

# MOTHER INDIA

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"GREAT IS TRUTH AND IT SHALL PREVAIL"

ALTERNATE SATURDAYS

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## TWO IMPORTANT EVENTS

In the midst of the deplorable failure of both logic and vision among a host of democratic countries, in the matter of Red China—in the midst of the terrible danger to which hurried recognition has exposed India and the rest of Asia—two events of substantial significance for the cause of civilisation have taken place. They may seem to be local in their bearings, but behind them are mighty issues at stake and it is worth while indicating these issues and their backgrounds.

### I

The events in question are concerned with Kashmir and Yugoslavia. The Kashmir issue, if we glance at its background, is pretty clear. For many years the popular party in this province has been the one headed by Sheikh Abdulla. It is that party which, during British rule, carried on a campaign both against the British and against the autocratic Maharaja. Congress supported it throughout, while the Muslim League took no hand here, as also it took no hand anywhere else, in helping the cause of the people of India. In 1947 Kashmir was invaded by trans-Frontier tribesmen aided and abetted by Pakistan: the marauders occupied Muzzaffarabad, sacked Baramula, murdered and looted on a grand scale, committed unrestricted arson, and were within an ace of taking Srinagar. At this moment the Maharaja appealed to India for help and negotiated the instrument of accession by which India's help would be rendered perfectly legitimate. What is of greater meaning, he handed over the reins of government to the popular party of Sheikh Abdulla which was stoutly opposed to the inroads of the tribesmen. Thus when India sent troops by air to Kashmir she went to the assistance really not of the mere Maharaja but of the Kashmiri people.

Against the truly representative party of Sheikh Abdulla a puppet government was set up by Pakistan—the so-called Azad Kashmir Government which was hand-in-glove with the bandits from across the Frontier. Further, when it seemed that the Indian army would sweep the country clean of the tribesmen, Pakistan despatched her own troops into Kashmir. Her action, therefore, was not just confined to inspiring and equipping the tribal invaders: it came actually to invasion by herself of territory which was India's by a legal right backed up by the people of Kashmir. But both her part in the original entry of tribesmen and her own violation of foreign territory were sought to be kept secret by her and she went on denying her double complicity until it could no longer be concealed from the U.N. Commission. Another highly objectionable action by her is that under the very nose of the U.N. Commission she has gone on strengthening and organising the Azad forces so that what was once a small band of rebels is now swollen to 32 regular battalions.

These are the facts of the case and there can be no doubt that Pakistan is absolutely in the wrong and that no solution of the Kashmir problem by a free plebiscite is possible before Pakistani troops are withdrawn from Kashmiri soil and the Azad forces totally disbanded and disarmed. What makes Pakistan an all the more odious interloper is her bigoted persecuting sectarian mentality. She is avowedly an Islamic State with a strong antipathy to Hindus and with a record of heartless harrassment of them. Intellectually, too, she is obscurantist: the latest example of her ridiculous intolerance in matters of the mind is her strict ban on the entry into Pakistan of H. G. Wells's *History of the World* in any edition because it contains a chapter on Muhammed and Islam, which does not toe the official line of thought in Karachi! Any territorial advancement by such a country cannot help being a move against civilised values. Hence India, in refusing to accept Pakistan's presence and the terrorist Azad Government in any part of Kashmir, is not only politically but also spiritually right. And she is confirmed in her stand by most other Muslim countries themselves. Dr. Hatta of Indonesia gave recently a slap in Pakistan's face by expressly declaring: "We are an Asiatic State rather than an Islamic State." Even apart from this, Indonesia's staunch sympathy with Nehru's India in everything is well-known. Further, India's election to the U.N. Security Coun-

cil was supported unreservedly by seven Muslim countries: Turkey, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Iran, Iraq and Afghanistan. This shows the confidence even the whole Muslim world, barring Pakistan, has in the ideals which India stands for.

But Pakistan has no intention of allowing a just solution of the Kashmir problem. The cry of "War!" is all the time on her lips. As Sardar Patel said on January 4 in Bombay, there are many groups in Pakistan openly declaring their wish to fly the green flag not only over Srinagar but also over Delhi. And Pakistan's feverish activity in the arms market is now public knowledge. In addition to buying arms in various continental countries, especially Italy, she has bought nominally demilitarised tanks from Britain and is busy trying to purchase aircraft which are intended for transport purposes but can be used in an emergency as bombers. From Canada she has imported guns, rifles and cartridges valued at \$7,000,000. She knows that without war she has no chance of keeping a foothold in Kashmir. She will not consent to any arrangement which, however fair, would endanger this foothold.

She accepted the suggestion by Truman and Attlee for arbitration because she knew that it meant the partitioning of Kashmir, with the militarily advantageous northern territory falling into her own hands. She was also not unwilling to abide by General McNaughton's recent proposal that her armies should withdraw from Kashmir, but here too the rest of the McNaughton plan was in her favour. General McNaughton urged the equated progressive withdrawal of the Indian and Pakistani troops simultaneously with the demilitarisation of the Azad forces, and the administration of the northern areas by local authority rather than by the Kashmir and Jammu Government. The whole arrangement was unsound. The northern areas would remain practically under Pakistan's influence, and the withdrawal of India's army, simultaneously with that of Pakistan's and with the disbanding and disarming of the Azad forces, would put India at a serious disadvantage for two reasons: first, there would be little check on the Azad forces secretly regrouping and becoming again a terrorist agency—second, as an article in the *New Statesman and Nation* reminds us, India's withdrawal would cover hundreds of miles of arduous transport involving months, while Pakistan would withdraw easily over a good motor road through the Jhelum Valley to Rawalpindi, and the Azad forces would remain where they were, though without arms; with the result that these forces could at once take up arms if necessary and Pakistan could quickly return and occupy the Kashmir Valley whereas India would have to struggle for a long time over difficult terrain in order to cope with the emergency.

No, Pakistan's show of agreeableness to plans and proposals has not the least desire behind it to admit her utterly unjustifiable position. And, such being the case, she is bound to put her trust in the sword. All the signs go to spell an outbreak of hostilities with the passing of winter. Pandit Nehru has indeed made an effort to rule out war. He sent a proposal to the Pakistan Government to the effect that a joint declaration should be issued stating that in no event should there be a recourse to war for a solution of any problem facing the two countries. A guarded, much qualified response has come. And no response will let Kashmir be at rest unless India goes back on her stand and lets the strategic north remain in Pakistan's control. India cannot agree to partition, as partition would mean not only allowing an unlawful intruder to get away with his misdeed but also put India militarily at his mercy. If it is argued that no military danger will arise, since the pact ruling out war will be in force, the answer must be made: "The situation of Pakistan dominating the Kashmir Valley from a militarily advantageous north provides the occasion for clearly confessing that a peace-pact with Pakistan has little value because a fanatic Islamic State with marked hatred for Hindus cannot ever have peaceful intentions: its very ideology precludes the principle of 'live and let live.'"

Continued overleaf

## TWO IMPORTANT EVENTS—Continued from page 1.

We may be accused of prejudging the case, but insight into the nature of the party we have to deal with as well as past experience of its tactics makes us suspicious and in our view India would commit a mistake if she stopped being militarily vigilant under any conditions.

The Indian Government has to be ready for unpleasant emergencies. And it is in connection with this that the event about which we spoke at the beginning of our article acquires significance. The event is the Indo-Afghan Peace Treaty signed in New Delhi and its significance is multifold. In the first place, it explodes once again the myth fostered by Pakistan that India is a menace to Islam. A Muslim country, a neighbour of Pakistan herself, has declared deep friendship with India. In the second place, it makes short work of the claim frequently heard in Karachi that Muslim countries have some special exclusive affinity among themselves because of their religion. It is a blow to the attempt at reviving bigotry and sustaining it by a sort of Pan-Islam association to offset India's increasing status in South Asia. In the third place, it is an indirect restraint both upon Pakistan's ambitions against India and upon her high-handedness with the Pathans in the North-West Frontier Province. Kabul is in complete favour of the Pathanistan movement which is gaining ground in that province and she has laid claim to the entire area between the Indus and the hills as her *terra irridenta*. So her joining hands with India in a treaty of friendship precluding all war throws into the boldest relief the rather uncomfortable position of Pakistan, almost wedged as she is between India and Afghanistan. Emphatically, though between the lines, is Pakistan made to read that in the event of any armed conflict with India she will get not the slightest countenance from Afghanistan but on the contrary Afghanistan may feel inclined to press more strongly her own claim and pay Pakistan back for the several arrogant acts towards her of which she is guilty. Of course, all this is not said in so many words in the treaty. In fact, the operative articles in the treaty are so worded as to avoid all complexion of a defence-pact against a common enemy. What is stressed is only the strengthening of the cordial relations existing between the peoples of the two countries and what is agreed upon by the two Governments is enhancement of the cultural ties and assistance in industrial and agricultural progress. But we must not forget that, when the treaty agrees not only to continue the existing trade agencies but also to establish more, it implies an ever-growing passage of Indo-Afghan trade through Pakistan which is the intervening territory. Any unwillingness on Pakistan's part to permit this trade, such as her recent peevish disqualification of Afghan lorries from carrying merchandise to India, is bound to strain relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan no less than between the latter and our own country. The treaty creates a somewhat ticklish all-round situation for Pakistan. Whatever absence of military commitment there may be in the operative articles, the open concordat between the Indian Government and the Afghan on a pretty comprehensive scale is a very significant event in the prospect of a possible flare-up of Indo-Pak hostilities after the winter. In its own innocuously phrased way it constitutes a considerable triumph for India in her civilised endeavour to check the bellicose fever of narrow religionism and communalism from blowing unpleasant breaths across her north-western borders or else to meet it squarely with armed force and make an end of it.

### II

The second event of importance—that which is concerned with Yugoslavia—needs also a brief backward glance for its proper assessment. "Titoism" is now part of the daily vocabulary of the press. But not always is it correctly understood. Often we hear that Marshal Tito is in the pocket of the Western powers. This is a *non-sequitur* from the mere act of his having accepted American economic help and signed a trade pact with Britain. Many countries, including Russia, have enjoyed American lend-lease. And at present Russia's own satellite Czechoslovakia has also signed a trade pact with Britain, and Hungary, another of Stalin's puppets, is negotiating one. Yugoslavia, further, has shown no ideological friendship with the West. For instance, her propaganda offensive against the Atlantic Pact could easily hold a candle to Russia's own fulminations against it. Again, in international debates she mostly votes against the Western powers and there is in this matter little to distinguish her representative from the intractable Vyshinsky. Finally, Marshal Tito's rule is based entirely on Marxist principles and aims at a collectivist Communism akin to Russia's own. It would be erroneous, therefore, to believe that Tito is friendly to the West, much more to believe that he is subservient to it. If Communism is a danger to mankind, Tito cannot be looked upon complacently and cannot in any case be thought to be in the pay of Western capital.

However, Titoist Communism has certain features somewhat different from those of the Stalinist brand. Although Yugoslavia is a Police State, it is not as terrorist as Russia. Quite a number of people are in prison or in "labour camps", but it is proportionately a much smaller number than in any other Marxist country. And, as Alexander Werth has said, a peculiarity about Yugoslavia is that a very large number of people who are sent to prison or to "labour camps" come back into circulation after six months or a year: they do not as a rule "disappear" as in Russia. This may partly be due to there being no Siberia here, but partly it is due also to a less brutal temperament than the Stalinist. And here seems to be a much less frequent resort to immoral means of eliciting confessions: mock trials are not staged with the dreadful uniformity of pattern that Russia exhibits. But all this does not counterbalance sufficiently the thoroughly materialist

interpretation of life, the complete devaluation of the individual, and the Police State principle.

The value of Yugoslavia to the West and to the democratic world in general lies in certain elements which have got to be disentangled from her anti-West Communist set-up. The first of these elements is her attempt to follow a passage written by Lenin fifty years ago: "We do not at all regard Marx's theory as something finished and infallible... he merely laid the foundations of the science on which Socialists must build further in all directions... this theory merely gives certain broad general indications which will be worked out in Britain differently from France, in France differently from Germany, and in Germany differently from Russia." Tito insists that the peculiar conditions of a country have got to be taken into account and that a pattern fixed by one country should not be imposed on another. His insistence introduces a colour of freedom which, however negligible when freedom is merely a variant of current Communist practice, is still welcome for its possibilities in the future and for the present relief it affords from the dogma that Russian blood-red is the only genuine Communist hue and that all countries must be ruthlessly splashed with it. An element of greater significance is bound up with this insistence of Tito's that Russia is deviating from real Marxism when she holds the point of view that:

- (1) Decisions of the Russian Communist Party relating to other parties are infallible;
- (2) Only occupation by the Soviet army can bring about a new Socialist order; and
- (3) It is impossible to build Socialism without the aid of the Soviet Union.

"If these ideas were acceptable," says Tito, "one would arrive inevitably at national oppression and economic exploitation to the profit of the occupiers."

The words "economic exploitation" are important enough inasmuch as they put Russia in the very box in which she goes on putting the Americans and the British in tiresome harangue after harangue. But the words "national oppression" constitute the key-phrase for an understanding of the more significant element of value in Titoism. They lead to the hub and heart of the quarrel between Tito and Stalin. The quarrel is fundamentally between two nationalisms. There has been of late a very strong revival in Russia of the national spirit: the last war was mainly responsible for the good points in the revival and these may well insinuate into the Russian consciousness a sense of continuity with the past which may lessen the stark opposition the Communist regime has long presented to either the traditionalist or the historical entity in the Russian: through the sense of continuity the exaggerated value set on the novelty of Communism may tend to sink and a vague sympathy with the non-Communist past take birth. But it is the bad points of the revival that figure in the Tito-Stalin quarrel. They are, in the main, two: one is the underestimation of all non-Russian peoples' history and acquisitions and scientific conquests—the other is an aggressiveness seeking to reduce all satellites to a zero and totally Russianising them and placing persons of extreme Russian chauvinism in all the strategic positions in a country's economy and government. The Russian Communists still claim to be an International Party; but the question has been asked again and again by many sincere Socialists: "A so-called International Party which never consults its constituent parties, which itself threatens war on the small satellite without even discussing the issue at a Party Congress, which proceeds without reference to the needs or position of the working class in other countries than Russia—can such a party lead towards international Socialism?" The revival of nationalism in Russia has given rise to a most overbearing attitude and a desire to crush the national soul of all other countries, be they ever so Socialist. Tito has vehemently protested against this misuse of nationalism and has confronted it with his own nationalist enthusiasm which is on the right lines inasmuch as it is prepared to respect the national soul everywhere, though it is also wrong-headed inasmuch as it holds that everywhere the national soul should in its own way turn Marxist. He has steadily spurned the idea of genuflecting before the Stalinist tabernacle. Constant friction between Russia and Yugoslavia has been the result, and the climax came when he refused to standardise Yugoslav arms with those of Russia, thus maintaining his military independence.

Tito's nationalism in contrast to Stalin's is in itself a thing of considerable value. And its significance is increased because it marks the first serious breach in the united front Stalin has sought to create in Eastern Europe. Tito has shown remarkable resistance: when first the rift occurred everybody expected him to be "liquidated" in no time. But for 18 months he has held out, genuinely backed up by his own people who admire him for his anti-Nazi fight during the war and for having liberated their land without any serious aid from the Kremlin. Russia who in international councils professes intentions of peace has indulged in a varied effusion on the Moscow Radio which could hardly have struck Tito as very friendly: he has been called traitor, scoundrel, greedy ape, chattering parrot, deserter, coward, comedian, hypocrite, hangman, insolent dwarf and, to crown all, a curled and powdered bandit with a puffy old woman's face! Nor has Russia's animosity stopped with words: economic sanctions have been applied and infiltration tactics tried. Everything has failed, and now at last she has made preparations for a military show-down. The army has moved

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# UNIVERSITY REFORM

By K. R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR

Continued from previous issue

University reform means to the average political mentality no more than a change in the medium of instruction. The Radhakrishnan Report admits that "no other problem has caused greater controversy among educationists and evoked more contradictory views from our witnesses. Besides, the question is so wrapped in sentiment that it is difficult to consider it in a calm and detached manner." It is an understatement rather than otherwise. Headache, stomachache, heartache, surge in a crescendo when we begin talking about the place of the languages in our schools and colleges. We enter here on a labyrinth, set with booby-traps and time-bombs, littered with the remains of a hundred Homeric battles, the atmosphere thick with passion and prejudice, the ground undulating and slippery, the roar of the minotaur of fanaticism fearful and oppressive, the saving clue of sanity tenuous and seriously strained.

The present writer has already discussed the problem elsewhere,\* and there is thus no need to cover the whole ground once again. There is general unanimity of opinion that the mother tongue shall reign supreme at the primary stage, and that the regional language shall be the medium of instruction at the secondary stage, provision being made also for the study of English, Hindi, and Sanskrit. Both the Reddy Report and the Radhakrishnan Report have very rightly stressed the need to give a vital place to Sanskrit studies in our curricula. "Unless we are going to cut ourselves off from all our past and from the greatest men whom our country has given birth to from the earliest dawn of Indian consciousness", writes Dr. Reddy, "we should be prepared to make a liberal provision for study of Sanskrit by our boys and equally with them by our girls. Otherwise they shall fare as the trees uprooted by the strong winds of the present, unable to find a foothold elsewhere."

## The Paramount Claims of English

Likewise, the paramount claims of English too are generously admitted by both the Reports. Thus Dr. Reddy: "...it should be possible for every Indian boy to have a good working knowledge of that highly dynamic language—English... an effective study of English by each Indian at least as a language of mechanism will greatly add to his potentialities and to his stature and will mean probably all the difference between India growing up in all its virility in its new-found freedom and India sinking into a conglomeration of essentially obscurantist peoples..." The Radhakrishnan Report states in a footnote that English is now taught as a second language in practically all European countries including the U.S.S.R., and that, of the learned articles published in the world in a particular branch of science, 44% were in English, 15% in French, 11% in Russian, other languages coming far behind, and of course, Hindi—our "national" language—elect—figuring nowhere at all! Under the circumstances, the prospects of Hindi or the regional language displacing English as the medium of instruction at the university stage are not very bright.

However, if English is to be displaced, only the regional language can take its place as the medium of instruction. If it must be, a beginning may be made at the Intermediate stage, and spread over five or ten years the change from the English medium to the regional language may be satisfactorily effected. The crux of the problem is the production of text-books in the regional languages, especially in the science subjects. It would be premature to prepare such text-books in the absence of an authoritative Dictionary of Scientific Ter-

minology valid for all the modern Indian Languages. The Federal Government should take the initiative in the matter and appoint a Committee of Experts to prepare such a Dictionary, freely borrowing terms of international currency wherever feasible and coining new words or expressions only where absolutely unavoidable. As soon as this work is completed, universities in India, with adequate government grants, would be able to prepare and bring out the necessary text-books in the regional languages. By and by enterprising publishers would enter the field and relieve universities of this onerous responsibility. As for the degree courses and professional and technical courses, English would have to continue as the medium of instruction for a long time yet.

Of course, sometime or other English would have to give place to the local languages in the regional universities and the federal language in universities of all-India importance. But the pace cannot be forced. The higher courses affect but comparatively few students, and the text-books and advanced journals required for these courses are so numerous that the idea of replacing them all by books written in the Indian languages cannot at present be entertained. Text books for the University classes cannot be produced on a mass scale, and knowledge is advancing so rapidly that every few years fresh up-to-date editions of standard text-books are required to enable advanced students to keep abreast of the movements in modern knowledge. An English or American author or publisher of an advanced text-book has potentially a world audience before him, but the author or publisher of a Treatise on Thermodynamics or a memoir on Post-war Gold Movements in an Indian regional language can look forward only to a sale of about ten copies per year, if even as many! It would thus be most suicidal to contemplate a change in the medium of instruction at the degree level or for the professional and technical courses for some decades to come.

## The Problem of University Examinations

The problem of university examinations has also engaged furious hearts of controversy, and the dust raised is so thick that it is difficult to see our way clearly. There have been strikes, and there have been scandals; there have been irregularities and malpractices, and there have been disciplinary actions and deterrent punishments. The difficulty, here as elsewhere, is not with the so-called examination "system" but with the men who administer it, and the public that tolerates such men. But the Radhakrishnan Report naively assumes that by substituting "objective" tests (whatever they may mean) in the place of the present

"subjective" tests, a transformation will be achieved as with the wave of a magic wand. Assuming pontifical airs, affecting omniscience and in fallibility, the authors of the Report propound a series of *sutras*, portentous and platitudinous which in sum mean next to nothing:

"A good examination should satisfy certain essential conditions. It should, in the first place, have validity. It should be able to measure what it seeks to measure. The purpose of the examination must be clear and explicit. It must be reliable; it must efficiently measure what it does measure. It must be adequate; it should sample sufficiently widely, so that the resulting scores are representative of relative total performance in the areas measured. It should be objective; it should effectively eliminate the bias or subjective opinion of the person who marks it. It should be easy to administer, easy to mark, easy to interpret."

There you are. It is an old trick that, when you are at a loose end, you concoct a catchword or a slogan. That is what the Radhakrishnan Report has done. Examinations should be objective; and if you want to know more about these precious "objective" tests, turn to the appendices, tease your brain with the specimen psychological and psycho-pathological tests; and if you still do not appreciate the suggested innovation, you may as well confess that you are a reactionary out of tune with the most modern trends in education. Be that as it may,—“pending the development of objective tests”,—some of the more practical recommendations of the Radhakrishnan Report, if implemented, will help “to relieve much that is defective in the present examination system.” The recommendations in regard to compartmental examinations—both subject-wise and time-wise—are especially worthy of adoption. But, after all, it is the men who administer the system that matter most, and unless they are fully alive to their duties and responsibilities, no tinkering with the system as such will be of much avail.

## The Important Human Material

The basic aims of university education, the place of general education and religious education in the universities, the nature and duration of the degree course, the differentiation between the pass courses and the honour schools, the interdependence of teaching and research in the universities, the language question and the problem of examinations,—all these major topics have been glanced at and our conclusions, however halting and tentative, have been briefly set forth. But more than policies and purposes, curricula and conclusions, it is the human material—students, teachers, administrators—that will finally determine our future, the future of university education in India. How are we going to ensure that all those young men and women who are likely to benefit by a university education are not effectively shut out by lack of means? How are we going to ensure that all the first class talent that is likely to achieve distinction in teaching and research is not diverted to other fields by lack of reasonable prospects? And how are we going to ensure that eminent merit that is likely to bring to the task of university administration both academic

integrity and a high degree of efficiency does not shirk the glare and the odium by a defective system of election or appointment? These are delicate questions to ask, and very difficult indeed to answer. And so long as the right answers elude us, and so long as, having found the right answers, we refuse in our timidity to implement them, all talk of reform will be but a tinkling cymbal and all our publicized efforts will be foredoomed to failure.

Much of the present friction between students and teachers, and teachers and administrations, would cease to be if only we could make merit and not the parent's purse the test of admission to a university course, scholarship and originality and not unfitness for all other jobs the main qualification for teaching posts, and integrity, experience and efficiency and not electioneering strategy the determining factor in the choice of a Vice-Chancellor or a Registrar. "The word 'university'", says Mr. Bruce Truescott, "properly denotes 'a body of teachers and scholars'—nothing less and nothing more." This was the ideal of the *gurukulas* of old, and this ought to be the ideal of the universities as well; and even an administrator ought to be a teacher in disguise—or without disguise—analogueous to the *kulapati* hallowed by our immemorial tradition. When these conditions prevail, we shall have heard the last of tensions and recriminations, hunger-strikes and caterwaulings, collective protests and complicated disciplinary codes. But, then,—how shall we bell the cat?

## Admissions

The problem of admissions is a two-way problem: to keep out the unfit and to welcome the fit. It must not be said of admissions to our universities that the false coin pushes the good one out of circulation. The Radhakrishnan Report envisages objective tests to ensure that the unfit do not enter, and scholarships to ensure that the fit are not prevented from entering the portals of our universities. Both a scholarship examination and a "Means Test", to be applied after the results of the examination are known, are provided for, and these should help to discover and retain the right talent. The Report also points out that the awards—except the token awards to indicate merit alone—"should not be of the value of Rs. 16 or Rs. 20 as at present, but should cover the student's fees as well as his cost of living at the university." In working out the financial implications of these recommendations, the Report assumes that 12,500 scholarships of the value of Rs. 600 and 37,500 free places of the value of Rs. 200 will have to be awarded, making up an annual bill of Rs. 1,68,75,000. The free places will normally go to members of backward communities and the children of war veterans or men with various kinds of approved national service. This means that only 12,500 scholarships out of a possible total enrolment of 250,000—say 5%—will be available to brilliant but impecunious students. Is this not the proverbial drop in the ocean that is worse than useless?

There is an illuminating document, packed and precise, which may be read in this connection,—I refer to the Report of the Working Party on *University Awards*, lately published by H. M. Stationery Office, London. "Our task, as we see it", write the

\*"Mother India" September 17, 1949.

# UNIVERSITY REFORM Continued from page 3

authors of the Report, "is to outline a system of awards which shall make it possible for students qualified for a university education to enter the university unhindered by lack of means". The Report accordingly suggests that out of a probable annual intake of 18,000 students into universities and university colleges in England and Wales, 2,000 should receive entrance scholarships and exhibitions from the universities, 2,000 more should receive state scholarships, offered by the Ministry of Education, and 7,000 should receive awards from local education authorities. Of the remaining 7,000, the Report puts the figure of foreign students at 2,000, thus leaving out only 5,000 students who are to meet the costs of university education from their own resources. Not until we are in a position to help deserving students on something like the same generous scale can we look forward to any real improvement in the quality of the enrolment in our universities and colleges. Goldsworthy Lowes Dickinson said that "an unspoilt youth of twenty with his mind just waking up and his feelings all fresh and open to good is the most beautiful thing the world possesses"; but how many such youths—hundreds and thousands of them—are not now allowed to run to seed, thereby being lost to the nation?

## The Question of Staffing

There is, then, the question of staffing the university departments. The question of staffing the colleges—the so-called affiliated and constituent colleges—is no less important. Reduced to essentials, the problem is a very simple one. Universities and colleges are called upon to train up and send out the future generations of nation-builders, the architects of our national destiny. Teachers in our universities and colleges are thus called upon to discharge a great but difficult task. The persons who are asked to assume this tremendous responsibility should be persons who could really deliver the goods, not disgruntled dyspeptic men who have drifted to teacherdom because they have been unable to secure openings in the more lucrative professions. At the age of twenty-one or twenty-two, with many openings and careers tempting him,—say, the administrative services, law, business, politics—is a first-rate youth likely, the prospects being what they are, to enter the teaching profession and give his life's best to teaching and research? Stenographers in Bombay are paid more than so-called professors; prospects in business or even government offices are far brighter than in colleges and universities; and if the average college or university teacher is ill paid, and consequently undernourished, how can we expect him to infuse his students with anything like zest? If the salary is poor,—starvation-wages, in fact, in many places,—the service conditions are atrocious, especially in some private colleges. And governments, both provincial and central, are by their overt acts making the profession of teaching untenable. A teacher in a college doing excellent work, refused promotion so long as he is a teacher, is suddenly taken to the secretariat, settled on a chair with a pile of files before him, and given twice or three times or ten times his previous salary. Governmental vagaries and perversities have now created the general feeling that if one wants to "get on" one must literally follow the exhortation,

*Chalo Delhi!* The Ministry of Education, in particular has erred with extravagance, and the number of university teachers taken away from their proper jobs to do secretarial work at the Ministry is steadily and alarmingly increasing, and it is high time this recruitment stopped. It has at once weakened the universities and rendered the Ministry of Education one of the most inefficient departments of Government.

Taking all these factors into consideration, the Radhakrishnan Report recommends that teachers in universities should be recruited—and subsequently promoted from one grade to another—solely on ground of merit, and that the scales of salaries should be as follows:—

Professors	Rs. 900-50-1,350.
Readers	Rs. 600-30-900
Lecturers	Rs. 300-25-600
Instructors of	
Fellows	Rs. 250
after Ph.D.)	Rs. 250-25-500

For affiliated colleges, the Report recommends slightly lower grades for lecturers, but even there the minimum is fixed at Rs. 200, and a senior lecturer may reach a maximum of Rs. 800. The Report rightly points out that we must make a determined attempt "to induce our best men and women to devote themselves to university service. Their very nature and function demand that universities should not be treated in a narrow parochial or provincial manner, they ought to be regarded as assets of the nation as a whole. They should be gathering centres for teachers and students from all over India, and the culture and spirit of India should brood over them. Thus alone will they preserve and foster the unity of the nation. They should be treated in principle as "All-India Services". The teacher, on his part, has to shed, once and for all, his present inferiority and persecution complexes, overcome the paralysis that is creeping towards his heart and is enfeebling his will, and learn to play worthily his allotted role in tomorrow's India. By the very nature of his calling and position, the university teacher is the observed of all observers who forms, however unconsciously, patterns of behaviour for generations of students, and hence it is up to him to live a strenuous and blameless life, scorning cheap delights and living laborious hours, continually researching and disinterestedly pursuing knowledge, stubbornly refusing to sin against the Light, joyfully participating in the glorious adventure of storming the veiled citadels of Truth and zestfully taking a hand in the building up of new generations of citizens answering to the Platonic ideal of "gymnastic fused in music".

## University Administration

University administration is a problem which is nearly as vital to the sanity and efficiency of our universities as the selection of students or the recruitment of the academic staff. In a recent article on the subject in the *Universities Quarterly*, the writer thus succinctly states the problem: "The essential need is to think out again where the main centres of effective power should rest, and on what subsidiary points some of the lesser burdens of organization can be devolved". In our universities we have certain bodies—Senate, Academic Council, Boards of Studies, etc.—and certain officers, Chancellor, Pro-Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, Registrar, who between

them run the administration, or, if they feel like it, prevent the administration from functioning smoothly or efficiently. "The key man is the Vice-Chancellor", says the writer in the *Universities Quarterly*, and it is even truer in India than in Great Britain. "The chief directing officer and one who touches university life and activities at almost every point", says Dr. Reddy, "is the Vice-Chancellor. Character and capacity are equally important.... He should be one to whom the professors and other leaders of thought would be able naturally to look up as leader and comrade". The Radhakrishnan Report also details the many duties and responsibilities of the Vice-Chancellor: "It is his duty to know the senior members of the staff intimately, and to be known to all members of the staff and students. He must command their confidence both by adequate academic reputation and by strength of personality.... He must be the 'keeper of the university's conscience'.... All this he must do and it can be done as constitutional ruler; he has not, and should not have, autocratic power". As regards the choice of the Vice-Chancellor, while Dr. Reddy favours nomination by the Chancellor, the Radhakrishnan Report recommends a peculiar procedure of selection by the Executive (or the Syndicate) and approval by the Chancellor. As for the term of office, Dr. Reddy thinks that the first appointment may be for five years, and if the same incumbent is continued in office, it may be for three more years, but the Radhakrishnan Report recommends that "all Vice-Chancellors should be appointed for six years and should not be eligible for re-election".

As regards the Syndicate, the Radhakrishnan Report very rightly urges that "the rule still in force in some of the older universities that members of the staff of the university must not sit on the Executive should be abolished.... To deprive professors of any share in the executive policy of their university is to make an illogical gap between academic and executive affairs, which cannot in fact be so divorced from each other". Dr. Reddy, on the other hand, would have a Syndicate composed entirely of non-teachers; in a Syndicate of fifteen members, only three are to be elected, the rest being ex-officio or nominated members. Dr. Reddy's suspicion alike of teachers and elections is a little difficult to understand, and it is not surprising that his views are not acceptable to the Senate of the Mysore University. Be that as it may, the Radhakrishnan Report has provided for adequate and effective representation to teachers in the various university bodies and also, in the affiliating universities, for a proper balance between teachers and lay men on the one part and between university teachers and teachers in affiliated colleges on the other part. While bodies like Boards of Studies, the Academic Council, and the Faculties should be almost exclusively made up of teachers, the lay element ought to figure—but not to preponderate—in the Syndicate and the Senate. The lay members, being drawn from business, the professions and the services, and sometimes also from the local gentry or nobility, will be able to interpret the university, its needs, its functions, and its pace of progress, to the industrialists, professional bodies, and the general public as a whole. Besides, as the *Universities Quarterly*

points out, the experience of the lay senators and syndics may prove invaluable on practical problems like building-construction and contracts, and it will be most salutary to spread the load of committee work on lay as well as academic shoulders.

## FINANCE

Lastly, Finance. If buildings and hostels have to be constructed, if laboratories have to be set up or at least reconditioned, if libraries have to be renovated and enriched, if present courses are to be reorganized and new courses introduced, if scholarships and freeships are to be awarded on an adequate scale, if teachers' salaries and service conditions are to be made sufficiently attractive to secure and retain the best talent, if in short a serious attempt is to be made to transform our universities into the nerve-cells of our awakening manhood, we require vision, we require faith—faith in ourselves, faith in our future—and we require perseverance and courage, determination and devotion; these spiritual forces secured, we need also funds, funds unlimited, funds as much as we can get, in order that ideals may turn to realities, hopes to realizations. Government grants to universities are, to say the least, irregular, inadequate, and irrational. A comparative study of the estimated percentages of government grants to total income in 1948-49 is very revealing: Aligarh, 52%; Allahabad, 28.8%; Andhra, 16.1%; Annamalai, 44.1%; Benares, 20.3%; Bombay, 11%; Calcutta, 31%; Delhi, 71.6%; Lucknow, 56.2%; Madras, 33.7%; Mysore, 78.3%; Osmania, 86.8%; etc. etc. There is therefore much practical wisdom behind these remarks of the Radhakrishnan Report: "... Our universities are grossly under-financed for the tasks they are attempting.... We see no possibility of the Provinces providing the whole of the necessary expenditure, burdened as they will be with the no less acute needs of extending basic, secondary and technical schools. Generous grants from the Centre must be forthcoming; and these grants the Centre will not, and should not, allocate blindly or mechanically. A Central University Grants Commission working through the Ministry of Education must allocate the sums made available by the Central Government, in accordance with the specific needs and merits of each university".

On the basis of its recommendations in the various chapters, the Radhakrishnan Report tentatively puts the annual expenditure on the universities at about Rs. 21½ crores, 60% of which to be provided by the Government (Central and Provincial), a figure nearly twice as high as the figure of Rs. 6.72 crores given by the Sargent Report. Fees and philanthropy can meet only a fraction of the actual expenditure on university education—at best 30% of the total—and hence a steadily increasing flow of financial help from Government is the sole condition and hope of a burst of spring flowering in our universities. "Unless such financial help is made available to the universities", the Radhakrishnan Report categorically declares, "it will be futile to expect anything substantial in regard to the improvement of university education in the country".

Government grants, however, should not make inroads into the autonomy of the universities. Block grants are the best, but even where

*Continued on page 11*

# VISION and REALISATION

Living and accurate expression of mystical and spiritual experience is rare. To convey the realities of this experience, in all their many-sidedness, and to show what the immense reaches of yogic evolution are, this series will present extracts from the writings of Sri Aurobindo and the Mother.

It is long after coming out of contemplation that I get a clear idea of what it has been.

Once more this evening I entered into that state in which the consciousness is dispersed in a multitude of diverse elements, individual and collective centres of consciousness, for accomplishing there an action or rather as many actions as these elements permit.

By flashes, this or that point appears in a precise manner, then is blotted out to give place to another. Each element of consciousness that acts is clearly conscious of its action; but a consciousness of the whole appears at once impossible on account of the extreme complexity it would entail, and useless for the accomplishment of the work itself.

THE MOTHER

—Prayers & Meditations

December 9, 1916.

LORD, without letting my mind be aware of what was going to take place and how it would take place, Thou hast made me this evening feel beforehand what Thou attendest from me; feel only, for it is the first, very timid step upon the marvellous way Thou hast half-opened before me. It was like the rising flow which swells a river more and more until it overflows, covering everything with its beneficent waters. And this time it was the heart that thus swelled under the pressure of the powers of love Thou madest flow into it; and the whole being has begun to love, love more and more, without any definite aim, nothing and everything at the same time, that which it knows and that which it knows not, that which it sees and that which it has never seen; and little by little, this potential love has become an effective love, ready to spread over everything and all things in beneficent waves, in an active outpouring of its rays.... It was but a beginning, a very feeble beginning. But I know, O Lord, that it is this Thou willest. As always, Thy Will is an infinite Grace which floods the being with its divine delight and transports it above mean contingencies towards the Glory of Thy heavenly abode.

To be what Thou willest is to be divine!

THE MOTHER

—Prayers & Meditations

December 24, 1916.

## THOUGHT THE PARACLETE

As some bright archangel in vision flies  
Plunged in dream-caught spirit immensities,  
Past the long green crests of the seas of life,  
Past the orange skies of the mystic mind  
Flew my thought self-lost in the vasts of God.  
Sleepless wide great glimmering wings of wind  
Bore the gold-red seeking of feet that trod  
Space and Time's mute vanishing ends. The face  
Lustred, pale-blue-lined of the hippogriff,  
Eremitic, sole, daring the bourneless ways,  
Over world-bare summits of timeless being  
Gleamed; the deep twilights of the world-abyss  
Failed below. Sun-realms of supernal seeing,  
Crimson-white mooned oceans of pauseless bliss  
Drew its vague heart-yearning with voices sweet.  
Hungering, large-souled to surprise the unconned  
Secrets white-fire-veiled of the last Beyond,  
Crossing power-swept silences rapture-stunned,  
Climbing high far ethers eternal-sunned,  
Thought the great-winged wanderer paraclete  
Disappeared slow-singing a flame-word rune.  
Self was left, lone, limitless, nude, immune.

SRI AUROBINDO

Collected Poems & Plays Vol. II

## TWO IMPORTANT EVENTS—Continued from page 2

to the frontier. Bases for launching guided missiles will be completed this month in the Torro mountains of Hungary. Hungarian paratroopers have been trained. The Soviet General, Marshal Konstantin Rokossovsky has been appointed Polish Minister of war. And Bulgaria, it is reported, will soon receive her own Rokossovsky. A co-ordinated aggression has been planned and only the signal from Kremlin remains to be given.

The situation is pregnant with world-wide consequences. For, if Tito falls, Eastern Europe will be wholly enslaved by Russia. And Tito not only stands for certain valuable aspects of nationalism, but also serves as the first nail in the coffin of Stalin. Stalin's intolerance of him renders suspect all the mealy-mouthed peace talks of Vyshinsky and rallies opinion against him among even those who might otherwise remain beglamoured with Marxist manifestos: intra-party debates have already begun in the Communist ranks in France and Italy. Marxism itself, with its dogma that wars are due to Capitalism and that Communist countries can never be at each other's throat, is getting somewhat self-repudiated. In Eastern Europe and nearest to Stalin's seat of power the greatest danger is developing. For, Titoism with its appeal to the nationalist impulse is spreading its infection: the recent purges are symptomatic of Titoist germs. The geographical situation of Yugoslavia is either telling in the direction of anti-Stalinism or bringing more security to her neighbours. Albania, almost entirely surrounded by Yugoslav territory and dependent on Yugoslav economic aid, will be forced to side with Tito if the latter is able to check Stalin for long. Greece, Italy, and Austria are affected in several ways. In Greece the rebels have been cut off from Russian help because Yugoslavia is the intervening territory. With Yugoslavia no more a Russian satellite, Stalin stands no longer at the gates of Trieste and all along the Adriatic. Russian dominion is unable to spread beyond the left bank of the Danube. From every point of view Tito is a phenomenon the West should try to prolong if Stalin's back is to be broken without actual war. To support him is as important as it was to keep up the Berlin air-lift.

At the same time Russia is bound to feel that at any cost Tito must be struck to his knees. Military attack is the only method left now to her, and without the least hesitation she will invade Yugoslavia if she finds the slightest trace of weakness in the West's support to her adversary. But if the support comes, will there not be World War III—a most undesirable upshot? It is often asked whether Britain and America should embark upon the

desperate gamble of an atomic war against Russia because of Yugoslavia. The only answer is a counter-query: Would not a letting-down of Yugoslavia stage merely another "Munich" and would not another "Munich" mean a shooting up of Russian stock and further ambitious steps by her, making World War III absolutely inevitable? The sole sensible policy is to declare readiness to stand behind Yugoslavia at all costs. This will make Stalin sit up and take notice. This will stay his hand from going out to smash Tito, and in consequence not only will a global devastation by nuclear fission be averted but also the process of Stalinism getting undermined by Titoism continue.

An event of stupendous moment, therefore, was the explicit assertion by the U.S.A. on January 5: "It is the policy of the U.S.A. to oppose aggression. That goes for Yugoslavia which is clearly threatened, if we are to listen not only to the words of Soviet propaganda but also to the official statements of high Soviet authorities such as Molotov. America is fully sympathetic to the efforts of Yugoslavia to maintain her independence and freedom. America's determination to oppose aggression would apply even to guerrilla tactics or infiltration if assisted from outside." These are words at once daring, noble and shrewd. Of course, the U.S.A. will not take the initiative in supplying material and military assistance, but if Yugoslavia requests it, the assistance will come unstintedly. As Yugoslavia is sure to ask for all she can get, the words amount to an unambiguous warning to the Soviet Union than no nonsense will be tolerated. And they are a proof to the whole world that Mr. Truman has genuinely at heart the cause of civilisation in so far at least as that cause lies in the stemming of the red ruin that is ready to break upon the world from Moscow. With the eruption of Mao Tse-tung in China the anti-civilisation forces have been immensely augmented. Thanks to America they will yet be countered. America has stood almost alone in her repudiation of Mao's mailed-fist claim for recognition. And, with her guarantee of help to little Yugoslavia, she has once again emerged as the radiant antagonist of Stalinist imperialism and totalitarianism. If she can only see facts for what they are in the Kashmir-issue and not be strangely under the illusion that a partitioning of that province will make for peace and security in the Asian theatre she will remove the one flaw in her international outlook. But even with the flaw she remains in the global context admirable for the far reach of her sight and the deep strength of her will.

# SRI AUROBINDO, THE LEADER OF THE EVOLUTION

## PART II OF "THE WORLD CRISIS AND INDIA"

BY "Synergist"

### SECTION III: THE NEW WORLD-VIEW

#### (II) SRI AUROBINDO'S VISION OF THE FUTURE OF THE HUMAN RACE

In the last essay we saw the scheme of the Aurobindonian World-View, the salient ideas of which were discussed in *The World Crisis and India*. In the following essays Sri Aurobindo's philosophy will be presented in a more systematic form with a view to help men in reordering and reshaping their existence upon earth in the light of a truth greater than the mental, and to aid them in realising the ideal of the life divine. Only a sincere attempt to realise such an ideal by the peoples of the world can lead to a real solution of the crisis of our times.

Before we begin with the metaphysic, we shall turn to a more general philosophical statement made by Sri Aurobindo in *The Life Divine* regarding the present crisis, and the limitations of the various solutions that offer themselves. He also speaks of the goal of human evolution—the transformation of man as he is today into a gnostic being and the gradual supramentalisation of earth-existence—and discusses the problem of the relation between the individual and the collectivity. He stresses the fact that only through the free growth and development of the individual can the community and the race progress, but remarks that what is really needed is not an individual achievement but a general collective advance—the individual acting as the spearhead of the evolutionary movement.

"There is a Reality, a truth of all existence which is greater and more abiding than all its formations and manifestations; to find that truth and Reality and live in it, achieve the most perfect manifestation and formation possible of it, must be the secret of perfection whether of individual or communal being. This Reality is there within each thing and gives to each of its formations its power of being and value of being. The universe is a manifestation of the Reality, and there is a truth of the universal existence, a Power of cosmic being, an all-self or world-spirit. Humanity is a formation or manifestation of the Reality in the universe, and there is a truth and self of humanity, a human spirit, a destiny of human life. The community is a formation of the Reality, a manifestation of the spirit of man, and there is a truth, a self, a power of the collective being. The individual is a formation of the Reality, and there is a truth of the individual, an individual self, soul or spirit that expresses itself through the individual mind, life and body and can express itself too in something that goes beyond mind, life and body, something even that goes beyond humanity. For our humanity is not the whole of the Reality or its best possible self-formation or self-expression,—the Reality has assumed before man existed an infra-human formation and self-creation and can assume after him or in him a suprahuman formation and self-creation. The individual as spirit or being is not confined within his humanity; he has been less than human, he can become more than human. The universe finds itself through him even as he finds himself in the universe, but he is capable of becoming more than the universe, since he can surpass it and enter into something in himself and in it and beyond it that is absolute. He is not confined within the community; although his mind and life are, in a way, part of the communal mind and life, there is something in him that can go beyond them. The community exists by the individual, for its mind and life and body are constituted by the mind and life and body of its composing individuals; if that were abolished or disaggregated, its own existence would be abolished or disaggregated, though some spirit or power of it might form again in other individuals; but the individual is not a mere cell of the collective existence; he would not cease to exist if separated or expelled from the collective mass. For the collectivity, the community is not even the whole of humanity and it is not the world: the individual can exist and find himself elsewhere in humanity or by himself in the world. If the community has a life dominating that of the individuals which constitute it, still it does not constitute their whole life. If it has its being which it seeks to affirm by the life of the individuals, the individual also has a being of his own which he seeks to affirm in the life of the community. But he is not tied to that, he can affirm himself in another communal life, or, if he is strong enough, in a nomad existence or in an eremite solitude where, if he cannot pursue or achieve a complete material living, he can spiritually exist and find his own reality and indwelling self of being.

The individual is indeed the key of the evolutionary movement: for it is the individual who finds himself, who becomes conscious of the Reality. The movement of the collectivity is a largely subconscious mass movement; it has to formulate and express itself through the individuals to become conscious; its general mass consciousness is always less evolved than the consciousness of its most developed individuals, and it progresses in so far as it accepts their impress or develops what they develop. The individual does not owe his ultimate allegiance either to the State which is a machine

or to the community which is a part of life and not the whole of life: his allegiance must be to the Truth, the Self, the Spirit, the Divine which is in him and in all; not to subordinate or lose himself in the mass, but to find and express that truth of being in himself and help the community and humanity in its seeking for its own truth and fullness of being must be his real object of existence. But the extent to which the power of the individual life or the spiritual Reality within it becomes operative, depends on his own development: so long as he is undeveloped, he has to subordinate in many ways his undeveloped self to whatever is greater than it. As he develops, he moves towards a spiritual freedom, but this freedom is not something entirely separate from all-existence; it has a solidarity with it because that too is the self, the same spirit. As he moves towards spiritual freedom, he moves also towards spiritual oneness. The spiritually realised, the liberated man is preoccupied, says the Gita, with the good of all beings; Buddha discovering the way of Nirvana must turn back to open that way to those who are still under the delusion of their constructive instead of their real being—or non-being; Vivekananda, drawn by the Absolute, feels also the call of the disguised Godhead in humanity and most the call of the fallen and the suffering, the call of the self to the self in the obscure body of the universe. For the awakened individual the realisation of his truth of being and his inner liberation and perfection must be his primary seeking,—first, because that is the call of the Spirit within him, but also because it is only by liberation and perfection and realisation of the truth of being that man can arrive at truth of living. A perfected community also can exist only by the perfection of its individuals, and perfection can come only by the discovery and affirmation in life by each of his own spiritual being and the discovery by all of their spiritual unity and a resultant life unity. There can be no real perfection for us except by our inner self and truth of spiritual existence taking up all truth of the instrumental existence into itself and giving to it oneness, integration, harmony. As our only real freedom is the discovery and disengagement of the spiritual Reality within us, so our only means of true perfection is the sovereignty and self-effectuation of the spiritual Reality in all the elements of our nature.

Our nature is complex and we have to find a key to some perfect unity and fullness of its complexity. Its first evolutionary basis is the material life: Nature began with that and man also has to begin with it; he has first to affirm his material and vital existence. But if he stops there, there can be for him no evolution; his next and greater preoccupation must be to find himself as a mental being in a material life—both individual and social—as perfected as possible. This was the direction which the Hellenic idea gave to European civilisation, and the Roman reinforced—or weakened—it with the ideal of organised power; the cult of reason, the interpretation of life by an intellectual thought critical, utilitarian, organising and constructive, the government of life by Science are the last outcome of this inspiration. But in ancient times the higher creative and dynamic element was the pursuit of an ideal truth, good and beauty and the moulding of mind, life and body into perfection and harmony by this ideal. Beyond and above this preoccupation, as soon as mind is sufficiently developed, there awakes in man the spiritual preoccupation, the discovery of a self and inmost truth of being and the release of man's mind and life into the truth of the Spirit, its perfection by the power of the Spirit, the solidarity, unity, mutuality of all beings in the Spirit. This was the Eastern ideal carried by Buddhism and other ancient disciplines to the coasts of Asia and Egypt and from there poured by Christianity into Europe. But these motives, burning for a time like dim torchlights in the confusion and darkness created by the barbaric flood that had submerged the old civilizations, have been abandoned by the modern spirit which has found another light, the light of Science. What the modern spirit has sought for is the economic social ultimate,—an ideal material organization of civilization and comfort, the use of reason and science and education for the generalisation of a utilitarian rationality which will make the individual a perfected social being in a perfected economic society. What remained from the spiritual ideal was—for a time—a mentalised and moralised humanitarianism relieved of all religious colouring and a social ethicism which was deemed all-sufficient to take the place of a religious and individual ethic. It was so far that the race had reached when it found itself hurried forward by its own momentum into a subjective chaos and a chaos of its life in which all received values were overthrown and all firm ground seemed to disappear from its social organization, its conduct and its culture.

Continued on opposite page

## THE NEW WORLD VIEW—Continued from page 7

For this ideal, this conscious stress on the material and economic life was in fact a civilised reversion to the first state of man, his early barbaric state and its preoccupation with life and matter, a spiritual retrogression with the resources of the mind of a developed humanity and a fully evolved Science at its disposal. As an element in the total complexity of human life this stress on a perfected economic and material existence has its place in the whole: as a sole or predominant stress it is for humanity itself, for the evolution itself full of danger. The first danger is a resurgence of the old vital and material primitive barbarian in a civilised form; the means Science has put at our disposal eliminates the peril of the subversion and destruction of an effete civilisation by stronger primitive peoples, but it is the resurgence of the barbarian in ourselves, in civilised man, that is the peril, and this we see all around us. For that is bound to come if there is no high and strenuous mental and moral ideal controlling and uplifting the vital and physical man in us and no spiritual ideal liberating him from himself into his inner being. Even if this relapse is escaped, there is another danger,—for a cessation of the evolutionary urge, a crystallisation into a stable comfortable mechanised social living without ideal or outlook is another possible outcome. Reason by itself cannot long maintain the race in its progress; it can do so only if it is a mediator between the life and body and something higher and greater within him; for it is the inner spiritual necessity, the push from what is there yet unrealised within him that maintains in him, once he has attained to mind, the evolutionary stress, the spiritual nîsus. That renounced, he must either relapse and begin all over again or disappear like other forms of life before him as an evolutionary failure, through incapacity to maintain or to serve the evolutionary urge. At the best he will remain arrested in some kind of mediary typical perfection, like other animal kinds, while Nature pursues her way beyond him to a greater creation.

At present mankind is undergoing an evolutionary crisis in which is concealed a choice of its destiny; for a stage has been reached in which the human mind has achieved in certain directions as enormous development while in others it stands arrested and bewildered and can no longer find its way. A structure of the external life has been raised up by man's ever-active mind and life-will, a structure of an unmanageable hugeness and complexity, for the service of his mental, vital, physical claims and urges, a complex, political, social, administrative, economic, cultural machinery, an organised collective means for his intellectual, sensational, aesthetic and material satisfaction. Man has created a system of civilisation which has become too big for his limited mental capacity and understanding and his still more limited spiritual and moral capacity to utilise and manage, a too dangerous servant of his blundering ego and its appetites. For no greater seeing mind, no intuitive soul of knowledge has yet come to his surface of consciousness which could make this basic fullness of life a condition for the free growth of something that exceeded it. This new fullness of the means of life might be, by its power for a release from the incessant unsatisfied stress of his economic and physical needs, an opportunity for the full pursuit of other and greater aims surpassing the material existence, for the discovery of a higher truth and good and beauty, for the discovery of a greater and diviner spirit which would intervene and use life for a higher perfection of the being: but it is being used instead for the multiplication of new wants and an aggressive expansion of the collective ego. At the same time Science has put at his disposal many potencies of the universal Force and has made the life of humanity materially one; but what uses this universal Force is a little human individual or communal ego with nothing universal in its light of knowledge or its movements, no inner sense or power which would create in this physical drawing together of the human world a true life unity, a mental unity or a spiritual oneness. All that is there is a chaos of clashing mental ideas, urges of individual and collective physical want and need, vital claims and desires, impulses of an ignorant life-push, hungers and calls for life satisfaction of individuals, classes, nations, a rich fungus of political and social and economic nostrums and notions, a hustling medley of slogans and panaceas for which men are ready to oppress and be oppressed, to kill and be killed, to impose them somehow or other by the immense and too formidable means placed at his disposal, in the belief that this is his way out to something ideal. The evolution of human mind and life must necessarily lead towards an increasing universality; but on a basis of ego and segmenting and dividing mind this opening to the universal can only create a vast pullulation of unaccorded ideas and impulses, a surge of enormous powers and desires, a chaotic mass of unassimilated and intermixed mental, vital and physical material of a larger existence which, because it is not taken up by a creative harmonising light of the spirit, must welter in a universalised confusion and discord out of which it is impossible to build a greater harmonic life. Man has harmonised life in the past by organised ideation and limitation; he has created societies based on fixed ideas or fixed customs, a fixed cultural system or an organic life-system, each with its own order; the throwing of all these into the melting-pot of a more and more intermingling life and a pouring in of ever new ideas and motives and facts and possibilities call for a new, a greater consciousness to meet and master the increasing potentialities of existence and harmonise them. Reason and Science can only help by standardising, by fixing everything into an artificially arranged and mechanised unity of material life. A greater whole-being, whole-knowledge, whole-power is needed to weld all into a greater unity of whole-life.

A life of unity, mutuality and harmony born of a deeper and wider truth of our being is the only truth of life that can successfully replace the imperfect mental constructions of the past which were a combination of association and regulated conflict, an accommodation of egos and interests grouped or dovetailed into each other to form a society, a consolidation by common general life-motives a unification by need and the pressure of struggle with outside forces. It is such a change and such a reshaping of life for which humanity is blindly beginning to seek, now more and more with a sense that its very existence depends upon finding the way. The evolution of mind working upon life has developed an organisation of the activity of mind and use of Matter which can no longer be supported by human capacity without an inner change. An accommodation of the ego-centric human individuality, separative even in association, to a system of living which demands unity, perfect mutuality, harmony, is imperative. But because the burden which is being laid on mankind is too great for the present littleness of the human personality and its petty mind and small life-instincts, because it cannot operate the needed change, because it is using this new apparatus and organisation to serve the old infraspirtual and infrarational life-self of humanity, the destiny of the race seems to be heading dangerously, as if impatiently and in spite of itself, under the drive of the vital ego seized by colossal forces which are on the same scale as the huge mechanical organisation of life and scientific knowledge which it has evolved, a scale too large for its reason and will to handle, into a prolonged confusion and perilous crisis and darkness of violent shifting incertitude. Even if this turns out to be a passing phase or appearance and a tolerable structural accommodation is found which will enable mankind to proceed less catastrophically on its uncertain journey, this can only be a respite. For the problem is fundamental and in putting it evolutionary Nature in man is confronting herself with a critical choice which must one day be solved in the true sense if the race is to arrive or even to survive. The evolutionary nîsus is pushing towards a development of the cosmic Force in terrestrial life which needs a larger mental and vital being to support it, a wider mind, a greater wider more conscious unanimsed Life-Soul, Anima, and that again needs an unveiling of the supporting Soul and spiritual Self within to maintain it.

A rational and scientific formula of the vitalistic and materialistic human being and his life, a search for a perfected economic society and the democratic cultus of the average man are all that the modern mind presents us in this crisis as a light for its solution. Whatever the truth supporting these ideas, this is clearly not enough to meet the need of a humanity which is missioned to evolve beyond itself, or at any rate, if it is to live, must evolve far beyond anything that it at present is. A life-instinct in the race and in the average man himself has felt the inadequacy and has been driving towards a reversal of values or a discovery of new values and a transfer of life to a new foundation. This has taken the form of an attempt to find a simple and ready-made basis of unity, mutuality, harmony for the common life, to enforce it by a suppression of the competitive clash of egos and so to arrive at a life of identity for the community in place of a life of difference. But to realise these desirable ends the means adopted have been the forcible and successful materialisation of a few restricted ideas or slogans enthroned to the exclusion of all other thought, the suppression of the mind of the individual, a mechanised compression of the elements of life, a mechanised unity and drive of the life-force, a coercion of man by the State, the substitution of the communal for the individual ego. The communal ego is idealised as the soul of the nation, the race, the community; but this is a colossal and may turn out to be a fatal error. A forced and imposed unanimity of mind, life, action raised to their highest tension under the drive of something which is thought to be greater, the collective soul, the collective life, is the formula found. But this obscure collective being is not the soul or self of the community; it is a life-force that rises from the subconscious and, if denied the light of guidance by the reason, can be driven only by dark massive forces which are powerful but dangerous for the race because they are alien to the conscious evolution of which man is the trustee and bearer. It is not in this direction that evolutionary Nature has pointed mankind; this is a reversion towards something that she had left behind her.

Another solution that is attempted reposes still on the materialistic reason and a unified organisation of the economic life of the race; but the method that is being employed is the same, a forced compression and imposed unanimity of mind and life and a mechanical organisation of the communal existence. A unanimity of this kind can only be maintained by a compression of all freedom of thought and life, and that must bring about either the efficient stability of a termite civilization or a drying up of the springs of life and a swift or slow decadence. It is through the growth of consciousness that the collective soul and its life can become aware of itself and develop; the free play of mind and life is essential for the growth of consciousness: for mind and life are the soul's only instrumentation until a higher instrumentation develops; they must not be inhibited in their action or rendered rigid, unplastic and unprogressive. The difficulties or disorders engendered by the growth of the individual mind and life cannot be healthily removed by the suppression of the individual; the true cure can only be achieved by his progression to a greater consciousness in which he is fulfilled and perfected.

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# YOGA AS SCIENCE

BY K. S. VENKATARAMAN

Among the fashionable prejudices of to-day is the one against Yoga. It is considered to be a pretentious quackery, often supported by an equally pretentious pseudo-philosophy, but with no claim to be considered a science. Part of the prejudice is due to ignorance and mental inertia, but a part is also due to the fantastic claims of some of its votaries who make Yoga a mystery of which there can be neither explanation, nor description, a mystery to which access can be had only through the grace of the Guru. But this modern conception of Yoga as magic and mystery is contrary to the authentic tradition of Indian philosophy and religion which calls Yoga a Shastra, a Science or systematic knowledge, something that can be taught and learned, something which though ineluctable in its highest results can yet be described in general terms and justified to reason.

This shastra is based on a body of carefully tested experience, repeated, verified and sifted from error, knowledge which can be verified by anyone who equips himself for the task. By Yoga I mean here not the school of philosophy so named, one of the *shad-darshans* or six systems of Indian philosophy, but the mental and spiritual discipline called Yoga. It denotes not only the discipline called *ashtanga* yoga but all methods by which the individual self is unified or becomes self-collected and is united to the supreme Self. Now this practice claims to be a Shastra, based upon systematic knowledge of the mind and the spirit and it is this claim which is contemptuously brushed aside by modern science without even the formality of trial and condemnation, of examination and rejection.

## The True Scientific Approach

It is needless to point out that science is only complete and systematic knowledge. It is not limited to any particular subject or type of subjects nor restricted in method to any particular technique. For scientific method only consists in careful observation, cautious inference from the observed facts and continuous verification. This method has been successfully applied in recent times to the investigation of facts like telepathy, which orthodox science refused to take note of. There

is no *a priori* reason why the same spirit of enquiry and the same method of investigation should not be applied to reaches of the mind yet unexplored and to regions above the mind, if there are any such. Such an investigation could at least disprove the "pretensions" of Yoga. But the way to do it is not to dismiss the teachings of Yoga as incredible and inconceivable, for to limit reality to what we know at present, or to equate knowledge with what we can believe or conceive is against the very spirit of science and it is a superstition more dangerous than the so-called superstitions of religion. For in the name of science it would seek to bar the further progress of science. If the belief in yoga is a superstition, the corrective to it is research and not ridicule; only, the research must be free and unfettered by preconceived notions, and by methods recommended by authentic tradition and accredited experience.

Each science perfects its own method by a progress of trial and error and Yoga has similarly developed its own special technique. Every branch of study requires an initial equipment of knowledge and ability and can only be undertaken by a competent person or *adhikarin*. Therefore, in requiring that the practitioner of Yoga must go through a preliminary discipline the shastra only re-affirms the universal concept

of *adhikara* or competence. This discipline is not mainly intellectual but psychological and moral and hence it is hard and exacting, "sharp as the razor's edge", but there is no other way of securing competence—"na anyah pantha." It is only those who have earned the right of entry into Yoga through the mastery of this discipline that are competent to pronounce an opinion on the worthwhileness of Yoga, and not those who out of inertia or indolence or through an initial lack of faith shrink from the rigours of that discipline. Can it be said that the pronouncements of scientists or of the uninformed and even informed laymen on the truth of Yoga come out of enquiry and not out of ignorant prejudice? And what weight can they have against the continuous tradition of carefully verified experience? All that I ask is that the claims of Yoga should not be rejected out of hand as something fantastic or incredible but that they should be investigated in exactly the same way in which any other hypothesis is verified. What is wanted for this is not an *ab initio* acceptance of any so-called fact or explanation of even a verified fact, but only such a working faith as is needed for any sustained enquiry, and an open mind which will not rule out any possibility.

## Research on Right Lines

It is unfortunate that the spirit of research so manifest everywhere should not have been turned so far on this subject, which is pregnant with vast potentialities. The splitting of the atom, which absorbs the energies of hundreds of scientists can only open the reservoirs of material power and this power can be used well or ill, to save or to destroy the world. But the opening of the soul to the infinite resources of the

spirit will release a power which will redeem humanity from its present smallness and suffering and transform it into an image of the Divine. What nation is so qualified to undertake this research into the realms of the spirit as India which has had a continuous line of seers?

A kind of research in Yoga on modern lines was attempted some time ago by the Yoga Institute at Lonavla under the direction of Swami Kavalayananda, but the investigation was limited more or less to the somatic side of the psychophysical practices of Hatha Yoga and was not applied to any spiritual yoga, which is still considered to be something ineluctably mystic. Spiritual experience is no doubt uniquely personal and will not lend itself to the scientific method of analysis and analytic description, but the fact that all the seers of the Vedic mantras refer to certain psychological truths and experiences, show that even in this realm certain broad paths may be indicated with recognisable steps and stages and that if the exploration is conducted by an organised band of enquirers working under the direction and guidance of a Master—"one who has crossed over to the other side of darkness"—it may be possible to build up such a body of verified experience as can be called a science. May I be permitted to add that the Yoga Ashram at Pondicherry which has grown up under Sri Aurobindo may be considered to be such a research institute (or spiritual laboratory)? For, every Yoga sadhaka, though seeking a personal (or supra-personal) end, namely union with the Divine or supreme Self is at the same time a quester in the unexplored vastnesses of the spirit and may well be called a scientist in a sense in which there is no division between matter and mind and no disagreement between science and religion.

## THE NEW WORLD VIEW—Continued from page 7

An alternative solution is the development of an enlightened reason and will of the normal man consenting to a new socialised life in which he will subordinated his ego for the sake of the right arrangement of the life of the community. If we inquire how this radical change is to be brought about, two agencies seem to be suggested, the agency of a greater and better mental knowledge, right ideas, right information, right training of the social and civic individual and the agency of a new social machinery which will solve everything by the magic of the social machine cutting humanity into a better pattern. But it has not been found in experience, whatever might have once been hoped, that education and intellectual training by itself can change man; it only provides the human individual and collective ego with better information and a more efficient machinery for its self-affirmation, but leaves it the same unchanged human ego. Nor can human mind and life be cut into perfection—even into what is thought to be perfection, a constructed substitute,—by any kind of social machinery; matter can be so cut, thought can be so cut, but in our human existence matter and thought are only instruments for the soul and the life-force. Machinery cannot form the soul and life-force into standardised shapes; it can at best coerce them, make soul and mind inert and stationary and regulate the life's outward action; but if this is to be effectively done, coercion and compression of the mind and life are indispensable and that again spells either unprogressive stability or decadence. The reasoning mind with its logical practicality has no other way of getting the better of Nature's ambiguous and complex movements than a regulation and mechanisation of mind and life. If that is done, the soul of humanity will either have to recover its freedom and growth by a revolt and a destruction of the machine into whose grip it has been cast or escape by a withdrawal into itself and a rejection of life. Man's true way out is to discover his soul and its self-force and instrumentation and replace by it both the mechanisation of mind and the ignorance and disorder of life-nature. But there would be little room and freedom for such a movement of self-discovery and self-effectuation in a closely regu-

lated and mechanised social existence.

There is the possibility that in the swing back from a mechanistic idea of life and society the human mind may seek refuge in a return to the religious idea and a society governed or sanctioned by religion. But organized religion, though it can provide a means of inner uplift for the individual and preserve in it or behind it a way for his opening to spiritual experience, has not changed human life and society; it could not do so because, in governing society, it had to compromise with the lower parts of life and could not insist on the inner change of the whole being; it could insist only on a credal adherence, a formal acceptance of its ethical standards and a conformity to institution, ceremony and ritual. Religion so conceived can give a religio-ethical colour or surface tinge,—sometimes, if it maintains a strong kernel of inner experience, it can generalise to some extent an incomplete spiritual tendency; but it does not transform the race, it cannot create a new principle of the human existence. A total spiritual direction given to the whole life and the whole nature can alone lift humanity beyond itself. Another possible conception akin to the religious solution is the guidance of society by men of spiritual attainment, the brotherhood or unity of all in the faith or in the discipline, the spiritualisation of life and society by the taking up of the old machinery of life into such a unification or inventing a new machinery. This too has been attempted before without success; it was the original founding idea of more than one religion: but the human ego and vital nature were too strong for a religious idea working on the mind and by the mind to overcome its resistance. It is only the full emergence of the soul, the full descent of the native light and power of the Spirit and the consequent replacement or transformation and uplifting of our insufficient mental and vital nature by a spiritual and supramental supernature that can effect this evolutionary miracle.

To be continued in the next issue.



# SHIVAJI IN A LARGER PERSPECTIVE

By SISIRKUMAR MITRA

The most important power in India for almost a century after the death of Aurangzeb was that of the Maratha confederacy. But the Marathas were not the only people to throw off the yoke of Delhi. There were many others, at least three of whom were Muslim. The Mughul empire had never really consolidated itself. Its whole history was one of struggle between a greedy and powerful central authority and a host of champions of local independence scattered all over the country. These latter were both Hindu and Muslim,—and their courage and patriotism rank them with heroic soldiers of liberty like Bruce and Hannibal, Wallace and Washington. In the eyes of history a hero is a hero whether he fights for an empire or for a petty fortress. The life of a champion of local freedom becomes doubly important to students of history when it leads to the establishment of a new power in the land. It is from this point of view that we have to study the career of Shivaji. It was on the firm foundation of his achievements that Baji Rao and others raised the edifice of Maratha supremacy. For we must not lose sight of the fact that this great king was as much a soldier as a statesman, as much an idealist as a practical organiser.

In order to appraise Shivaji's work properly we must have some idea of the past history of the Deccan as also of the conditions in which he was born and brought up. About the time when Mahmud of Ghazni was leading his plundering hordes into northern India there flourished in the extreme south the powerful and extensive empire of the Cholas. This Chola empire broke up in the course of time but the Afghans never got down to that part of India in spite of the lure of its fabulous wealth. This was possibly due to the fact that it was too far from the Afghan base. Islam did ultimately cross the Vindhya but that was much later. Even then it did not extend very far south, and never affected the integrity of its culture.

The history of the conquest of Devagiri, the establishment of the Bahmani empire, its disintegration and the rise of the five Musalman kingdoms of the Deccan are too well-known to require more than a passing notice. While the Bahmanis were consolidating their power north of the Krishna, there arose south of that river and of the Tungabhadra, the powerful Hindu kingdom of Vijaynagara. Founded for a definite purpose by the famous Minister-General Madhavacharya, the prototype of the great Minister of the Mauryas in ancient history, it never quite lost its original character and continued to function for well-nigh two centuries not only as an invulnerable bulwork against the oncoming tide of Muslim conquest but as an ardent champion of the cultural traditions of the country. In the sixteenth century, only a few decades after Babar's victory at Panipat, the Vijaynagara kingdom succumbed to a concerted attack by the five Sultans of the south. But the days of these five kingdoms were also numbered. Vijaynagara, no doubt, fell a prey to her own vices but not before she had successfully stemmed the tide of the Pathan conquest. To the Mughul emperors, from Akbar to Aurangzeb, the conquest of the five southern kingdoms was the pivot of their military ambition. In trying to achieve this end, Aurangzeb sounded the death-knell of the Mughul empire. To understand how this happened one has to understand the significance of Maratha Swarajya under Shivaji.

## Shivaji's Illustrious Parents and Their Impress

Shivaji was the famous son of a famous father, Shahaji Bhonsle, known as the king-maker of Ahmadnagar. This noted soldier and far-sighted statesman played a most important part during the final stages of the struggle between the Mughul empire and the Nizam Shahi of Ahmadnagar. In the wide field of

Deccan politics he was constantly playing one Muslim power against another in the interest of his Sultan of Ahmadnagar. When his last effort failed and his puppet king was taken prisoner by the Mughuls, he took service with Bijapur and became in time one of the most powerful personages in that Sultanate. There is reason to think that this statesman foresaw a great future for the Hindus in the history of the Deccan. Whether he actually intended to establish a kingdom of his own or not is a matter of doubt. But the fact is there that he did establish in the extreme south a powerful *jaigir*, although that *jaigir*, like other Maratha *jaigirs* of the south, was nominally under the control of the Sultan. Shahaji, however, was the only Hindu statesman of the time, who had a clear vision of a day, not far off, when the Hindu power would preponderate in the Deccan. And this vision, as every historian knows, would have come true but for the almost accidental circumstances through which Nature brought about the ascendancy of the British power in India. Even such a shrewd statesman as Warren Hastings did not visualise any power but the Maratha to be supreme in India. For, when Emperor Shah Alam's son came to Calcutta to solicit British protection for his poor father, did not Hastings reply that the only man who could give that protection was Mahadji Scindia?

There was in the Bhonsle family a tradition that a scion thereof by the special grace of Shiva would one day free Maharashtra from the yoke of the alien. That this tradition existed is beyond doubt. Whether Shahaji believed it or not, is another matter. But the manner in which he had Shivaji brought up and educated would seem to indicate that he believed in a brilliant future for this rather wayward boy of his. Shahaji kept his elder son, a more sedate young man, with himself as a sort of general assistant in the management of his southern *jaigir*. But he planted the younger son in Poona, a strategic position of great importance, under the careful tutelage of his mother Jijabai and a trusted and able brahman officer Dadaji Konddeva.

During his early years at least, Shivaji never received any encouragement from his father or from his tutor, Dadaji, to embark on a career of reckless adventure, but it was different with his great mother. She, born a princess of the ancient Jadhav family of Ahmadnagar, full of the traditions and aspirations of that house, dreamt golden dreams for her beloved son, and implanted in his tender breast a fiery zeal for his religion and an ardent faith in the future of his people. But she was no idle dreamer. That she was

a practical woman of the highest ability was evident from her efficient administration of the Poona and Supa *jaigirs* on behalf of her son. In saying this we do not wish to belittle the services of Dadaji, but in all such things the inspiration came from Jijabai till her son was old enough to know his own mind, and even then through subtle ways—known only to a loving mother like her—she exercised a potent control over his activities. Dadaji's mind was not clear about Shivaji's noble ambition till almost his last few days, but Jijabai was always fully conscious of her son's innermost aspirations and was in complete sympathy with them. In fact, she sustained him through all the trials and tribulations of his eventful career. We have a suspicion that even his earliest exploit, the capture of Torna, was known to his mother beforehand.

## Shivaji's Character and Its Development

Shivaji as a kshatriya boy was put through a complete course of military training, and was moreover fully trained in the work of developing and administering his father's *jaigir* of Poona and Supa. During a visit of several months that he paid, in his early boyhood, to his father at Bijapur he came into contact with higher statecraft, and studied under the direct guidance of his father the details of administration in a large kingdom like Bijapur. Dadaji on the other hand had not omitted to give his pupil a thorough education in the Hindu epics and the history of his own people, though some people persist in denying that Shivaji had a scholastic training, such as was given to all Sardars of position in those days. But the most important side to Shivaji's character, the spiritual one, was not the gift of anybody. He was born with a vision such as is vouchsafed to but a few in this world. From his early youth right up to the last he sought and enjoyed the company of godly men both Hindu and Muslim. In this connection it may be stated that devotion to Muslim saints was a tradition in the Bhonsle family, Shahaji and his brother Sharifji having both been born under the blessing of a *fakir* of the name of Shah Sharif. Still the main spiritual urge in Shivaji was Hindu in its character, though his Hinduism was never the Hinduism of a narrow-minded bigot. Instances are many where he employed Muslims in positions of great trust in the State, and it is worthy of note that he had a mosque built within the walls of Raigarh itself. He was out to create a great national kingdom and he knew that there was no room for any petty sectarianism in such a scheme.

Never once did Shivaji show the slightest disrespect to the Muslims' holy book. Even Khafi Khan, his greatest detractor, admits that whenever a copy of the Kuran came into the king's hands he had it conveyed with reverence to the nearest Muslim of position. It would be cynical to describe Shivaji's consistent fairness towards his antagonists as a matter of policy. It was part of the character of the man, a man moulded by Jijabai and perfected by the great saint Ramdas. Ramdas was an ascetic but he never failed to impress on Shivaji that he had been born a king and a king of the highest type he should remain to

the last. When on one occasion, as the famous ballad recites, Shivaji made a gift of his kingdom to his preceptor and expressed a desire to spend his remaining days in ascetic meditation, the latter returned the gift to his disciple and asked him to hold it, thenceforth, as a special trust from God. Handing over his ochre-coloured scarf to Shivaji, Ramdas said: "Let this be the symbol that you are the viceregent of the Great King of kings." That this incident actually happened is proved by its mention in a State document bearing Shivaji's own seal.

## Shivaji's Inspiration and Ideal

Long afterwards, Shivaji, then a man of ripe years, was about to give up his life in a temple of Bhavani when, it is said, the Deity herself appeared and asked him to desist, calling upon him to live and administer her kingdom which he held only as a trustee. Such was Shivaji, and such his inspiration. Primarily his aim was to free his own people and to establish a kingdom where they could pursue their own faith in peace. Whether behind this there was an idea of an all-India empire or not does not appear clearly. That it was a possibility, a statesman of his vision and acumen must have known, but he did not live long enough to give it a prominent place in his programme. Shivaji was nobody's enemy; and was actuated in all he did by high ideals of kingship, the keynote of which was in the words of his preceptor "*Maharashtra Dharma*", the religion of Maharashtra, religion being understood in its highest and broadest sense such as is implied by the Sanskrit term *Dharma*, the rule of ideal living. In fact, his policy during the last eight years of his life was that of consolidation rather than expansion. He foresaw that his people would have to be on the defensive in the near future, and built up the great line of fortresses in the south to meet that contingency. Subsequent events justified his foresight. It was only after the death of Aurangzeb that the Marathas burst forth from behind the line and built up a mighty power on the basis of Shivaji's *Swarajya*. It was the lifework of this great king that rendered possible Baji Rao's dream of an all-India empire.

But to understand Shivaji's ideal fully one must be able to place it in the framework of India's historical evolution. Even the key-word *Maharashtra Dharma* can be explained to mean the great religion of nationalism, or the religion of a great nation. Shivaji's life-work has left its impress as much as Akbar's, if not more, upon the evolution of political consciousness in India. Shivaji decided for all time that India's nationalism must be broad-based so as to embrace all groups, ethnic or communal. Of late years short-sighted historians have tried to represent the great Maratha king as a champion of blind fanaticism and narrow communalism. But the facts cited above give the lie direct to such statements. A few more facts and reasons will suffice perhaps to clinch matters. Khafi Khan's encomiums, such as have been already referred to, should be given the first place as coming from an avowed enemy. Shivaji's great antagonist, in two letters still extant, addressed him as *Muti-ul-Islam*. Even such an astute diplomatist

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# BOOKS IN THE BALANCE

## VALUABLE GLIMPSSES OF YOGIC KNOWLEDGE

### THE YOGA OF SRI AUROBINDO

By Nolini Kanta Gupta (Sri Aurobindo Library, Madras), Rs. 1/8

This is a fresh blossom added to the nosegay of Sri Nolini Kanta's essays on the different aspects of Sri Aurobindo's Yoga. The subjects dealt with are not only instructive but highly illuminating and derive their invaluable nature from the fact that they are based on talks with the Mother. What with the radiant originality of the thoughts and the habitual dignity and balance of the author who is far and away the ablest exponent of Sri Aurobindo's Yoga and philosophy, the book constitutes a distinct contribution to the philosophical and mystical literature of the day.

Tracing the origin of the Cosmic Ignorance, the author says, "The Divine Consciousness, basically and essentially one and unique, has inherent in it four cardinal attributes—principles of its modulation, models of its vibration—developing into or appearing as four aspects and personalities. They are Light, Force, Delight and Knowledge." But following the spontaneous movement of free choice, indispensable to the creation of unrestricted diversity, these fundamental attributes became their own opposites. . . . "Light became obscurity or inconscience, Delight became pain and suffering, Power became incapacity, Knowledge became Ignorance . . . In other words, Spirit became forthright Matter."

In the essay on "Physician Heal Thyself", the author very pointedly sums up his argument in favour of inner conquest: "The measure of the success within will be the measure

of the success without."

In "The Body Natural" one reads with avid interest: "The body is at present a slave of the mind and the vital; it is hardly given the freedom of choosing its own requirements in the right quantity and quality. That is why the body is seen to suffer everywhere and is normally sick for the greater part of its earthly existence. . . . The body knows spontaneously and unfailingly what is good for its health and strength. . . . The vital is dramatic, the mind is imaginative, but the body is sanity itself".

About the superman the author makes it clear that the superman is not "a purified, moralised man, even as he is not a magnified, glorified animal man; he is a man of a different type, qualitatively different. . . . He is one with the universe, with all its creatures; united with the Divine, he finds and realises his own self in each and every creature and thing; his character and conduct

are the automatic expression of the sense of perfect identity."

On "true charity" he says: "Sympathy leads to philanthropy, empathy is the origin of true charity, the spiritual compassion of a Buddha or a Christ. Philanthropy is human, charity (caritas) is divine."

About children he has some very weighty and beneficial remarks to make: "There are two feelings which a teacher must guard against . . . to which he is usually prone . . . if he wishes to secure respect and obedience and trust from children: (1) telling a lie and (2) losing temper. . . . Infinite patience and a temper that is never frayed or ruffled are demanded of the teacher and the parent who wish to guide and control successfully and happily a child." Here is a great lesson for the teacher and the parent to learn and practise.

The last two essays of the book are the most enlightening and thought-provoking. "A nation is a living personality; it has a soul, even like a human individual. The soul of a nation is also a psychic being, that is to say, a conscious being, a formation out of the Divine Consciousness and in direct contact with it. . . . The psychic being or soul of a nation is indeed conscious; it knows its *raison d'être*, its life-purpose, its destiny, the role it has to

play in the divine scheme as the divine instrument."

"The whole panorama of the soul's odyssey" is briefly but graphically described in the last essay. What happens to the soul of a man when he dies? To what worlds does it go? What is its destination after the long after-death passage? Where does it rest? Why is the memory of the past blotted out? Has the soul a higher memory of its own? What are the dangers to which it is exposed as soon as it leaves the protection of the body? How does it prepare for the next birth? What are the occasion, time and condition for a particular birth? Does a soul come down always alone or sometimes in company? Is it an emanation of a group soul, derived from a particular aspect or personality of the Divine? . . . These are some of the most momentous and interesting questions which have been luminously answered in the concluding portion of the book.

We very strongly recommend this book to those who have a sincere aspiration for a better than a normal human life of desires and sufferings and a genuine curiosity to know the truth and purpose of their terrestrial existence.

RISHABHCHAND

## SHIVAJI IN A LARGER PERSPECTIVE—Continued from page 9

would not call his Hindu enemy "Friend of Islam" without some good reason. That amongst Shivaji's officers in the Army and Navy a goodly number were Muslims is a fact of history. That he had a whole corps of Afghan body-guards is also a fact which cannot be disputed. One of Shivaji's secretaries Kazi Haider, was a man of such eminence that after Shivaji's time he rose to be a chief judge at Delhi.

There is one eloquent incident in history which fully illustrates the esteem in which Shivaji was held even in the Muslim world. The queen mother of Bijapur, hard pressed by the Mughuls, appealed for help to Shivaji saying, "You know our condition. We have neither friends, nor wealth, nor troops. The enemy surround us on all sides. We are unable to save ourselves without your help. Kindly turn your face towards us. We shall do exactly as you want us to do." On receipt of this letter, without a moment's hesitation, Shivaji sent his troops and chased away the Mughul general from the neighbourhood of the capital. He then visited Bijapur as a well-wisher and friend, and as a conquering hero. The young Sultan, his mother, and his subjects gave the Maratha king a rousing welcome such as helps to understand communal relationship in its true perspective. We could also cite the oft-repeated story of how kindly and respectfully Shivaji treated the captive daughter of a Mughul Governor. No wonder Khafi Khan has had to admit that any Muslim ladies that fell in Shivaji's hands were immediately handed over to a respectable Muslim family. Maulvi Basiruddin Ahmed in his history of Bijapur bestows high praise on Shivaji both as a man and as a king, and adds

that the name of this hero would for ever be written in letters of gold in the history of India. Mr. Abdul Ali of Calcutta said a few years ago in a speech at Poona that if Shivaji had succeeded in establishing an Indian empire, Hindus and Muslims would have lived therein in peace and friendship and in the enjoyment of equal rights. No more instances need be cited. The bright figure of the great Maratha deserves to endure in the pages of history for all time as the ideal of a brave king and a true chivalrous gentleman.

### Shivaji's Significance in History

Shivaji was undoubtedly the first statesman in medieval and modern India who had a practical grasp of the Nation-State idea, though perhaps his nation was not so much Indian as Maratha. The point becomes quite clear when we compare his Swarajya, national kingdom, with the other two almost contemporary States in the Deccan—Mysore of Haider Ali and Hyderabad of the Nizam-ud-daula. These latter were remarkably well-knit and powerful kingdoms, but it can never be said that the rulers thereof represented their people. There was no question of caste and creed in Shivaji's Swarajya, for he was a representative not only of his Hindu subjects but of the Muslims and Jews and Christians as well, not only of his kshatriya castemen but of his Mavli and Pathan soldiers and his Abyssinian sailors as well. This was certainly not the case either in Mysore or Hyderabad.

Later India, it appears, realised this fact. For, we find that the revolutionary nationalists of the early years of this century, both in Maharashtra and in Bengal, accepted Shivaji's name and fame and ideals

as the principal source of their inspiration. To them, the great Maratha was the beau-ideal of patriotism and the name Bhavani—the name both of Shivaji's deity and of his sword—stirred their hearts as nothing else did.

Shivaji typified in his person the complete Indian ideal of culture; he was a synthesis of the brahman, the kshatriya and the sudra. By birth and training a royal kshatriya, he combined in himself, as the flowering of his culture, the sudra's spirit of humility and service and the brahman's spirit of detachment and devotion to God with his natural courage and generosity. Another fact which constitutes his outstanding importance in history is that at a time when the whole of Aurangzeb's organised might was out to crush anything that was not Islam or Islamic,—when the morale of the country had sunk to a very low ebb indeed,—when unity and solidarity, whatever there was of it at the time, had gone by the board—in short, when the darkness of decline and decay had almost shrouded the fair face of India, Shivaji rose in her firmament, a lone twinkling star of hope and confidence, and opposed to the formidable odds against him his deathless determination, boundless courage, consummate skill and alert intelligence, coupled with a serene outlook on things, all springing from and governed by his divinely-inspired soul. His achievements were no doubt small in proportion to the greatness of his capacities. But the way he formed and lived his ideals and gave them shape in the administration of the State which he set up, possibly as a nucleus to a wider, an all-India expansion—for his conception was not a *rashtra* but a *Maharashtra*—com-

pels our admiration, takes our minds back into the far ages, reminds us of his Western compeers on the one hand, and on the other, puts him in the wake of a Janaka, a Ramachandra, an Ashoka whose mantle seems to have fallen on this worthy spiritual descendant of theirs.

Shivaji has been called a 'grand rebel'. That is an inadequate term. More appropriately, he should be called a mighty revolutionary. For, he did much more than a rebel could do. He revolutionised the whole tone and tenor of the life of the people. He vindicated the unique vitality of his country's culture, reaffirmed its supremacy and pointed to the day when it would again burst forth in all its wealth and splendour replacing all poverty of the spirit and heralding the dawn of a truly new age.

That Shivaji's life-long work did not succeed in establishing a permanent empire is due more to external circumstances than to any defect in his policy or personal character. History shows that the few decades in Maratha life after Shivaji's death were a period of concentrated work behind the veil on the scheme of an all-India empire which took shape under the leadership of Baji Rao the Great. That the Peshwas also failed in their time in giving India peace and unity is also due to circumstances beyond their control. The Providence that watched over India's destiny so ordained that the country should, before its renaissance, pass through a period of sorrowful humiliation and chastened by it prepare for its great destiny—to conquer the mind and heart of humanity and become the leader of its evolution into a higher, a diviner perfection.

**UNIVERSITY REFORM**—Continued from page 4

Government finds it necessary to specify certain conditions, it should not be difficult to refrain from injuring the self-respect of the universities concerned. Governments are run by political parties, while universities should be run by intellectual elites; thus it becomes Government's duty and responsibility to resist the temptation to tie education—especially university education—to the revolving wheels of party politics. If students and teachers should avoid party politics, politicians too should desist from turning universities into political amphitheatres or laboratories. These sage words of Dr. Reddy come to us with unique urgency and force:

"Important as are politics and political life to the well-being of a nation, puerile as it would be to attempt to grow university, university education and university life in an environment sterile to politics, yet a curtain should be drawn silken in delicacy but iron in strength, which would save higher education from becoming the battle ground of politics and from being exploited on its behalf."

Intellectual corporations like universities should be respected and trusted, they should be helped and encouraged to assume the responsibilities incident to their station and not treated like mobs of children needing the restraining guardian whip of governments at every turn; although universities have to grow out of the seething life around them—and life must necessarily involve a certain amount of politics, even political acerbity—it should still be possible to prevent the universities from degenerating, as they degenerated under Hitler, into soulless de-

partments of the state; and although teachers and students have to grow, not in the hot-house of utter aloofness from the currents of actuality, although teachers and students have to be as wide-awake to their citizenship rights and responsibilities as party politicians and ministers of state, it should still be not impossible for them to put first things first, for teachers to resist the temptation to dwindle into mere propagandists, and for students, the seedlings of the future as the present Governor-General described them once, to refrain from sprouting fast on immature soil, thereby destroying themselves and seriously jeopardising the future of the country.

The difficulties and the danger signals are there, no doubt, and we must not minimize them; but if our faith does not flag, if our vision does not falter, we can certainly and safely come through, and claim our guerdon at the journey's end. And every seeming end will prove a new beginning, and the stair of ascent will be an endless possibility and a progressive realization. Education is indeed the soul of the people, material progress being the body; but as there is no essential difference between soul and body, as the health of the one but promotes the health of the other, the vitality, the growth, the good health, material and spiritual, of the university should be secured by large-hearted cooperation and ample financial assistance from the people and their Government. The challenge of the hour is clear and insistent; let us go forth to meet it with the shining eyes of faith and steely determined hands, and surely God will speed our labours.

Concluded.

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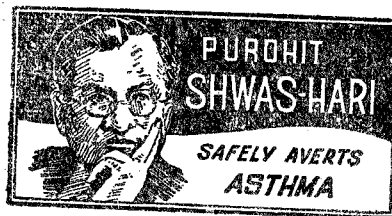
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**MASARYK'S SUICIDE**

I really don't see why so many people doubt the fact that Masaryk committed suicide. Did not a number of people commit this kind of suicide when Jack the Ripper was around?

**GROW MORE FOOD**

We are told that the "Grow More Food" campaign has not been a success. Perhaps because those who should be growing vegetables are wasting their time making speeches.

**BONNE FETE, UNCLE JOE**

Nothing I have ever seen can be compared to the grand spectacle on that memorable day—not even the sight of comedians paying audiences to laugh at their jokes, or of politicians hiring crowds to applaud when they speak. Really it was a wonderful spectacle. Two hundred and eighty seven million peasants collected in the main square and threw their caps in the air and became delirious with happiness—and that too on an empty stomach. At the end of the programme the following announcement was read out by a baritone:

"Our leader is not only the greatest philosopher, scientist, poet and sign-board painter in the world, but also the greatest cross-country runner, the fastest bowler, and the best 'cut-throat' player in history."

**LET US BEGIN AT THE TOP**

Before we talk about educating the masses, let us find out who is going to educate those who propose to educate the masses.

**A POCKET DICTIONARY OF PHILOSOPHY**

**IDEALISM:** In Epistemology, this term stands for a system of thought which states that the object of external perception consists of ideas.

In Ontology, Idealism is the view which states that the fundamental or irreducible attribute of the Ultimate Reality is of the nature of mind or consciousness.

In ordinary everyday usage, it means conceiving a thing in its highest and greatest form—to represent a thing in the image of the highest ideal one can conceive.

**REALISM:** Originally this term was used by a well-known school of philosophic thought. At present it is used by the school of muddled thought which advocates the recognition of Red China.

**GOOD INTENTIONS, BUT . . .**

The Pacifists are very active at present. Whilst admiring their zeal and ardour for a good cause and appreciating the work they are doing, one must not lose sight of the fact that Pacifism and Non-violence are very good when all the parties concerned follow the rules laid down by the M.C.C., not when the

# TIBET AND CHINA

By SAMIR KANTA GUPTA

Separated, though not absolutely, from India by the snow-capped mountain ranges of the Himalayas, Tibet has almost a natural protection on her southern frontier. In the north, the vast stretches of deadly freezing snowfields ward off even the boldest of dare-devil adventurers. Thus situated, more or less in isolation, Tibet was enjoying her even tenor of life while modern gigantic political upheavals were taking place in, or fast sweeping over, other parts of Asia.

But this was only a "passing phase." The rude shock was not late to come. It came with the declaration of Mao Tse-tung that Tibet had had no sovereignty of its own, that she had always formed part of China (to Mao, of course, China means the Communist China of his own) and that before long his army would "liberate" the country and its suffering people. Speculators go so far as even to announce the D-Day: it is to fall about the middle of July, 1950. By that time KMT troops are supposed to get routed even outside the mainland of China. In the meanwhile news is current that brisk fifth-column activities are going on in Tibet and that military preparations are in full swing just on the other side of the border.

**Historical Independence**

Mao's claim that Tibet has always been under the suzerainty of China is historically dubious. Chinese culture, as well as India's, might have profoundly influenced her but she never gave away her political independence. For the sake of her national rights and sanctity of existence Tibet in the past took up arms and defended herself from the aggression of her northern neighbour. She held out equally stubbornly against the expeditionary forces sent out not in the very remote past by British India. True, Tibet has not established her embassies in countries like France, America or Russia; but for a considerable time in the past she has been keeping in touch with Great Britain and India through her own Trade Representatives. Besides, Tibet is a distinct cultural unit, *sui generis*: the teaching of Buddha, the ideal of love and peace has bound this simple people into a homogeneous collectivity. If Tibet has not run up to establish diplomatic relations with the many foreign countries it is not because there is any weakness in her legal standing as a sovereign State but because she is temperamentally averse to the machinations of politics and its various questionable means and methods.

Obviously, Mao Tse-tung has no regard for history. His only logic is the logic of brute force. Tibet he must annex to Red China and the doctrine of Communism he must forcefully impose upon her, whether she wants it or not. Naturally, as expected, Tibet refuses to embrace this new gospel. True to the traditional spirit of the East she is too strongly charged with the living breath of Religion. The idea of forsaking the values of the Eternal and

visiting team believes in the slogan "the end justifies the means". Just imagine what would have happened if Churchill had done ahimsa to Hitler, and General Montgomery had given a lecture on "Tolstoy and Non-violence" to Rommel at El Alamein!

**JESTING PILATE**

"What is 'truth' said jesting Pilate, and would not stay for an answer," wrote Bacon, to which Carlyle replied, "Jesting Pilate had

the transcendental truths of things and all existence, the idea of deviating from the sacred path walked upon by the wise ancients is repellent to her. Communism, therefore, is a strange unwelcome guest in Tibet. But such a fact is now sought to be altered by a threat of violent physical force. And this cruel and ruthless force of the adversary assumes an enormous proportion when behind Mao Tse-tung looms the powerful authority of Kremlin. This is no vain imagination. In the first week of December last year Dr. T. F. Tsiang, the representative of Nationalist China, made a very substantial statement before the United Nations' General Assembly with regard to Russia's active complicity in the Chinese civil strife, her giving every possible material help to the advancing army of Mao Tse-tung. The Chinese Red leader has also made no secret of his allegiance to Stalin. After some sweeping victories over the Kuomintang forces he took the earliest opportunity of flying to Moscow to meet his chief, Premier Joseph Stalin. There is no doubt that those few autocratic bosses who rule today the destiny of Red China move as one body and mind with the sombre personality whose shadow sways over the northern and a good portion of the East European Continent. Mao Tse-tung is but a form and a name, the soul that animates and inspires it is the soul of "the most feared man."

**The Right Policy for India**

Against this background Tibet presents the picture of an utterly helpless country. How will she resist and how long will she resist? And if she fails what will that mean for India? This brings us face to face with an issue of grave importance. Indeed if we look round to see facts as they are, it will be crystal clear that Tibet is not an isolated item but part of a well-conceived general plan which aims at the complete conquest of Asia. In such an ambitious scheme Burma, Indo-China, China, Tibet are to serve as so many spring-boards, the ultimate object being to jump upon and assail this great sub-continent of India itself. One must not forget also the unbroken series of communist-led disturbances that range over the strategic parts of this country (West Bengal and South India deserve especial mention in this connection), the many acts of sabotage on the national life-lines and national wealth concerns. India, therefore, must take timely notice of this potentially dangerous situation and

not the smallest chance to ascertain what was Truth. He could not have known it, had a god shown it to him. Thick serene opacity, thicker than amaurosis, veiled those smiling eyes of his to Truth; the inner retina of them was gone paralytic, dead. He looked at Truth; and discerned her not, there where she stood."

These lines flashed across my mind when I read the article on Sri Aurobindo and his Ashram by some American newspaperman called Vincent Sheean, in one of our local

adopt a wise and at the same time firm policy both at home and in the international sphere.

Surely, for India wisdom would not lie in fiddling when the neighbouring State of Tibet will be burning. The talk of absolute neutrality is an absurd day-dream. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru himself knew of this and spoke to that effect during his last visit to the United States of America. India must prepare for self-defence and take precautions to protect her territory from all possible foreign aggressions, and for that purpose, if it is found necessary, she should even be prepared to enter into military arrangements with the Commonwealth countries and France and the United States, whose interest it is to look to the welfare of Asia and the peace of the world, to garrison troops all along the line bordering on Red China. Speaking recently at San Francisco Dr. Phillip Jessup, the United States Ambassador-at-large, made it abundantly clear that America "will not abandon China or the other countries of Asia and the Far East. No one should be in doubt on that point. We are opposed to the Communist theory and practice of attempting to overthrow established governments by force. . . . We shall continue to oppose in particular the blatant imperialism of Soviet Russia in Asia" This leaves no room for misgiving about America's attitude towards Communism in general and allied Far Eastern problems in particular, though Formosa is a "poser."

At this critical stage, to check the tide of rapid communist advance in Asia a concerted action is the one thing really needed. Tibet provides an excellent opportunity to start the endeavour. The question that troubles then is the question of leadership: who will take the leading role in such a great task? America, no doubt, with her firm determination to help the cause of democracy, with her immense resources strengthened by the most recent and most powerful scientific discoveries and inventions shall play a prominent part. But she has not the valuable geographical and other circumstantial advantages which are India's. In fact, there can be no two opinions about India being the natural leader of Asia and the East. Conscious of her responsibility new India is taking her rightful place. Only recently she played a great role in bringing into being what is known today as the free Republic of Indonesia. Now there is another more difficult task lying ahead of her. She must yet again take the initiative and lead. Any vacillation would only worsen matters. Our leaders who seem to be hesitant at the moment would do well to realise this truth and act promptly. Otherwise a colossal chaos may be the only prospect, not only for Tibet but India and the whole eastern hemisphere.

Weeklies, *Thought*. It is obvious that Carlyle was not describing the spiritual insensibility of a particular individual, but that of a type.

**HEARD OUTSIDE THE JOURNALISTS' CLUB**

First Journalist: "Tell me, Arthur, what is the best way to produce an article that will sell at once?"

Second Journalist: "Very easy. All you have to do is to catch hold of a big personality and throw mud at him. You will always be sure of selling it."