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"GREAT IS TRUTH AND IT SHALL PREVAIL"

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KASHMIR: THE CONFUSION AND ITS CURE

The mind of official India is not particularly distinguished by clarity or decisiveness. On many matters of importance, both national and international, it is, to say the least, "wobbly." But it is sun-clear and sun-sharp with regard to the question of Kashmir. Not that it has found a definite course of action: the only two alternatives of action before it have been in fact rejected by it—namely, the withdrawal of India's case from the cognisance of the U.N.O. and the prosecution of war against the aggressor, the Pakistani army. So there is a standstill. As it is idle to hope that the Security Council will hurry to name Pakistan the aggressor, the Kashmir deadlock cannot at present be resolved. Things will have just to drag on until the Gods take a sudden surprising hand in the affair. Yes, there is a paralysis so far as action is concerned. But absolutely unclouded is official India's vision of basic principles and fundamental facts.

However accommodating the Indian Government may be in details, it stands like granite on four issues. First, Kashmir belongs to India both legally and morally, for the ruler executed an instrument of accession which was confirmed wholly by the popular movement whose leader for the last several decades has been Sheikh Abdullah, the present Prime Minister of Kashmir. Second, Pakistan has neither a legal nor a moral standing in Kashmir and is plainly there in the role of an aggressor whose only plea is that the presence of the Indian army made it politically necessary for her own troops to enter Kashmir—a plea that cannot "wash" at all, since no such necessity is admitted by the U.N. Charter and also since Pakistan was to all intents and purposes already there, the Afridi tribesmen who attacked Kashmir having been allowed passage through Pakistan, having got equipped and fuelled by Pakistan and having been led even by Pakistani officers if not supported by batches of Pakistani regulars. Third, the so-called "Azad" Kashmir group is no independent nationalist body but integrally associated with Pakistan's armed forces and therefore a non-representative puppet whose mischief must be nullified by wholesale disarmament and disbandment.

The Security Council's Prejudice in Pakistan's Favour

The fourth issue is in a sense the most important because the blurring of it has been largely responsible for unwillingness on the part of the Security Council to award Kashmir to India and for the absurd and devious means adopted by representatives of the U.N. to load the dice in Pakistan's favour. The latest instance of these means is, of course, the preposterous proposal by Sir Owen Dixon that if an overall plebiscite is impossible and if partition is the sole remedy the limited plebiscite to be held in disputed areas like the Kashmir Valley must be under a U.N. administration substituting for at least six months the present Abdullah regime. Pandit Nehru has said that any number of supervisors may be stationed in the Kashmir Valley, that they may sit at every corner if they want to, but that the status of the existent Government has never before been questioned by the U.N. Commission and its ousting is something unthinkable since such a step would not only violate every canon of plebiscite procedure but also give into Pakistan's hands a powerful weapon for high-pressure propaganda about the illegitimacy of the present Kashmir Government. Nehru is perfectly justified in expressing utter astonishment at a proposal of this nature; but we wonder whether sufficient clarification has been made by India in international circles on the point which in a great measure makes Britain and America think Pakistan deserving of the utmost consideration.

No doubt, the partiality towards Pakistan is due also to India's uncertain policy as regards Soviet Russia. At a time when the West is acutely conscious that Stalin has aggressive designs on the whole world and that his expansion means the death of everything that is of basic value to civilisation—personal security, political liberty, intellectual independence, artistic and spiritual progress—at such a time there can be no purely local problem and every question has primarily to be viewed in a world-context and one has to ask how far this or that solution would affect the prospect of Stalin's success. The U.N.'s prompt correct naming of the aggressor in Korea and its extreme reluctance to hurt Pakistan in any way are to a

good extent dictated by the belief that Liaquat Ali Khan can be more depended upon than Nehru in any contingency of counteracting the encroachments of Stalinism. The belief is mistaken, for however unsure Nehru's Government may be about the West's motives in Asia it has no illusions about the monolithic monstrosity of the U.S.S.R. and though this Government does not clearly see Stalin pulling the strings in Red Korea no less than in Red China it is most sensitive to acts of aggression and will not condone any move by the Reds anywhere to enforce their will on other countries. Further, Pakistan is often an opportunist customer and the hold she has on the West is as much owing to her willingness to go over to the Russian side if her demands are not granted as to her realisation that on the whole and in the long run Russia can never mean good to her. The Government of India is incapable of indulging in blackmail talk such as was in fashion in the officially inspired organs of the Pakistani press when Nehru was made much of by the U.S.A.—namely, that the Islamic way of life can very well be reconciled with the Soviet ideology. Both America and Britain are misguided in trusting Pakistan more than India. They are therefore also misguided in looking at the Kashmir problem with a bias towards Pakistan, and India would be wise to disabuse their minds if she wishes for a better attitude.

But what is of immediate relevance in dispelling the fog from their minds is another point: the communal or religious colour that is usually attached in the West to the Kashmir problem, thanks to the three-year-long splashing of this colour as with a generous brush by the beard-wagging artistry of Sri Mohammed Zafrullah Khan's *suppressio veri* and *suggestio falsi*. Pakistan has dinned into the ears of the West that Kashmir is a nearly 80 per cent Muslim-majority province and must consequently belong to her. She has pictured India as trying to impose a Hindu raj upon people who are simply yearning to fall into Pakistan's arms. And she has accused India of avoiding an overall plebiscite on account of the fear lest so preponderantly Muslim a State should vote against accession to India. The Indian Government's stand here is firm: it has asserted that there is no communal or religious cause involved. But somehow the West has not properly understood this position, and argues that the very partition of our sub-continent into two dominions implies a pro-Pakistan bent in all Muslims and an acknowledgment by India of such a bent.

The Myth of Muslim Unanimity

The partition, though accepted by Congress (as a lesser evil than the prospect of a civil war between Muslims and Hindus at the time of gaining independence), was never taken by this national body in a communal or religious sense. The refusal to take it so was not just a blinking of hard fact. It was itself based on factual considerations. Congress was never a communal or religious institution and always wanted India to be a secular State in which room could be found for all the Muslims who were nationalist in mind and did not subscribe to Mr. Jinnah's fantastic no less than fanatic two-nation theory. Even today, after partition, there are nearly forty million Muslims residing in India. If Jinnah's cry for a separate Muslim State on the ground that the Muslims of India, despite being of the same racial stock as the Hindus and having a different religion merely because of conversion from Hinduism, constitute a different nation altogether were conceded, these forty millions could have no place here. But they do have a place and many of them are opposed to the obscurantist and fissiparous tendency of the Muslim League. What the Muslim League achieved with a communal and religious policy the Indian leaders allowed on the principle that any territory or province formerly a part of British India was free to secede from the Indian Union and set up a State of its own if the majority of its inhabitants wished to do so. This principle was a grave error but it was the only thing possible in order to reconcile, with the still more erroneous concession granted to the Jinnah communalists for the sake of peace, the nationalist solidarity of quite a large number of Muslims who stood shoulder to shoulder with the Hindus. There was also the fact that the North-West Frontier Province which was hundred

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SOVIET RUSSIA, THE KOREAN WAR AND WORLD-PEACE

By SIR GLADWYN JEBB

Sir Gladwyn Jebb, the British representative on the U.N. Security Council, in his reply to M. Malik on August 22 made a statement which is both precise and pointed and very well worth keeping before the public eye, especially because much of it is based on evidence drawn from Soviet sources themselves.

Your whole thesis, Mr. President, which you have so obligingly and at such length explained is as follows:

1. The forces of the Republic of Korea headed by Mr. Dulles attacked North Korea at the instance of the United States and other "Imperialist" powers.

2. Nevertheless, and to some extent despite this argument the war in Korea is a "civil" war in which whatever the Charter may say, the United Nations should not intervene.

3. However that may be, the whole thing is a "dispute" to which there are two sides and the obvious thing is to get representatives of both sides together in order that the Security Council by exercising mediation should arrange for what is described as a "peaceful settlement" of the whole affair.

4. By "peaceful settlement" is meant some arrangement whereby the fighting stops, the United Nations forces retire, and the Communists are, by one means or another, left in ultimate possession of the field.

5. All that is required, therefore, to achieve peace in the first instance is for a representative of the Communist authorities in North Korea to be invited to this table along with a representative of the Korean Republic.

Gigantic Falsehood

Now as regards 1, we all know here that this foundation of the whole case is a gigantic falsehood, but what we do not perhaps realise is that in propaganda the bigger the falsehood the better the chance it has of being believed. Perhaps I should repeat therefore that the patent fact of the aggression was verified by the United Nations Commission itself.

It is useless to throw mud at this body and to say that it was "prejudiced" for the reason that it did not include a Soviet representative, since it was the Soviet Government itself which has boycotted the Commission from the start. Why did they boycott it? Because they feared that it might find out what was really happening behind the iron curtain in Korea. Why a million people fled the country. What the conditions forced on the majority of the unfortunate population were really like. How the army of aggression composed of specially selected and tough young fanatics was being formed and generally what the whole plot was about. It may be impossible to keep "social engineering" on this scale altogether dark but to say that the United Nations were incapable of observing the crime when it was committed because they were prevented from observing it when it was in preparation is really too blatant even for the faithful on this side of the iron curtain. On the contrary the mere fact of their exclusion is in itself pretty good evidence that the Communists in North Korea were engaging in some form of activity which would revolt any non-Communist spectator.

Now as regards 2, the "Civil War"—I have already said what I feel about this in my speech of August 11th and I concluded my remarks by saying, "I do honestly hope that

for the reasons given we shall hear no more of this civil war argument from the mouth of the Soviet spokesman". Unfortunately, we still do continue to hear it and in default apparently of other support no less a person than Professor Krylov, Soviet Judge on the permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague, has, I see, been mobilised to reinforce the politburo's. I will not now go into the question whether an international Judge with a proper sense of his duties should plunge into political controversy in this way.

Astonishing though it may appear, Professor Krylov relies largely in his argumentation on Article 7 of the Charter which you may remember I quoted in full in my last speech on the subject. But Professor Krylov does not even quote it in full, merely saying (unless press reports are inaccurate) that it provides that nothing in the Charter authorises the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State. The final words in the Article, as I pointed out last time, are those at the end which read "But this principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter 7".

Russian Tactics

Quite apart from this, however, the civil war argument simply does not make sense on general grounds. First of all, you divide a State into two, then you organise a special Government in one part of it not allowing anybody else to see how this Government is formed or what it is doing. You give it full Governmental powers and you recognise it even though most states have recognised the other Government. Then the Government organised in this way, possessing *de facto* authority over half the territory, attacks the lawful Government of the other half which has been set up under the international protection of the United Nations. Nobody, however, is allowed to interfere with this process on the grounds that it is a "civil war." The result of course is that in defiance of international authority you get control of the whole country and you get what you want. It is quite easy to think of other cases to which this interesting, if rather sinister, theory might be applied. This brings me to 3.

The argument of the "two sides"—and here, I believe, in contradistinction to the first two arguments I mentioned a certain impression has been made by what our President has said. There are, indeed, a number of fair-minded persons in the free world who have been brought up in the great traditions of Roman and English jurisprudence and who consequently believe that "both sides must be heard".

Now this would be perfectly correct if the Council were not dealing with the case as a dispute. But as I think my Norwegian colleague has already pointed out, we are dealing with a violent attack by one party on another in which the Security Council have already found the attacker to be in the wrong.

Transferring this to the field of common law it would mean that there should be no question of hearing a man who has committed a

violent crime until he has either surrendered to the police or the police have caught him. When he has surrendered he should, indeed, be given a fair trial and it is then no doubt that he can state his case and explain what the pathological reasons are behind his action or even conceivably who inspired it. But until then a "hearing" of the party concerned in this particular instance would be broadly speaking equivalent to going and asking the criminal for a statement of his views when he is still actively engaged in prosecuting the crime.

If we conclude that 3 is also a completely specious argument we are left with 4 which simply means that we must have a "peaceful settlement" at all costs. This of course is also begging the question. Nobody wants to have a "warlike settlement", nobody wants the fighting in Korea to go on for a moment longer than necessary. But if by "peaceful settlement" is meant anything except a demonstration that aggression does not pay and that Communist Governments must not indulge in this kind of violent activity and more, it will not be a settlement which will bring peace to our troubled world.

Two Camps

Perhaps now, therefore, I might say a few words on the general subject of peace. For well over a year now the Soviet propaganda machine has been harping on one theme, namely that the world is divided into two camps, the camp of "Imperialism and aggression" led by the Western countries and notably the United States, and the camp of "Democracy and peace" led by the Soviet Union with the help of the Communist parties all over the world.

Now of course the various catch terms which are employed by the Soviet propaganda machine have, as I have suggested before, a real meaning which is the reverse of the actual meaning and if you apply this simple test then of course you will observe that what the Soviet propaganda machine is saying is that the world is divided into two camps, the camp of democracy and peace led by the Western countries and notably by the United States, and the camp of imperialism and aggression led of course by the Soviet Union with the help of the various Communist parties of the world.

It is a fundamental article of Communist belief that the aims of the Party can, in the long run, only be achieved by force. "We are living not merely in a state but by a system of states and the existence of the Soviet Republic side by side with imperialistic states for a long time is unthinkable. We or the other must triumph in the end and before that end supervenes a series of frightful collisions between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois states will be inevitable...."

This was originally said by Lenin in 1919 and is quoted in Stalin's essay *On Problems of Leninism* (first published in 1926). But if we want something rather later we need only turn to the leading periodical of the Soviet Communist Party, *Bolshevik*, of July 1948. This magazine said that "Communism teaches that the violent overthrow of the exploit-

ing classes and the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat is the general law of a Socialist revolution." "Communism", the same journal goes on to say, "is incompatible with opportunistic ideas to the effect that the transition from capitalism to socialism can be carried out peacefully on the basis of parliamentary voting."

You will see that in accordance with this doctrine and even if the Soviet thesis that the Korean war is a civil war is accepted, it would be perfectly in order for the Communist minority to turn out a democratically elected Government by force of arms provided only that it had an opportunity to do so. This, indeed, is exactly what happened except that the North Korean authorities first organized themselves effectively as a separate state and then seized upon what they thought was the right opportunity (whether that will, in fact, be so remains to be seen).

Still it may conceivably be questioned whether the Soviet doctrine of violence applies necessarily to relations between states. In *Questions of Leninism*, which is a very properly required reading for all Communists everywhere, Stalin himself explains that the Russian revolution resulted in the establishment of the "first proletarian dictatorship" which he describes as a "powerful and open base for a world revolutionary movement."

Theory of Wars

Now, a state which admittedly regards itself in this light is hardly likely to pursue a peaceful and co-operative foreign policy since it must necessarily take every step to weaken and undermine every other Government which it regards as opposed to a world revolutionary movement. In other words, the bleak fact is that it is really impossible for any non-Communist Government—and even difficult for some Communist ones—to be on terms of real friendship and intimacy with the Soviet Government.

It is, indeed, this messianic urge which leads the Soviet attitude towards war conveniently defined as it is in the *Short History of the Communist Party*, which is also a "must" reading for Communists all over the world. This is as follows: There are two kinds of war: (a) just wars, wars that are not wars of conquest but wars of liberation waged to defend people from foreign attack and from attempts to enslave them or to liberate people from capitalist slavery or lastly to liberate colonies and dependent countries from the yoke of imperialism; and (b) unjust wars, wars of conquest waged to conquer and enslave foreign countries and foreign nations.

Whether the Soviet Government approves or disapproves of a particular war depends, therefore, on which of these categories they decide fits the war in question. The decision is ludicrously simple. Any war in which they or their clients are engaged must be a just war of liberation whereas any war in which non-Communist countries are engaged must be an unjust war of conquest....

As the Western countries cannot possibly engage in a just war it is

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ANDRE GIDE

FRANCE'S FOREMOST WRITER

By PIERRE DE LANUX

He might resent this crude manner of rating his great importance. Who is the "first" writer of a country? Certainly not its best seller. The rarest talent? But who is to weigh it, and in what scales? Yet if we take into account talent, culture, influence, recognition, we may safely say that André Gide does rank first among the French authors of this time. His Nobel Prize of three years ago simply consecrates the fact that Gide's literary position is now established in terms of the whole international public.

His career began at the other extreme: his early books were written with a determination to avoid all cheap forms of success, profit or publicity, and read by just a handful of ardent young men. When I became Gide's secretary, at twenty, he was thirty-eight, had already given *Les Nourritures Terrestres*, *Paludes*, *L'Immoraliste*, the five *Treatises*, *Saul*, *Prétextes*, and several other books; yet the total number of his readers did not reach two thousand.

A decisive moment in his life, and also in the cultural life of France, came with the starting of a new literary review, the *Nouvelle Revue Française*, in 1909. Gide and his friends were its founders. He had just finished writing *La Porte Etroite*. Two years later, the review started a publishing firm, which since then has printed the major part of the best literary production of France. Then in 1913, the *Théâtre du Vieux Colombier* opened, as another manifestation of the same group.

Their tenet was not of one school against others. It was literary quality. At first, they were extremely severe in their elimination of anything that was not of the highest grade, even when it came from people as famous as Rudyard Kipling, for instance, or from the editors themselves.

The group's brilliant ascension was interrupted by the first World

War and resumed after 1919, when Gide, Valéry, Claudel, Proust, Martin du Gard (another Nobel Prize winner), Jammes, Giraudoux, Larbaud and other writers now illustrious, had their works appearing in the *Nouvelle Revue Française*. André Gide's influence was steadily growing, and reached a vast public in France and abroad. Novels like *Les Caves du Vatican* and *Les Faux Monnayeurs*, *critical essays like *Incidences* and the *Journal* an autobiography, *Si Le Grain Ne Meurt*, all added up in building his reputation as a literary artist of the first magnitude. He devoted much of his talent to translations, the most successful being from Shakespeare, from Joseph Conrad and last but not least, from Rabindranath Tagore, Gide's French translation of *Gitanjali* as *L'Offrande Lyrique* (1919) was a labour of love.

André Gide was near sixty when he began to take an active interest in social questions. It started, I believe, with his trip to the Congo when he came upon some of the evils of colonisation, and wrote about it in a very outspoken way, trying to be useful rather than brilliant. For a while, he believed that he could serve social justice best by joining the Communists. After a visit to Russia, and further contacts with the necessities and limitations of party politics, he gave up this affiliation in total disappointment.

The Roman Catholic Church was not more successful in enlisting him, in spite of the efforts of Paul Claudel, the greatest of French Catholic writers. To the end, Gide will remain the man whom no party, no set creed, no spiritual enclosure can contain.

Every commentator has mentioned Gide's agility of mind, his intellectual nobility, his deep honesty, which together make it so hard for him to take sides, except against injustice, bad taste and stupidity. His tragedy—or his salvation?—is that he soon discovered that there is injustice, bad taste and stupidity on all sides.

He had begun by running away from social life, politics, and all that is commonplace. When he relented from this aristocratic aloofness, his vision broadened and in the end he became able to partake in the preoccupations of ordinary men. But he had begun where most of us never quite reach: that exalted, intense human fervour and that demand for perfection in the form of accomplishment. It was not unnatural, because "gold is not less natural than tin", as he said. But it made him different from his fellow-beings, and often they resented the difference.

Gide began his life with constraint, went on with liberation, and spent the rest of his energies gradually coming back among the rest of us.

Everyone of his early books was in a contrast with the book he had written just before. Always escaping from what might become a fixed attitude, an easy vien to exploit. Afraid of limitations, even when self-imposed.

He wrote once: "Do not look for God anywhere except everywhere". We might say: if you look for Gide in any single place, you will never find him.

His luck and salvation was to accept very early all those contradictions which we carry within ourselves, just because we are human. He did not compose or blend them

artificially into some satisfying compromise, which is comparatively easy to do, but intellectually dishonest. He accepted the necessary co-existence of the apparently irreconcilable trends within us, and that was the strong thing to do. That is the same enterprise, by the way, which confronts us with the various nations of the present world: each must survive with its particular genius, yet they must not fight for supremacy, nor live in constant fear.

Most people with enough courage and clarity of mind to recognize their internal contradictions, are torn apart and destroyed by them. André Gide survived because, like Oedipus (his favourite hero) he found the answer to the great riddle: "And the answer is: Man".

Last time I saw Gide, was a few weeks ago in Paris. His friends were preparing to celebrate his eightieth birthday. We evoked our memories of the time when I first knew him, some sixty years ago. He came regularly to our home, to practise music or to play chess with my grandfather, who had taught him to love Bach and Chopin. I was a very small child then, but I remember well the tall young man with swift and delicate gestures, the drooping moustache, the broad-rimmed hat and the ample cape, the voice with singing tones and unexpected intensity on certain words. All this left a deep impression upon me; and also that great affection that existed between him and my grandfather, his old master, whom he described in his autobiography, and also in *Les Faux Monnayeurs*, as "La Pérouse".

The other day, he looked at me with a smile and said: "You look more and more like your dear grandfather." I was happy he said that. And his old master, Marc de Lanux, would be happy that world fame did catch up with André Gide, who never had pursued it. And happier still, seeing what tender expression shows in Gide's eyes when talking about him. (UNESCO)

KASHMIR: THE CONFUSION AND ITS CURE—Continued from page 1

per cent Muslim had a strong party, led by Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, which was all for Congress and repudiated the Muslim League. This Province was subsequently absorbed into Pakistan by means of elections held under goonda raj, but it has never ceased to present difficulties. Then, finally, there was the fact that in Kashmir itself the popular front against the Hindu ruler was organised by a Muslim leader who openly declared his own allegiance and that of his huge Muslim following to Congress's non-communal ideals. It is, therefore, absolutely a fallacy to take for granted that all Muslims, faced with choice between India and Pakistan, would throw in their lot with the latter or would opt for the former only under duress.

There is no inherent cementing magic in Islam. Pakistan tried to make all other Islamic countries form with her a pan-Islam bloc as a counter-weight to India's growing strength, but she has miserably failed. They have little sympathy with fanaticism and they see that the very notion of antagonism to a country in which forty million Muslims live on equal terms with the rest of the inhabitants is illogical. Again, seven Muslim countries out of the eight represented in the U.N.O. voted for India's election to membership of that body—voted in the teeth of Pakistan's opposition and during the progress of the Kashmir dispute! Of course, one or another Muslim country may at any time take Pakistan's side, but that need not always be for strictly religious reasons. If religion were the one thing that counted, the overwhelming support of the Muslim world to India in the U.N.O. would never have occurred. There are ties stronger even than religion. The new State of Indonesia refused to call itself Islamic on Pakistan's prompting and considers India its chief friend and adviser. Both Iran and Afghanistan have entered into a treaty of perpetual friendship with India. Afghanistan has actually bitter relations with Pakistan and a cold war between them is still going on—this is something which would be impossible if there was any automatic urge of Muslim towards Muslim on the international stage. Equally fatal to the theory of there being such an urge is the Pakhtoonistan movement which is growing apace in the northern parts of Pakistan, a movement of frontier Muslims for utter independence of Pakistani rule.

In view of all this, there need be nothing hypocritical in India's insisting on a non-communal non-religious light in which to study the Kashmir problem, Kashmir especially calls for such a light: in this province the

atrocities committed by the tribal hordes thrown upon it by Pakistan were suffered mostly by Muslims themselves and in this province the Government which Pakistan wants to oust is headed by the Muslim Sheikh Abdullah and the bulk of his supporters are Islamic. The Hindu Maharaja is as much a figurehead here as the Nizam is in present-day Hyderabad. And, in an overall plebiscite such as India (and not Pakistan) had originally proposed with a democratic conscience refusing to profit by the mere instrument of accession, Kashmir would choose the Indian Union. India has no reason to evade an overall plebiscite: what she cannot accept are conditions which would nullify freedom in the casting of votes—conditions without which Pakistan will never risk the use of the ballot box all over the province.

The Future And Its Omens

Once the communal and religious twist given by Pakistan to the problem is straightened out in the mind of the West we shall have a better chance of justice. The merits of our case may still be ignored as a result of the West's not quite unjustifiable distaste for our failure to align ourselves whole-heartedly with the democratic world and to read fully the warning of Korea. But sooner or later the greater dependableness of our Government than Pakistan's will be realised and then if the religio-communal twist about Kashmir has already been removed Pakistan will be named the aggressor and the path cleared for Kashmir's electing for India. In the meantime we should hold out against the inducement to partition the province as an easy way out of the deadlock caused by the impossibility rightly recognised by Sir Owen Dixon of an overall plebiscite at present. And two other things we must secure: no illusion that Pakistan will not resort to war and no complacency about our own military strength. Liaquat Ali Khan has warned us that truly amicable relations between India and Pakistan are out of the question unless a just and fair settlement is found in Kashmir—"just and fair" meaning the throwing up of the sponge by India. When he was in America he started, under the pretext of wanting to defend Pakistan against India, feverish negotiations for military equipment. Recently he declared that he would never rest until Kashmir had been "liberated." At the moment he is importing all possible material that would help Pakistan come out on top of India whenever and wherever the two countries may cross swords. These are omens we must not ignore, no matter what the official peace-overture made to us.

LYRA MYSTICA

SOME NOTES ON ENGLISH MYSTICAL POETRY

BY K. R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR

Shall we bind the poet to a routine or hedge him with limitations? Shall we curiously circumscribe the province of poetry? The poet will not recognize *our* laws, and poetry will accept *no* exclusions. Homer and Valmiki and Vyas made poetry out of war, Lucretius out of science, Dante out of theology, Dryden out of party strife, Pope and Byron out of personal spite. Scripture and history, manners and morals, hearsay and legend, metaphysical speculation and literary criticism, all are fit subject matter for poetry; and all thoughts, all passions, all rages, all delights, all that stir or sustain this "shilling life", all can effectively be transmuted into poetry.

Religion is among man's primary needs and preoccupations. It is born of wonder, awe, a sudden surge of immeasurable exaltation, an unforeseen spurt of paralyzing pain. The religious sense waxes and wanes as do the seasons, yiperous doubts often assail the religious man, but faith lingers still, a residue of reverence leavens his daily life, and he is not altogether lost after all. It may almost be said that man is a religious animal. So inveterately religious is he that he even embraces bird, beast, and all Nature in his scheme of prayer and thanksgiving. Whether it be no more than a pious hope or a pleasant hallucination or actually a ground of belief, the attitude, the experience, is significant of the religious spirit of man. Even a sceptic like Hardy wrote:

*If someone said on Christmas Eve,
"Come; see the oxen kneel
In the lonely barton by yonder coomb
Our childhood used to know",
I should go with him in the gloom,
Hoping it might be so.*

And Hodgson thus records his transcendental experience of all Creation hymning the glory of the Creator:

*I heard the universal choir,
The Sons of Light exalt their Sire
With universal song,
Earth's lowliest and loudest notes,
Her million times ten million throats
Exalt Him loud and long,
And lips and lungs and tongues of Grace
From every part and every place
Within the shining of his face,
The universal throng.*

Carlyle was thus right when he declared that religion is the most essential, the most intimate, of man's "raiments". Is it any wonder, then, that religion has inspired much characteristic and some truly sublime poetry?

English poetry is perhaps less visibly infused by the spirit of religion than, say, Sanskrit poetry. Yet even in the earliest English poetry—in *Beowulf*, for example—there is the Light, however clouded or intermittent, there are sudden streaks that baffle the enveloping darkness, there are unpredictable surges of life that spiral above the involved clouds of unknowing and falsehood. Earth-life is not all; human planning is often but a blind and thwarted purposing; there are other veiled powers that determine our fate, and we shall do well wisely to make submission to these powers and accept the badge of our limitations.

The unknown Anglo-Saxon poet who greeted Mother Earth in these terms—

*Hale be thou Earth, Mother of Men!
Fruitful be thou in the arms of the god.
Be filled with thy fruit for the fare-need of man!—*

managed to mingle hope and fear in his urgent invocation, and the recipe has found favour with many other poets as well. But other strains too are possible, and English poetry is rich in them. There is no period of English poetry but gives us abundant exhibits that reveal, in their varied ways, man's primordial quest for certainty, happiness, and peace everlasting. Poets so unlike one another as Langland, Spenser, Donne, Smart, Blake, Wordsworth and Francis Thompson have brought to us intimations from choirs invisible or realms inapprehensible and have in diverse tunes triumphantly affirmed the Everlasting Yea.

Religion, of course, is an overworked and highly ambiguous term, and not only means different things to different people, but also different things to the same people at different times. The *Odhams Dictionary* defines religion as "the belief in a supernatural power or powers, belief in a god or gods, especially such belief as entails acts of worship on the part of the believer; a developed system of philosophical, theological, and ethical opinions, tenets and theories depending ultimately and essentially upon a belief in a deity or deities, and the necessity of worshipping that deity or those deities". It is convenient, perhaps, to arrange the different aspects of religion in some such order as follows: ritual; dogma; hagiology; ethics, philosophy, metaphysics; and mysticism. We are apt to stress, now one aspect, now another, in response to the pressure of the prevalent mood. As we come down the scale, we seem to touch the less particular and more universal aspects of religion. Rituals and dogmas differ widely and even entertainingly, and the same religion is sometimes driven to modify them to suit changing circumstances. Hagiology can likewise dwindle into sectarianism; yet by themselves, and judged by their visions, experiences and

outpourings, the saints are for all and speak to all, and they are verily ambassadors of the Absolute. Ethical systems, again, show interesting variations, while the world-views of the different religions agree only profoundly to disagree, and a single religion may comfortably harbour several *darsanas* or schools of philosophy, all apparently consistent with the mystical experiences of its founders, inspirers and sustainers. However particular religions may attempt to appropriate exclusively this or that saint, the saints as a class are in a category apart, their lives follow a pattern of their own, and their mystical experiences have an almost identical flavour and cast. The outpourings of a Nammalvar, a Manikkavasagar, a St. John of the Cross, a Jalaluddin Rumi, a Tukaram, a Kabir, a Juliana, an Andal, are seen to be inspired by a like incandescence of spiritual fervour and uttered with the same inwrought imagery and symbolism or the same ineffable felicities in sound and colour. Intuitions abide; they unify and harmonize. But interpretations vary; they wrangle and divide.

Religious poetry in English has for the most part Christianity for its background and chief source of inspiration. Poems describing particular religious rites or dogmas may not ordinarily appeal to non-Christian readers. Even here, should the poet succeed in forging a harmony between the content and the sensuous appeal of the medium, as Hopkins succeeds in *The Blessed Virgin Compared to the Air We Breathe*, the resulting fusion of meaning and magic carries all before it, and a willing suspension of disbelief results. Poets like Dryden have turned theological controversy into flowing verse, but his *Religio Laici* and *The Hind and the Panther* claim very few readers today. The sequence of ideas and the poetic medium do not fuse into the harmony of splendidly evocative poetry, and we have discourses in verse, not poems.

There are besides quite a few splendidly articulate poems in English which draw their inspiration from the lives of the great Christian mystics or from the Saviour's life itself. Crashaw's Hymn to the Name and Honour of the Admirable St. Teresa and the companion Hymn, *The Flaming Heart*, upon the Book and Picture of the Seraphical St. Teresa are incomparable in their kind, and so are Milton's *Nativity Ode*, Donne's *Hymn to Christ*, Giles Fletcher's "Christ's Triumph" poems, and Alice Meynell's *Christ in the Universe*. Where deathless martyrdom is the theme, the poet tries with all his might to paint the picture of Love triumphant at the very moment of its seeming extinguishment; yet the picture can at best be no more than the shadow of the transfiguring original event. Fletcher's words thus portray the discomfiture of all those poets who have tried to render martyrdom in English verse:

*Impotent words, weak side, that strive in vain,
In vain, alas, to tell so heavenly sight,
So heavenly sight, as none can greater feign,
Feign what he can, that seems of greatest might,
Might any yet compare with Infinite.*

Hagiology and philosophy, dogma and ritual, have indeed entered the domain of poetry, but always it is not so much the theme as the poetic handling of the theme that makes a religious poem truly poetic. A poet like Dante could make current religion the very stuff of his poetry which as poetry appeals to all. What has happened is that in the process of poetic creation, an individual's faith has been transfigured into the current coin of eternal verities, and the finished work is not sectarian verse but sublime poetry.

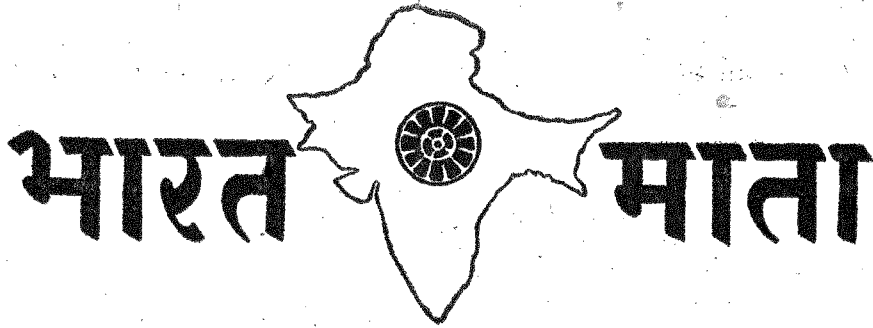
Mysticism, on the other hand, being as it were the crown and roof of the religious life as also its sustaining fount and base, is peculiarly the province of poetry. Popular derogation alas surrounds the word "mysticism", and it is often almost equated with mistiness or moonstruck escapism. "The true mystic", says Professor Caroline Spurgeon, "is one who *knows* there is unity under diversity at the centre of all existence and he knows it by the most perfect of all tests for the person concerned, because he has felt it. True mysticism—and this cannot be overemphasized—is an experience and a life. It is an experimental science... In its highest consummation it is the supreme adventure of the soul: to use the matchless words of Plotinus, it is 'the flight of the Alone to the Alone'." The mystic is dedicated to the adventure of invading the invisible, establishing direct contact with ultimate Reality. He experiences "It" at last—breaks through the prison-door of Time—and when he returns to normality he realizes how impossible it is to transcribe his mystic experiences in intelligible language. The Upanishadic seers describe "It" in a series of negations—*neti, neti*; ultimate Reality is but *nirvana*, or *sunya*, clothed in the robes of the Peace that passeth understanding and abides for ever. The Absolute will not submit to a definition or description; it cannot be proved, or produced to order; in Tennyson's words—

*Thou canst not prove the Nameless, O my son,
Nor canst thou prove the world thou movest in:
Thou canst not prove that thou art body alone,
Nor canst thou prove that thou art spirit alone,
Nor canst thou prove that thou art both in one....
For nothing worthy proving can be proven,
Nor yet disproven.*

Even so, the mystic would attempt the impossible, he would seek to render

मातृवाणी

यह बराबर ही अच्छा है कि हम कभी कभी अपने भीतर की ओर दृष्टि के जायं और यह देखें कि हम कुछ नहीं हैं और कुछ नहीं कर सकते; पर उसके बाद, हे प्रभु, हमें अपनी दृष्टि तेरी ओर अवश्य फेरनी चाहिये और यह जानना चाहिये कि



'मदर इंडिया'—हिन्दी पूर्ति : : : सितम्बर, १६ १९५०.

तु ही सब कुछ है और सब कुछ कर सकता है।

तु ही हमारे जीवन का जीवन है और हमारी सत्ता का तेज है,
तु ही हमारी भवितव्यता का स्वामी है।

—श्री माताजी।

काश्मीर : एक उलझन और उसका सुलझाव

कई राष्ट्रीय और अन्तर राष्ट्रीय मामलों में भारत सरकार की दृष्टि स्पष्ट नहीं जान पड़ती। काश्मीर के मामले में विशेषरूप से ऐसा है। भारत के सामने दो ही रास्ते हैं : 'यूनो' की कचहरी से वह अपने मामले को वापस लौटा ले और हमलावर पाकिस्तान की फौजों पर हमला कर दे। यह आशा करना तो व्यर्थ ही है कि 'यूनो' निकट भविष्य में ही पाकिस्तान पर आक्रमणकारी का इलाजाम लगाकर उसे लड्डित और अपराधी करार दे देगा। तब समझ में नहीं आता कि भारत सरकार एकदम निष्क्रिय और खामोश रहकर किस दैवी घटना का इन्तजार कर रही है, कि जो अचानक घटकर काश्मीर के अवरोध को मुक्त कर देगी।

चार बातों में भारत सरकार वजू के अडिग पायीं पर खड़ी है। पहली बात तो यह कि काश्मीर कानूनी और नैतिक दोनों ही दृष्टियों से भारत का है, क्योंकि उसके शासक ने काश्मीर के जन-आंदोलन के एकमेव लोकप्रिय नेता और वर्तमान प्रधान मन्त्री शेख अब्दुल्ला के हाथों काश्मीर का उत्तराधिकार-पत्र सौंपा था। दूसरे काश्मीर में पाकिस्तान की न तो कोई नैतिक स्थिति है और न कोई कानूनी सत्ता है। उनकी दलील केवल यही रही है कि चूंकि काश्मीर में भारतीय फौजें थीं, सो राजनीतिक दृष्टि से पाकिस्तानी फौजों का वहां रहना भी आवश्यक था। पर इस दलील को 'यूनो' के चार्टर ने स्वीकार नहीं किया है। पाकिस्तान तो वैसे भी काश्मीर के साथ जुड़ा हुआ था ही, क्योंकि उसीने अफगानियों को अपने देश में से रास्ता देकर काश्मीर पर हमला करने दिया और उन्हें लडाई का साधन-संरजाम ही नहीं दिया बल्कि उनके आक्रमण का नेतृत्व भी किया। तीसरे : तथाकथित 'आजाद' काश्मीर कोई स्वतन्त्र राष्ट्रीय संगठन नहीं है बल्कि वह तो एकान्त रूप से पाकिस्तान की सशस्त्र फौजों से सम्बद्ध है और एक निरा अप्रतिनिधि, खोखला पुतला है जिसे हरतरह से निर्बल और निःशस्त्र कर दिया जाना चाहिये।

चौथी बात सबसे अधिक महत्वपूर्ण है : भारत की स्थिति सभी दृष्टियों से सर्वथा मजबूत होते हुए भी 'यूनो' उनके पैतरेबाजियों द्वारा बारबार पाकिस्तान के पक्ष में ही अपने निर्णय देना चारहा है। निःसन्देह 'यूनो' द्वारा पाकिस्तान के इस पक्षपात के पीछे रूस के प्रति भारत का अनिश्चित दृष्टिकोण भी है। आज समुचा पश्चिम जब स्टेलिन को मानव मात्र की सम्भ्यता-संस्कृति का शत्रु मान रहा है, और उसकी विश्वप्राप्ति साम्राज्यवादी नीति को जगत का सबसे बड़ा खतरा मान रहा है, तब भारत का—किसी भी स्थानीय राजनीतिक पहलु से भी—रूस के सम्बन्ध में अस्पष्ट दृष्टिकोण पश्चिम के मन में खटक जमाये रखने को पर्याप्त है। स्टेलिनवाद के प्रति समय पर उचित कदम उठाने की दृष्टि से 'यूनो' पाकिस्तान को भारत से कहीं अधिक विश्वसनीय मानता है। पर यह विश्वास गलत है। क्योंकि नेहरू की सरकार पश्चिम की एशियाई नीति के सम्बन्ध में चाहे जितनी ही सदिग्ध क्यों न हो, सोवियत राष्ट्र की निपीड़क तानाशाही के बारे में वह जरा भी आंति में नहीं है, और कोरिया तथा लाल चीन के मामले में जो भी वह स्टेलिन के सुन-चालन को ठीक से नहीं समझ पा रही है फिर भी यह निश्चित है कि एशिया या जगत के किसी भी देश में वह स्टेलिन

के बलात्कार को बर्दाश्त नहीं करेगी। दूसरे पाकिस्तान अवसरवादी है और वह अपने स्वार्थ के खातिर कभी भी रूस से मिल सकता है। इस मामले में ब्रिटेन और अमेरिका भारत पर अविश्वास करके और पाकिस्तान पर भरोसा करके भारी मूल कर रहे हैं। तब मानना होगा कि काश्मीर के प्रति भी वे एक गलत रुख अख्तियार करके चल रहे हैं। इसलिए यदि भारत पश्चिम की गलत-फहमी को दूर करना चाहे तो उसे अपनी दृष्टि भी साफ कर लेनी होगी।

इसके अलावा पाकिस्तान ने काश्मीर के मामले को साम्प्रदायिक रूप दे दिया है, जब कि हकीकत ऐसी नहीं है। पश्चिम के दिमाग से पाकिस्तान

पाश्चात्य विचारधारा पर भारतीय प्रभाव

श्री शिशिरकुमार मित्र

[अनु०—श्री नर्मदेश्वर चतुर्वेदी]

लगभग तीस वर्ष हुए, अपनी दर्शन सम्बन्धी मासिक पत्रिका 'ग्रार्थ' में श्री अरविन्द ने भारतीय संस्कृति के प्रमुख पहलुओं की रहस्योद्घाटक पर-म्पराओं पर एक लेख लिखा था। उसमें उन्होंने सर्वप्रथम युग युग से अवतरित भारतीय रचनात्मक प्रयास की सच्ची कहानी बतलायी थी। भारतीय आत्मा के उद्घाटन का उनका यह प्रयत्न नितान्त मौलिक था। वह उसके ऐतिहासिक विकास के सारभूत लक्ष्य एवं मंतव्य और भारतीय सन्तति की अपनी लालसा और संघर्ष को लम्बे अतीत से

होकर फलीभूत करने के आन्तरिक तथा वास्तविक गौरव को प्रकट करता था। इस अनुपम स्पष्टीकरण से तुलना करने पर श्रेष्ठ कही जाने वाली कृतियों से लेकर भारतीय इतिहास की प्रायः सभी रचनाओं सर्वथा मिथ्या जान पड़ने लगती हैं। उनमें भारतीय सांस्कृतिक विकास के सच्चे स्वरूप का संध्या अभाव है। जनता के रचनात्मक जीवन के बहुमुखी अंगों पर प्रकाश डालने वाली भारतीय इतिहास के नाम पर चलने वाली पुस्तकों में व्यापक दृष्टि एवं तत्सम्बन्धित चित्र बहुत कम पाये जाते हैं।

राजनीतिक घटनाओं की अपरिमित चर्चा द्वारा हमें किसी जाति के सम्बन्ध में बहुत कुछ पता चल सकता है, किन्तु सर्वांशतः नहीं। ये घटनायें वाह्यरूप में जिस प्रकार की होती हैं, ऐसा नहीं कि उनसे अन्तर्निहित प्रकृति के संकेत का पता नहीं चल सकता। उसे जाने बिना हम किसी के सच्चे इतिहास को नहीं के बराबर जान पाते हैं। उन शक्तियों को जानना तो दूर की बात है, जिनसे किसी देश के भाग्य का निर्माण होता है। यदि भारतीय राजनीतिक विकास की कहानी, जातीय जीवन की सच्ची प्रकृति एवं प्रवृत्ति की चर्चा किये बिना कही गई तो वह न केवल अशुद्ध तथा अधूरी होगी, बल्कि मौलिक रूप में दयनीय तथा आंति-पूर्ण होगी। यही नहीं, उस मनोवृत्ति की चर्चा भी अपरिहार्य होगी, जिसने जातीय प्रयास की पूर्ति की प्रेरणा प्रदान की और जिस जाति के पूर्व पुरुषों ने अपनी सच्ची अनुभूति के आधार पर दृढ़ सामूहिक जीवन का निर्माण किया था।

भारतीय इतिहास की पुनर्रचना में विदेशी भारतीय विद्या-विशारदों का सदा आभार माना जायेगा। किन्तु साथ ही यह भी कहा जायेगा कि उनमें से कई की, और उन पाश्चात्य पथ-प्रदर्शकों के अन्धातुयायी भारतीय विद्वानों की भी, रचनायें शताब्दियों के भारतीय ऐतिहासिक विकास के विश्व-सनीय विवरणों के मुख्य को अत्यधिक कम कर देती हैं। उन युरोपीय लेखकों में से कई की दुराव की प्रवृत्ति और भारतियों के प्रति उनकी बहूप्यन की भावना, अपने लम्बे राजनीतिक प्रभुत्व के—जिसका अब अन्त हो चुका—अतिरिक्त उनका दायित्व कुछ भी नहीं। वे प्राचीन भारतीय गौरव को बहुधा जान बुझ कर घटा देते थे, ताकि उसकी स्वशासन की अयोग्यता संसार के सम्मुख सिद्ध कर सकें। उससे बढ़कर खेद इस बात का है कि कुछ ही भारतीय इतिहासज्ञों ने अपने देश की अन्तर्मुखिता को समझने की ओर अब तक ध्यान दिया है, जो इसके अस्तित्व का मुख्य आधार है। यह मेधा उन्हें केवल भारतीय संस्कृति और सम्भ्यता के सच्चे चरित्र की अन्तर्दृष्टि द्वारा मिल सकती है, जिसने भारतीय आत्मा की कई अभिव्यक्तियों को प्रेरित एवं निर्मित किया है। पाश्चात्य वैज्ञानिक पद्धति के प्रति उनकी विशेष आसक्ति ने वस्तुओं के प्रकट और वाह्यरूप तक ही सीमित कर दिया है। इसने इन इतिहासज्ञों को उन गहरे और वास्तविक मूल्यों के प्रति अन्धा कर दिया है, जिन्हें भारत ने शताब्दियों के रचनात्मक संघर्षों से होकर प्रकट किया है और जिन्होंने उसके जीवन और संस्कृति को स्वरूप प्रदान किया है।

कर्मयोग

कर्म अर्पणं नित हरि गुण गान
कर्म असंगं सुधा रस पान,
कर्म सततं कुरु, कर्म कल्प तरु,
पंथी सच्चा पंथ वहीं है।

कर्म, योग-मख, कर्म, ध्यान-जप,
रहित कामना कर्म महातप
वास भक्ति का, वास मुक्ति का
वास कृपा का नित्य यहीं है।

इह यह वीरों रणधीरों का,
वार खेलते जो तीरों का;
मथ सकते जो जीवन सागर
मधु से भरते कलश वहीं हैं।

उर सभ्राज्य का है यह दाता
विश्व राज्य का शुभ निर्माता
जेत्र बनाता जिसके तन को
गावी उसकी कीर्ति मही है।

—श्री नारायण प्रसाद जी "विन्दु"

द्वारा काश्मीर को दिया गया यह धार्मिक रंग यदि दूर कर दिया जाये तो इस मामले में पश्चिम के न्याय मिलने की सम्भावना बहुत बढ़ जायेगी। बाबजूद इसके कोरिया के मामले में सारे पाश्चात्य प्रजातन्त्रों से हमारा जो मतभेद चल रहा है, वह भी हमारे मामले को बिगाड़ने में कम भदद नहीं कर रहा। पर समय आने पर पश्चिम जानेगा कि पाकिस्तान पर भरोसा नहीं किया जा सकता और तब यह धर्म और सम्प्रदायवाद का यह आन्तिकारक रंग काश्मीर पर से हट गया तो निश्चय ही पश्चिम पाकिस्तान को आक्रमणकारी करार दे देगा और काश्मीर भारत के साथ संलग्न होने को आजाद हो जायेगा।

दो बातें इस बीच में हमें कर लेनी हैं। हमें इस आंति में नहीं रहना है कि पाकिस्तान लड़ने पर आमादा नहीं होगा और न हमें अपनी सैनिक शक्ति के बारे में अरुत से ज्यादा आत्म-विश्वास होकर लुप चाप बैठे रहना है। लियाकत अली खां

ने साफ चेतावनी दे दी है कि काश्मीर के मामले में जब तक न्यायसंगत और उचित फैसला नहीं हो जाता तब तक भारत और पाकिस्तान के बीच इत्तिका और मैत्री के रिश्ते अन्तिम रूप से कायम नहीं हो सकते। इसका अर्थ यह होता है कि भारत काश्मीर पर से अपना दावा हटा ले। जब लियाकत अमेरिका में थे तो भारत से पाकिस्तान की रक्षा करने का वहाना बनाकर उन्होंने अमेरिका से सैनिक संरजाम सम्बन्धी सहयोग की बातचीत चलाई थी। हाल ही में उन्होंने घोषित किया है कि "जब तक काश्मीर मुक्त नहीं हो जाता, मैं जैन नहीं लूंगा।" पाकिस्तान इस समय विदेशों से भरपूर लडाई के सामान मंगवा रहा है और कभी भी, किसी भी मोर्चे पर वह हिन्दुस्तान के साथ टक्कर लेने की पूरी तैयारी कर चुका है। ये कुछ ऐसे अशुभ जिन्हें ही जिनकी अज्ञानता हम अपने को खतरे में डालकर ही कर सकते हैं।

('मदर इंडिया' के सम्पादकीय के अनुचित)

वेदों, उपनिषदों और बाद के पवित्र साहित्य

युद्ध के बाद

श्री अरविन्द

अनु० श्री आनन्दीलाल जी तिवारी

वे अभी भी चक्र रहीं हैं क्योंकि उनमें उनकी पुरानी गति का बल अभी शेष है, क्योंकि हर चीज में अपना सन्धान करने की स्वाभाविक प्रवृत्ति रहती है और वे तब तक रहेंगी भी जब तक लोगों के चिरकालीन मानसिक और प्राणिक अभ्यास की जड़ प्रवृत्ति पर उनका कुछ भी प्रभाव है और जब तक कि भविष्य की नयी शक्तियों के वर्धमान और बढ़ीयमानपन ने उन्हें हकेल नहीं दिया है। इतना तय है कि उनकी हर एक हलचल (इन शक्तियों की) इस ताकत को बढ़ाती है; और चाहे वे अपने ही नियम पर हटपूर्वक जोर देकर या उन नये नियमों के साथ जो आगे चल कर उनका स्थान छीन लेंगे—सौदा और समझौता करके अपना जीवन सम्भालना चाहें, उनका हर एक कदम उन्हें मृत्यु की ओर ही लिये जा रहा है। हमारे लिये अधिक लाभप्रद यही होगा कि हम उन नयी शक्तियों का सन्धान करें जो अग्रचक्र अभी वर्तमान पर अपना स्वामित्व कायम नहीं कर पायी हैं तो भी उसके भारी और दुःसह किन्तु अन्त में अंगुर बोझ के खिलाफ अपनी प्रतिष्ठा के लिये हट कर संघर्ष कर रही हैं।

युद्ध चलते चलते ही यह प्रगट हो गया था कि दो बड़े प्रश्न हैं जिन्हें यह युद्ध सुलझा तो नहीं पायगा लेकिन जिनके उभरने के लिये यह जमीन तैयार कर देगा:—(१) पूंजी और श्रम का बढ़ता हुआ विरोध, (२) एशिया का प्रश्न जो प्रतियोगी शोषकों का आपसी झगड़ा न रह कर आक्रमक यूरोप और नवोदित एशिया का सीधा मुकाबला बन गया था। यों, युद्ध का तात्कालिक स्वरूप जर्मन राष्ट्रीयता और मध्यमवर्गीय उदार-नीतिवाद जिसका प्रतिनिधित्व यहां पश्चिमी देश-फ्रान्स, इंग्लैंड, अमरीका आदि कर रहे थे—की हार-जीत का था। और इस वर्तमान प्रश्न के सुलझने तक भविष्य के लिये अधिक महत्ववान उक्त दो प्रश्न पृष्ठभूमि में रहे जायें। पूंजी और श्रम में एक अल्पकालिक सन्धि हो गयी जिसका कारण कोई भीतर की मेल नहीं बल्कि उतने समय के लिये राष्ट्रीयता के भाव की एकाग्र प्रबलता थी जिसकी तुलना में विशुद्ध समाजवादी विचार की आन्तर राष्ट्रीयता बड़ी फीकी और कमजोर पड़ती थी। इसका यह अर्थ नहीं कि इन दो विरोधी वर्गों के मन निर्मल हो गये और उनका पुनर्मिलन हो गया था; यह तो एक सुन्दर पर निरर्थक सपना था जो उस विरोध के शमन का कारण बन सकने में विलकुल अयोग्य था। साथ ही एशिया का सबाल भी स्थगित रहा; बीच-बीच में तो तब तक सभ्यता को चहारदीवारी के बाहर मानी-गयी उन जातियों को इन उदार-मत-वादी साम्राज्यों ने आत्म निर्णय, या स्वतन्त्रता या उससे कुछ कम किन्तु आकर्षक प्रलोभन भी दिये। किसी प्रकार की स्वतन्त्र प्रवृत्ति में असमर्थ एशिया के राष्ट्र उस पक्ष के साथ हो लिये जिसकी सफलता उन्हें कुछ उम्मीद देती थी या जिससे अपने ऊपर संकट की कम-से कम आशंका थी। लेकिन यह सब अब अतीत की चीज है। स्वाभाविक और अनिवार्य सम्बन्ध फिर जम गए हैं और ये बड़े प्रश्न फिर आगे आ रहे हैं। पूंजी और श्रम का यह आधुनिक विरोध एक नयी अवस्था में पहुँच गया है; और ये दो अतिशय विरुद्ध सिद्धान्त अपने अन्तिम और निर्णायक संघर्ष की ओर बढ़ रहे हैं। एशिया में पराधीनता, पररक्षितता और उसके ही नये संस्करण (mandate) की परबलता के पुराने शासन और एशिया की जातियों की समानता और स्वतन्त्रता की स्पष्ट साधिका मांग में क्लेशकश शुरु हो गयी हैं। वर्तमान के मंच पर और जो कुछ अभी भी नजर आ रहा है वह या तो अतीत के मिट रहे अवशेष हैं या उसमें सम्पूर्ण विलय के चिन्ह; निकट भविष्य के सजीव प्रश्न तो ये दो ही हैं।

पूंजीवाद और समाजवाद की शक्तियां आज यूरोप भर में एक दूसरे को निहार रही हैं—बाकी सब भेद मिट रहे हैं, प्रत्येक देश में उसके अन्य भीतरी विरोध निरर्थक होते जा रहे हैं। सिर्फ लड़ने की देर है। वास्तविक सत्ता अभी भी मध्यम वर्गीय शासन के हाथ में है। अबोध जनता के मन पर अभी भी उसका प्रभाव है और अपनी स्थिति कायम रखने के लिए वह अपनी सारी शक्तियां जुटा रहा है लेकिन इस प्रभाव का कारण एक तो उसकी सत्ता-जन्य प्रतिष्ठा है, दूसरे, मनुष्य किसी अनिश्चित परिणाम अभिक्रम की तुलना में वर्तमान दुःख सहते रहना इष्ट मानता है। अब इसके मुकाबले में रूस का पहला क्रांतिकारी और समाजवाद निष्ठ सफल राज्य है। उसके जन्मकाल में ही उसे कुचल देने की इसकी सारी कोशिश निष्फल हो गयी है, यद्यपि यह सही है कि अभी तक उसे अलग रखने, घेरकर उसका आयात-निर्यात बन्द करने, उसे अलग-थलग मारने तथा उसके पश्चिममुखी प्रवाह के खिलाफ एक कुत्रिम सीमा खड़ी करने और बदनामी के अटूट आक्रमण द्वारा उसके प्रमुख विचारों का विस्तार रोकने में यह कामयाब हुआ है। दूसरी ओर, दुनिया की आर्थिक हालत वर्ष-प्रति वर्ष खराब होती जा रही है और यह प्रकट हो गया है कि पूंजीवाद की न केवल नैतिक प्रतिष्ठा चली गयी है बल्कि वह उन सब व्यवहारिक सबलों को भी नहीं सुलझा सकता जिन्हें उसने खुद उठाया और इस भङ्गने की स्थिति तक पहुँचाया है और साथ साथ वह इन समस्याओं के दूसरे उपायों का रास्ता भी रोक रहा है। हर वर्ष इन प्रतिरुद्ध संघर्षों में समाजवादी विचार की ताकत और उसके अनुयायियों की संख्या, तैयारी और उत्साह बढ़ता जा रहा है। इसमें सन्देह नहीं कि पुराना शासन-तन्त्र हर जगह अपनी ताकत कस रहा है और इकट्ठी कर रहा है, पर यह बात ज्यादा दिन तक नहीं चल सकती। क्रांतिकारी फ्रांस और यूरोप के युद्ध का पहला परिणाम भी यही हुआ था, तत्कालीन राजतन्त्र और अतिजन-तन्त्र भी अपनी ताकत खोया और सुदृढ़ करने में लग गये थे। लेकिन उस समय तो क्रांति का वेग कुछ काल के लिए शिथिल और कमजोर हो गया था, इस बार ऐसा नहीं है क्रांति की धारा सिर्फ प्रतिहत हो रही है, इसके सिवा विचारों और दूसरी शक्तियों का संचित बल जो परिवर्तन का विधान करता है पहले की अपेक्षा बेहद ज्यादा है। सर्वत्र जो साधन इकट्ठे हो रहे हैं, उन्हें देख कर ऐसा लगता है कि बड़ी सामाजिक राजनीतिक और सामाजिक और आर्थिक उलट-पुलट, शायद दबाया जायगा उतनी ही उनकी ताकत बढ़ेगी।

भविष्य में क्या होगा, इसका सूचन इस चीज से होता है कि रूसी क्रांति लगातार चल रही है और सफलता पूर्वक प्रगति कर रही है। मनुष्य के इतिहास में यह घटना उतनीही अर्थ और महत्वशालिनी सिद्ध होगी जितना अठारहवीं सदी की फ्रांस की राज क्रांति द्वारा प्रेरित दीर्घकाल की प्रतिष्ठित संस्थाओं और विचारों का उत्पादन, और हो सकता है कि आगामी पीढ़ी इस युद्ध को जर्मनी की पराजय के लिए नहीं, इसलिए याद करे। और इस क्रांति का महत्व वर्तमान बोलशेविक शासन के गुण दोषों या उसकी स्थिरता आदि पर निर्भर नहीं करता, वह स्वतन्त्र है। बोलशेविक तानाशाही तो संकमल का एक साधन मात्र है, क्रांति की शक्ति का एक अस्थायी विधान, ठीक जैसा सुप्रिम कौंसिल और उसके द्वारा समर्थित शासन-तन्त्र

परिवर्तन की विरोधी शत्रु शक्तियों का। इस असाधारण शासन तन्त्र को कामयाबियां भी काफी आश्चर्यजनक हैं। भीतर और बाहर, दोनों दिशाओं से उसे पराजित करने की कोशिश की गई है, घेरा विठा कर उसे भुखा मारा गया है; जीवन निर्वाह के सारे साधनों से उसे वर्चित किया गया है, उसके पास केवल उतनाही रह गया है जितना वह आप ही उत्पन्न कर सका या जीत सका, बार बार वह पतन की धरार तक खींच लाया गया है। लेकिन वह न केवल इन सब संकटों और बाधाओं को पार कर गया है बल्कि उसने हर एक आपत्ति से नयी शक्ति पायी है, अपने भीतरी शत्रुओं को पराजित किया है और बाहरी शत्रुओं का प्रहार अडिग रह कर सह लिया है। अपनी सीमाओं के उस पार एशिया में उसने अपना विस्तार किया है, अराजकता में से शक्तिशाली राजकीय और सैनिक यन्त्र का निर्माण किया है और अभाव, गृह-संघर्ष अथवा बाहरी आक्रमण की आशंका जैसी भौषण परिस्थिति में रह कर भी एक नवीन समाज की नींव डालने की सामर्थ दिखाई है। वैसे, मनुष्य की शक्ति का यह असाधारण कृतित्व विलकुल नया नहीं है। फ्रांस की राज क्रांति में जैकोबिन लोगों ने भी ऐसा ही पराक्रम दिखाया था, यद्यपि उसकी अपेक्षा इसकी परिस्थितियां अधिक प्रतिकूल रहीं हैं। ज्यादा महत्व इन सफलताओं के पीछे विद्यमान उस विशिष्ट विचार की शक्ति का है जिसने इसे सम्भव बनाया है। कुछ ही काल पहले बोलशेविक लोगों पर मास्को खोने की बारी आ गयी थी और अब वे वास्तव की ओर बढ़ते जा रहे हैं, यह चीज केवल एक बाहरी ओर महत्व रखती है। उससे ज्यादा महत्व तो इस चीज का है कि पश्चिम के राज्य आधुनिक काल की इस पहली सफल सरकार से, यद्यपि वे इसे एक आसुरी रचना और सभ्यता पर आया हुआ संकट मानकर नष्ट करने की इच्छा रखते हैं तो भी, संधि करने के लिए बाध्य हुए हैं। लेकिन वास्तविक इन सारी घटनाओं का महत्व नहीं है जो मिट सकती थीं और शायद अभी भी मिट सकेंगी और इतिहास के विशाल प्रवाह का मामूली किस्सा बनकर रह जाय। सर्वाधिक महत्व इस बात का है कि एक ऐसा बड़ा राष्ट्र जो मानव-समाज का एक भावी नेता होने की योग्यता रखता है भविष्य की अन्धेरी कन्दरा में साहस पूर्वक कूद गया है, अपनी पुरानी नींव उसने मंग कर दी है, समाजवाद के एक एहदम मौलिक प्रयोग है, उसने योजना की है और लगातार वह उसी उद्योग में जुटा हुआ है। मध्यम वर्गीय पार्लामेंटरी शासन-पद्धति की जगह एक नया शासन-तन्त्र कायम किया है और अपने स्वायत्त जीवन का नया पराक्रम एक नितान्त नयी समाज रचना के प्रवर्तन में नियोजित किया है। विश्वास और पराक्रम के एसे सुमहत् प्रयत्न ही मनुष्य की प्रगति धारा का पथ परिवर्तन या उद्दीपन करते हैं। इसका यह अर्थ नहीं कि जो कुछ हो रहा है वह भावी समाज रचना का अभीष्ट या निश्चित आदर्श है, नहीं, यह तो एक चिन्ह है कि सभ्यता का एक युग बीत रहा है और काल विधाता एक नये युग और नयी रचना की तैयारी कर रहा है। बहुत सम्भव है कि यह समाजवाद का विचार पश्चिम की ओर अग्रसर होने में काफी समय ले

और इस यात्रा में उसका रूप-रंग भी काफी बदल जाय, लेकिन उसकी प्रगति बराबर हो रही है। सब जगह श्रमिकों का आन्दोलन अपना सुधारवादी चोला उतार रहा है और समाजवादी आकार ग्रहण कर रहा है, यद्यपि बीच-बीच में कुछ रुकता सा है। अभी तक श्रमिक-आन्दोलन समाज में योग्य स्थान और शासन में अपने प्राप्य भाग के लिये लड़ रहा था, अब यह मांग पुरानी पड़ गयी है आज के स्वीकृत आदर्श के अनुसार उसकी नयी मांग यह है कि समाज की पूंजीमूलक रचना मंग भी जाय, और सामाजिक प्रतिष्ठा तथा राजकीय शक्ति का आधार धन की जगह श्रम माना जाय। आन्दोलन के भीतर जो मतभेद दिखते हैं वे अब सिद्धान्त पर नहीं हैं बल्कि निस समाजवादी शासन और समाज का निर्माण करना है उसका ठीक रूप क्या होगा, इस परिवर्तन के साधन क्या होंगी, विधि क्या होगी—इत्यादि पर है। इस आन्दोलन की प्रगति में अब यह मतभेद ही एक बाधा है, संघर्ष का आधार तो तय हो गया पर उसका छिन्ना इसीलिये रुका हुआ है। एक उल्लेखनीय विशेषता यह है कि इस समाजवादी और वर्गवादी विचार की ताकत पूर्व की ओर बढ़ती है और ज्यों-ज्यों पश्चिम की ओर जायें त्यों-त्यों घटती है। आन्दोलन का प्रसरण पश्चिम से पूर्व की ओर नहीं, पूर्व से पश्चिम की ओर हो रहा है। हर जगह इन अतिवादी ताकतों का जोर बढ़ रहा है, यहां तक कि धन-तन्त्र मूलक अमेरिका में भी उनका प्रभाव गीचर होने लगा है। अस्तु, गति में चाहे जितनी बाधा हो धारा की दिशा साफ दिख रही है और परिणाम अब संदिग्ध नहीं रह गया है। अपने आज के पूंजी-प्रधान-उद्योगवाद के रूप में वर्तमान यूरोप की सभ्यता क्रूर प्रति की सीमा तक पहुँच गयी है, अपने ही बोझ से अब वह टूट गयी है। और उसका विनाश अनिवार्य हो गया है। भविष्य का संघर्ष तो जिन दो पक्षों में होना है उनमें एक ओर तो होगा श्रम-प्रधान उद्योगवाद जो अपने पूर्ववर्ती से संगठन को छोड़ अन्यथा अभिन्न होगा, समाजवादी या वर्गवादी समाज का कुछ संस्कृत भाव और रूप तथा दूसरी ओर अद्यापि अग्रोचर किसी नये सिद्धान्त का अन्वेषण।

यदि आप संक्षिप्त में यह जानना चाहते हैं कि श्री अरविन्द का योग क्या है उसकी साधना कैसे करनी चाहिये, लक्ष्य क्या है तो—

“श्री अरविन्द का पूर्णयोग”
पढ़िये। मूल्य 11।।)

★

यदि एक साधक का जीवन संग्राम देखना चाहते हैं तो

सत्य का सैनिक

(आध्यात्मिक नाटक) पढ़िये। मूल्य १।)

मिलने का पता:—

श्री अरविन्द जाग्रम, पांडीचेरी से श्री अरविन्द सर्किल, १२, रेम्पार्ट रो, फोर्ट, बम्बई।
और वहीलर के बुकस्टॉल्स।

LYRA MYSTICA—Continued from page 4

permanent with the magical instrument of symbolic language the fugitive rainbows of his blissful experiences. Prose with its logical framework will stifle the transcendent Truth or empty it of its sublime content. Only poetry can dare to seize the elusive, to apprehend the inapprehensible. What Dr. Johnson called the "metaphysical conceits" of the school of Donne, Crashaw and Vaughan were no more than some of the letters in the alphabet of mystical poetry. Faced with the almost insuperable difficulty of having to express through the medium of words what is truly unwordable, the poet bravely—perhaps not always wisely or successfully—invents a symbolic language of his own, thereby laying himself open to the charge of obscurity, mistiness, or intellectual jugglery. But we are not to judge mystical poetry by a reference to the failures, but rather by a reverent scrutiny of the undoubted successes. So judged, what have we to say in praise of the mystic poets? In their Introduction to the *Oxford Book of English Mystical Verse*, Messrs. Nicholson and Lee write: "By the rhythm and glamour of their verse, by its peculiar quality of suggesting infinitely more than it ever says directly, by its very elasticity, they (the mystics) struggle to give what hints they may of the Reality that is eternally underlying all things. And it is precisely through that rhythm and that glamour and the high enchantment of their writing that some rays gleam from the Light which is supernal".

Poetry no doubt is based on everyday life, on the primary human emotions and actions; but great poetry, while springing from life, yet challengingly transcends the plane of actuality and brings to us intimations of a more comprehensive, a more integral, consciousness. In the oft-quoted words of Shakespeare,

*The poet's eye, in a fine frenzy rolling,
Doth glance from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven;
And, as the imagination bodies forth
The forms of things unknown, the poet's pen
Turns them to shapes.*

Man's predicament in this "too too sullied world" is none too happy. He is betwixt and between an endless series of antinomies: form and disorder, good and evil, beauty and ugliness, fixt fate and free will. How shall man conduct himself on Life's scaffold? How shall man "live", wisely and usefully? All great poets are sooner or later driven to explore answers to these fundamental questions. They cannot evade these questions without ceasing to be poets at the same time. This does not, of course, mean that there will be unanimity in the answers, or that answers will be forthcoming in every instance. The consciousness of the problem is the main thing. For the rest, each poet has his own way of storming the gates of felicity, or reconciling himself to this life of futility without those charmed gates that still beckon only to discomfit him more and more.

Spenser was by no means a mystic, properly so called. But he had a feeling for beauty which amounted almost to religious fervour, and he seemed to see in ideal Beauty the solution of all his obstreperous doubts and difficulties. Was it no more than a species of intellectual escapism? Yet the inspiration behind such a passage as this cannot be dismissed so cheaply:

*Ah, then, my hungry soul! which long has fed
On idle fancies of thy foolish thought,
And, with false beauties' flattering bait misled,
Hast after deceitful vain shadows sought,
Which all are fled, and now have left thee nought
But late repentance through thy folly's proof;
Ah! cease to gaze on matter of thy grief:
And look at last up to that sovereign Light,
From whose pure beams all perfect beauty springs,
That kindleth love in every godly spright,
Even the Love of God; which loathing brings
Of this vile world and these gay-seeming things;
With whose sweet pleasures being so possessed,
Thy straying thoughts henceforth forever rest.*

Milton, again, was confronted often during his all too chequered life by the

To be concluded in the next issue

nightmare, Unbelief, but the shocks and defeats of his life notwithstanding, he was able to affirm in the fulness of his ripe old age:

*Just are the ways of God,
And justifiable to men.*

Shakespeare, a greater poetic power than either Spenser or Milton, created characters like Hamlet and Lear who are akin rather to disturbed apocalyptic visions, or, to vary the simile, to anguished knight-errants of the spirit. As Shakespeare saw it, the problem was stark in its simplicity. Sorrow is, pain is the guerdon of our lives; the world is an unweeded garden that grows to seed; the time is out of joint, and the vaunted epic of human history is no more than a tale told by an idiot, full of mere sound and fury, signifying nothing. What then? Hamlet-Shakespeare wrestles with the monster, Unbelief, or quests after Certainty, and the struggle and the quest are exhausting to a degree. But when he is about to die, Hamlet makes this astonishing speech:

*Absent thee from felicity awhile. . .
The rest is silence.*

It is of a piece with his earlier assurance to Horatio: "There is a special providence in the fall of a sparrow". Hamlet, then, had safely come through the suicide-straits of doubt and despair. He knows that "felicity" awaits him, and that ineffable "silence" will henceforth claim him. He has, it would seem, wrested from Nature her final secret. It is true Shakespeare is primarily a dramatic poet, not a mystic; but the spirit informs the greatest flights of his muse and thereby gives them a soul-quality which we cannot miss. Carlyle, for instance, rightly reads into Prospero's famous speech—

*Our revels now are ended. These our actors,
As I foretold you, were all spirit and
Are melted into air, into thin air:
And, like the baseless fabric of this vision,
The cloud-capped towers, the gorgeous palaces,
The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve
And, like this insubstantial pageant faded,
Leave not a rack behind. We are such stuff
Are dreams are made on, and our little life
Is rounded with a sleep—*

the philosophy of transcendentalism. The Earth-Spirit says in Goethe's *Faust*:

*'Tis thus at the roaring Loom of Time I ply,
And weave for God the Garment thou seest Him by;*

and the entire visible universe, ever changing yet forever the same, is itself the Garment of God. Who can deny that, so interpreted, Prospero's speech is truly informed by something like a mystic vision of ultimate Reality?

Although it is thus legitimate to discover in the work of a great dramatist like Shakespeare revelatory passages charged with spiritual urgency or significance, it is still uncritical to class him with Donne, Crashaw, or Traherne, or with Blake, Wordsworth, or Francis Thompson. Shakespeare is no God-intoxicated creature like Vaughan, Traherne, Blake and the typical mystic poets; he is not ceaselessly preoccupied in affirming the filiations between man and Nature as are Cowper and Wordsworth; and he is no philosophical or religious poet in the sense in which Bridges and Hopkins are. Of the major English poets, Chaucer is least possessed by religion; Spenser but intellectually, Shakespeare but incidentally, and Tennyson but conventionally, show the influence of religion in their poetry. It is a very different matter with the "metaphysical poets" of the seventeenth century, as also with later poets such as Blake, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Shelley, Browning, Rossetti, Patmore, Emily Bronte, Francis Thompson, A.E., Yeats, Hopkins, and T. S. Eliot. In these and in other modern English, American and Indian poets—Whitman, William Rose Benet, Edwin Arlington Robinson, Rabindranath Tagore, and Sri Aurobindo, to name a few at random—we may gather poetic gems of the purest ray serene quarried from the Spirit's inexhaustible Ground.

Secret Fire

The fire of the heart is a crystal mist,
A towering torch of white flame
That leaps and sears a path of rest
To the living sound of your Name.

The fire of the heart is a lighted way
Through the netherlands of the night
Blazing a road of eternal day
To the home of the ever-Bright.

The fire of the heart is the Blood of your
Grace,

Like a distillate of pearls;
O I would behold your wondrous Face
At the hidden heart of the worlds.

ELEANOR A. MONTGOMERY

The Rhythmic Arc

We are in silence bowed—the green night fades—
Into the mystic pathway of the glades
A soft light shines and calls us ever on,
Like moonbeams through some sacred mullion.

A low hum whispers, arching the lonely sky,
Bending the star-drift's vast periphery
To kiss the Mother-Soul in wonder born—
O Lord, we see Thy coming with the Morn;

The Voice is heard beyond the shades of Night,
And from the very darkness issues Light.

NORMAN C. DOWSETT

SRI AUROBINDO, THE LEADER OF THE EVOLUTION

PART II OF "THE WORLD CRISIS AND INDIA"

By "Synergist"

SECTION III : THE NEW WORLD-VIEW

(a) THE SPIRITUAL METAPHYSIC

(ii) KNOWLEDGE OF THE DIVINE REALITY

Continued from previous issue

THE NATURE OF MAN'S IGNORANCE AND ITS CAUSES

In the last essay the epistemological and psychological basis on which man's knowledge of the external world and himself is organised was found to be highly inadequate for having an understanding of the working of the cosmic process, the nature of man and his relation to the Divine Reality. It was then pointed out that this narrow basis is really responsible for the limitations in his knowledge, or rather, his illumined ignorance. In this essay we shall see the nature of this ignorance and its causes. Sri Aurobindo says that since it is from the Ignorance that we proceed to the Knowledge, we have first to discover the secret nature and full extent of the Ignorance. In the following extract taken from *The Life Divine*, he discusses this problem: "If we look at this Ignorance in which ordinarily we live by the very circumstance of our separative existence in a material, in a spatial and temporal universe, we see that on its obscurer side it reduces itself, from whatever direction we look at or approach it, into the fact of a many-sided self-ignorance. We are ignorant of the Absolute which is the source of all being and becoming; we take partial facts of being, temporal relations of the becoming for the whole truth of existence,—that is the first, the original ignorance. We are ignorant of the spaceless, timeless, immobile and immutable self; we take the constant mobility and mutation of the cosmic becoming in Time and Space for the whole truth of existence,—that is the second, the cosmic ignorance. We are ignorant of our universal self, the cosmic existence, the cosmic consciousness, our infinite unity with all being and becoming; we take our limited egoistic mentality, vitality, corporeality for our true self and regard everything other than that as not-self,—that is the third, the egoistic ignorance. We are ignorant of our eternal becoming in Time; we take this little life in a small span of Time, in a petty field of Space for our beginning, our middle and our end,—that is the fourth, the temporal ignorance. Even within this brief temporal becoming we are ignorant of our large and complex being, of that in us which is superconscious, subconscious, intraconscious, circumconscious to our surface becoming; we take that surface becoming with its small selection of overtly mentalised experiences for our whole existence,—that is the fifth, the psychological ignorance. We are ignorant of the true constitution of our becoming; we take the mind or life or body or any two of these or all three for our true principle or the whole account of what we are, losing sight of that which constitutes them and determines by its occult presence and is meant to determine sovereignly by its emergence their operations,—that is the sixth, the constitutional ignorance. As a result of all these ignorances, we miss the true knowledge, government and enjoyment of our life in the world; we are ignorant in our thought, will, sensations, actions, return wrong or imperfect responses at every point to the questionings of the world, wander in a maze of errors and desires, strivings and failures, pain and pleasure, sin and stumbling, follow a crooked road, grope blindly for a changing goal,—that is the seventh, the practical ignorance.

"Our conception of the Ignorance will necessarily determine our conception of the Knowledge and determine, therefore, since our life is the Ignorance at once denying and seeking after the Knowledge, the goal of human effort and the aim of the cosmic endeavour. Integral knowledge will then mean the cancelling of the sevenfold Ignorance by the discovery of what it misses and ignores, a sevenfold self-revelation within our consciousness—it will mean the knowledge of the Absolute as the origin of all things; the knowledge of the Self, the Spirit, the Being and of the cosmos as the Self's becoming, the becoming of the Being, a manifestation of the Spirit; the knowledge of the world as one with us in the consciousness of our true self, thus cancelling our division from it by the separative idea and life of ego; the knowledge of our psychic entity and its immortal persistence in Time beyond death and earth-existence; the knowledge of our greater and inner existence behind the surface; the knowledge of our mind, life and body in its true relation to the self within and the superconscious spiritual and supramental being above them; the knowledge, finally, of the true harmony and true use of our thought, will and action and a change of all our nature into a conscious expression of the truth of the Spirit, the Self, the Divinity, the integral spiritual Reality.

"But this is not an intellectual knowledge which can be learned and completed in our present mould of consciousness; it must be an experience, a becoming, a change of consciousness, a change of being. This brings in the evolutionary character of the Becoming and the fact that our mental ignorance is only a stage in our evolution. The integral knowledge, then, can only come by an evolution of our being and our nature, and that would seem to signify a slow process in Time such as has accompanied the other evolutionary transformations. But as against that inference there is the

fact that the evolution has now become conscious and its method and steps need not be altogether of the same character as when it was subconscious in its process. The integral knowledge, since it must result from a change of consciousness, can be gained by a process in which our will and endeavour have a part, in which they can discover and apply their own steps and method; its growth in us can proceed by a conscious self-transformation. It is necessary then to see what is likely to be the principle of this new process of evolution and what are the movements of the integral knowledge that must necessarily emerge in it,—or, in other words, what is the nature of the consciousness that must be the base of the life divine and how that life may be expected to be formed or to form itself, to materialise or, as one might say, to 'realise'."

This statement makes quite clear the nature of man's ignorance. Now its causes remain to be examined. First we shall see its psychological causes; its metaphysical roots, its foundation in the Inconscient, will be discussed later when the relation of Being to Becoming, of the Transcendent Reality to Its cosmic manifestation is examined.

In the last essay the limitations of man's knowledge—his self-knowledge, world-knowledge, God-knowledge,—as well as the epistemological reasons for his narrow and defective mode of acquiring it were pointed out; we can now proceed further and diagnose its psychological causes. In the beginning of *The World Crisis and India* this point was only briefly discussed; it will be necessary to embark upon a more detailed discussion here.

We have seen that man uses mostly his surface-mentality in his attempts to attain knowledge; this is because he lives in his outer being. His consciousness is one-pointedly focused in his surface being, with the result that he is utterly oblivious of the other dimensions of his personality, other ranges of consciousness—not only the chaotic subconscious with its under-lying strata of the dark and inchoate Inconscient, but also the more luminous mental, vital and subtle-physical with the still deeper soul ranges, and the wide and all-embracing cosmic as well as the gnostic superconscious ranges, at the summit of which is the Supermind. These inner and higher regions are shut away from him behind the veil of his surface being because the centralising stress of his consciousness is in his outer personality; whatever contact is there between the inner and the outer is through the interstices in the veil. Further, this ego-personality tries to shut itself away from the cosmic energies; it allows only so much as can be centralised around itself, and rejects the rest as not-self. It establishes an indirect communication with the rest of the world—the not-self—through the senses, and the mind uses this sense-data for building its own conceptions and creates a system of knowledge. But this defence against the influx of cosmic mental, vital and material forces is inadequate, for all beings are connected with Cosmic Nature and with other beings through a net-work of subtle energies—all have the source of their nature-personality in Cosmic Nature, Prakriti, which flows into all and moulds them. Each being's personality—his mental, vital and physical life—is penetrated by currents of thought, will, emotion, and forces of all kinds from others as well as from Cosmic Nature.

This dwelling on the surface of his being by shutting himself away from his inner and higher ranges and from the Cosmic, is the cause of the limitations in his knowledge. But as man is an evolving creature, this cannot be the permanent state of his being and consciousness. In a larger and more luminous vision, it can be seen that this constructed ego is only a provisional device employed by Cosmic Nature to create stable yet plastic individual formations in a world of universal flux, in order to create eventually a suitable instrumental nature-personality for the soul-being behind, the true individual who is a direct emanation of the Transcendent Divine. This soul-being gradually gets greater and greater control over his outer natural instruments, which are its means of self-expression till finally he becomes their master. In Vedantic terminology it can be stated that at first *purusha* is enmeshed in the workings of *prakriti*, but as he learns gradually to extricate himself, he becomes the Witness, detached and aloof; and finally the lord and giver of the sanction to its movements.

Nature's justification for creating an ego was stated in the essay "Struggle for Existence" in *The World Crisis and India*. It was pointed out that during the early evolutionary period man had to become aware of his separate existence in order to affirm himself—that he had to distinguish himself from the rest as a separate "I", a physical-vital-mental ego. This was necessary, as we have seen, to create an instrumental nature personality for the true individual behind. So long as his consciousness was submerged in the mass-consciousness he could not look upon himself as self—a distinct separate entity, and the rest as not-self; so it was neces-

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IN THE MOTHER'S LIGHT

THE SUB-CONSCIENT AND THE INCONSCIENT

By RISHABHCHAND

The Inconscient is the origin of the evolutionary creation. It is an apparent negation of the superconscient, an infinite abyss of absolute darkness in which the transcendent omnipresent Reality gets involved for playing at self-loss and self-finding, for the delight of a plunge and a subsequent emergence, a progressive evolution into multiple forms and a manifold self-expression. The engulfing darkness of the Inconscient turns the eternal effulgent substance of Reality into Matter, the dense and obscure primal substrate. In this fathomless night of existence or apparent non-existence, there is no stirring of life or mind, only a blind mighty Energy weaves stupendous systems of worlds and suns and moons and star-clusters and planets, as if in a dumb creative sleep. Out of this tranced involution of the Spirit in Matter evolved Life, making the earth smile with a splendour of verdant beauty and shudder with a secret, unknown delight. With Life emerges consciousness, first, as faint shadowy sense-tremors, then as sensations, then as instincts, impulsions, volitions, feelings and later as a sort of rudimentary reason, which constitute the variegated marvels of animal creation. Last emerges man out of the animal, with a far more evolved set of organs and faculties, a more extended and sensitive gamut of psychological functioning and a fully conscious mind equipped with a developed reason and a self-directing will. But however free and self-directing man's will may be, however wide and limpid his waking consciousness, the roots of his life and nature lie still embedded in the swamps of the Inconscient. The inertia, the insensibility, the ignorance, the dual tendency of atomic aggregation and disaggregation, attraction and repulsion, play such a dominant role in his life and nature that he can be called only a super-animal or a sub-man, rather than a full-fledged man. His conservatism, his unwillingness and inability to change, his forgetfulness of his divine origin and essence, his easy subjection to doubts and dull fatigues, to disease and death are all a trailing heritage from inconscient Matter. Besides, there are in Matter the seed-impressions of all the past cycles of creation, the brute instincts and hungers, the falsehood, the ugliness, the ingratitude and the perversity, which surge up to eclipse the soul of man and prolong the reign of Ignorance in his nature.

The Sub-conscient is above the Inconscient and just below our surface physical consciousness, below the threshold, as it is called. It is, to quote Sri Aurobindo, "the extreme border of our inner existence where it meets the Inconscient; it is a degree of our being in which the Inconscient struggles into a half-consciousness; the surface physical consciousness also, when it sinks back from the working level and retrogresses towards the Inconscient, retires into the intermediate Sub-conscience. Or, from another viewpoint, this nether part of us may be described as the antechamber of the Inconscient through which its formations rise into our waking or our subliminal being. When we sleep and the surface physical part of us, which is in its first origin here an output from the Inconscient, relapses towards the originating inconscience, it enters into this sub-conscious element, antechamber or substratum, and there it finds the impressions of its past or persistent habits of mind and experiences,—for all have left their mark on our sub-conscious part and have there a power of recurrence. In its effect on our waking self this recurrence often takes the form of a reassertion of old habits, impulses dormant or suppressed, rejected elements of the nature, or it comes up as some other not so easily recognisable, some peculiar disguised or subtle result of these suppressed or rejected but not erased impulses or elements."

The Sub-conscient is the builder of most of our dreams, the source of our mechanical, repetitive habits and idiosyncrasies and the seed-bed of most of the obstinate ailments, physical or mental, to which we are all too prone. It is the repository of all our life-impressions which it throws up pell-mell from time to time, either in dreams or in the waking state, to cloud or confuse our consciousness and disturb our poise and balance. The animal propensities, the passions and cravings of the lower nature, when renounced or rejected by the waking self, sink into the Sub-conscient and bide their time for a vindictive eruption. That is why, in spite of our best efforts, the old Adam often takes us by surprise and knocks down many a Vishwamitra from a hard-won eminence of poise and purity. Only what is erased, as Sri Aurobindo puts it, expunged and utterly expelled from the nature, disappears for ever.

It is clear from the above description that the roots of our being, especially of the vital-physical being, lie deep in the Sub-conscient and the Inconscient out of which we have emerged by evolution, and unless we illumine and transform them, our nature cannot become free and pure, even as our soul is free and pure. We may attain to the freedom of the soul or the Self, but we shall remain more or less bound to nature and her three modes, so long as we live on earth; our peace and purity, knowledge and bliss will be always menaced or darkened by the waves from the Sub-conscient and the Inconscient. An integral purification and transformation of the whole being is the only means of realising an integral union with the Divine in life, and for this a radical purification and conversion of the Sub-conscient and the Inconscient is an indispensable condition. If we have understood it, we shall be able to understand why Mother speaks again and again of these nether regions, their exploration and conquest;

why she has dived into their murky depths, touched with her fingers "the horror of the inconscience", invoked from there a descent of the Divine and come out to announce to humanity: "A new light shall break upon the earth, a new world shall be born."

It is said that one day a young man came to Vivekananda and took his seat in the room where he was discoursing on spiritual matters to a spell-bound audience. When the discourse was over and the crowd thinned, the young man approached the Swami and asked him with an evident earnestness, "What should I do to progress in spirituality?" The Swami turned his large penetrating eyes upon him, took his measure at a glance and queried, "Can you tell lies?" "No, Sir", was the bewildered reply. "Go and try to tell lies," counselled the intrepid preacher of Vedanta and, when the young man was gone, turned towards his friends and disciples saying, "Can you teach virtue to a wall? That young man is like a wall, a mass of inertia, *tamas* and he has perforce to pass through a stormy period of desires and passions, get many a staggering jolt and knock before he is fit for a *sattwic* or religious life."

This *tamas*, of which the young man was a living embodiment, is a legacy of the Inconscient. It is more or less in all men, confined not only to their physical parts, but attacking also their minds and hearts and paralysing the springs of their life. Referring to this immobilising and disintegrating *tamas*, the Mother says, "The only thing which must be feared and shunned is the inertia of inconscience, of blind and heavy ignorance. That state is quite at the nethermost of the infinite ladder which leads to Thee. And all Thy effort consists in drawing the substance from this first obscurity, so as to make it be born into consciousness. Passion itself is preferable to inconscience. We must, therefore, constantly march to the conquest of this universal bedrock of inconscience, and making our organism the instrument, transform it little by little into luminous consciousness." (*Prayers and Meditations*, p. 52).

The transformation of inconscience into luminous consciousness is, therefore, the main business of a dynamic spirituality in the present world. And how is it to be effected? The Mother's experience discovers the secret presence of the divine Force in the inconscient depths of Matter as the "Irresistible Healer", setting in motion, stirring and churning the innumerable elements, so that "from their primal darkness, their primitive chaos, they may be awakened to consciousness and to the full light of knowledge." It is the supreme Love of the Divine, His redeeming and transfiguring Grace that informs the Force which heals. But man has to collaborate with this Force, enter into these obscure stretches of his being with a conscious will and establish there the Light and Law of the Divine. It is perhaps the most difficult work and discipline ever undertaken by spiritual seekers, the most perilous exploration and bitter combat; but it is also the most glorious endeavour pregnant with the possibilities of a divine perfection of man upon earth.

The conquest of the Sub-conscient and the Inconscient will mean the conquest of material life and nature and the conversion of human nature into divine nature. The Mother says that the majority of beings, even of human beings, live constantly in the Sub-conscient, "few emerge from it"; and she affirms that "this is the conquest that has to be made; for, to be conscious in the true sense of the word is to be Thou integrally; and is not that the very definition of the work to be accomplished, the mission to be fulfilled upon the earth?" (*Ibid*, p. 74).

One of the most harassing and hampering actions of the Sub-conscient is the upsurge of its chaotic vibrations in the forms of random thoughts, unpleasant or painful memories, fickle fancies or swarming impressions, incoherent and senseless, which oppose our silent ingathering and contemplation. Every beginner in the practice of meditation knows how troublesome and tiresome this opposition is, how we are sometimes swept away along the stream of these surging vibrations and find it extremely difficult to silence the mind and concentrate. These vibrations are the outcome of the "constant sub-conscient registering of the multitude of phenomena with which we are put into contact." "Quite a portion of our sensibility, and not perhaps the smallest, plays the role of a cinematographic apparatus without our knowledge and, indeed, to our detriment." Throughout the day, in our waking state, all our sense-perceptions, thoughts, imaginations, day-dreams, feelings, emotions, sensations, all the actions and reactions that take place in us, are recorded by the Sub-conscient in a sort of cryptic notations which are jumbled up to form fantastic patterns and thrown up in our dreams and even in the waking state. Modern psycho-therapy tries to trace many of the mental and physical illnesses to this obscure action of the Sub-conscient. Most of the strange and stubborn symptoms of psychoneurosis can be safely attributed to it and successfully grappled with by one who has a spiritual knowledge—not the empirical, conjectural, hypothetical knowledge of the psycho-therapist—of the sub-conscient working. But it must be remembered—psycho-analysis ignores this truth—that though the Inconscient is the origin of our evolutionary birth and the Sub-conscient the nursery where our animal-human traits and proclivities are developed, Heaven is our eternal father and the divine qualities the stuff

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To Shankargauda, the Departed Friend

1

Sing fullthroated, if you must.
A land united, one in trust,
Build, a builder if you are.
Meditate upon the Star
That brings all life within its aim,—
The myriad-shaped but single flame,
If meditation is your goal.
Or if the rosary draws the soul,
Tell your beads so this lewd age
May turn into a golden page
And in the book of Life reveal
Sanction divine, the secret seal.

2

O brother! This the vow you vowed.
And at the Mother's feet you bowed:
Life is the true crown of living
And she the infinite fountain giving
Enduring light. Upon this beam
Of light you built your towering dream.
Quintessence in the Mother's hand,
A flute in the master's: we understand.
You are now a flame, a tune,
Invisible, inaudible. We commune
With you beyond the eye or ear:
And still you are dear. And still you are near.

3

The winds of passion blow dark-deep.
Lightnings of sense instantly leap.
Chaos dances her wanton dance.

Life seems a gamble, light a chance.
The heart but echoes the untamed mood
Of hate and its inveterate brood.
Mankind is turned to a bamboo-grove
Swayed by a Mumbo-Jumbo above.

4

You thought it meet to be a flute
Fingered by the Master astute
Who played his seven tunes on stops
That yielded endless nectar-drops
Of Music. Resonant to his will,
Articulate till you had your fill.
The Mother, wishing a new birth,
Blessed you with marjoram. All mirth
And gentleness, you treasured it
Deeming the gesture as holy writ
And quietly on pilgrimage
You went, O darling of the Sage!

5

Where now the radiance of your smile,
Your innocence that for a while
Made earth sweeter? In the tender bark
Of trees where the unconscious dark
Recedes before the advancing light,
Secure, a million souls alight
In the fold divine. O friend, you are there,
A glint of light, a breath of air.

V. K. GOKAK.

IN THE MOTHER'S LIGHT

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and composition of our essential self and nature. It is not the Inconscient and the Sub-conscient that are the ultimate determinants of our destiny, but the Superconscient, the Divine.

Fear is one of the gifts of the Sub-conscient to the body. The Mother says, "In fact, 90 per cent of illnesses are the result of the sub-conscient fear in the body. In the ordinary consciousness of the body there is a more or less hidden anxiety about the consequences of the slightest physical disturbance. It can be translated by these words of doubt about the future: 'And what will happen?' It is this anxiety that must be checked."* Fear, by inoculating our being with its suggestion, actually produces the symptoms of an illness for which there may be no traceable cause. To get rid of this fear we have to root it out from the Sub-conscient.

In the integral Yoga which means to effect a radical conversion and transformation of human nature into the divine, a complete conquest of the Sub-conscient and the Inconscient, as we have insisted above, is indispensable; otherwise half of our being will gleam in the light of the Spirit and the other half lie sunk in obscurity and be moved by the forces of Ignorance and Falsehood. Inertia, weakness, dullness, an easy proneness to physical and psychological disturbances, inability to change and progress, a supine subjection to material conditions and circumstances, a general predisposition to suffering, fears, passions and restless desires are the normal constituents of surface human nature, and all this is derived from the Sub-conscient and the Inconscient. The Mother's main work is a complete transformation of this sub-terrestrial base of human nature, so that a divine race of supermen may reveal God's glory and fulfil His Will in the material world.

The present state of humanity, torn and distracted and convulsed with passions and fears, is the result of the volcanic irruption of the Sub-conscient and the Inconscient into human nature. The more the divine Light descends into Matter, the more desperate is the resistance of the material darkness, which rules the earth-nature to-day. But the very desperateness of the resistance forebodes its eventual end. And that is exactly what is heralded by the following heartening words of the Mother from her message of the 15th August 1950:

"Our sadhana has reached a stage in which we are mostly dealing with the sub-conscient and even the inconscient. As a consequence, the physical determinism has taken a predominant position, bringing an increase of difficulties on the way which have to be faced with an increase of courage and determination.

"In any case, whatever happens and whatever you do, do not allow Fear to invade you. At the slightest touch of it, react and call for help."

*Words of the Mother"

SRI AUROBINDO, THE LEADER OF THE EVOLUTION

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sary for him to dissociate himself from the subconscience of the mass and become aware that just as he has a separate body, so also he has a separate life and mind apart from the group-life and group-mind. The mass-consciousness is not an organised and definitely formulated consciousness that can fully express itself; it acts gropingly with a vague and mute subconscious impulse; only in and through the individual does it get crystallised and find expression. Therefore it is the function of the ego to centralise and individualise a formation of Universal Mental, Vital, Material Nature for the purpose of establishing and stabilising individual forms. It does not possess a fundamental reality, but is only a mask of the soul-being behind. Its utility can only cease when the true spiritual being behind it emerges.

To be continued

SOVIET RUSSIA, THE KOREAN WAR AND WORLD-PEACE

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logical to demand their disarmament or at the very least to prevent their using the one weapon with regard to which they enjoy superiority. On the other hand, it is equally logical to exempt the U.S.S.R. from all real control in this field as that country is defined as capable of waging only just wars, "of liberation". All this is, of course, behind the peculiar Soviet attitude towards the war in Korea in which, as we all know, the Northern Koreans are engaged, in the opinion of the Soviet Government, in a desperate struggle against the aggressive forces of "imperialism."

"Imperialism"—that is perhaps the best catch word of all with which to delude peace-loving people all over the world including many no doubt in the Soviet Union itself. But what exactly is imperialism? If it means the period of the expansion of Europe on the basis of new ideas formulated about the time of the Renaissance which came to a head in the Industrial Revolution of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, that at least is comprehensible.

Most periods of expansion of any power or group of powers—and

with reference to what Dr. Tsiang said on this subject last time I would like to point out that on many occasions such expansion came from Asia and had Europe as its object—most such periods of expansion, I say, were based on new ideas and new techniques. It was not just a case of evil intention or lust for conquest so much as the possession of some "know-how" which other nations did not have and could not get for a considerable period. But one would have thought that almost anybody could now see that the period of European expansion is over, the last physical manifestation of it being, perhaps, the bursting out of the Germans under Hitler which incidentally the Western powers, now described as imperialist, did quite as much as the Russians to resist. Any government, indeed, which is not about 40 years behind the times and thus cut off from modern thought and developments could presumably see that, for instance, those nations of Asia who were placed in an equal position by their lack of necessary techniques have now largely acquired them and that the old system which was

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SRI AUROBINDO AND MAN'S SOCIO-POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

By C. C. DUTT

Continued from previous issue

Self-realisation, says Sri Aurobindo, is the sense—secret or overt—of individual and of social development. What is the precise meaning of this? The whole race is as yet a far-off thing in our imagination; to us the largest living unit is the nation. But even this unit is too large and too complex a thing to be grasped thoroughly and readily. It is easier for us to begin with the individual and proceed to the larger unit. What we find to be valid for the single man is likely to be also valid in its general principle to the Collective Man. Besides, the development of the free individual is the first condition for the growth of the perfect society.

Man is, apparently, a mental being possessed of a living body. But this is only his outer self. He seems to be guided by his mind but, in reality, behind every thought and every act of his, there is his real being—what "he secretly is and is obscurely groping or trying overtly or self-consciously to become." The race, as a whole, knows nothing of this. The ordinary man is unconscious of it. What we see, however, is that man is a very complex being. His body is a complex affair, his thoughts and emotions are even more complex. His former selves, inconscient matter, subconscious vegetable, the unthinking lower animal, each has left a legacy to him. His proneness to inertia, his readiness to vegetate and cling to the roots, his ignorant brutality, his subjection to passions, all this constitutes his heritage and makes self-exceeding so terribly difficult for him. Yet man, even though endowed with an intellect, must exceed himself if he is to move towards perfection.

But apart from the sub-human stages of evolution, even as the *homo sapiens*, man has passed through a phase of life that has left its mark on him. This is the state of barbarism, wherein he identified himself completely with his body and bodily life. Let us hope, in the light of civilisation and culture, it is passing away for good. "To take the body and physical life as the one thing important, to judge manhood by the physical strength, to despise knowledge as weakness and inferiority... This is the mentality of the barbarian." Of course it is possible, even now, for any individual or group to revert temporarily to this type. But the man belonging to our cycle of civilisation is pre-eminently a mental animal. His outlook on life is definitely mental, ethical and economic. The fact that general education is considered necessary, even essential, in our present-day life shows what importance we attach to mental development. It does not mean that we neglect physical culture. On the contrary, we develop the body scientifically in order to provide a reliable foundation for our all-round development.

The ancients (Greek and Roman) were by no means followers of a lop-sided culture. They developed their bodies as assiduously as their minds. Why then could they not hold out against the onslaught of barbarism? Sri Aurobindo indicates two reasons. The first one is that there was grave inequality within the State; a large mass of the people were poor and ignorant, and had no share in the culture and greatness of the State. These people proved useless when evil days came. The second reason was that the centres of classical civilisation were surrounded on all sides by sturdy barbarians possessed of natural vigour and inured to all kinds of hardship. The decadent aristocrats of the two Roman empires were incapable of offering any real resistance to the Teutons and Goths who flooded the continent. The old civilisation perished, and perished in such a way that for fifteen centuries no revival was possible. Of course the fate that overtook Rome cannot repeat itself today. Science has provided civilised man with such deadly weapons that he need have no fear of the barbarian, of any Attila or Alaric. But, on the other hand, Science and a scientific industrial civilisation has called up a new kind of barbarism quite as dangerous as the old one, which Sri Aurobindo calls the economic barbarism. "This vitalistic or economic barbarian makes the satisfaction of wants and desires and the accumulation of possessions his standard and aim. His ideal man is not the cultured or noble or thoughtful or moral or religious, but the successful." Sri Aurobindo has written more of this in the Chapter on "Civilisation and Culture" (*The Human Cycle*). This barbarian must be eliminated to ensure the safety of the race. If allowed to persist too long, Life would burst and perish of its own plethora.

Sri Aurobindo sums up thus the course of man's past evolution: the atom and the elements organise brute matter, the plant develops the living being, the animal prepares and brings to a certain kind of mechanical organisation the crude material of Mind, but the last work of all, the knowledge and control of all these things, and self-knowledge and self-control, that has been reserved for man. "So far, it is familiar ground. But it should also be noted that in order to enable Man to do all this better, Nature compels him to repeat stages of his former evolution, to return upon them with a greater power, with a larger aim, so that he may make a fresh start on a wider curve of progress and fulfilment. In this march onward, man has need for both integrality and self-exceeding. He has to turn his mind not only on itself, but also on Life and Matter, and at the same time he has to grow upward, exceeding himself into something spiritual and divine.

Culture is pursuit of a mental life for itself, but mental life must be understood in a very wide sense; for mind embraces a very wide range of

faculties from the physical mind of the lowest animal to the supermind of the god-man through various intermediate stages like the intelligent, the illumined and the intuitive. The mind has its action peculiar to each one of these middle stages—rational, ethical, aesthetic and so forth. The very complexity of the mental faculty has led to many hostile distinctions, oppositions and struggles that have bewildered man throughout his long career and bewilder him still. He is ever swinging between one exclusive ideal and a comprehensive harmony.

The very distinction between civilisation and barbarism is anomalous. Even a rude people like the Basuto or the Red Indian have their own civilisation, an organised community, a social code, ideas of right and wrong, a good many virtues that are very rare in civilised society and so-called civilised people have very many savage qualities. We use the word "civilised" about ourselves more or less in the same spirit that people formerly used in the opposite direction opprobrious epithets like pagan, heathen, Kaffir, Mlechchha, about people they looked down upon. The word "barbarian" itself means a man who speaks an unintelligible language. But still when we say "civilisation" we mean something fairly definite. A civilised man has generally an active mind, his mental pursuits are fairly developed, the regulation of his life by the mind is self-conscious. The word "culture", however, implies something more than mere mental life; the cultured man is more developed, he has raised himself higher. We have mentioned already the vital or economic barbarian. He was well known as the Philistine in the Nineteenth century. He was rich, he lived luxuriously, he tried to control society and, even, the state; he posed as a patron of literature and the arts in his crude vital way. His life and conduct was marked either by vulgarity or smug hypocrisy. Sri Aurobindo has a lot to say about him. "His ethical bent is a habit of the sense-mind." "He is not mentally active, but mentally reactive,—a very different matter." This Philistine no longer reigns in the world, but in his place has arisen a new giant,—the sensational man. We can describe him as follows. He is trying to be mentally active... he lives in a maelstrom of new ideas and new movements... he can understand or misunderstand them... and even, it would appear, die for them... he can catch at new ideas and hurl them about in a rather confused fashion. Science brings her discoveries to his door and equips him with machinery, politics is subservient to him. He was the force that made the movements of Lenin and Hitler so rapidly successful.

Such is the sensational man whom new methods of education and new principles of society have to transform. It will take time, but "the eye of faith" can see that a great change has begun.

Culture, then, is neither the physical life of the primitive barbarian, nor the vital and economic life of, say, the modern Philistine. European life of the nineteenth century was certainly civilised, but not cultured and refined like the life of ancient Athens or Italy of the Renaissance or India of the olden times. Even pursuit of wealth, abundant manufacture, progress of science, works of the intellect, do not constitute culture, if these things are devoted to the service of commercialism and vital success. Likewise, a mentalised sensational life of conventional conduct, average feelings, customary ideas, borrowed opinions and prejudices is not consistent with the ideal of culture, a society based on these ideals is a Philistine society—a prison, in Sri Aurobindo's words, which the human soul has to break, man dwells therein in an inferior uninspired and unexpanding mental status. It is not enough to open a window or two in the walls to get a little fresh air, a fragrance of true art and beauty, a glimpse of the higher ideals. Man must break out of the prison-cell and live in the open air and light.

But even on the higher mental plane, there may well come a clash between culture and conduct—between, roughly speaking, pursuit of the aesthetic aim and pursuit of the ethical. This clash has occurred in the past and is not unknown today. The aesthetic man is impatient of the ethical code; he calls the puritan crude and uncultured. The old cavalier phrase "canting hypocrite" is indicative of this mentality. On the other hand, in the eyes of the ethical man, the worshipper of beauty is a mere hedonist, an immoral seeker after pleasure. But in our pursuit of a higher life we have to transcend both these ideals and arrive at a state of mind where the two find a reconciliation. The ideal of Rome and Sparta is not the only ideal that ancient man pursued. Athens, we know, concentrated on thought and beauty and the delight of living, and imparted her view of life to many other States. Both these phases of life, the Spartan and the Athenian, have contributed to the growth of man. As a matter of fact, without character, without discipline, there can be no enduring power of life. In one brilliant century Athens exhausted its vitality. Nor have purely ethical cultures shown any greater lasting qualities. They have either collapsed leaving no residue, like Sparta, or they have broken down like Rome into an egoistic and orgiastic license. As we have said before, conduct and culture—*Tapas* and *Ananda* of Indian thought—must combine their potentialities in a higher principle provided for us by our faculty of reason. Just at the present point of evolution, reason, using the intelligent will, is man's sovereign faculty.

To be continued in the next issue.

NEW TRENDS IN WESTERN THOUGHT

"SUPER-CIVILISATION"

BY ROBIN MOWAT

This troubled age is unique in some respects, but not so unique that we cannot learn from history. We have modern industry and modern techniques; but we are facing the same problems as have faced mankind throughout the ages.

In grappling with these problems, man gradually evolved that form of society which we know as civilisation. Our western civilisation is the most elaborate of all those which have appeared in history, but seems to be—no more than these others—proof against the perils and maladies which have caused their decline and even extinction. Students of civilisations believe that our own has now passed the point of full creativeness, and that an era of decline has set in.

This view was convincingly expounded by Oswald Spengler in his monumental "Decline of the West". He demonstrated that all known civilisations—ancient Egyptian, Chinese, Greco-Roman, and several others, had passed through parallel phases of growth, zenith, and decline—ending in some cases with extinction. Writing during World War I, he forecast the coming of the Dictators or "Caesars" as a symptom that the West, too, had passed its zenith and was entering on the period of imperialism, the first well-marked phase of its decline. When, shortly, Mussolini and then Hitler appeared, his view was deemed by many to be correct (though Spengler himself later modified his views about "decline" to suit the Nazi doctrines with which he compromised).

Since he wrote, other historians, notably Professor A. J. Toynbee, have criticised parts of Spengler's thinking, and elaborated others. Spengler's pessimism is an affront to minds nourished on conceptions of progress and evolution which have long been dominant in the West: in viewing history as a succession of civilisations, each following the same cycle of growth, zenith, decline and fall, he leaves no room for any further development beyond civilisation, which is, for him, the final form of human society.

We can assume that Spengler was right in his statement of the symptoms which indicate a civilisation's decline.

On these grounds, it would appear that our own civilisation has already entered on the downward path. But the question which profoundly concerns us is whether our civilisation is necessarily bound by iron laws of fate to follow the well-beaten path of decline to the last tragic stage of collapse.

The Present and the Past

We may have hope or faith that this fate will not be ours. But to have reasonable grounds for believing that, this time, the ending of the story will be different, we need to have the assurance that there are different factors operating in the case of our civilisation, which have not operated before—or at least have not operated effectively. To discern the factors which underlie the events of history and to interpret the present in their light is the task of the historian.

To dismiss history as having no relevance to our own age is a mistake due to over-emphasis of the unique features of the present phase of our civilisation: These features are two-fold. First those that result from the mechanical inventions of the past 200 years: power-driven machinery and industrial technique, extreme rapidity in communications, and in the spreading of ideas; secondly the extension of western civi-

lisation over the entire globe, so that it has come to dominate or destroy all other civilisations—by contrast with its predecessors, which were local to a defined area of the earth's surface.

These unique features have had, as their main result, an enormous speeding-up of history. The radio, cinema and press provide means for changing the mentality of nations with hitherto unheard-of speed. Events which formerly took years or months to unfold, now take merely weeks or days.

Similarly, the invention of some new machine, such as the railway engine or motor car, can rapidly change the habits of whole populations. So fast is history now moving, that we can expect revolutionary changes in mankind's entire mode of life during the coming half-century.

Secondly, mankind's capacities for self-destruction have been enormously enhanced. Formerly drought, floods or plague were the great destroyers: now that role is played by man himself. Not only through heavy bombing can cities be wiped off the map, but atom bombs (so the physicists tell us) will, through radiation, render their sites uninhabitable. With such weapons our civilisation has developed the power to destroy itself: we can jump (if we will) straight into a dark age without going through the long-drawn phases of decline, marked by the establishment of militaristic "totalitarian" empires.

But since our civilisation has become world-wide, such a fate would not only affect ourselves; it would affect the whole of mankind. Fifteen centuries ago, Rome could collapse, and its passing be unnoticed by the inhabitants of another civilised area, China. Today, the collapse of the West would drag the rest of humanity down with it.

If history is to be a guide to us in this situation, we must look farther back than those events connected with the rise and fall of civilisations. A period of history affording important analogies with our own is that in which the first civilisation came to birth.

Decline or Transition?

Our era is either to be one of the decline of our western civilisation—possibly of civilisation altogether—or of change from civilisation to some new type of society, hitherto undeveloped. If our era is not destined to be one of decline it must instead be one of transition. The only period of transition in history which affords some parallels with our own (assuming that it is an age of transition), is that which marked the emergence from tribalism of the earliest civilisation some 7,000 years ago.

For thousands of years previously men had lived in a social order which we roughly term "primitive", ignoring the slow evolution of social forms which had been taking place before ever civilisation itself appeared. Man has already been on this planet, according to some authorities, for 1,000,000 years, during which time his development has been marked by a series of inventions—notably those of speech, the use of fire, tool and implement making, the domestication of animals, and agriculture.

Each new invention made possible a revolution in man's way of living by providing the material basis for a new type of social life. These inventions probably took place at intervals of many thousands of years.

Mr. Mowat gives an exaggerated world-significance to Western civilisation which is only a strong surface influence on many Oriental cultures. But if we generalise the term "civilisation", his thesis opens a window on possibilities of progress especially relevant to the spiritual-motived civilisation of India.

That of agriculture was the last great discovery of primitive man, for it laid the basis of the new type of society which we call civilisation.

Against the vast time-span of human history the 6,000 years or so since the coming of civilisation may seem too short a period for a corresponding revolution of man's way of life to be now due. But perhaps another such revolution is on the way. Its coming may be heralded by the technological discoveries of our era, which parallel earlier epoch-making discoveries such as those of speech and agriculture.

For our mechanical inventions present a threat to our entire existence through their potential use as weapons of destruction. On the other hand they make possible an age of abundance and a richness of living which has never been available previously to mankind as a whole.

Beyond Civilisation

The prolonged crisis and ideological ferment of the era since the coming of industry may point to its being an age of transition to a type of society beyond civilisation: a type of society which we may call "super-civilisation" for lack of a better word.

It was in response to a threat to their existence that men evolved the first civilisation, that of Egypt—not indeed a threat of their own making, but due to the drying up of the North African prairies. The failure of the game supply in what until then had been their happy hunting-ground attracted the nomadic "food-gatherers" to the well-watered valley of the Nile, whose regular cycle of flooding provided ideal conditions for the cultivation of cereals. The threat to their existence was in fact balanced by the discovery of a new technique of production which could not merely ensure their survival, but promised the development of culture and the art of living at levels hitherto unimagined.

But the transition to civilisation was not accomplished without further fundamental changes, which were as much inner, affecting the psychology of the people concerned, as external, affecting their outward habits of life. Regular cultivation year by year of the same tract of land encouraged settlement in villages, a mode of living utterly different from the wandering life of small groups as hunters or "food-gatherers". Further, the Nile Valley, bounded by deserts, presented a small region by comparison with the wide spaces over which men had freely been able to roam. Now, brought together in a small restricted area, they were obliged to discover a new way of living to suit their changing circumstances.

Their world, like ours, had shrunk: their living-space was cramped with living closely together in village settlements, the earliest farmers in the Nile Valley laid the basis of the future world order of civilisation. Village settlement led on to trade, trade led to the growth of cities; with these came the arts of writing, computing, building and the other elements of civilised life. The outcome was the evolution of a new type of man, strikingly different from his "primitive" forebears, and this evolution was due to those hunters-turned-farmer who first faced the trials of a new mode of life contrasting sharply with their traditional ways and attitudes.

Creative Spiritual Forces

At this point the historian may take up the mantle of the prophet

—but always with care to preface his forecasts with an "if". If our civilisation is not to decline or collapse, if it is to avert the threat to its entire existence, it will not be by vainly attempting to maintain the *status quo*. It will be because a minority of mankind—maybe as tiny a minority comparatively as that which first descended into the Nile Valley—decides to accept the painful change involved in pioneering a new mode of living. Such a minority could use the new technical means at mankind's disposal in order to lay the basis of a new way of life, and therefore of a new type of society; a type of society as different from civilisation as civilisation is from primitive tribalism.

Research into pre-history and anthropology has revealed the all-important part played by religion in this epochmaking change, "Religion" is "like the womb from which come all the germs of human civilisation," writes the well-known French anthropologist, Emile Durkheim. "The most diverse practices, both those that make possible the continuation of the moral life (law, morals, fine arts) and those serving the material life (the natural, technical and practical sciences), are directly or indirectly derived from religion." Religion both inspired the pioneers of the new way of life, and was the warp and woof of the embryonic civilisation itself.

It follows that in examining the contemporary scene for signs of transition to a new order, it is not enough to focus on the technical discoveries or the political revolutions of our age. For the historian the manifestations of spiritual forces must have a special significance. A religious idea underlay the earliest civilisation, that of Egypt: it has nurtured all subsequent civilisations notably our own. It may well play a predominant part in moulding the world order of the future.

We are faced today with three possibilities:

(1) A renewed outbreak of international war, aggravated by class-warfare on a gigantic scale, which with or without atomic bombs might send us straight into a new Dark Age.

(2) A long-drawn decline marked by the establishment of one or more "totalitarian" empires of bureaucratic and militaristic type—the kind of empire towards which world communism appears to be heading.

(3) A transition to an entirely new type of world society: that of "super-civilisation".

In assessing the possibilities for the future, particularly for the emergence of a new world order, we must bear in mind the analogies of the past. We may assume that just as the first civilisation sprang from a tiny growing-point on the banks of the Nile, so the next world order may spring from a similar tiny embryo: an embryo composed of a group of pioneers who solve as it were in miniature, the problem which will face the society on a larger scale as it assumes world-wide proportions. Secondly we may assume that moral and spiritual forces will play an all-important part in this development: that they will provide the inspiration and the dynamic for bringing about this "greatest revolution of all time".

(New World News)

GUIDANCE FOR THE YOUNG IDEA

The education of children is now part and parcel of the activity of Sri Aurobindo's Ashram. The education is both mental and physical and its aim is not only to develop the child's powers but also to give them form and function in the light of the happy idealism that the soul's outflowing brings with it. In the hope that the various educational institutions of our country may take a cue from the way of thinking by which the young in the Ashram are guided we reproduce some maxims that are in the process of being lived out there.

What A Child Should Always Remember

The necessity of an absolute sincerity.
The certitude of Truth's final victory.
The possibility of constant progress with the will to achieve.

THE IDEAL CHILD

is good-tempered

He does not become angry when things seem to go against him or decisions are not in his favour.

is game

Whatever he does he does it to the best of his capacity and keeps on doing in the face of almost certain failure. He always thinks straight and acts straight.

is truthful

He never fears to say the truth whatever may be the consequences.

is patient

He does not get disheartened if he has to wait a long time to see the results of his efforts.

is enduring

He faces the inevitable difficulties and sufferings without grumbling

is persevering

He never slackens his effort however long it has to last.

is poised

He keeps equanimity in success as well as in failure.

is courageous

He always goes on fighting for the final victory though he may meet with many defeats.

is cheerful

He knows how to smile and keep a happy heart in all circumstances.

is modest

He does not become conceited over his success, neither does he feel himself superior to his comrades.

is generous

He appreciates the merits of others and is always ready to help another to succeed.

is fair and obedient

He observes the discipline and is always honest.

Code of Sportsmanship

Keep the rules.

Keep faith with your comrade.

Keep your temper.

Keep yourself fit.

Keep a stout heart in defeat.

Keep your pride under in victory.

Keep a sound soul, a clean mind, and a healthy body.

Play the game.

A GOOD SPORTSMAN is courteous

ON THE FIELD he does not jeer at errors; he does not cheer at the opponents' defeat; he treats them as guests, not enemies.

IN SCHOOL he is considerate to the authorities, the fellow students, and the teachers.

IN LIFE he is respectful to others; he treats them as he would be treated.

is modest

ON THE FIELD he works for the good of the team rather than for individual honour; he will even sacrifice his own prestige for his team; he is a gracious winner.

IN SCHOOL he does not become conceited over his success, neither does he feel himself superior to his class-mates.

IN LIFE he does not "blow" about what he is going to do; he does not boast about what he has done.

is generous

ON THE FIELD he applauds a good play of his opponents

IN SCHOOL he appreciates another's merit.

IN LIFE he does not ridicule the man who is "down" but encourages him. He is not afraid to voice his opinions straightforwardly and clearly.

is game

ON THE FIELD he plays hard; he fights though he may be already defeated; he accepts adverse decisions; he is a good loser.

IN SCHOOL he does his work, he keeps on working in the face of almost certain failure. He has the vim to think straight, the pluck to act straight.

IN LIFE he does his part however hard it may be; he accepts reverses with a smile and tries again.

is obedient

ON THE FIELD he observes the rules of the games.

IN SCHOOL he observes all the regulations.

IN LIFE he respects the rules which help to promote harmony.

is fair

ON THE FIELD he competes in a clean, hard-fought but friendly way; he helps an injured opponent.

IN SCHOOL he does not waste his time nor that of the teachers. He is always honest.

IN LIFE he sees impartially both sides of a question.

(Partly taken from "Introduction to Physical Education" published by A. S. Barnes and Company.)

SOVIET RUSSIA, THE KOREAN WAR AND WORLD-PEACE—Continued from page 8

essentially based on the idea of teacher and pupil has now been changed into one of co-operation and partnership, if indeed the original roles are not eventually reversed.

Though there may be some continuing stresses and strains resulting from this vast change in human relationships the fact does emerge that what was denounced by Marx in 1848 as "imperialism" now no longer exists except as a bogey, by the use of which certain despotic oligarchies are enabled to keep themselves in power. Applied to such bodies as the British Labour Government or the American administration it would indeed be funny, if it were not so sad. And how even Marx would explain why the stock market goes down when there are rumours of the conflict spreading and up when it is thought it will be localised is perhaps only explicable after a lifelong study of the Soviet classics.

In short, all this stuff about imperialism which pours out from Moscow Radio is really nothing but an attempt to conceal the fact that it is not America but quite another

power which is trying to clamp down a despotism on the world as a whole.

Real Reasons of Deadlock

And so, Mr. President, I resume my thought on the real reasons why our unfortunate impasse has been reached during the month of August (I repeat during the month of August) as follows. Peace propaganda, whether it takes the form of signatures for an ambiguous declaration or proposals for getting "both sides" to agree on a "peaceful solution" in Korea is essentially the only means for securing aggression and making it even more successful in the future.

Peace propaganda, in fact, is itself part of the very preparation for aggression. It is principally designed to prevent or at least to hinder other people from coming to a victim's aid. In the official Soviet History of Diplomacy these tactics are analysed with great clarity and shrewdness. In Volume II, there is discussion about what the book calls "concealment of predatory ends behind noble principles." Among the way of do-

ing this are listed "exploitation of disarmament and pacifist propaganda for one's purposes". The book goes on to say: "From time immemorial the idea of disarmament has been one of the most popular ways of dissimulating the true motives and plans of aggressive Governments."

An interesting sidelight is the statement of the Communist Minister of Defence in Hungary, M. Farkas, who wrote on April 12 that a "certain pacifism has made itself felt within the ranks of our party, particularly lately. Slogans like 'we want no more wars' are very significant of this pacifism. First of all, therefore, we have to overcome this feeling of pacifism within our own Party in order to be able to fight it down in the masses... A considerable feeling of pacifism is reigning among our people, particularly among our women and peasants..."

In any case the Soviet rulers have all had some peculiar views about aggression no doubt owing to the strict application of the outmoded doctrines to which they persistently adhere. Stalin himself, you will remember, said on December 29 in 1939 that "it was not Germany who

attacked France and Britain but France and Britain who attacked Germany thus assuming responsibility for the present war. The ruling circles of Britain and France rudely declined both Germany's peace proposals and the attempts of the Soviet Union to achieve the earliest termination of the war". If Stalin himself subscribed to this remarkable analysis of the aggression in 1939, who is going to believe Soviet theories of aggression in 1950?

The truth is that unless these mad deterministic ideas are abandoned peace cannot be final and the possibility of war must always be there. The ideas need not of course be explicitly abandoned but perhaps they can in practice not be applied. Perhaps we can draw, at any rate, one conclusion. If the free world remains united they will not be applied in practice because in practice it will be impossible for the Soviet Government to achieve by violence, direct or indirect, those ends which at the moment they seem determined to secure. This, I suggest, is the plain truth and the root of the matter.

LIGHTS ON LIFE-PROBLEMS

(38)

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 persons all over the world. This cannot be better done than by considering these questions in the light of Sri Aurobindo's writings, because Sri Aurobindo is not only a Master of Yoga in possession of the Eternal Spiritual Truths, but also a Guide and Helper of mankind in various spheres of life and thought. To bring home the light of this guidance and to make it directly applicable to the problems that present themselves to an observing intelligence, a series of questions of common interest along with precise answers directly taken from Sri Aurobindo's writings will regularly appear in these columns.

Q. 1: The European critics object to the overloading of details in Indian architecture on the ground that it leaves no unfilled spaces to provide the necessary relief to the eye. Is there any truth in this objection?

A: "The objection that the crowding detail allows no calm, gives no relief or space to the eye, . . . is urged from a different experience and has no validity for the Indian experience. For this unity on which all is upborne, carries in itself the infinite space and calm of the spiritual realisation, and there is no need for other unfilled spaces or tracts of calm of a lesser more superficial kind. The eye is here only a way of access to the soul, it is to that that there is the appeal, and if the soul living in this realisation or dwelling under the influence of this aesthetic impression needs any relief, it is not from the incidence of life and form, but from the immense incidence of that vastness of infinity and tranquil silence, and that can only be given by its opposite, by an abundance of form and detail and life".

Q. 2: Some European critics feel oppressed by the massive and often stupendous constructions of Dravidian architecture in South India and find in them a complete lack of grace and beauty. Is this impression quite valid?

A: "As for the objection in regard to Dravidian architecture to its massiveness and its Titanic construction, the precise spiritual effect intended could not be given otherwise; for the infinite, the cosmic seen as a whole in its vast manifestation is Titanic, is mighty in material and power. It is other and quite different things also, but none of these are absent from Indian construction. The great temples of the north have often a singular grace in their power, a luminous lightness relieving their mass and strength, a rich delicacy of beauty in their ornate fullness. It is not indeed the Greek lightness, clarity or naked nobleness, nor is it exclusive, but comes in in a fine blending of opposites which is in the very spirit of the Indian religious, philosophical and aesthetic mind. Nor are these things absent from many Dravidian buildings, though in certain styles they are boldly sacrificed or only put into minor incidents, but in either case suppressed so that the fullness of solemn and grandiose effect may have a complete, an undiminished expression."

Q. 3: Many Europeans feel a sense of monstrous terror and gloom in the mighty constructions of Indian architecture. What is the reason for this?

A: "Even a sympathetic mind like Professor Geddes is impressed by some sense of a monstrous effect of terror and gloom in these mighty buildings. Such expressions are astonishing to an Indian mind because terror and gloom are conspicuously absent from the feelings aroused in it by its religion, art or literature. In the religion they are rarely awakened and only in order to be immediately healed and, even when they come, are always sustained by the sense of a supporting and helping presence, an eternal greatness and calm or love or Delight behind; the very goddess of destruction is at the same time the compassionate and loving Mother; the austere Maheswara, Rudra, is also Shiva, the auspicious, Asutosha, the refuge of men. The Indian thinking and religious mind looks with calm, without shrinking or repulsion, with an understanding born of its agelong effort at identity and oneness, at all that meets it in the stupendous spectacle of the cosmos. And even its asceticism, its turning from the world, which begins not in terror and gloom, but in a sense of vanity and fatigue, or of something higher, truer, happier than life, soon passes beyond any element of pessimistic sadness into the rapture of the eternal peace and bliss. Indian secular poetry and drama is throughout rich, vital and joyous and there is more tragedy, terror, sorrow and gloom packed into any few pages of European work than we can find in the whole mass of Indian literature. It does not seem to me that Indian art is at all different in this respect from the religion and literature. The western mind is here thrusting in its own habitual reactions upon things in the indigenous conception in which they have no proper place. Mark the curious misreading of the dance of Shiva as a dance of Death or Destruction, whereas, as anybody ought to be able to see who looks upon the Nataraja, it expresses on the contrary the rapture of the cosmic dance with the profundities behind of the unmoved eternal and infinite bliss. So too the figure of Kali which is so terrible to European eyes is, as we know, the Mother of the universe

accepting this fierce aspect of destruction in order to slay the Asuras, the powers of evil in man and the world. There are other strands in this feeling in the western mind which seem to spring from a dislike of anything uplifted far beyond the human measure and others again in which we see a subtle survival of the Greek limitation, the fear, gloom and aversion with which the sunny terrestrial Hellenic mind commonly met the idea of the beyond, the limitless, the unknown; but that reaction has no place in Indian mentality. And as for the strangeness or formidable aspect of certain unhuman figures or the conception of demons or Rakshasas, it must be remembered that the Indian aesthetic mind deals not only with the earth but with psychic planes in which these exist and ranges freely among them without being overpowered because it carries everywhere the stamp of a large confidence in the strength and the omnipresence of the Self or the Divine."

Q. 4: In the exquisite and magical beauty of the Indo-Moslem architecture of Northern India some Western critics have found an expression of unbridled sensuous luxury and effeminate decadence. Is there any validity in this view?

A: "Is it true that there is nothing but a sensuous outward grace and beauty and luxury in these Indo-Moslem buildings? It is not at all true of the characteristic greater work. The Taj is not merely a sensuous reminiscence of an imperial amour or a fairy enchantment hewn from the moon's lucent quarries, but the eternal dream of a love that survives death. The great mosques embody often a religious aspiration lifted to a noble austerity which supports and is not lessened by the subordinated ornament and grace. The tombs reach beyond death to the beauty and joy of Paradise. The buildings of Fatehpur-Sikri are not monuments of an effeminate luxurious decadence,—an absurd description for the mind of the time of Akbar,—but give form to a nobility, power and beauty which lay hold but do not wallow on the earth. There is not here indeed the vast spiritual content of the earlier Indian mind, but it is still an Indian mind which in these delicate creations absorbs the West Asian influence, and lays stress on the sensuous as before in the poetry of Kalidasa, but uplifts it to a certain immaterial charm, rises often from the earth without quite leaving it into the magical beauty of the middle world and in the religious mood touches with a devout hand the skirts of the Divine. The all-pervading spiritual obsession is not there, but other elements of life not ignored by Indian culture and gaining on it since the classical times are here brought out under a new influence and are still penetrated with some radiant glow of a superior lustre."

Q. 5: There has been a tendency among the Western critics to attribute a foreign origin to whatever survives of the ancient Indian art. Numerous attempts have been made by these critics to ascribe the Ajanta paintings to the Greeks, Persians or Chinese and it is even maintained that the Kangara paintings are of European inspiration and were painted for the English market. So also the sculptures of Gandhara are said to be of Greek origin and the Tajmahal the work of an Italian architect. Is there any truth in the contention?

A: "The plain fact is that whatever outside influences there may or may not have been in India as elsewhere, even the earliest work shows a characteristic Indian mentality and touch; and as for Gandharan art, it has the air of an inefficient attempt of the Hellenistic mind to absorb this spirit rather than an effort of India to imitate Greece. And in any case the great characteristic work could no more have been the creation of a foreign mind or of its influence than the sculptures of Phidias can be attributed to an Assyrian, Egyptian or Chinese origin. A psychological insensibility to the spiritual significance of Indian work is probably at the root of these errors and, so long as that subsists, the most erudite knowledge will be no protection against gross misunderstandings."

K. G.

Note: The attitude and regard of the cultured European mind on Indian and Eastern art has immensely changed since this was written and there has been a great progress towards sympathy and understanding and even developments due to an oriental influence. There is indeed some survival of old prejudices but this is no longer the characteristic standpoint of the aesthetic mind of Europe towards the creative achievement of India or of Asia.