THOUGHTS ON THE FUTURE OF KOREA

In Korea the corner has perhaps not been definitely turned yet by the U.N. forces. The fight around Pusan is bitter and the North Koreans are still pressing upon the Americans in various sectors with a view to throwing them into the sea or boxing them up on the south coast. But General MacArthur's army has put a brake on the Communist advance in several places and is even actively piercing the North Korean lines at certain important points. At least the avowed Communist plan to liquidate the South Korean government by August 15 has failed and many reasonably predict that the G.I.'s will slowly roll back the aggressors. The time, therefore, is not unripe for asking: When the G.I.'s reach the 38th Parallel, will this cartographer's-term have any validity? What will be the future of Korea?

Truman and the 38th Parallel

At the commencement of hostilities America's undertakings to carry out the Security Council's resolutions against North Korea was understood as police action to restore the status quo ante. In other words, there was to be no crossing of the 38th Parallel, no occupation of North Korean territory. Unless unforeseen circumstances take a hand in the matter, compelling a change of decision, we may suppose that Truman will stick to the terms of this interpretation. But let us realise clearly that there are certain conditions which must be fulfilled to give these terms their true meaning. Just to drive back the North Korean army beyond the old line of demarcation could never be the aim of the Herculean labour accepted by the Americans in those first few days when South Korea seemed as good as lost. A mere going home of the army that has defied the Security Council and relentlessly pursued in its ambition to over-run the whole of Korea would be a ridiculous finale to the music America took upon herself to face. If North Korea remains in any position to hide time for a second attack, the war will have been fought in vain. If its army retreats in fairly good shape and can be reorganised in the future, there will be a perilous inconclusiveness in the whole campaign of saving South Korea from the heel of Communist tyranny. The Northern army must be completely broken and whatever of it escapes slaughter or capture must unconditionally surrender. Not a vestige of the military machine must survive in North Korea. That is the first indispensable condition. And it is not without an eye to this condition that Northern industrial targets have been ceaselessly plastered from the air.

The second sine qua non is that those in power in the North should admit the U.N. Commission within their borders. The 38th Parallel was never intended to be a permanent line of division. It was a temporary arrangement during the surrender of Japan: Japanese troops north of this latitude were to lay down their arms to the Russians, those south of it to the Americans. A short occupation of the northern territory by the Russians and of the southern by the Americans was to follow. But the real aim was all along to unify the country by a democratic plebiscite. When the Russians sought to convert the provisional dividing line into an Iron Curtain and the prospect of an overall plebiscite began to fade, the U.N. was called in. South Korea allowed the U.N.'s Commission to supervise its elections and to see that they were not "rigged", but North Korea refused to hold any truck with this international body and imposed the Communist Party's rule at the point of the bayonet. Even the withdrawal of the Occupation troops was done without letting the U.N. representatives confirm it. We had international testimony that the Americans had quitted Korea: there was no acceptable evidence that the Russians had left. As soon as Kim Il-sung's forces have been rendered innocuous said his government has capitulated, the accredited U.N. Commission must take charge of all North Korea and ensure that a free plebiscite is held over the entire Korean peninsula with a view to uniting the country under a popularly chosen government. Unless this is agreed to and the original post-war objective of Korean unification by democratic means is reacknowledged, Truman would not be obliged to halt at the 38th Parallel. The status quo ante can signify nothing more than that an American military occupation of North Korea would not take place and that the dividing line will remain in force as a temporary measure as it originally was meant to be. There is no implication here that a Communist armed dictatorship will continue or that the North and the South will not be democratically unified under the eyes of the U.N. Commission. If such an absurd and frustrating implication is attempted to be read, MacArthur will be fully justified in marching right over the 38th Parallel up to the Manchurian border and within easy aircraft-range of Vladivostok.

Stalin and the U.N. Commission

Will Stalin allow the U.N. Commission to operate over the North no less than the South? Well, if he does not, the only alternative before him is to permit MacArthur's presence close to the Soviet frontier. Truman's immediate acceptance of the Communist challenge in Korea has shown the spirit of American democracy is made of. Never did the Kremlin dream that the terrible hazards of helping South Korea would be heroically faced by the G.I.'s. Stalin has been forced to sit up and take notice of Truman's readiness to meet him anywhere in the world. Unless he wants an atomic holocaust for which his Russia, for all her might and malice, certainly be out-bombed and in the end go the way of Hitler's Germany because of her inferiority both in atomic stock-piles and in economic resources, he will think a dozen times before venturing to interfere in Korea after the Northern forces have met their doom.

And he will most probably desert from a global armed commitment because of one other sign of strength displayed by Truman: the decision to defend Formosa. Panicky thinkers have again and again pointed at this last stronghold of Nationalist China and deplored Truman's despach of the Seventh Fleet to guard it from invasion by Mao's Reds. They have explained: "Truman is going beyond the need of the moment and dangerously provoking Red China. If Red China undertakes to invade Formosa and comes into conflict with the American Navy, Russia will be bound by treaty obligations to enter the fray and then the whole world's fat will be in the fire! Not Korea but Formosa is the danger-spot from which World War III will issue." The truth, however, is that Truman's prompt answer to the strategic necessity of neutralising Formosa while the Korean battle is in progress is a gesture whose boldness as well as foresight has taken Stalin's and Mao's breath away. It plainly means that, on top of having a sharp military vision, he is not in the least afraid of the risk of a global conflagration if by taking that risk the Communist master-plan of world-conquest can be upset at the very start. It clearly argues that, whatever the initial flourishes of a victorious stride by Russia's land colonisation towards the Atlantic Channel ports or of a triumphant swamping of Mao's millions across South-East Asia, there is no doubt in Truman's mind on the final upshot. His decision about Formosa, therefore, is one of the strongest deterrents against Russia's world-extension, a most effective quarrel against the destructive flames preparing to leap out of the Kremlin, a really potent factor in localising the Korean clash and impressing on Stalin's mind the prudence of non-interference with any work by the U.N. Commission for the future of all Korea.
THE COMMUNIST OFFENSIVE IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA A SURVEY AND STOCK-TAKING

BY MALCOLM MACDONALD

The following is the text of a talk broadcast a short while ago by the Commissioner-General for the United Kingdom in South-East Asia over Radio Malaya.

It is more than two years since the Russian penetration of all the non-marxist international Communist forces was deemed a vigorous offensive upon Asia. They did it at a time when British influence in the Western world had just received a severe thrashing. The non-communist nations of Western Europe and North America organized themselves in their Aldin line but firm resistance to the monstrous spread of Russian imperialism and Communism across Europe was paid and in its tracks ever since.

Naturally the tyrants in Moscow did not like this. They do not at once switched their part of their restless energies towards British objectives in Burma. They sought to continue in the East the anti-British spirit which is still a standstill in the West. So a Communist offensive in Asia began.

Co-Ordinated Plan

Communist armies in China pushed southwards from the northern regions in which they were operating towards the limits of their conquest. Communist conspirators in India sought to overthrow Pandit Nehru's Government by violent industrial and political action. The Communists in Indo-China battled up through the overlords. The Communist Party in Burma began an organized offensive. The terrorists in Malaya launched a campaign of banditry and murder. Communist leaders in the Philippines openly defied the forces of the Republic Government of Indonesia.

It was two years ago. The outbreaks occurred more or less simultaneously. There was no accident, but the result of a co-ordinated plan, originating in Moscow and communicated to the local leaders of Communist in the various countries.

You will note two things about this Communist offensive. First, it is not a new attack on the great cause of Asian political freedom. On the contrary, the communism opposes the desire of the Asian peoples to be independent, sovereign nations governing their own affairs. For example, the Indians of India strive ceaselessly to overthrow Pandit Nehru's Government. The Communists in Indonesia conspire to defeat President Soekarno's free Government of Indonesia. In the same way, the Communists in Manchuria seek to destroy the powerful but hopeful endeavour to create here a free, united Malayan nation which alaid in due course be self-governing.

Alliance to Moscow

The fact is that the Communists throughout South Asia do not owe their primary allegiance to their own countries. It is to foreign Communist powers. Their victory would spell the subservience of their countries to an alien government, in the same way as the Communists in Poland, Czecho-slovakia and other countries in Eastern Europe have made their countries slave nations.

We are witnessing in the world today a resurgence of Russian imperialism which now spreads itself across the earth. This historical phenomenon has appeared periodically during recent centuries. The only difference now is that it masquerades under the facade of a benevolent and peace-loving Government. Instead of being Taars, the leaders are Commissars. Instead of preaching the Gospel of the Russian Revolution, their holy scripture is the Great Communist. Their agents throughout the world are the official Communist "fifth-column" in every land. The terrorists in Malaya are the running dogs of this Russian imperialism.

The second thing to note about them and their friends is this: it would be quite unnecessary for them to try to overthrow existing Governments in Southern Asia by force, if they had but a voluntary desire for Communism. Did such a thing exist, the Communist forces of life could come in these countries by peaceful, constitutional, voluntary or revolutionary means. It is only because the populations of all these countries feel no desire to participate in Communism that the local Communists, assisted by their Russian allies, have to try to impose their wishes by violence.

Recourse to Arms

Russian technique in these situations follows the same pattern all over the world. The Communist minority in a country stirs up the mass from within against the Government, and protests from Moscow and elsewhere per- ments the affair as a national uprising of the local people. The Russian leaders and their friends hope that the effort will make such progress that it is worth while for foreign Communists to intervene, to give such aid in arms and men as ensures victory. That is what they expected to happen in Burma, Indo-China, Malaya and other South-East Asian countries.

At this point let me make a general comment on the present situation. The situation in South-East Asia has been deeply disappointing to all of us. The Communist minority in these countries should suffer the disaster and danger brought to them by Communist instigation. It is a matter of concern that in several countries, in particular Malaya, the outlaws have not been suppressed. We must not attempt to minimise the seriousness of that fact. But at the same time it is revealing sometimes to study the situation through the enemy's eyes, to get a glimpse of his hopes and fears. And certainly, if the turn of events in South-East Asia has been disappointing to us, it is probably even more disappointing to the Communist leaders.

They have gained, of course, one victory in Asia of gigantic importance. Almost the whole mainland of China, with its multitudinous peoples, is under Communist control. They have advanced to the borders of Southern Asia. But beyond that they are still required to overcome much more defenses than victories. The Communists have established control no southern China, and have set their sights on the Hainan Island area. But in the countries of South-East Asia they have met a more determined resistance than they hoped for.

Important Gateways

Let me tell you what has happened recently in South-East Asian countries.

Malaysia. First let me mention the fact that the Communists in both Burma and Indo-China. They are extremely important, for they lie on the eastern frontier with the British Empire. If truly Communists from the North wished to influence in a major way in South-East Asia the Colombo Basin is one gateway and Indo-China and Indonesia are other thoroughfares which might enter. If these gateways are firmly secured against penetration, then the whole of South-East Asia is better protected. But if these gateways fall under Communist assault, the way would be open for Red progress towards Siam and Thailand and Indonesia.

That is why local Communists in Burma and Indo-China have made such strenuous efforts to prevent the Governments in these countries from assuming the task of putting Communist dom in Mosov and elsewhere have given tremendous publicity to their threat, to perpetually harass the Communist parties.

What, in fact, has been happening to those two countries in recent months? I have visited them both lately, and studied the situations on the spot. I can tell you that in each during the last few months the Communists in Burma and Indo-China have garrulously lost ground, supporters and prestige.

Stirr in Burma

Consider Burma first. Since early 1948 the Communists have maintain- ed an armed revolt against the Burmese Government. They would have had little success if other critics of the Government had not staged separate uprisings of their own. In this war of terror, the Karens of Burma are fighting believing that this would help them towards their aim of an autonomous Karen State within the Burmese Union. The Karens are not Com- munist, and are led solely by anti-Communist, and could probably be counted upon to oppose any serious Communist attack.

Nevertheless, their rebellion in- creased the alarm, which for the Government could not exert its full military strength against the Communists and at the same time fight the Karens. So the Com- munist leaders were able to continue their struggle longer than would other- wise have been the case. A sort of stalemate developed, with the Gov- ernment in authority over most of Burma, but the Communists virtu- ally controlling some important areas in the north and the Karens controlling others. I will not discuss the situation at the begin- ning of this year.

Since then the Government has been striking severe blows under British command. They inflicted a defeat on the Karens, driving them from strongholds which they held on territory ceded to Mandalay. The Government forces, together with the Karens, have taken control of the railway lines and communication links through the Karens, and the Karen forces in the region have re- treated into the hills.

Awards the Government turning full force against the local Com- munists, who occupied Prome on the Irrawaddy, has forced the Communists back to the north of the Irrawaddy valley. The Communists from Prome to the Burmese con- tinued to attack under local Com- mission orders. This would be of vital importance to the Government and especially to the British Empire.

In Indonesia, considerable success has been achieved recently. There is even a possibility that the Communist leaders and Communists may start to use the dispute between the Government and the Communist leader.

The strife in Burma is probably not by means ended. Doubtless the Communist leaders will attempt a come-back. The situation is fluid, with fortunes liable to shift this way and that. But the time being at least the Communists are weakened.

Retreat in Indo-China

What has been happening during the same period in Indo-China? There too, for many months, the Communists have been retreat- ing.

There are three States in Indo- China—Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos—all hitherto governed by a French Administration. In each there is a nationalist movement, seeking to achieve self-government. For several months now, the Vietnamese in Viet-Nam, the most populous and wealthy of the three, have been agitating. The Nationalists in Viet-Nam are divided between two opposing political camps. One is led by Ho Chi Minh, the well-known Moscow-trained Communist. If he had his way, Indo-China would be freed from French control only to fall under the heel of Russia. The other camp is led by Bao Dai, the last Emperor of Vietnam, who has been growing more and more firmly held than it was before.

The other part of the nationalist movement is led by Bao Dai. He wishes his countrymen to be free from either Colonial rule by the French or Russian rule by the Russians. However, knowing that a small nation by itself in this dange- rous world would be helpless, he wishes Indo-China to maintain a friendly and mutually beneficial partnership which the nations in the British Commonwealth maintain with Britain. In fact, if he has his way Indo-China will be completely free, with good Government.

Communist propaganda represents the Communist National Leader, supported by 90 per cent of the Indo-Chinese people. It describes Bao Dai as a craven pup- pet with no support at all. Luckily in Malaya we know how little we need to fear Communist propaganda. We know how it distorts the truth about Malaya. Its picture of Indo- China is just as viciously misleading.

Hoa's Prestige Damaged

It is true that Ho Chi Minh once received the support of a large majority of the Indo-Chinese, who considered him a hero or anti- foreign, but that view of him is changing. Let me tell you the surprising developments of the year. I myself have had the best evidence of these changes during two visits to Indo-China.

First, French troops and Bao Dai's forces. The situation in Indo-China is just as viciously misleading.
भारत माता
मदर सिंहा! हिंदी पत्रिका ::
: : सितम्बर २, १९५०.

भारत माता

मदर सिंहा! हिंदी पत्रिका :
: : सितम्बर २, १९५०.

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: : सितम्बर २, १९५०.
"अगर तू जरा हो"

भाषण के भाग में होने वाले प्रेमी दुर्गा जी पर विश्वासियाँ के लिए स्वतंत्र
शिक्षा विषय का अनुसरण अंतर्गत उन्नती का समर्थन कर रही थीं। उन्होंने लिखा था—

"भाषण हो" माता पुनः पुनः सुनकर उनके अनुगमन में प्रेक्षण दिखाना लगी थी। उन्होंने लिखा था—

"उन्होंने विश्वास दिखाना दिखाया। उन्होंने लिखा था—

"उन्होंने विश्वास दिखाना दिखाया। उन्होंने लिखा था—

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"उन्होंने विश्वास दिखाना दिखाया। उन्होंने लिखा था—
एक फिल्म, एक संगीतकार और एक नेटवर्क नहीं। कोई भी तरह का निर्माण नहीं। अमीर कुलदीप कुमार ने एक दिन और एक दिन के साथ नए सहयोगियों से नए मात्रेजों का साथ दिलाया।

मातृभाषा से आंदोलित "हार्ढर इंडिया" सुप्लीमेंट के प्रचार का समर्थन करने के लिए उन्होंने इस प्रकार की तलाश की।

"ताज मां की कहानियां"

[है कहानियां इतिहास के मूल एवं तितो, जैसे हमारे पास उनकी बौद्धि से अनेक अनूठी ताज मां की कहानियां हैं जो हमें भरो और आकर्षित करती हैं।]

ताज मां की कहानीः जिसके द्वारा अपनी मां की कहानी बताती है।
भी आरम्भिकता
ब्रह्मांडलाल जी विवाद

महजुब का कविता कुछ दम तो हुआ है, उसका अन्तर्भाषण भी आज तक में फिरता है। इसके पौर्णिम का कविता जी हो, उसके नायक और नायिक का जीवन करण निकता है। उन्हें एक विशेष बच्चनेंका संबंध में जीता है। हार्यसागर के दो विशेष विवाहों का एक, भीमसेन विवाह का एक, और भीमसेन के एक है। महजुब का कविता, जिसमें यह दर्शित होता है के हार्यसागर के दो विवाहों का एक, भीमसेन विवाह का एक, और भीमसेन के एक है।

महजुब का विवाह का कविता जी हो, उसके नायक और नायिक का जीवन करण निकता है। उन्हें एक विशेष बच्चनेंका संबंध में जीता है। हार्यसागर के दो विवाहों का एक, भीमसेन विवाह का एक, और भीमसेन के एक है।

भी आरम्भिकता अन्तर्भाषण ब्रह्मांडलाल जी विवाद
VILLAGE PANCHAYAT

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT AND MODERN DEMOCRACY

By B. C. SEN

Secretary, The Unity Party

Inaugurating the Conference of Local Bodies in Bombay, Mr. G. V. Mavlankar, the Speaker of the Union Parliament, observed: "Municipal government can inspire in the man in the street an enthusiasm and love for self-government. He cannot be fed for all times on aloes and rose pictures of swaraj." Yet he noticed apathy on the part of politically minded people towards the work of local bodies. Mr. S. K. Patil, Mayor of Bombay, gathering experience from his foreign tour, said in Paris: "I have a strong belief that the system of Parliamentary democracy, if it is allowed to die, the roots go deep, that is in local self-government which must exist in villages as well as in towns and cities." But though the new constitution of India provides for the formation of village panchayats, and the provinces have proceeded to organize them, their importance is not generally appreciated to the extent it ought to be.

For one reason, the working of these panchayats has not been very happy in the past; they were only in name self-governing bodies, they really served as departments of the government with some machinery of electing or nominating popular representatives to serve as unpaid agents of the government. In this respect, there has not been any substantial change in the new panchayats. But the list of the works they have to do has been increased and they have been given more powers of local taxation. How far the panchayats are merely subordinate departments of the government was well illustrated recently in Madras. The Inspector of Local Bodies in Madras, in his report, observed that the powers delegated to him by the State Government included a notice alleging that the majority party in the Godavari Panchayat Board launched prosecutions indiscriminately against the members of the opposite party and involved the Board in wasteful lawsuits. Therefore, the Board was instructed to perform the functions vested in it, and called upon the Panchayat Board to show cause why it should not be superseded.

True Local Self-government and the Present Situation

Ancient Indian Panchayats have been aptly compared to republics; certainly a Board which can be thus superseded by the fiat of a Government Inspector of Boards cannot be likened to a sovereign democracy. Indeed the conception of local self-government in the minds of our present-day politicians is derived from the West, especially from Britain. As the distinction is very important, we quote here the pertinent remarks made by Dr. Radhakumud Mukerji in the Introduction of his scholarly studies on Local Government in Ancient India: "In bringing out this contrast between the tendencies of Indian and Western politics and political thought it is not meant that the Indian administrations leave no room for local government or that there is no place for the autonomous local and municipal bodies. In England, for instance, the aggregate of parish councils, district councils, and county councils happens to be, in magnitude and influence, the highest local government body, in all but name Department put together. In these advanced countries the local bodies between them spend more money, undertake more enterprises, employ more officials, and legislate more extensively than the central government. In exile and representation all local governments are mostly the creation of the central government; that these local bodies owe their present form and constitution to a process of decentralisation, delegation, or devolution of powers determined by the national legislature, they are thus in the ultimate analysis but wheels of a common machine, parts of a single plant, and are not by any means 'extra-legal' associations, devoid of any statutory warrant, and, therefore, in the eye of the law, possessed of no authority whatsoever.

In respect of local self-government as it developed in India, however, we shall find that the Indian institutions are practically sui generis, representing a type which may be sharply distinguished from the corresponding institutions in modern countries. The fundamental difference is that, while, in the latter case, the state, as a fully developed and completely constituted body, consciously creates autonomous centres within itself by devolution and diminution of its own functions, in the former case the communal institutions, guilds, and local bodies have an independent origin and growth out of fluid and incipient conditions of tribal life and organization. When the state comes to oversee or be supersedes these, it has to be done from a point of view of equality and recognize their pre-existing rights by conventions and agreements which operate as charters regulating their mutual relations. Thus the varied interests of the communal life, such as judicial, civic, commercial, or industrial, are administered by the voluntary cooperation of independent and integral units of a common body politic.

Thus it will be seen that the Constitution that has been framed for India has completely missed the true nature of the situation which is to be met by the panchayats. The Village Panchayats are being created and regulated in every detail by laws made by the central and state governments, and the Constitution itself has been expressly modeled on the Western Parliamentary system which is wholly unsuitable to the peculiar conditions in India. The aim was at first to frame a federal Constitution for India giving the fullest autonomy to the provinces, but the Western tendency towards centralization proved too strong for our constitution-makers, and provincial autonomy in theory, and even more in practice, has been reduced to nullity. No wonder then, in a recent speech, Mr. A. L. Mudiali remarked in the Madras Legislative Council, "The other day, the Finance Minister complained against too much interference from the Union. When I had raised that point during the discussion on the draft Constitution in the Council here, the members of the Treasury Bench were furious with me. And what is the result today? The Finance Minister himself says there is no independence at all for this Ministry, and that they are being treated as if they were a local body. I say, they are treated even worse than local bodies."

That is the situation in India today, the central government is jealously gathering all power into its own hands, the States are worse than local bodies, and the latter have not got self-government at all. If such powers were consistent in their measures, it would be impossible for the Board to function in the manner it has. The Board was instructed to perform the functions vested in it, and called upon the Panchayat Board to show cause why it should not be superseded.

The Disasters of Overcentralization

From this description of the difference between Indian and Western Polity, it will be apparent that the new Constitution has followed the Western ideal, completely ignoring the Indian. Indeed the makers of the Constitution took into consideration only the Western practice, and this was best in western institutions, but no one ever made any reference to ancient Indian Polity. It is not our contention that the ancient Indian Polity should be revived in all its details, or that we should adopt
The Burma rice is in need of clothing, while we need rice. Rice is available in abundance in Burma, Indian textiles can easily be bartered for rice. If instead of following the arbitrary policy of self-sufficiency in food, Burma pays more attention to industrial development, she can import all the food she needs to meet her deficiency. Such a policy will improve the living standard of her people. Then the idea that this vast country must be governed in every detail from the Centre must be given up. This unfortunate policy has not yet been realized by our leaders. They see that things are not going well, but fail to see that the remedy is more power for the Centre and not less. Thus Mr. K. M. Munshi recently observed during the debate on food in the Parliament: "Under the present administration of the Ministry of Agriculture, we cannot pull up any State with regard to its procurement performance." It cannot say a word as to how the Grow More Food Campaign in the States is progressing. The Centre has the maximum of responsibility, but in many instances, on the admission of the Food Minister himself, the Central Ministry of Agriculture is impotent. But why keep this Ministry at all? The Centre is taking the lion's share of the revenues and taxes, and giving aids to the provinces; thus the Centre cannot exercise its sovereignty. In accepting financial aid from the Centre for the development of objects falling within the sphere in which they are sovereign, the States have to surrender a part of their sovereignty to the Centre under the Constitution. He who pays the piper calls the tune. This tendency to gather power in the Centre is supported by the Centre is supported by the false idea that it is only in this way that the unity of India can be preserved. A unitary system of government may be suitable to small countries; but in a vast country, national unity can only by giving the fullest autonomy to the constituting states and provinces which will then voluntarily co-operate with the Centre for the general well-being of the whole country.

Secret of Successful Policy

It was by following this policy that empires were successfully built up in ancient India. When they failed, the failure was due not to the policy of decentralisation, but rather to the policy of too much centralisation that is being followed by our present government; the ancient empires were compelled to adopt such a policy as, on account of crude means of communication, they could not offer the strength of the country to meet the threat of foreign aggression. Thus to meet an external danger they had to adopt a policy alien to the genius of the people, and this led to internal disintegration. Now that the means of communication have greatly improved, India should proceed to build up her unity following her own genius of local autonomy, which enabled her to perform the almost impossible feat of building up under ancient conditions vast empires with a territory which on two occasions was more extensive than British India, stretching from Afghanistan to Mysore. "It is difficult even to conceive how it was physically possible, according to the modern means and facilities of communication, to control a continent from one centre in an age when the days of travel were measured by months and not by years. A distance in those days was no more than the time it took a traveler to cross the desert, whereas modern means of locomotion have greatly improved."
The growth of science has brought in many new ideas in politics and society, often of a contradictory nature. But rampant individualism and a tendency to justify oneself from the outside in and from the self, to sacrifice the common good for individual gain, has led to the alienation of individuals from one another and from science.

The biological view that the root nature of all living is a struggle to survive, to the extent that only the fittest survive, has led to a distorted view of the world and of the role of individuals. The emphasis on self-preservation and the struggle for existence has led to a sense of alienation and a desire to isolate oneself from others.

The concept of the individual as a unit, to be studied and understood in isolation, has led to a disregard for the collective and for the needs of others. The emphasis on individualism has led to a neglect of the common good and to a disregard for the well-being of others.

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A great confusion seems to prevail today, not only in the popular mind but also in the minds of thoughtful men, with regard to the distinctive nature and function of morality, religion and spirituality. They are either lumped together and flung into the limbo of past relics or only morality is singled out for sentimental lip homage and use partly as a cloak and an expedient, and religion and an infinite void is thrust into the background, and both are banished as incompatible with the culture and civilization of a scientific and rationalistic age. Even those who seriously ponder over the problems of human conduct and the woe of man and woman to devise the destiny of man and the means of its fulfillment, extract a code of value and some set of moral and principles from the great religions and make them do duty for spirituality. The Sermon on the Mount, the Dhammapada or the Niti sutras are considered the very essence of the religions from which they have sprung and it is believed that a devout following of their injunctions in the growing light of one's intelligence is the surest and safest method of moral progress. An ethical eclecticism has thus come to be regarded —by some as the high-water mark of spiritual culture—because it is rational, practical and attractively catholick, and there is an intellectual dread and distrust of all that is mystic or esoteric. The overwhelming ignorance of this, the human mind refuses to believe that there can be any higher plane of consciousness or broader formulations of energy and light as it perceives and conceives. The boundaries of man's little conscious are held to be the boundaries of Reality, of which man, in his present state, is the sole witness, assessor and possessor. This self-conception of the human mind pene is it in the narrow province of Matter and precludes any excursion into the immeasurable reaches beyond. It deadens man's finer perceptions, atrophies his subtler faculties and reduces his proud mastery over Nature to a crippling psychological servitude.

And yet, in spite of the asserted superiority of man (the omniscient) in the world, there is a natural, instinctive feeling in him of a Presence or Presence hovering over him and open to his call for help and healing. If he could only procure, and summon, and sacrifice himself for the doors of the subliminal, peer into the caves of the subconscious and in a few exceptional individuals, here and there, give up into the superconscious. It will not, therefore, be without a set of lofty moral and spiritual principles and from the growth of human consciousness and culture.


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MORALITY

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laid with mental accretions and its freedom and suppleness of movement replaced by a rigid fixity of forms. Instead of leading the human consci-

ousness to the understanding of the true nature of the eternal forces, it imprisons it in its dogmas and doctrines, cults and ceremonies and comes to constitute a positive hindrance to the spiritual life. In its desire to make its appeal wide, it lends itself to so many distortions and ends in a flat compromise with the forces of ignorance.

"All religions have each the same story to tell. The occasion for its birth is the coming of a great Teacher of the world. He comes and reveals what is the incarnation of a Divine Truth. But men seize upon it, make it their own, make an almost political organization out of it that revolts or go astray, for the heretic and the renegade."

"This is true of all organised credal religions and accounts for their inability to stand the searchlight of the scientific reason. They have ceased to seek the human soul and have become a这只urpose for the Infinite. They have failed to provide a field for it to grow and expand and advance towards its divine self-fulfilment. They have hemmed it in and entangled it in their elaborate formalism. Instead of becoming a jumping board to the Divine, they have become a dead weight and a snare.

But their utility in the evolution of human consciousness, so long as they steer clear of dilution, mixture and perversion cannot be questioned. In all religions we find invariably a certain number of people who possess an emotional capacity and an ardent desire for the divine but who have a very simple mind and do not feel the need of approaching the Divine through knowledge. For such natures religion has a use, and it is even necessary to them; for, through external forms like the ceremonies of the Church, it offers a kind of support and help to their inner spiritual aspiration. Religion has been an impulse to the worst things and the best; if the fiercest wars have been waged and the most hideous persecu-
tions have been committed; it has stimulated too supreme heroism and self-sacrifice in its cause. Along with philosophy it marks the limit the human mind has reached in its highest activities." 6

The main work of religion is to awaken the inner being of man and give it an ample scope for self-development and self-perfection. It is like a bridge for the human consciousness to pass from Nature to the Spirit. It should be primarily concerned with the preparation of "man's mind, life and bodily existence for the spiritual consciousness to take it up; it has to lead him to that point where the inner spiritual light begins fully to emerge."

If religion is to accomplish its real mission, it must start with a double movement of renewal and reform. It must revitalize its spiritual core and purify its forms of all drudgery and dressing. Forms are indispensable, but for without them life would be robbed of its very raison d'etre, which is diversity, but they must be plastic and transparent enough to reveal the Spirit's presence and allow its development. Forms should be like symbols, at once pointing to and expressing the Formless. But the forms of religion are often darkened and disfigured by the very material with which they have to deal—the abounding impurities of the lower nature of man. A constant renovation and quickening of the central truth and the informing spirit, a constant adaptation and change of forms and a progressive approximation to the Spirit are the condition of keeping a religion undefiled, undecaying and effective in the social economy of mankind.

SPIRITUALITY

Spirituality is the native light and force of the Spirit. It is at once the sole means and the end of man's self-transcendence. It does not proceed, like religion, with a set of dogmas and doctrines and a round of rituals and try to reach the consciousness of man through them; it touches, on the contrary, his consciousness first and through its effect it effects a change, sometimes a revolutionary change, in his nature. But because it is the authentic power of the Spirit, it is beyond the grasp of the human reason and is therefore, readily branded as mystic, occult or esoteric. But, in fact, spirituality would not be what it is, if it were not mystic, not a power and principle transcendent of the human mind and capable of illuminating and transform-
ing it by virtue of its very transcendence. Spirituality effects a living contact between the limited human consciousness and the infinite consciousness of the Spirit; and this contact cannot be overhastened and stunting it by any means. A genuine spiritual experience is not like a mental thought, idea or imagination; it comes from the unexplored depths or heights of the being and leaves behind it an indelible impression on the consciousness, if it does not give it a new and decisive orientation. It is the only power that can lift man out of the morn of his ordinary existence and restore him to his infinity and immortality. It is the only power that can awaken his soul and make it the master of his nature which is now in the hands of the human mind and body, but also that the human mind can change and his society; it is the very light giving of the Spirit that has to be infused into them to quicken a new birth. If we admit that the Spirit is the essential and universal truth of existence, the one, immortal Self of all beings, and that body, life and mind are its instruments of self-expression in the material world, then we cannot escape the conclusion that the power of the Spirit is the highest power we can avail of for the cure of the complex malaise which affects humanity and community with the Lord of us all. He who is beyond all manifestation. This divine intelligence which enables him to separate himself from me, enables him also to scale the heights to be climbed, without his advance being enshrined and retarded by the total-
ity of the universe which in its immensity and complexity cannot achieve so prompt an ascent."

Spirituality, as I have said above, is the dynamic of a higher, luminous, and infinite consciousness and is not, like morality and religion, a working of the lower mind and its opening of a door; it is a leap into the unknown or an invasion of the unknown into our consciousness. Whatever its beginning or the trend and tempo of its working, it is bound to appear mysterious and inco-
herent, but it is a transcendence of the human mind.

"The saying that 'an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure' is a very long phrase has been taken for, that is the next evolutionary step, if man-
kind is to transcend itself, not only in rare individuals, but as a race and justify its existence upon earth by a divine self-perfection." 7

Spirituality is a free choice of our being and not, like religion, an im-
pulsion of society upon it. Being a free choice, it engages and permeates our whole consciousness and illumines and widens it with a rapidity and radicality absolutely unknown to either morality or religion. It can not only liberate our soul, but also liberate and transform our whole nature, rendering it a fitting instrument of the Divine. Spirituality is the end of which morality is the beginning and religion the middle term. All the previous preparation of man discovers its secret sense in this final salve and con-
solation—the recovery of the light of bliss and purity and power of the Spirit.

But spirituality demands a sacrifice and surrender of the entire being and consciousness of man, not for their self-extinction, but for self-fulfil-

An ungrudging surrender of your mind, a release and transfiguration. It will not do to keep bits of himself tied to the various objects and pursuits of the world; all has to be gathered and given, so that all may be dwelt with the Eternal. When you come to the Yoga (spiritual self-discipline leading to Union), you must be ready to have all your mental buildings and all your vital scaffolding shattered to pieces. You must be prepared to be suspended in the air with nothing to support you and not to accept your failure as a means to an end. You will have to forget your past self and its cling-

and pluck it out of your consciousness and be born anew, free from every kind of bondage. Think not of what you were, but of what you aspire to be; be all in all that you want to realise. Turn your dreadful past to look straight towards the future. Your religion, country, family lie there; it is the DIVINE.""9

8 and 4. Ibid. 5. "The Life Divine" by Sri Aurobindo.

THE POETRY OF JOYCE CHADWICK
By D. SETHNA

Selected Verse* by Joyce Chadwick—this slender volume of nine poems, which I have received from the author, with six poems inscribed in ink on the blank spaces, confirms the judgment prompted by the three poems published in the Mother India on April 30, last year. The judgment is that Miss Chadwick is a poet of rare sensibility. Of course, in a general way, all genuine poets possess a sensibility that is rare; indeed without it they cannot write true poetry. But there is a range of sensibility that makes poets share despite the individual perception of each—and there is a range which is uncommunicated and shared by one, as if by a common impulse, like Miss Chadwick. The latter range may not by itself make a poet finer or greater, but it does provide us with a most unusual “inscape” and insomuch with a perspective that is a deposit of vision and an intensity of emotion that reveal with a vivid directness occult, mystical, spiritual meanings and convey a keen sense of the superhuman, the divine, the eternal.

I cannot say that Miss Chadwick’s work is uniformly excellent. Perhaps this is a grave criticism, considering that the book presents “selected verse” and that the poems number no more than fifteen in all. But two things may be said to counteract the gravity of this censure. To be uniformly excellent in the poetic disciplines of “inscape” and “insomuch” as we have in Miss Chadwick’s work is to expect almost the impossible and, in view of its difficulty, I may aver that the amount of her excellence is considerable; for to express herself in her work, perceptible in the background even when not fully brought out, which shows the possibility of writing often at one’s highest. Both, therefore, as promise and achievement, her selected verse is remarkable.

She can only freshly, by the word and insomuchness, beautiful, deepening into distances—but also a strange rhythm imparting an emotion that seems to come with a holy force as if to remake one’s life and, through the new subjectivity, a new objective world; this is the general impression Miss Chadwick’s best work leaves on me. That is why she must be read not with the eye alone. The sounds must get their full value and be physically heard if their suggestions are to envelop us and succeed in materialising, as it were, the inner mystery. When the poems are read with clear though soft sensibilities, a heart-breaking loveliness comes, the heart thrills and breaks, so to speak, into a rapt smile and a dream-exploring sight, the eyes catching hold not only of things but also of what is wonderfully behind them by vision, drawing the depths out. The best work here is at once delicate and dynamic—a structure as of modulated mist which one imagines a breath might dissolve and yet marble-strong with a packed precision and purity that pattern forth significances from unknown dimensions of life.

The opening piece, To God the Creator, is perhaps the most magnificent in the genre I have tried to indicate. There is some touch of Hopkins—a gripping, rapture-raw, close-flashing though complex directness—and in this touch, the uplifting, uplifting is moral and spiritual and loss of ideas—and a touch of the later Yeats’s taut exquisiteness crossed with the quivering and plunging passion of the Metaphysicals. But when say this I do not mean anything imitative. The touches are only signs of certain broad affinities. Even if there were no inspiration, the fusing of three or four such temperaments and manners would itself be a striking originality. But there is much more here. Miss Chadwick has a mood and a music all her own, full of a more insistently mystical experience, a concreter seeing of spiritual presences—and the technique too is individual.

In view of that experience and seeing, the truest affinity we may trace is perhaps with what we may call the general or even poetic current passing through some of Sri Aurobindo’s disciples who write in English, though most of their work Miss Chadwick could scarcely have seen before penning hers. They are, as a rule, more elaborate-structured, more clearly moulded in even their complexities and may be said to have more poise in the midst of their dazzlements: she is more nervous in not only her intricate but also her massive movements, she puts shade within shade with great quickness (often telescoping the grammar), as if she were a little afraid lest she should lose the light that breaks upon her in flashes through what appear to be expanding and contracting apertures. Yet there is for all the difference a subtle resemblance, all the less liable to be missed if one “lets the ear read” and the intuition understand, a resemblance which, when felt, seems to make her and them part of some wonderful new white wave from within, one in fundamental drive in spite of being million-expected in lambent curve and colourful lift and foaming full.

There is scarcely a poem in Miss Chadwick’s booklet without the leap upward of a Godhead secret within the human or the leap outward of a Godhead waiting in world-nature or the leap downward of a Godhead point above the mind’s knowledge. But there is sometimes a wrestling with the sense of these marvels and a turning of them into poetic shape with a deliberative and constructive imagination—a vivid forceful thinking out in images: then the effect is not directly revealing and the inner tens is which is almost never absent gets weakened. On occasion, there is a certain smiling ambiguity, as though the poet were happy with her own seizures of spiritual nuances and did not care whether the word-body into which she puts them brought out their beauty in full. There are also occasions when the language has a lowered intensity and then the “idiom of our times” displays its accidental as distinguished from its essential character and one feels the modernist rather than the modern. As total successes I would choose To God the Creator, A Woman Said This in My Dreams, The Seven Abilities of the Body, All Shape has a Sun and a Moon in It and Ability. I have perhaps enough about the finishing of the general description of Miss Chadwick’s inspiration. I specially fancy in it the lines:

*Published by Cyril Edwards, distributed by Openheim & Co., Ltd, 35 Thurlow Street, London, S.W. 1.

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No prophet’s notion of yours, you folks I want;
Beyond the Moon’s working a more pitiful Mind.

It is worth pausing a little over both the art and the significance of these lines. The brief opening phrase, “Labour done,” cannot be technically

To this I respond immediately because of its poetic quality as well as because it transposes to poetry and perhaps a feminine phase the mood and urge of lines in a poem of my own (Agni) which Miss Chadwick had not at all read when she wrote hers. The lines in question are:

Come with thy myriad eyes that face all truth,
Thy myriad eyes equal to each desire!
Shatter or save, but fill this gap of gloom—
Work thy strange will, but load our gaze no more!
With unsearchable freedoms of painted manacles,
An infinite rapture veiled by infinite pain....
Lightning of Truth, God’s love passion—come!

I can but fall into your dark Destruction—
And your Destruction is yours.

However, if Miss Chadwick will not mind it, I may remark that her last two verses are:

Nevertheless—

with a certain kind of dignity and perhaps a certain smile implying a certain sympathy, though the poet were happy with her own seizures of spiritual nuances and did not care whether the word-body into which she puts them brought out their beauty in full. There are also occasions when the language has a lowered intensity and then the “idiom of our times” displays its accidental as distinguished from its essential character and one feels the modernist rather than the modern. As total successes I would choose To God the Creator, A Woman Said This in My Dreams, The Seven Abilities of the Body, All Shape has a Sun and a Moon in It and Ability. I have perhaps enough about the finishing of the general description of Miss Chadwick’s inspiration. I specially fancy in it the lines:

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With unsearchable freedoms of painted manacles,
An infinite rapture veiled by infinite pain....
Lightning of Truth, God’s love passion—come!

I can but fall into your dark Destruction—
And your Destruction is yours.

Now you are golden around me. I am dark,
Central and safe within you, winged with you;
Mote in your music towards that mundane mark
All moves to, but extinguished.....

It is a fine conning of the mood of “the Cloud of Unknowing” with something Shelleyan as well as Danteesque. Miss Chadwick’s glimpse of God as Nature itself is not only beautiful and uplifting and mystical and concrete:

Sweeter to smell than sun-warmed cedar bark,
Shaped with more grace than canta or willow trees,
Harder than stone, more soft than petals, cool.

Then a pear, more musical than.

Movement of stars, May thunder, autumn’s full
Glorious gala-pavoise in green uplifted seas
That fall again like young genii—kind like sleep,
Stiller than old carp in a lily pool...

And I find poignantly profound the phrases:

What is the stuff that is the principle in these?

Honely delights—why drearful as dear

Dogs barking across mist-riding moonslit hills

Out of old farms, ducks quacking, linden-trees

Sweet far beyond pleasure when the turned summer fills

Field, courtyard, bee-soul with their blosomous tone—

Bell-note surely to returned Paradise?

Here we have to a distinct advantage the qualities of the English genius which, even in its mystical orientation, differs in several respects from the Indian. One of the points of difference—and this is what is here—is a more intimately affectionate awareness of the outer life’s details, including the details of Nature. Other points which are hardly an advantage are, in general, a tendency to have the inner vision in excited spurs instead of in a steady flow and a provocation to hold together the golden glimpses either in a sort of happy heap or by means of a cementing intellectual imagination instead of catching them up against an immediately perceived mystical background which serves to materialize and embody.

I am touched deeply also by the first paragraph of Beyond the Moonbeam:

Labour done,

To the low golden, slenderly, the Moon goes down;
Leaving the sea to anguish for the shore alone,
The growth-struck seedling alone split and spiral on;

Child-bearing, love-bearing women strive to find

(but almost there is a sort of messiness)

It is worth pausing a little over both the art and the significance of these lines. The brief opening phrase, “Labour done,” cannot be technically
bettered for suggestion of nothing more remaining to be accomplished and of a quiet yet unpalatable finality. The next line—

To her own music, slenderness, the Moon goes down—is a triumph of subtlety. In conjunction with the phrase preceding it, it manages to convey with any conviction that now the Moon is free from the cosmic toil to which it was applied and so it attends to its own being's rhythm, gets rapt in its own beauty which is an esquisitiveness no travail can exhaust or mar, and moves out of the world's sight to a repose that has no end for the struggle and the anguish of the world. This last shade of meaning is brought out clearly in the next three lines which carry in perfect language the pathos of a world derelict of the light and abandoned to the loneliness of its own self, all its movement and growth and creativity a painful thwarted grope. The concluding words of the passage, hinting the blind direction of the search by "child-bearing, love-begetting women"—

Beyond the Moon's working a more pitiful Mind—are a veritable masterpiece, full of the "ingenious things", charged with the terrible coldness of the vast and beautiful powers that rule our subsidiary life, powers attracting and stimulating us, working within our hearts and our limbs, giving us short spells of pleasure and then forsaking us to an unfathomable woe—a woe which strains towards some Mystery beyond the infinite wonders of the visible universe and calls out for compassion, for understanding, for guidance and personal response. Mark the craftsmanship of the line—the play of all the three baihaks in the language (b, m, p), the scheme of a varied firef总体 which gives an extreme or saturated sense of an alliterative yet spontaneous instance expressing the constant cry of the human soul: the lallial alliteration is especially apt because a sustained "fed" is created by it of trembling lips of prayer appealing beyond time to the forces of the two as well as to "Mind". Pick up significantly the initial sound in "Moon", as if it connect Nature with Super-nature and to pass through both the beauty and the power of the former to some marvellous Godhead that gives the cosmos its being and also transcends the common workings by bringing not only beauty and power but also a brooding love.

One wishes the whole of Beyond the Moonbeams had the same inspiration. Not that the rest is infelicitous or superficial, but except for a line here and there we miss the absolute accent. It seems that, though Miss Chadwick has generally a deftness of phrase, she is mostly at her best in short snatches and in small poems. Take A Woman Said This in My Dream:

"Father, give me Half a crown.
I must pay
For time to pray:
Holiness is
Dear-to-day.
Father, give me half a queen's,
Half a martyr's Crown."

This is admirably the crosslight of a dream-experience which yet goes beyond mere dreaming to the spontaneous and surprising felicities of the inner mystic mind. I think its chief unique in its naïveté but still deep charm- ed sense of an alliterative yet spontaneous instance expressing the constant cry of the human soul: the lallial alliteration is especially apt because a sustained "fed" is created by it of trembling lips of prayer appealing beyond time to the forces of the two as well as to "Mind" and pick up significantly the initial sound in "Moon", as if it connect Nature with Supernature and to pass through both the beauty and the power of the former to some marvellous Godhead that gives the cosmos its being and also transcends the common workings by bringing not only beauty and power but also a brooding love.

In a different way the poem Miss Chadwick has written out in ink on page 9, The Seven Abilities of the Body, is also of the same exceptional quality. All the poems before they go Bless a body's overarch;
Scarlet, rose and purple toil—
And the honeycomb Heart—To display.
These that held it, loosen the knot:
The grey inhabitant of the throat
Mumbles it out;
The white nurse in the head Spreads, by gazing at it, the root;

The blue lily over them
Is—already—on a new stem.
An exquisite occultism is here, a freshness and an unsurprised beauty by means so simple yet packed with breath-taking secrets. I am inclined to put Auld Sheeps Ha Ha and a Moon in It (again a poem handwritten in my copy) on a par with these two gems, because of its pure direct distilled intuitiveness:

A Moon that sees,
A Sun that is,
Form finds itself
On its knees.
Kneeling Men
Move delighted in any place
That silver face,
Thus "frees itself, On his little, needed, seat Clay feet."

This kind of art is a rarity, seldom practised before except by Emily Dickinson perhaps, but not by her in the same fashion—hers was a certain intuitive epigrammatism or else paradox-play that by a most economical inspiration, in which homely phrases were injected unpredictably with a piquant splendour, pricked open the mystery of the human heart or pinned down the far-calling strangeness lurking in familiar sights: Joyce Chadwick is an intuitive symbolism, an immediate seizing of inner realities through concrete unembalmed embryos or emblematic gestures. Emily Dickinson seems to catch through the wide-awake intelligence of her ward-gazing eyes into the things from life's tawny depths: Joyce Chadwick is an artist of what is termed by initiates the Third Eye and she operates with quick flashes in a dimension of which the wide-awake intelligence knows nothing but into which one might slip between waking and slumber.

Something of this art but now less occult though still inly-lit is in the lines from No!:

Old woman, you want praise for a flower
Or thought for a Sickle; Who should burn for a Bomfire.

But the connection with the common world is more clear. That does not detract from the poetry as such, and Miss Chadwick is fine too in her straightforward descriptive mysticism:

Still, I arose on a white ladder,
Thence in the ultimate whiteness was:
Its eyes open, her panay-petals
Rich heats for the terminal
Cold body to use—or:
White light, white well,
White fire that forms all,
Be you wine or be you fever
Working in me, your manifestation...

This booklet is, of course, not everybody's meat, minor alligator: Joyce Chadwick has a tendency to place things to be in both thought and language condensed and complicated may keep some people away and, I should add, a degree of elusiveness, a sort of bright slipping through the fingers, in a few poems may discourage the average reader of poetry but they are not in themselves faults. And though they are not always flamed into positive qualities and merits by Miss Chadwick, I am of the opinion that Selected Verse—especially my copy of it with the poet's additions—is a good deal of radiant value in an extraordinary and difficult field. As for the future, I can only say to the author: "Keep up the vivid intimacy you have with the inner light and fire. But let your gaze be more steadily, more broad, and let your own kind and compass more continuously over the burning body of your God which at present you so wonderfully feel with many short intense contacts of rapture."

Village Panchayet—Continued from page 4

(Original Government in Ancient India, by Dr. Mookerji.)

We have no doubt that this system of unification based on local autonomy should not only be adopted in the Constitution of India but that if a world Government is to be established in order to ensure permanent peace in the world, it can only succeed by following these lines, and India, on account of her past experiments with her vast territory, is most suited to furnish a model. And in such a system the village panchayet, formed on ancient lines, should serve on a stable basis. As we have seen in ancient times, these panchayets were not created by the laws of the Government as it is being done now; they had an independent origin out of fluid conditions of tribal life and organization. When the state came it had to treat with them more or less on the basis of equality and recognize their pre-existing rights by conventions and agreements. The village system, thus developed through free co-operation with the state, lasted up to the advent of British rule which steamrollered them out of existence, substituting local administrations on western lines. If the ancient system has to be revived, it must be newly created, but the tradition is still there in the subconsciousness of the Indian people and the new creation should follow the ancient lines as far as possible and feasible under modern conditions. In the first place, they must not be treated as subordinate departments or branches of the

Continued on page 19
GRACE OF THE GREAT AND OTHER ESSAYS by M. P. Pandit
(The Society for the Spiritual and Cultural Renaissance of Bharat, Calcutta Niwas, 6/23 B.B. Kriplani Lane, Madras 4. Price Rs. 4/8)

The book is a small collection of essays contributed by the author to various periodicals. The reader has been thrown a vivid light on a vast and varied field of human life and problems ranging from "We Play the Piano in Society" to "Rastas" and then to "The Good and the Mediated". Mr. Pandit is a man of words, with words being the secret of his originality, his sureness of taste and his vigour of style. Everywhere it is the blue flame of a lofty aspiration that propels his pen.

Because he has seized hold of the deeper realities of life by constantly diving far beneath the surface, he can give us glimpses of truth with a rare directness and at times his manner is so clear that one cannot but see that each sentence appears a column of light shining away some prejudice, some commonplace, "It is seeming greatness before which one bends the knee. Absolute nothingness, it is a hush an over-awing presence of his own inferiority. A great one always sounds modest, but when we come not by a wonderful touchstones with which we can easily differentiate the gold and all that has a false glitter.

The second essay is a brilliant exposition of a message by the Mother. Mr. Pandit is endowed with a rare perception in the inner aspects of the inner bearings of the present world crisis is strikingly true and he shows how the present day is related to the past. This insight into its meaning, "History teaches us nothing; it is a confounded string of disasters and fatalities or a kaleidoscope of changing institutions. We do not seize the real sense of all this change and this continued streaming forward of humankind, the channel of Time" (Ideals of Human Unity by Sri Aurobindo). Mr. Pandit rightly ob serves: "Human beings are the expressions of an extra-ordinary chance, destined to round and round itself in each cycle and perish. The universe at large, permitted creation of a Supra-omnipotent Truth-existence is a Supra-omnipotent Truth-existence of a Supra-omnipotent God.

In the social and political field Mr. Pandit talks of many things, one of which is the threat of the encroachment of a new vision of society, a vision larger and larger, and as he points out, "Today when Nature is preparing to take shape the next invertebrates leap from the Nation group to one International group, the crisis is the severest. The group-epochs are fighting for self-preservation and instinctively resist this process of being merged by the collective whole.

The essay on meditation is equally illuminating and the author has caught the right of the right of the rite of meditation is to force a change in a modern day in ritualistic beyond measurement of the surrounding objects. Fanaticism often puts on the sanctimonious garb of a spiritual faith to make it acceptable to the world. How do they at all exist? Does one have faith in the world of illusions? The side-walks of history are strewn with the wrecks of men of heroic faith. But such dark faiths naughts out ice. It is a smoke-obscured flame that cannot burn up- wards to heaven" (Sri Aurobindo).

How then to find out an eye of pure discrimination what is true, what is false, what is genuine and what is the shadow? The author answers: "The world is treated the whole problem admirably and cleared away many a step to turn the eyes to the inner light.

The last essay, "Our Yoga and the Challenge of Pragmatism" is perhaps the masterpiece of the book, bolstering with rather caustic criticism of the Western approach to Reality. The essay brings into relief the quixotic nature of the battles fought in the battle of East and West. The essay opens with a rather searing lash.


Aristophanes was no romantic composer. But in "The Birds" he wrote an "escape play". It was a time like the present, when following a war people found that they grew facets with their nation of all kinds and how they had to pay heavy taxation. Aristophanes, therefore, took up two elderly men who tried to escape out of every arrangement by going off to some other place. It is not an easy play to find. In the end they seek the advice of Zephyros the legendary king who had been converted into a bird. As they could not tell of an ideal place free from the vexations of the earth it is held to you know that birds where they will be able to live in happiness. Having built the City they are able to enjoy the offerings sent up from the earth. That leads to the play with the people who had the end forced to make a compromise advantageous to the City of Birds.

In a comedy, and especially in one composed by Aristophanes the story is nothing. It is the basis for the writing of the play, the fun, the satire and the allusions, and in the case of this play in particular the beautiful lyrics, that make up the charm and the attraction. Though our present reference must be briefly made it is keenly felt by the modern reader as by the dramatist's contemporaries in spite of the helpful notes of Dr. Gilbert Murray, the types may well be recommended, and the reader may follow with sympathetic relish the hits and innuendos of the author.

A specially so when we consider the interference of officials, the "Two philosophers had set out for a walk. Passing by a lake they happened to see in it two fishes. Look!, said one, "the fishes are at play". asked the other. How do you know that I do not know that they are playing?"

"You point the way out of this inextirpable labyrinth, "The Birds is an escape play, but the escape is so satisfying that its doctrine could be incised on a stone tablet while of its reading. It fills the mind with an atmosphere of the imaginative and keep echoing through the living only.

P. L. STEPHEN

Village Panchayat

If the villages are thus allowed to manage their own affairs through institutions framed by themselves and if they have an independent source of income in the land revenue, they will get the true taste of freedom that will create a real life and enthusiasm. And if the villages are thus formed into living units, they will contribute greatly to the solution of most national problems. Thus as long as food is scarce, it should be rationed even in the budget and each one should be asked to manage their rationing and procurement. Mr. K. M. Munihi, Food Minister, replying to the recent debate in Parliament on the food crisis commented that there could not possibly be any accurate statistics in regard to food insecurity. Mr. Munihi said the estimate of the number of people to be fed at the end of 1951, and the increased production, was bound to be hypothetical. There was a tendency in the surplus States to minimize the estimate of surplus, while in deficit areas the tendency was to maximize the deficit. Nevertheless he agreed with Mr. Sidhava that there would be self-sufficiency in food, provided there was unified procurement all over the country and even distribution of 20 tons per adult in rural areas and 12 tons in urban areas. But, said Mr. Munihi, in a vast country like India, with different States and different administrations and with different levels of agricultural production, the self-sufficiency in theory was unreal in practice. We submit that these difficulties can be solved by making the villages true self-governing units and the All States and all towns and villages should be asked voluntarily to accept a uniform ration of 100 oz. as long as scarcity lasts, and the village panchayats should be asked to prepare correct statistics and also produce surplus grains if there be any and stock them in the village itself until they are required by the government. Thus the food available in the country will be evenly distributed in a manner which has not been so far possible for the Government even though they are investing huge sums and suffering heavy losses in imports.

One objection that can be raised against our proposal to grant full self-government to villages immediately is that the villages are full of factions and corruption and that they are not fit to govern themselves. But escape with Pitheas is not an option. But as there is faction and corruption in all levels of society and not only in villages. Self-government itself is the best training ground for making one fit for self-government. Let the villagers learn by mistakes and should be given as much experience as possible and there should be some provision in law for interference by the Government in cases of palpable injustice, tyranny or revolt. That sort of intervention in urgent cases will not take away from the self-governing character of the Panchayats and that will serve as a salutary check.

Ravinandranath Khanna.
London is soon to receive a series of books, chiefly on the Indian arts, at a price within the means of the ordinary student. Messrs Titirani have compiled a formidable project, in not less than ten separate volumes, in which they hope to contain an appreciation of various phases of Indian art, separately arranged according to the part of the country or its accessories to be described. This is the typical West European approach of the specialist scholar—formulated in one mode in museum system; and in this other mode of books that afford—in the main—an expanded version of the tiny labels which must serve to identify each object that is exhibited.

Ancient India never had any museums. There were not any separate "arts' or 'sciences' while even the technicalities of craftsmanship were all in the vast substratum of all normal life. Hence it is difficult for the ordinary educated Western mind to begin to see these material expressions of a great religious system—or parallel series of systems, if we must admit for a moment the sectarian labels and divergent dogmas—for these fine pieces of sculpture, they would all be explained by no means in the modern mode, as 'works of art' intended to set forth the momentous notions of one man from his single physical point of view. Without being able to bridge this considerably different conception, Europe cannot begin seriously to understand millions of objects—often in a much separated from their original environment where alone they had full meaning—that now rest in museums, in Europe, in America, and now also in India. The glass cases cut off this ancient institution, framing and slowing it as effectively as a long time before even museum gets itself arranged not in archaeological mode, but by accidents of chronology, but by the inspiration of each doctrine that vitalized and brought forth each divergent style of material expression in myths and dogma.

This is not to say that we cannot afford to neglect even the slightest help, to spread a wider knowledge of the innumerable objects now classified as "works of art—and this series of small handbooks will certainly help. The book on Indian "sculpture"—by Laurence Binyon displayed a his Flight of the Dragon. We cannot fully agree with the statement that he "explains the important political and religious events" or "points out the bearing of ancient myths and legends in the art of the time." Indeed, it would be folly not to expect this welcome achievement; in the limited space it would not be feasible. Mr. Kar is more concerned with the modelling of form of than the modelling of ideas in religion; yet we must have easy reference to all this material, in convenient pictorial form; and it is this factor that brings the book to a ready acceptance. At the price it is a marvel of economic production book. The map is fetched—simply schoolboy work—and should have been drawn much better, with more detail. It does not even make Nalanda or the two sites mentioned in the very first paragraph. We shall look forward to a fresh impetus of the remains in the work in this project—hoping that sooner or later we shall come to what must be the key book of any such series— an explanation of the ritual as performed in the ancient temple; and from which ceremonial all the splendour of architecture was developed, into the accompanying mystic modes revealed through sculpture and painting. Always it was this living theme which stimulated the work and governed its form. A large and a mystically religious core is known and understood, no comprehension of these arts can be developed.

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LONDON'S NEW CENTRE OF INDIAN CULTURE
THE ASIAN INSTITUTE

London has long been without any permanent centre for advanceinent of the European knowledge of Indian culture—which fact is all the more remarkable in view of the century-old contacts of British with India. Are we to suppose that it was always considered that military and commercial contacts were enough, with a modicum of mis-understanding to be found in every good goodwill? We have never had the establishment of a single prominent INDIAN MUSEUM but it is to be hoped that the new Government of the Republic of India will give this necessity its early consideration. It is essential—for good of India than for the good of Britain, that a great and permanent centre—filled with living interest as much as museum and books—shall become available. It might cost several lakhs of rupees, but it could be enormously worth while, if only as a good will investment, and a signal of Indian prestige.

Meanwhile, a far-seeing Indian gentleman, for many years resident in London, has himself in Britain, in order to provide a financial risk, undertaken in a smaller way, such an enterprise. Mr. D. R. Chaudhuri has opened The Asian Institute at 16/17 Irving Street, by Leicester Square, in the heart of London: as a centre open every day for the publicising of all the Indian art and culture. Opening in a quiet way, the Asian Institute is slowly making its name; and although it remains a rather poor place where the products of modern Indian and other Asian art might be seen.

The formulation of the Asian Institute makes it necessary,—under the complicated network of law, by-laws and regulations (some 25,000 of them) to simple in our day lives in Britain—using much paper and wasting much time—to gather a sustaining membership in a club of 1,000. The fee is very low—some three rupees a year, but it is open also to Europeans interested in Asia.

Mr. Chaudhuri has sketched out a formidable programme. In the hall attachments intends to show documentary films (only the 16-mm. size can be utilised) and sometimes oriental dances and music. Lectures are due to be given; or debates on suitable topics; though it must be said that the Indian delegate remains strictly non-political— which is a wise provision. Later it is contemplated that visits will be made to centres of Indian interest; dinners may be held (though not conveniently situated next door) and other social gatherings may be started in certain subjects, not covered by the manifold educational institutions of the metropolis; or by better experts than can usually be found. In all, the general purpose is to spread a wider and far more accurate knowledge about Asia, in this great European capital.

* * *

We may hope later to see the small scale production of modern Indian plays, though here again, finance remains as a primary problem. For with even for free services of talented amateur players, it still remains necessary to make or purchase costumes, decorations and other production materials; and to offset lighting expenses and publicity. Yet the centre exists as a promising 'show-case' for any aspiring Indian poet, who may be able to write suitable plays—and without asking for a playing-cast of 200 thousand pounds. It is one of the deepest secrets of the big! Indians who may visit London are invited to call at the Asian Institute, to become personally acquainted with its premises and its methods; they may even find it possible to make contacts with other people who can help in their specific problems, which if they are stragglers to Europe, making their first visit, may prove most valuable.

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LIGHTS OF LIFE-PROBLEMS

—Continued from page 12

and continent enough for any superstructure or content of multitudes.

"To condemn this abundance as barbarous is to apply a foreign standard. Where after all are we bound to draw the line? To the pure classical taste Shakespeare's art once appeared great but barbarous for a similar reason remains incomprehensible to modern barbarian of genius,—this artistic unity non-existent or spoilt by crowding tropical vegetation of incident and character, his teeming imaginations violent, exaggerated, sometimes bizarre, sonorous, without symmetry, proportion and all the other lude unities, lightnesses, graces loved by the classic mind. That mind might say of his work that here there is indeed a 'Titanic genius, a mass of power, but of unity, clarity, classic nobility no trace, but rather an absence of lucid grace and lightness, an absence of wild ornament and an imaginative riot without law or measure, strained figures, distorted positions and gestures, no dignity, no finesse, just rationally natural and beautiful classic movement and pose. But even the strictest Latin mind has now got over its objections to the 'splendid barbarism' of Shakespeare and can understand that here is a fuller, less sparing and exquisitely vivid of life, a greater intuitive unity than the formal unities of the classic aesthetics. But the Indian mind of the world and existence was wider than Shakespeare's. The Indian idea of description was not to be so the mind was not merely life, but all being not merely humanity, but all the worlds and all Nature and cosmos. The [European mind] not having arrived except in individuals at any close, direct, instant realisation of the unity of the infinite self or the concrete inness people with its infinite multiplicity, is not driven to express these things, cannot understand or put up with them when they are expressed in this oriental art, speech and style and object to it as the Latin mind once objected to Shakespeare. Perhaps the day is not distant when it will see and understand and perhaps even itself try to express the same things in another language."

K. G.
LIGHTS ON LIFE-PROBLEMS

One of our chief aims will be to provide authentic guidance in regard to the many important questions which arise in the minds of thoughtful people all over the world. This cannot be better done than by reproducing the answers of Sri Aurobindo. Accordingly, in this section of the publication we share some of the valuable teachings of this great seer, having already promised to publish these in a regular column.

1. What is the right way of looking at Indian works of art which the Western mind generally misses and consequently fails to arrive at their true signification?

A: The characteristic attitude of the Indian reflective and creative mind necessitates in our view its creation an effort to get beyond at once to the inner spirit of reality as it expresses itself and not from outside. And in fact to arrive from the physical outside, and their synthesis appears to me quite the wrong way to look at an Indian work of art. The orthodox style with our criticism seems to be to dwell scrupulously on the technique, on form, on the obvious story of the form, and then pass to some appreciation of beautiful, or impressive emotion and idea. It is only in some deeper and more sensitive minds that we get beyond that depth into profounder things. A criticism of that kind applied to Indian art loses all its point or power of significance, because the only right way is to get at once through a total intuitive or revelatory impression or by some meditative dwelling on the whole, drama in the technical Indian term, to the spiritual meaning and atmosphere, make ourselves the medium for the spiritual impulse in the actual form, and their synthesis appears to me quite the wrong way to look at an Indian work of art. These terms of art, which we use, are not the same thing as the terms for us of the physical outside, and their synthesis appears to me quite the wrong way to look at an Indian work of art.

2. The failure to see at once the unity of this architecture is perfectly natural to a European eye, because unity in the sense demanded by the Western conception, the Greek unity gained by a single ascender, and a bordering use of detail and space in itself or even the lines of their architecture are not so much to express itself, but to fill it with that which comes out of it and lives on.

A: One is led to wonder whether our critical work is not a complete logical or a conscious synthesis in a synthetic environment, an unity in consciousness, a consciousness of the unity of the art from the inside, or the fact. The infinite in the universality of its design, the multitude of its forms, the unity of composition, the unity of material, the crowning abundance of significant ornament and detail and its return towards one's own limitation as a necessary consequence of this poem, this opus--for there are no such structures which are such--lies in the infinite.

3. In what way is a proper approach necessary for a proper appreciation of ancient Indian architecture?

A: Indian architecture especially demands this kind of inner study and this spiritual, self-identification with its deepest meaning and will neither reveal itself to us. These sacred buildings are the signs, the architectural self-expression of an ancient spiritual and religious culture. Ignore their spiritual suggestion, the religious significance of the symbols and indications, look only with the rational and secular aesthetic mind, and it is vain to expect that we shall get to any true and discerning appreciation of this art. And it has to be remembered that it is the religious spirit here something quite different from the sense of European religions; and even medieval Christianity, especially as now looked at by the modern, European mind which has gone through the two great crises of the Renaissance and of the Reformation and later Protestantism, will not feel its orienting function and abilities of much real help. To bring in into the artistic look on an Indian temple, the negative possibilities of a comparison with Greek Pantheon, or Italian church or Etruscan or even the great Gothic cathedrals of mediæval

4. The objection of lack of unity in Indian architecture is derived partly from the fact that it is seen with an excessive crowding or ornamental detail which the Western critical works seem to be very confusing and unsatisfactory. How far is this true?

A: The objection that an excess of crowding detail and ornament hides, impairs or breaks up the unity, is advanced only because the eye has made the mistake of desiring things, not to see, but to see them, an excess of ornament, an unity in form, which are of the same kind in visual expression, that only the mind can understand or thing that only the mind can see. That is the reason why the Indian mind has been one of the deepest and most artistic. When we have realised the self, the unity and unison not the multiplicity of the world, then we find that the mind is able to see the infinity of variations and the multiplicity which we can crowd into it and its unity remains unbroken by the infinity of multiplicity.