually wrote six major works, each a classic in its own right, to meet this need. His three great works, The Life Divine, The Synthesis of Yoga, and The Psychology of Social Development are landmarks in the history of human thought. The Ranges on the Gita, The Secret of the Veda, The Ideal of Human Unity and a number of essays together with A Defence of Indian Culture were his other contributions in this journal. Needless to say, all that he wrote was from the heights of his unique spiritual realisation, the Light of the Divine Ground illuminating his writings and giving them the stamp of the highest Truth; they were not just philosophical speculations of a great intellect. Rather, they were the creations of a great intellect transcending its narrow boundaries and opening itself through a spiritual intuition into the sunlit light of the Supreme Divine Intelligence, the Supermind.*

*Actually there are three philosophical positions taken up by axiological: (1) Subjunctive, (2) Ontological (3) Metaphysical Objectivism. Here, the reference is made to generalists of knowledge.

--End--

*Here the reader is advised to refer to a previous copy: Sri Aurobindo's Ideal. (Section II: The Spiritual View of Existence).
VISION and REALISATION

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.

O THOU whom I can call my God, Thou who art the personal form of the eternal Transcendent, cause, source and reality of my individual being, who throughout the centuries and the millenniums hast slowly and subtly known the Matter that one day it might consciously be identified with Thee and no longer sought else than Thou! O Thou who hast appeared to me in all Thy divine splendour—this individual being in all its complexity offers itself to Thee in an act of supreme adoration; it aspires in its entirety to be identified with Thee, eternally Thou, merged for ever in Thy reality. But is it ready for that? Is Thy work wholly accomplished? Is there in it no longer any shadow, ignorance or limitation? Canst Thou at last take definitive possession of it and, in the most sublime, the most integral transformation, extricate it for ever from the world of ignorance and make it live in the world of Truth?

Or rather, Thou art myself divested of all error and limitation. Have I become thereby this true self in every guise of my being? Will Thou bring about an overwhelming transformation, or will it still be a slow action in which cell after cell must be torn out from its darkness and its limits? Thou art the Sovereign ready to take possession of Thy kingdom; dost Thou not find Thy kingdom? dost Thou not find Thy kingdom yet sufficiently ready for Thee to unite it definitively to Thyself and become one body with it?

Will the great leap of the integral Divine Life in the individual be accomplished at last?

January 15, 1946.

THE MOTHER

Prayers and Meditations

* * *

As he grew into his larger self, Humanity framed his movements less and less, A greater being saw a greater world, A fearless will for knowledge dared to erase The lines of safety reason draws that bar Mind’s soar, soul’s dive into the Infinite.

THE NEW WORLD VIEW—Continued from page 6

East; but owing to the exigencies of the war this could not be fulfilled. The Arya except for one unfinished series has been an approach to the highest reconceived truth from the point of view of the Indian mentality and Indian spiritual experience, and Western knowledge has been viewed from that standpoint. Here the main idea which has governed our writing, was imposed on us by the very conditions of the problem. All philosophy is concerned with the relation between two things, the fundamental truth of existence and the forms in which it manifests itself to our experience. The deepest experience shows that the fundamental truth is truth of the Spirit; the other is the truth of life, truth of form and shaping force and living idea and action. . . . Our view is that the antimony created between them is an unreal one. Spirit being the fundamental truth of existence, life can be only its manifestation; Spirit must be not only the origin of life but its basis, its pervading reality and its highest and total reality. But the forms of life as they appear to us are at once its disguises and its instruments of self-manifestation. Man has to grow in knowledge till they cease to be disguises and grow in spiritual power and quality till they become in the perfection of his instruments. To grow into the fullness of the divine is the true law of human life and to shape his earthly existence into its image is the meaning of his evolution. This is the fundamental tenet of the philosophy of the Arya.

This truth had to be won out first of all from the metaphysical point of view; for in philosophy metaphysical truth is the nucleus of the rest, it is the statement of the last and most general truths on which all the others depend or in which they are gathered up. Therefore we gave the first place to The Life Divine. Here we start from the Vedantic position, the ideal ideas of the Self and mind and life, of Sacchidananda and the world of Knowledge and Ignorance, of rebirth and the Spirit. But Vedanta is popularly supposed to be a denial of life, and this is no doubt a dominant trend it has taken. Though starting from the original truth that all is the Brahman, the Self, it has insisted in the end that the world is simply not- Brahman, not-Self; it has ended in a paradox. We have attempted on the contrary to establish from its data a comprehensive Adwaita. We have shown that our life and matter are derivations from the Self through a spiritual mind or supermind which is the real support of cosmic existence and, by developing mind into that, man can arrive at the real truth of the spirit in the world and the real truth and highest law of life. The Self is Sacchidananda and there is no incorruptible antimony between that and the world; only we see the world through the eyes of the Ignorance and we have to see it through the eyes of the Knowledge. Our ignorance itself is only knowledge developing out of its involution in the apparent nonexistence of Matter and on its way to return to its conscious integrity. To accomplish that return and manifest the spiritual life in the human existence is the opportunity given by the succeedences of rebirth. We accept the truth of evolution, not so much in the physical form given to it by the West as in its philosophical truth, the involution of life and mind and spirit here in matter and their progressive manifestation. At the summit of this evolution is the spiritual life, the life divine.

It was necessary to show that these truths were not inconsistent with the old Vedantic truth, therefore we included explanations from this point of view of the Veda, two of the Upanishads and the Gita. But the Veda has been obscured by the ritualists and the scholiasts. Therefore we showed in a series of articles, initially only as yet, the way of writing of the Vedic mystics, their system of symbols and the truths they figure. Among the Upanishads we took the Iska and the Kena; to be full we should have added the Taittiriya, but it is a long one and for it we had no space. The Gita we are treating as a powerful application of truth of spirit to the largest and most difficult part of the truth of life, to action, and a way by which action can lead us to birth into the Spirit and can be harmonized with the spiritual life. Truth of philosophy is of a merely theoretical value unless it can be lived, and we have therefore tried in The Synthesis of Yogs to arrive at a systematic view of the principles and methods of the various lines of spiritual self-discipline and the way in which they can lead to an integral divine life in the human existence. But this is an individual self-development, and therefore it was necessary to show how our deal can work out in the social life of mankind. In The Psychology of Social Development, we have indicated how these truths affect the evolution of human society. In The Ideal of Human Unity, we have taken the present trend of mankind towards a closer unification and tried to appreciate its tendencies and show what is wanted to them in order that real human unity may be achieved . . . . (July, 1918).
Reedly emphasizes the meaning and method of research, and stresses that it is necessary to conduct research in universities and colleges.

To be continued from page 5

MOTHER INDIA, JANUARY 7, 1950

**UNIVERSITY REFORM**

Both the Reddy Report and the Radhakrishnan Report — the former is an expression of the needs of modern society, the latter in greater elaboration and with due emphasis — stresses the paramount need today for major educational and curricular reorganization to meet the educational problems of the modern community. The latter stresses the necessity of a modern democratic community like ours. Having seen our educational needs, we now should shoulder the responsibility for our security — and this involves, says Dr. Reddy, "upgraded preparedness from the point of view of Defence, Science, Industry and Communications, and Education." Security comprehends the physical security of our nation, the internal peace and prosperity and freedom from external aggression; hence, it cannot be afforded to be either purely literary or natively utilitarian; our energies should be directed not "haphazardly" through various channels and in no way to run out on the entire field of national life and progress. The Radhakrishnan Report further emphasizes that we must give a new direction and base to educational thought and practice from the point of view of our national life in all walks of life.

"Democracy depends for its very life on a high standard of general education. Dissemination of learning, incessant search for new knowledge, ability to use and to plumb the meaning of life, provision for professional education to satisfy the occupations and needs of our society, are the vital tasks of higher education. There must be a sufficient unity of purpose in all this diversity to produce a community of values and ideas among educated men. ... We may use various institutional forms as time, circumstances and exigencies require but we must be steadily loyal to the essential elements of democracy, freedom of belief and expression for all, to devotion to the common effort to promote human well-being, faith in reason and humanity." — from a speech by Dr. Radhakrishnan.

The sciences are dynamic, of course; but to measure movement we need a fixed frame of reference. Change has meaning only in relation to what is changing. "In all societies and at all times," says Mr. Charles Morgan, "there are those constant and variables. The constants are the culture, the religious life, the state organization of the society, its economic system, the laws of the economic system. The variables are the growth of knowledge, the rise of new ideas and trends, the increase of life, the shift of emphasis from one social group to another. The forces of change are always at work, but the constants may change the variables in all sorts of ways.

The science of education needs a fixed frame of reference. Change has meaning only in relation to what is changing. "In all societies and at all times," says Mr. Charles Morgan, "there are those constant and variables. The constants are the culture, the religious life, the state organization of the society, its economic system, the laws of the economic system. The variables are the growth of knowledge, the rise of new ideas and trends, the increase of life, the shift of emphasis from one social group to another. The forces of change are always at work, but the constants may change the variables in all sorts of ways."

...anxious to do postgraduate courses in the necessary background and still the requisite inspiration in inter-disciplinary studies is absent, even if matter is not dead... Under such conditions the motivation of a student in an advanced course on lecture course based on written text-books and to reduce the student to a more or less routine learning machine and mass production process. Initiative, up-to-dateness, originality, quest for truth, dogmatism of purpose...are at an end. Birth is always a sacred exhilarating moment whether it be the birth of a child or the birth of the King's Palace, a bird, or a bird's nest, in the material world or world of ideas. And an institution...the group of students are not consciously acting their part in the creation of culture. They have new ideas and have, so to speak, still to reach the foot of a university.

"Nor shall we run the risk of succumbing to the lure of mere academic and literary activities. The search is a special type of discipline and adventure for which all and sundry need not be equally prepared. The new academic and literary activities...is easy as it is cheap, and an impersonal posse of underpaid pedants will go to work on other soil, nurtured by the old culture and the new endowment, breathing the fresh and pure air of disinterested knowledge."

The Radhakrishnan Report therefore rightly insists that researchers, whether teachers or students, "must not be mere compilers, chroniclers or technicians, but schooled scientists who possess a broad vision of thought, imagination and ability to assimilate and integrate facts and develop a broad comprehensive view of the world of knowledge."

"The edifice of research should as a rule be reared on the secure foundations of knowledge, and hence it would not be inconsistent with research degrees. Two research degrees, the Ph.D. and the D.Sc. or the D.Fil. will be required to guarantee the guidance of a teacher or two or three years after the Master's degree, the latter obtainable on the basis of independent published work giving evidence of conspicuous distinction and originality, and to be quite sufficient for purposes of grading research achievement in all our universities. The Radhakrishnan Report records the fact that, although some pathway was made in research in the twenties, the standards were signs of a steady decline in quality, with the quantity of research at our universities not being sufficient at once, and conditions favourable to research—such as inspiring guiding teachers and laboratories and library facilities, an atmosphere free from fret and the fever of insecurity, and inspiration from distinguished fellows on a adequate scale—still not being maintained by the universities. If we fail in this urgent endeavour, our research departments will not be able to function properly and have been ripe. Such a national disaster should be prevented at all costs."
LIGHTS ON LIFE-PROBLEMS

(22)

One of our chief aims will be to provide authentic guidance in regard to the many perplexing questions with which the common man is daily confronted. This cannot be done, however, without an understanding of the spiritual and moral factors involved. It is not possible to give an adequate answer to a question without considering the question in its spiritual and moral context.

Q. 1: Modern psychology which is still either completely under the influence of the objectivist view of life or superficially subjective in some of its branches considers all subjectivism, whose very principle is to turn our understanding into human experience, as pathological and abnormal. The external reality is to us the only sure provision for human thought and action and so its advice is to be as extroverted and objective as possible. Is this not an evident exaggeration?

A. "The materialistic thinker, erecting an opposition between the extrovert and the introvert, holds up the extrovert attitude for acceptance as the only safety; to go inwards is to enter into darkness or emptiness or to lose the balance of the consciousness and become morbid; it is from outside that such inner life as one can construct is created, and its health is secured only by a strict reliance on its wholesome and nourishing outer sources,—the balance of the personal mind and life can only be secured by a firm support on external reality, for the material world is the sole fundamental reality. This may be true for the physical man, the born extrovert, who feels himself to be a child of outward Nature and dependent on her; he would lose himself if he went inward: for him there is no inner being, no inner living. But the introvert of this distinction also has not the inner life; he is not a son of the true inner self and of inner things, but the small mental man who looks superficially inside himself and sees there not his spiritual self but his life-ego, his mind-ego and becomes unhealthy preoccupied with the movements of this little pitiful creature. The idea or experience of an inner darkness when looking inwards is the first manifestation of a mentality which has lived always on the surface and has no real inner existence; it has only a constructed internal experience which depends partly on the external conditions of its being. But to those into whose composition there has entered the power of a more inner living, the movement of going within and living within brings not a darkness or dull emptiness but an enlargement, a rush of new experience, a greater vision, a larger capacity, an extended life infinitely more real and various than the first pettiness of the life constructed for itself by our normal physical human mind which is so larger and richer than any delight in existence that the outer vital man or the surface mental man can gain by their dynamic vital force and activity or subtlety and expansion of the mental existence. A silence, an entry into a wide or even immense or infinite emptiness is part of the inner spiritual experience; of this silence and void the physical mind has a certain fear, the small superficially active thinking or vital mind a shrinking from it or dislike,—for it confuses the silence with mental and vital incoherence and with cessation or non-existence: but the silence is the silence of the spirit which is the condition of a greater knowledge, power and bliss, and this emptiness is the emptying of the cup of our natural being, a liberation of it from its tormented condition so that it may be filled with the wine of God; it is the passage into no existence but to a greater existence. Even when the being turns towards cessation, it is a cessation not in non-existence but into some vast form of spiritual being or the plunge into the incommunicable superconscience of the Absolute."

Q. 2: Bertrand Russell in his book The Conquest of Happiness says, "we are all prone to the malady of the introvert, who, with the manifold spectacle of the world spread out before him, turns away and gazes upon the emptiness within." Is this not a completely misleading statement?

A. "The word 'introvert' has come into existence only recently and sounds like a companion of 'pervert'. Literally it means one who is turned inwards. The Unenhanced speaks of the doors of the senses that are turned outward and absorbing only the common man's needs (for his own sake, I suppose) and of the rare man among a million who turns his vision inwards and sees the self. Is that man an introvert? And is Russell's ideal man 'interested' externals for their own sake—a Ramanand the chef or professor of chemistry, for instance—homo externalis Russellius, an extrovert? Or is an introvert one who has an inner life stronger than the outer emotional life,—the poet, the artist, the saint? Was Beethoven in his deafness bringing out music from within him an introvert? Or does it mean one who measures external things by an inner standard and is interested in them not for 'their own sake' but for their value to the soul's self-development, its psychic, religious, ethical or other self-expression? Are Tolstoy and Gandhi externals for their own sake, if the introvert is one of internal life?"

Q. 3: Why is it so difficult for the materialist thinker to conceive substantial reality to the subjective and supersubjective order of existence?

A. "The objective and the physical order of reality is convincing to the physical or externalizing mind because it is directly obvious to the senses, while of the subjective and the supersubjective that mind has no means of knowledge except from fragments of dreams, signs and data and inferences which are at every step liable to error. Our subjective movements and inner experiences are a domain of happenings as real as any outward physical happenings; but if the individual mind can know something of its own phenomena by direct experience, it is ignorant of what happens in the consciousness of others except by analogy with its own or such signs, data, inferences as its outward observation can give it. I am therefore inwardly real to myself, but the invisible life of others has only an indirect way to me except in so far as it upsets on my own mind, life and senses. This is the limitation of the physical mind of man, and it creates in him a habit of believing everything far from the physical mind and of supposing that all does not come into accord with his own experience or his own scope of understanding or square with his own standard or sum of established knowledge."

Q. 4: In recent times this attitude of the common physical mind has been raised into a valid standard of knowledge. It has been held that all truth must be referred to the judgment of the personal mind of every man or else it must be verifiable by a common experience in order to be valid. Is not this standard quite inadequate and even false?

A. "Obviously this is a false standard of reality and of knowledge, since this means the sovereignty of the normal or average mind and its limited capacity and experience, the exclusion of what is supersubjective or beyond the average intelligence. In its extreme, this claim of the individual to be the judge of all reality is an absurdity unaccompanied with any super- or a suppression of the physical mind, in the mass a gross and vulgar error. The truth behind it is that each man has to think for himself, know for himself according to his capacity, but his judgment can be valid only on condition that he is ready to learn and not only to a larger knowledge. It is reasoned that to depart from the physical standard and the principle of personal or universal verification will lead to the gross error of subjectivism, and of doubt and of dogmatic challenge. The probability of error is no reason for refusing to attempt discovery, and subjective discovery must be pursued by a subjective method of enquiry, observation and verification; research into the supersubjective must evolve, accept and test an appropriate means and Continued on page II"
The Royal India and Pakistan Society merits distinction as the first body in England to bring out a special study of Sri Aurobindo's work, and to encourage the scientific study of his spiritual Light in the present-day world. The author of this book, Professor G. H. Langley, is a member of the Royal India and Pakistan Society. For many years he was the Professor of Philosophy and, until his retirement, the Vice-Chancellor of Dacca University. There is also a short and concise Foreword to the book, which is a preface to the purpose of the book and a sympathetic and thorough understanding of the main purpose and principles behind Sri Aurobindo's spiritual development. Indeed it is probable that Lord Zedelton, as the President of the Society, possessing as he does the rare quality of combining an authoritative knowledge of Indian affairs and culture with the power of his own traditional thinking, has in his own Sri Aurobindo's comprehensive exposition of the divine destiny of human life, and the great powers of the Life Divine, can readily be approached through the great traditional channels of the Veda and the Upanishads, the Gita and the main principles of Yoga divine. Sri Aurobindo's work is thus very truly open to the average westerner. For him the ancient spirituality of the East is a strange uncharted sea, which appears to be full of heterogenous beliefs and other worldly visions. Such an attitude is largely the result of the two centuries of desiccation and decay, the way of his possible understanding. Firstly there is the constricted and conditioned way of life, which has clung exclusively to the Greek-Hebrew cultural root and a source of knowledge. And secondly there is the barrier of the contemporary West, which is perpetuated by the overwhelming development of science and materialism, which sees only the outer forms and processes as the sole reality. Hence the inner and intellectual spheres which lie beyond our ordinary sensory awareness, have been relegated to the realm of fantasy, imagination or merely the abnormal. It is a good indication, however, of the new attitude of the contemporary West, that these limiting barriers of the mind are being broken down, with the consequent realisation that other sources of knowledge exist in a new and balanced way of life and harmony to modern life.

Sri Aurobindo: Poet, Philosopher and Mystic
By G. H. Langley (David Marlowe Ltd. London).

The opening chapter of the book gives a brief biographical sketch, starting with the main events in Sri Aurobindo's life. There is sufficient data here to relate to the facts already known about how even Sri Aurobindo's early life, through the current nationalistic movement of that day, was a preparation for his revelation of the Divine Reality and Spirit. His mind and heart, naturally have been superhuman for the present study to give more than an outline of Sri Aurobindo's life, when we already have a full and ample biography by Dr. E. R. Sri-Chandrasekheran. What is lacking here is clearly written and adheres to the facts. In the succeeding chapters Prof. Langley enters on the metaphysical thought of Sri Aurobindo, and in particular as it unfolds itself in The Life Divine. It is, however, only the foundation, only a mental and spiritual preparation of that work, rather than the full integral height which is here presented. But it is quite enough for the present study—especially for the Western seeker spiritual and Knowledge.

Among the most interesting arguments which Prof. Langley brings forward, is the chapter which shows the reality of Sri Aurobindo's thought as against that of the current western philosophy and outlook, which is advancing as examining the work of Russell's most recent work. Thus Russell's statement that "whatever can be known, can be known by means of science" places rather a heavy strain on the present scientific methods, even with those who are modern reformers. For this can be very true, as reduction to scientific and knowledge, when science will stretch its boundaries to include spirituality as a subject for scientific research—regardless of course the conditions laid down by established spiritual truths. It is clearly, however, that the whole basis of Russell's philosophy rests solely on the acceptance of Reason as the ultimate criterion of Knowledge and Truth. It is natural, therefore, that to the modern mind, which accepts Reason as the absolute law, and the limit of human understanding, such things for example as aesthetic appreciation and ethical values (not to mention any higher spiritual truths) will appear to belong wholly to the feelings, and lie beyond the pale of rational thought as well as of universal science—since such values belong primarily to personal experience. To be universally valid, they must become capable of being tested by rational thought; such is the rule and condition which Reason has set to itself. But spiritual Truths can equally well be tested by intellectual criticism, observation and reasoned enquiry. This is clearly shown in the whole presentation of The Life Divine, where the highest Spiritual Truths are not given just as a matter of blind acceptance, but are built up on a basis of rational argument. As an example of the methods of science, knowledge, however, where one can take the approach of the scientific method of playing the recognized methods of science, knowledge, it is necessary to follow the conditions laid down by a long succession of path-finders throughout the ages. And this, of course, is the whole secret of the modern mind in its approach to spirituality.

It is a significant feature of Langley's text that it constantly indicates the need of God's guidance, and of our utter surrender to His Will. By holding in this age of so much and blind rationalism there is all the greater need for the Presence and Reality of God to be openly declared. Thus spiritual and the Western seeker spiritual and Knowledge.

—He Who is the Ground and Support of all things. This central conception of a One Omnipresent Reality, as Sri Aurobindo has so convincingly proven to the west, must be a reality. He has also indicated the direction in which these Greater Truths can be found, even in the present-day world.

Sri Aurobindo's Poetry
The very last chapter of the book is devoted to the poetical works of Sri Aurobindo, as represented in "The Bard of the Mind and Man." After traversing the steep intellectual and metaphysical thought, and the fog created by our own mental formulations, it is refreshing to come at last to the pure living breath of the Spirit, as embodied in that poetical utterance. It is fitting that Prof. Langley has quoted copiously from the poems, for it is only the word-utterance itself that can really convey to us the true spiritual expression which is characteristic of all Sri Aurobindo's poetry. Such poetry in particular must be read—and re-read—rather than simply studied. An easy facility in primary serves to introduce the reader to the real living expression. It is a joy to listen to the true musical intonation of the poet; to the sound of the words and the flow of the language, for them lies the true music and soul of the utterance. English being a natural and lively language, the poetical expression, it is apt to appreciate that the first appreciation of Sri Aurobindo's poetry can only come from England—should come from England. But the case is not so bad, for it is the case that this poetry will also meet with success in England, and counter the false pride of English literature. In conclusion on page 12.

(Continued on page 12)
LIGHTS ON LIFE-PROBLEMS

(Continued from page 9)

methods other than those by which one examines the constituents of physical objects and the processes of Energy in material Nature.

"To refuse to enquire upon any general ground preconceived and a priori is an obscurantism as prejudicial to the extension of knowledge as the religious obscurantism which opposed in Europe the extension of scientific discovery. The greatest inner discoveries, the experience of self-being, the cosmic consciousness, the inner calm of the liberated spirit, the direct effect of mind upon mind, the knowledge of things by consciousness in direct contact with other consciousness or with its objects, most spiritual experiences of any value, cannot be brought before the tribunal of the common mentality which has no experience of these and takes its own absence or incapacity of experience as a proof of their invalidity or their non-existence. Physical truth or formulas, generalisations, discoveries founded upon physical observation can be so referred, but even there a training of capacity is needed before one can truly understand and judge; it is not every untrained mind that can follow the mathematics of relativity or other difficult scientific truths or judge of the validity either of their result or their process. All reality, all experience must indeed, to be held as true, be capable of verification by a same or similar experience; so, in fact, all men can have a spiritual experience and can follow it out and verify it in themselves, but only when they have acquired the capacity or can follow the inner methods by which that experience and verification are made possible. It is necessary to dwell on these obvious and elementary truths because the opposite ideas have been sovereign in a recent period of human mentality—they are now only receding—and have stood in the way of the development of a vast domain of possible knowledge. It is of supreme importance for the human spirit to be free to sound the depths of inner or subliminal reality, of spiritual and of what is still superconscious reality, and not to immune itself in the physical mind and its narrow domain of objective external solidities; for in that way alone can there come liberation from the Ignorance in which our mentality dwells and a release into a complete consciousness, a true and integral self-realisation and self-knowledge."

K. G.

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SOME PERSONAL REFLECTIONS ON INDIA'S RECOGNITION OF RED CHINA

By “THINKING INDIAN”

As far as India is concerned, the recognition of Red China is a fait accompli. It has been avowed by some that this recognition was unavoidable. The tone in which the case was made was that of a “realist,” a realist attitude towards the problem. This means in simple language that it was politic to ignore the obvious fact that Mao’s regime was set up by Moscow in order to have a firm operating base in Asia, and to deliberately overlook the equally obvious fact that this regime represents the people of China. When the American Press showed astonishment at the fact that India so forcefully put down Communism within her own doors should show such acumen in supporting it in China, they were promptly answered by saying that the two were quite separate issues—that the subversive activities of the Indian Communists necessitated the taking of strong measures against them, whilst the problem in China was “the flowers that bloom in the spring,” which have nothing to do with the case—that there were no grounds for believing that Stalin plays the tune to which his sazaju Mao dances. To talk like a Chinsaman on matters Chinese may be pardonable when it is difficult to see one’s way clearly, but it is certainly not realist. If it is, then it is of the same breadth that refused the Cripps Proposals, strengthened Jinnah’s hand, left to the final division of the country, and refused to help Britain in fighting Hitler. This brand of realism is notorious for its lack of vision and its weak grasp of fundamentals. It is indeed strange that you cannot believe that the high officials of a foreign government should be put down when they create trouble in his country, but that when they do the same in another country and capture power their actions should be condoned and their Party recognised as representative of the people. It is like raising Cain when someone leaves away with your own wife, but giving gib political explanations à la Freud and being “realistic” when you see him running away with your neighbour. May one very pointedly ask those “realists” what their attitude would have been towards Soviet Russia if Stalin, instead of handing over to Mao the military equipment of one million tons, captured from the Japanese, had given it to the Communists in India, and what their reaction would have been if the equipment which was part of this equipment had been used to blow up New Delhi, Calcutta and other important centres making the leaders run for shelter to Tibet? If someone had thus remarked to one of the escaping leaders, “Come, come, sir, be realistic. The Communist Party in India represents the people, because it happens to be the Party in power,” what would the leader have replied? These are questions which the Chinese Nationalist Foreign Minister Dr. George Yeh should have asked.

It is a question America and Britain have to answer now. From the way things are moving it is not very difficult to guess what Britain’s final decision will be. They can talk with Britain. Whether she will rise to the occasion and stand up for the ideals for which she so valiantly fought only recently, or whether she will become prone to a psychological regression and come out once again as a nation of shop-keepers with one eye peeled for the other makes a thing time already is running. It is imperative for her to realise that this time the stakes are even higher than they were last time, and that Stalin is even more dangerous than Hitler. Hitler, with his Cossack-bombing was the dog of the devil gone mad; Stalin, with his underground prowling in the very bowels of the world, his mask of bonhomie hiding his monophrone propensities, is verily the devil himself posing as the benefactor of the human race and the champion of the under-dog. America can be relied upon to stand firm and make all efforts within its reach to checkmate Stalinism in Asia as she has so ably done in Europe.

As far as India is concerned, the deed is done; but she must now be alert and fully prepared to face the consequences of opening her flanks to Communist infiltration. Soviet Russia will now have a firm foothold here in a region which will constitute an effective barrier against cultural decomposition by India by Communism. A greater effort than ever before will be made to thwart her God-denying ideology down the throats of the Indian people. It has been noticed that not only the uneducated but also the half-educated are very acceptable to the influence of Marxism. Of course the hand-buffed practical realists are not worried about these things. “After all, what does all this transcendent nonsense amount to? Your God-realisation, your spiritual rebirth, and mukti” they declare. Of course to them these are only words that have their existence in a dictionary which is lying on somebody else’s table. With the hauteur of a grand seigneur they question, “What has all this to do with life? Let us be secular, modern politicians, and forget about spiritual values, does not seem to matter to them at all. No doubt one cannot expect a thyrnus-bearer to talk like a mystic, or an “up-to-date modern” Indian to know the difference between slavemadness and dialectical materialism, but one does not have to be a see to see through the game of world-domination played by Soviet Russia. Only “thick aerea opacity, thinner than amnesia” can veil this truth from men’s eyes. In this connection I would like to quote the sentiment Russian philosopher-mathematician, Ouspensky. He writes in A New Model of the Universe:

“The men of logical mind who demands proofs for everything, at the present time, for instance, looks for the cause of the world economic and political crisis everywhere except where it actually lies. And even if he were told that the causes of the crisis in the existence of the Soviet Government in Russia, and in the recognition and support of the government by other governments, he would never understand it. He would have to think in a certain way and he is unable to think differently. For him the bolsheviks are a ‘political party’ like any other party, and the Soviet Government is a ‘government’ like any other government. He is unable to see that this is a new phenomenon different from anything he knew before. Where are the proofs of this? he would ask. And he will never see that this needs no proofs. Just as no proofs are needed of the inevitability appearance of the plague, so the proof of so many governments in his house when there is a plague in the house opposite against which no steps whatever have been taken is as good a proof as the proofs of bolshevism, as though plague can give up ‘propaganda’ and as though negotiations and treaties and ‘pacts’ with plague were possible."

These words are worth bearing in mind when Soviet issues come up for discussion.

Regarding the repercussions of India’s recognition of Red China on Asia, Dr. Yeh very emphatically said, “It must now be clear to the democratic world that this regime is only a creation of a foreign power. It lacks not only many of the attributes of a sovereign State but also the spontaneous support of the greater majority of the Chinese people. This act of the Indian Government will no doubt contribute to the further spread of Communism in Asia and the Pacific area.” What Dr. Yeh says is perfectly true, for as so many of Mao’s followers will get settled in India, we shall have more Communist propaganda and more underground work, more subversive activity, more dislocation of essential services, more discontent in the country, more arrests and imprisonments, and the next day more speeches on “moral force and ahimsa” from the orators.

BOOKS IN THE BALANCE (Continued from page 10)

This has, at least in the past, created the difficulty of accepting English poetry written outside England, especially from the remote-seeming East, as being at all representative of the poetry written there. The late Prof. Langley’s chapter, brief though it is, admirably takes this into consideration, and invites us to read Sri Aurbindo’s poetry, not as an alien expression, but as the intimate and eternal yearning of the human soul seeking for Perfection and the Divine Reality—a universal expression which entirely breaks the bounds of petty personal nationalism. In the brevity and conciseness of his presentation Langley has concentrated the thought of Aurbindo’s, poetical development from his earliest published works of 1899 to the purely spiritual poetry published up to 1941. He ends by quoting in full that superb poem The Rose of God.

We must note that Sri Aurbindo’s major poetical work Sant Nirali has apparently appeared too late—too late to paricipate in the Aurbindo’s work, and is not only the present study, but of course this epic, of which the first three Books only have so far been published, is not yet completely published. Only a hint of the magnitude and sublime grandeur of what the complete Sant Nirali will be like has thus far been given to us. But certainly enough of Sant Nirali’s work has already been published to establish him as a true Footh Master—as well as being a very skillful and resourceful writer, he assures us.

N. PEARSON

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