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"GREAT IS TRUTH AND IT SHALL PREVAIL"

ALTERNATE SATURDAYS

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THE TRUTH ABOUT TIBET

A CASE OF CLEAR AGGRESSION

Tibet is the crucial test of the Indian Government's intelligence as well as integrity. There is hardly an Indian anywhere who doubts the right of the Tibetan people to autonomy. The logical implication of this right is the utter wrongness on the part of another country to carry on military operations against Tibet. Such operations would be a case of clear aggression and must be resolutely opposed by us with not only words but also deeds. That is the view of every thinking Indian who has not surrendered his mind to Communism. If our Government fails to reflect and express this view *in toto*, there is certainly something amiss with its capacity of being representative and of straightforward thought and of democratic intention.

These are hard words, but even the most cursory look at Tibet's past and present is enough to justify them. As far as history can be traced, Tibet has been marked out by both ethnographical and cultural factors as a distinct unit—not indeed quite cut off from either Nepal and India on the one side and China on the other but still possessed of characteristics that make it a country on its own with a distinguishable nationality. The fact that it was invaded by the Chinese three times during the thirteenth century and made a part of Chinese territory by the Manchus in the seventeenth does not abrogate its separate existence any more than Tibet's own conquest in the eighth century of Western China, Chinese Turkestan and even of Ch'angan, the great city in the Shensi Province, makes these portions of China a Tibetan possession or the two Gurkha invasions of 1792 and 1854, and Gulab Singh's sally in 1841 can incorporate it in countries this side the Himalayas. All that can be said about Sino-Tibetan relations is that Tibet was agreeable for quite a time to remain a sort of protectorate of China, sending a mission annually to Peking with tribute to the Chinese Emperor but—and this is noteworthy—receiving in return in the person of the Dalai Lama religious homage from the Chinese Emperor. The latter was regarded as the chief lay-supporter of a religious head and there was rather a concordat between the two countries than any subservience of the one to the other. China was a kind of Big Brother who undertook to help Tibet against invaders, while Tibet in gratitude acknowledged a loose suzerainty.

How very loose the suzerainty was has been well pin-pointed by Dr. Balkrishna Gokhale in a recent survey of Sino-Tibetan complications. History records that, when the first Gurkha invasion took place and when Gulab Singh marched into Tibet, Chinese troops helped the Tibetans but "no such help was rendered at the time of the Second Gurkha invasion." This proves that Tibet was not defended as an integral part of Chinese imperial territory, for then the help should have been forthcoming every time. Another proof is that the Ambans or diplomatic envoys appointed by the Chinese to strengthen their influence in Lhasa were never allowed by the Tibetans to interfere in their internal affairs: in fact when they did try to obtain over-all control in the country the Tibetans rebelled against them and in 1749 actually massacred them. China's hold on Tibet was never accepted as one of lord-paramourty. Any attempt to make it such had to be an act of aggression. There was an attempt from 1906 to 1912 by the dying Manchu Government and the Dalai Lama had to take shelter in India, but when the Chinese Revolution broke out the Tibetans took advantage of the ensuing confusion and threw the Chinese out beyond the Salwen and brought back the Dalai Lama. Again in 1918 China tried to cross the Tibetan border but made scanty headway and the Upper Yangste remained roughly the dividing line between the two countries. In 1935 Chiang Kai-shek employed subtle tactics to bring Tibet into the Chinese orbit but there was little success and even the Chinese mission was expelled, albeit with politeness, by the Government at Lhasa as soon as the Kuomintang regime was driven out of the Chinese mainland by the Reds. Tibet has never ceased to have a will to autonomy and, whenever possible,

she has strongly expressed it in action, as is natural to a country which has had its own traditions and individual life.

The Simla Convention of 1913 by which Britain sought in co-operation with both Tibet and China to establish the correct Tibetan status conceded China because of past historical factors a nominal suzerainty over both inner and outer Tibet but emphasised the complete autonomy of the outer zone which was ruled by Lhasa. In 1921 a memorandum sent by the British Government to China reaffirmed this position and further explained that the concession of even nominal suzerainty was contingent on China's admitting Tibetan autonomy. This is an important clarification. Free India who has inherited Britain's definition of Tibet's status and has declared her adherence to it must keep this point in mind. The clarification puts Tibet within the Chinese Commonwealth on actually the same footing as India herself within the British: the voluntary inclusion within a larger whole depends entirely on a total freedom, as regards internal and foreign policy, being granted by that whole. The least move to exceed the arrangement would nullify the so-called suzerainty and be an act of aggression. Such an implication is also evident in Britain's informing both China and Tibet in 1945 that her relations with Lhasa would be directly through her own Government in India. Free India has continued this arrangement and her contacts too with Tibet have been direct and never through any regime set up in Peking.

No observer of pragmatic reality, much less a student of history and a theorist of cultural or political institutions, can have the slightest misgiving about Tibet's inherent independence of China. To consider any action on China's part *vis-à-vis* Tibet as a matter of domestic administration is to encourage an absolute falsehood. And to talk of Chinese suzerainty in the teeth of its getting rendered null and void by infringement of Tibetan autonomy is to indulge in perverse logic. Least of all could India afford to allow dust being thrown in her eyes, for, has she not been vociferously opposed to imperialism and what else than blatant imperialism could it be for China to claim, especially by force of arms, Tibet as her possession? Even had Tibet once been altogether under China's thumb, the unmistakable desire she has evidenced throughout her history to be independent should enlist India on her side as a champion of national freedom against past imperialist traditions. Unless we wish to put aside our conscience, stamp upon our ideals and become fawning lackeys of Mao Tse-tung we must confront in no uncertain terms the Red invasion of Tibet. Terms like "surprise" and "regret" are not manly enough: at least they do not befit a great spiritual nation and even words condemning the invasion as unjustified belie, unless followed up with positive concrete counter-measures, the high-sounding declaration made not so long ago by our Prime Minister that though India will never start a war she will never fail to resist aggression nor connive at any military trampling down of another country.

THE GENERAL SIGNIFICANCES OF THE ATTACK

What should be India's line of action in face of Mao's attack on Tibet? Before we answer this question let us note certain general significances of the attack. First of all, it reduces to absurdity Pandit Nehru's repeated claim that Mao is a beneficent liberty-loving leader who is bent only on clearing out Kuomintang autocracy from China and on living at peace with all his neighbours. He has shown himself to be an unscrupulous militarist casting greedy eyes outside China in order to spread Communism by the sword. His avowal that he will let Tibet have autonomy, provided her army is allowed to be integrated with the Chinese Red army, is hypocrisy added to unscrupulousness. For this integration would mean China's complete military rule over weak Tibet: who does not know what a similar step has meant in the satellite countries within the Russian bloc

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or that it was in opposition to precisely such a step that Titoism took final form in Yugoslavia?

The second significance we have to mark is that Mao's aggression unceremoniously kicks in the stomach the fond belief entertained in official quarters here about India having a friendly influence on China's policy. When India advised Mao not to be hasty over Formosa we were informed that our role as peace-maker had dissuaded him from even exercising his rightful claim on that island. Shrewd realists always knew that not our plea but Truman's bold decision to defend Formosa during the career of the Korean war kept Mao in check: it was because Formosa could not be captured while the American Seventh Fleet was patrolling its waters that Mao held his hand. The onslaught against Tibet just because Tibet has no defence to speak of proves this to the hilt. No number of wise words by Pandit Nehru in Mao's ears have had the slightest effect. Mao emerges as a ruthless champion of Communism who respects nothing save what Dean Acheson has called "situations of strength." If ever a country was neutral and harmless, it was Tibet. But neither its neutrality nor its harmlessness has given it any virtue in Mao's eyes. Nor has its expulsion of the Kuomintang mission as partly a gesture of independence and partly an attempt not to displease the new Red regime found the least appreciation in Peking. And Mao's statement that a military stroke was necessary because the Tibetan delegation did not come to Peking by mid-September to discuss matters amicably is a piece of cynicism which even Hitler and Tojo could not have rivalled. It was surely not the delegation's fault that it could not be on time. Besides, it was given to understand by the Chinese Ambassador in India that amicable discussion would be held if even now it went to Peking. When he was giving it hope he knew very well what his country's intentions were and ironically enough the attack on Tibet took place while the duped delegation was on the point of leaving India for the Chinese capital. Perhaps the most cynical part of the whole business is that the delegation could not have done anything to save Tibet even if it had been in Mao's presence by mid-September. As has been recently revealed, the core of China's contention was the stationing of Chinese troops in Lhasa—a procedure which would spell the end of Tibetan autonomy. At no time did Mao intend to deal gently with Tibet as Pandit Nehru had expected: his idea of gentleness was only to achieve a military grip by asking the Tibetans to hand over their country to him without any fight!

The third significance is the close rapport between China's policy and the Russian mind. Of course the rapport has been perfectly obvious to all who have refused to be blissfully ostrichlike. It has been in fact blazoned forth by every responsible Chinese leader and is written large in the whole sickening tale of Russian and Chinese condonation of North Korea's aggression—a condonation which disclosed also the basically aggressive designs of both Stalin and Mao. In the instance of Tibet our Prime Minister trying to find a rationale for Peking's attack said to Reuter's Diplomatic Correspondent in Srinagar: "The current Chinese policy is perhaps partly attributable to the fact that although Peking's policy may not be dictated by Moscow much of the information upon which this policy is based comes through Soviet sources. For example, Moscow has repeatedly said that Anglo-American 'intrigues' in Tibet aim at bringing that country into an anti-Communist bloc or sphere of influence. However unfounded these accusations may be, I wonder whether they may not have influenced the Chinese decision to move into Tibet." These words are still too hesitant, still coloured by the wishful thinking Pandit Nehru has long practised in relation to Mao. For, there is no room left for mere wondering. Peking has unequivocally declared that General Liu Po-cheng has been ordered to march into Tibet because imperialist powers are planning to take over that country. If Russia has set rolling the story of Western designs on Tibet, then China has made herself altogether an instrument of Russia and accomplished what the latter would have done if she had been in a position to check the supposedly ambitious West in this quarter of the world and to advance Communism. Whether the picture painted by Russia is true or false seems never to be questioned by China: she acts as Stalin desires because her interests and Stalin's are one and the same. It is difficult to understand by what peculiar mode of reasoning one can say that Peking's policy may not be dictated by Moscow. Every fact of the present posture of events is loudly vocal of the dictation. But we may be thankful for even small mercies and take it to be glad tidings of a growing enlightenment that our Prime Minister admits at least the possibility of the influence of Russian propaganda on Mao's mind. At the same time we cannot help deploring the following statement in the same interview, attempting to analyse possible motives of China's attack: "The apprehension in Peking that the United States was bent on destruction of the new regime in China is rightly or wrongly very real." Nehru himself believes that the apprehension is unjustified but he considers Peking as being genuinely in the grip of fear. Does he not realise that both Stalin and Mao are making a deliberate bogey of America? The only thing they have to fear is America's resolution to stem their own urge of world-conquest. It is they who are on the offensive, it is America who as the representative spirit of democracy has cause to fear them: if they gave up their plan of Communising the free world by internal disruption or by actual armed attack from outside, they would have no reason to be afraid of the U.S.A. The apprehension Nehru refers to is not

at all real in the sense he has in mind. And to connect up any apprehension with the attack on Tibet is hardly logical. Even if America had been a totally impotent country, Kim Il-sung would have violated the 38th Parallel and Mao would have sent his army into Tibet. In fact, both the aggressions would have occurred very much earlier and not only Tibet but also Burma and Thailand and India herself would have been the victims.

This leads us to the fourth and, from India's own standpoint, the most important significance. No extraordinary powers of analysis are required to get behind all that talk on Peking's part of forestalling imperialist designs on Tibet. It is pure make-believe to speak, as our Prime Minister has done, of China having only the U.S.A. and Britain in mind. What is the exact position of these countries in relation to the territory now invaded? Have they any direct access to it for political or military purposes? None whatever. Everything they may do has to be through India. Without India knowing, they cannot expect to make any manoeuvres. And for their manoeuvres to be successful they must have India's connivance. Unless India be taken to be in absolute league with the Western powers, unless India herself be understood to have full sympathy with so-called imperialist designs and to be acting against the interests of Red China, the excuse put forth by Peking is meaningless. We have to realise that this excuse boils down to a reiteration of the charge not infrequently levelled by Peking Radio at Pandit Nehru, calling him a running dog of the Western imperialists. Therefore, the invasion of Tibet is fundamentally an act of hostility against the Indian Government. There is no escaping this conclusion.

But let us not imagine that even such an act is inspired by a genuine suspicion of India. It is an elementary fact of world-politics that India persistently goes out of her way to make a fool of herself over Red China. To suspect and to blackguard her can have only one cause: Stalin and Mao cannot tolerate any country which is not one hundred per cent Communist and they have put every such country on what Mr. Masani once termed with profound piquancy their "menu". India's sole guilt is that she is friendly with Russia and China without yet aligning herself with their materialistic and murderous ideology. In consequence she is an enemy, no matter how neutral she may attempt to be. Sooner or later, whether she be really an ally of the West or no, she must be struck to her knees. Internal tactics are not bearing good fruit—the local Communists are in disgrace and the Indian Government is able to deal with them more or less successfully. So, aggressive steps must be prepared. And what step could be more opportune than taking possession of Tibet which is a back-door to India?

Yes, the basic significance of Mao's Tibetan adventure is to advance China's frontiers right down to India and stand poised there to strike at the right moment and with the right strategy—unless India precipitately declares herself on the side of the Russian bloc. But to go over to Mao and Stalin in order to avert their wrath is not in any sense a saving gesture. It is a gesture spelling the utmost ruin to all our ideals and aspirations. Really the gesture that can save is to take a firm line with China, denounce openly her nefarious intentions, stand without reservation by the U.S.A. and make every possible arrangement consonant with our own self-respect to facilitate an American intervention in our favour and, what is of still greater moment, an American prevention of Mao's evil designs on India. Militarily, China is almost ten times as strong as we are, but India as the spearhead of an American defence of democracy can easily halt Mao's mechanised millions. And the hour is upon us of constituting ourselves such a spearhead and saving not only our own dear country but also all South-East Asia whose bulwark we are. We must burn it into our minds that the primary motive of Mao's attack on Tibet is to threaten India as soon as possible. The time-table set for Communism's world-conquest has been badly jolted by the conspicuous failure in Korea. Communism must regain prestige in Asia and put itself in a position to menace growing "situations of strength"—especially must it wear a frightening face at points not easily provocative of Western intervention and likely to be automatically advantageous in view of wobbly or semi-appeasing policies of the countries immediately concerned. Tibet is one such point *par excellence*. Were she not so, it is difficult to explain Mao's invasion at particularly the present moment. The weather in this season is hardly propitious for military operations and, politically, Red China by flouting all canons of decent international behaviour stands to damage seriously her case for entry into the U.N.O. But she counts on America's hands being full with Korea and on the Indian Government being, after its panicky attitude to the crossing of the 38th Parallel, in a distinct mood of fear and pacification. The desire to keep India in a state of goose-flesh and to secure a base for Communising her may be guessed also from the fact that apart from providing a back-door to India Tibet cannot be much of an asset. As Dr. Gokhale has observed, guerilla fighting and brigandage will be constant spectres haunting the Red armies and there will have to be protracted and cumbersome policing of the country if occupation of it is going to be at all effective. Furthermore, Tibet having a meagre oasis-economy will need substantial economic subsidisation if she is to be put on a Communist footing. But all these disadvantages are offset by an extensive advance of both military and ideological frontiers with regard to India. With Tibet incorporated in China, we shall have Mao touching Kashmir, Uttar Pradesh, Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and Assam. Our physical frontier with China will lengthen by

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"CAPITALISTS, IMPERIALISTS AND WAR-MONGERS!"

By A. L. CRAMPTON CHALK

Perhaps the most frequent, popular and presumably successful of the Words of Power used by the Russians and their friends against people with whom they disagree is to execrate them as "Capitalists, Imperialists and War-mongers!" As the incantation seems always to be used as a whole it must be presumed that capitalists, imperialists and war-mongers are *ipso facto* and indissolubly one substance. The implied division of the human race into neat groups of Capitalists and Communists is not only an obvious over-simplification, it is a thoroughly silly business which ought not to be taken seriously by intelligent people.

The facts may be examined with some profit, especially if they can be considered in the light of a little open intelligence and just a shade of a sense of humour. To take the magic rune apart, let us deal first with the Capitalist. It seems to be one of the peculiarities of the Left that its thinking is always a generation or more behind the action of current events. Why this is so is not quite clear, but it may be because communistic doctrine being based on class antagonism cannot function unless there is something to get antagonistic about, and abuses of power suitable for propaganda purposes do not become sufficiently obvious until a few years have thrown them into relief against later conditions. In any case it does remain a fact that most of the abuses against which Communism and Socialism fulminate passed out of existence many years before the attack. By contrast, the Left Wing of politicians appears singularly inept in dealing with the problems that face it at the moment. All gentlemen of the Left are passionately eager to right wrongs that occurred a couple of generations ago, but show little capacity when in power to produce more individual freedom, more peace, or even more wealth for more people. It is not, therefore, surprising that the fearful charge of being Capitalists is obviously based on old Nineteenth Century notions of a capitalistic class self-dedicated, and within a *laissez faire* economy, to the acquisition of wealth and power by every means within the law. The pictorial symbols used by Communists to label these enemies of humanity are, quite appropriately to their theme, the top-hat and morning-coat—articles whose use has been almost entirely discontinued in the Western world for a couple of generations. As a matter of fact, intelligent people whose minds are open and who are able to study the facts of life in the West to-day know quite well that the only capitalists of the old Nineteenth Century Bogeyman type now existing are to be found in Russia, in the persons of the gigantic, powerful, and despotic personalities of the Commissars. Capitalists in other Western countries, within the conception of them as wielders of power, have long ago been liquidated by democratic society and politics; they have been brought under State regulation, their power has been curtailed by labour unions, and they have largely been obliterated by taxation. Their latter-day power is little more than a legal shadow, and is largely reduced to the financial responsibility for operations which are formulated by state authorities other than their own managements. Profits are taken over by the State, except for the vestigial remnant handed back as interest or dividends. This picture is not so true in America as in Socialist Britain, but is true enough to make it quite absurd to suppose that "Wall Street" or any other segment of capital power can decide the policies of the nation contrary to the will of the composite whole of the voting people. But perhaps all the voters in Western countries are Capitalists, too? No, this won't do as an explanation for the Communist propagandist, as presumably even the most enthusiastic Russian apologist cannot suppose that all Americans and all Englishmen are capitalists—otherwise why not embrace such a Heaven-sent and miraculous regime that can provide wealth and power for every man and woman of voting age in the State!

True to the text of this article, i.e., that Communistic thought is always fifty to one hundred years behind the times, it is true that there used to be almost such capitalists as the old top-hatted variety now burnt in effigy. England, of course, became the very symbol of the power of capital around the middle of the last century. In these days also there were imperialists, for, quite apart from the sheer spirit of adventure that was characteristic of that very virile race, it is a matter of fact that one of the easiest ways of accumulating wealth was by securing control of the raw materials and markets of foreign countries. In what now appear to us as the dark and forbidding times of the Industrial Revolution in England the doctrine of the Economic Man was the reigning secular belief in the Western world, and it seemed that everything had to give way in the sacred name of Trade and Progress. Because of their energy, their mechanical genius and their enterprise the English were widely successful in their search for wealth, new dominions, and new colonies for their children's development. Well it was for Russia, as also for the civilised world, that Britain was able at that time to pile up enormous investments all over the world—for it was precisely those assets and funds that were to be expended in 1940 and onwards in buying time and materials to fight to a successful finish the world enemies of democracy and of Russia. If it had not been for capitalistic Britain—and Britain without her capital and capitalists could not have done it—the world to-day would have been a reservation parcelled out between the Nazis and Japanese, and the Russians would have been taken over as serfs by the Germans.

All this exemplifies, in passing, the beautiful economy of Nature who uses all forces for her unfoldment and development, and makes the sins

and crimes of one generation the corner-stones on which to build the virtues and powers of the next. Who knows, for instance, what solidarity of freedom-loving and democratic peoples is now being forged in the furnace of Russia's intransigent and violent attacks on human rights and decencies throughout the world?

Now, as to the imperialism of the Western powers. In the face of recent history perhaps this fabulous image is one of the most astonishing of all those in the Russian collection of Medicine Masks, in which they dance to frighten and mislead the primitive minds to whom they appeal. It is, of course, a classic example of the technique of the Lie Inversion, discovered and developed with such power, skill and—for a time, at least—success by the late Adolf Hitler. The identity of the Russian and Nazi aims makes inevitable the use of Nazi technique by the Russians, and there is no more interesting instance of the use of the Lie Inversion than when the arch-imperialists of Moscow accuse London and Washington of imperialism. It is not necessary to labour the contrast of the facts of the steady—and amicable—liquidation of the British Empire, which has been taking place simultaneously with the cynical and relentless conquest of all contiguous and/or otherwise available foreign territories by Russia. This is the perfect setting for the Lie Inversion; in fact, it is the only possible thing for them to use in the circumstances. (In passing, it is interesting to note that this technique has only one serious limitation which, fortunately for them, does not apply to the Russians or to their friends. It is simply that it cannot be used successfully by anyone who has any sense of humour whatever, as in this case the protagonist cannot keep a straight face when he is intellectually standing on his head. It is, moreover, a fact worthy of serious scientific study that a sense of humour is invariably absent in severe cases of Communism.)

Similarly, the Lie Inversion is used to great effect in what might be called the "Masque of the War-mongers: a Most Tragical Comedy of the Betrayal of Common People". The womb of Russian Communism—which, of course, is despotism—is war, and it has no other place of conception. It is nurtured on the destitution and miseries of simple and weak people, and its pabulum is produced and ripened by war. But though it is a doctrine of war and violence its attacks must be hidden from its own unthinking ranks who, by nature, abhor war; so—as in the Hitler technique—it is always given out, with whatever brassy impudence is necessary, that it is its victims who are the aggressors.

By contrast, how does the Capitalist—or what is left of him or has taken his place—like war? Since the whole prosperity and success of capital investment depends on stable, settled, and peaceful conditions it seems most odd that he should ever want or ever have wanted wars. Especially since it is he himself who is going to have to pay for them. The only vestige of justification for thinking that investors like wars is the fact that certain industries do inevitably flourish as a result of wars, i.e., those industries that exist to supply war material. But even these also supply material for use in peace, and they would obviously prefer the peace-time stability of settled prosperity with a full Order-book to the hectic over-production, over-taxation, over-inflation of war-time conditions. It is commonly said that the last two wars have ruined Britain financially. This is literally and arithmetically true; the "capitalists" in Britain have seen their money and power melt and taken away to pay for two world wars, and heartily glad they are to be able to pay this price for their own and their fellows' continuing liberty and personal freedom. It doesn't, however, appear very sensible to think of capitalists as wanting more wars to swallow up even more of what they have left.

What is the real rub behind such silliness as seems to have come from Khwaja Ahmed Abbas who, in the reply-article "Sri Aurobindo and the Korean War" in *Mother India* for September 30th, 1950, is quoted as having said "This is not the voice of Aurobindo. It is the voice of the State Department in Washington, it is the voice of Wall Street, it is the voice of Churchill and of the most rabid war-mongers of Europe and America"? The answer is probably that such muddlement is the result of a fearful spirit which has become entangled with the results of a successful application of the technique of the Lie Inversion. Churchill, whose heroic mood saved civilisation in 1940—as well as the Russians—knows, like Arjuna, that we must arise and fight as soon as the enemy attacks. The price of all freedom is, as it always has been, the eternal vigilance of a spirit ready for the fray. It is, of course, infuriating to the despot to see his marked-down victim reach for weapons of defence, so no wonder he gets annoyed and says stupid things.

War has become much less likely by reason of the re-arming now in train by the free nations of the West. When this armament comes near to matching the mighty arsenal of weapons and trained men already laid up by Russia it will be even less likely. Let Khwaja Ahmed Abbas not worry himself into any loss of sleep—we shall not go to war until we are attacked, any more than we did in Korea. But the certain knowledge that we shall inevitably go to war at whatever cost if we are attacked, is the best restraining influence on the arch Capitalist-Imperialist-War-mongers of the world who are ceaselessly on the watch for whatever and whomever they can devour.

THE MEANING OF EAST GERMAN "ELECTIONS"

By CHRISTOPHER DILKE

An election may be defined as "the choice by popular vote of the members of a representative assembly". This definition, however, cannot be said to apply to the elections held on October 15 in the Soviet Zone of Germany.

In the first place, there was no choice. There was only the familiar single list of candidates to be rubber-stamped by the electorate. Seventy per cent of this list was made up of Communists and the remaining 30 per cent of collaborators with the Communists.

No Popular Vote

In the second place, there was no popular vote—nothing, indeed, which could be called a vote at all. The East Germans were simply forced by naked terrorism to go to the polling booths and make a demonstration of their submission to the regime.

Thirdly, it was no representative assembly which was being elected but simply the puppet Government set up by the Soviet authorities under the leadership of President Pieck, who is a Soviet citizen.

It early became clear that there was no chance for the East Germans to vote for what they wanted. However, it was thought it might at least be possible for them to refrain from going to the polling booths and thus to make some sort of a gesture against the proceedings. But even such a gesture was forcibly frustrated. The intending non-voter was told that if he did not go to the polls he would have cast his vote for war and the atom bomb and would thus be an enemy of the people. In other words, if his name was not ticked off on the

register, he was likely to suffer arrest and persecution.

Citizens' Declaration

In the circumstances, the thing that is remarkable is that so many people either stayed away or else spoiled their ballot papers. It is not the 98 per cent vote in favour which is remarkable but the two per cent vote against. Remarkable also is the unofficial vote, just before the elections, when nearly 400,000 citizens of East Berlin declared themselves in favour of free elections and in favour of abolishing the Communist-controlled municipality.

This was organised by the non-Communist parties of West Berlin. The East Berliners voted by the picturesque method of sending the stubs of their September ration cards through the post to the Western Burgomaster.

One question may be asked. Why was all the paraphernalia of threats, reprisals and intimidation necessary? For no correspondents from the free countries were allowed into the Soviet Zone as observers.

The authorities had complete control of the ballot boxes. They were able to destroy the ballot papers immediately after the election. The announcement of the result in itself, therefore, meant nothing. Any other figures could have been exhibited without difficulty.

Nazi Method

So the Communists might well have learnt from their late enemies, the Nazis, and simply seized the

ballot boxes at the conclusion of the election. This procedure is simple. The votes do not even need to be counted. But if they are counted, and the vote is a heavy one against the regime, it is only necessary to reverse the figures. If there is a 90 per cent vote against, then it can be announced as a 90 per cent vote in favour!

That was the Nazi method as it was practised in the Saar and other elections. It costs less and is more efficient than the elaborate side-shows staged by the Soviet Union.

Were the East Germans to be allowed to vote freely, with a secret ballot and a fair counting of the votes, the result would be similar to that in the West. The Christian Democrats and the Social Democrats would be approximately balanced. The Communists would secure a very small vote indeed.

It is worth remembering that in 1946, in spite of forcing the Social Democrats to amalgamate with them and in spite of a great deal of electoral fraud, the Communists only obtained a bare majority. Still more striking were the elections for the Berlin City Assembly. Berlin, it will be remembered, was under quadripartite control and the Social Democrats in the city had successfully resisted amalgamation with the Communists. The result was that the Communists polled only about 20 per cent of the total vote.

Absolute Subservience

That was a setback for the Soviet regime in Germany. Consequently the elections which should have been held in 1948 and 1949 were postponed. Instead, a "democratic body", the so-called People's Congress, was appointed by the Soviet

Military Administration and later was given a limited degree of autonomy. But this autonomy, such as it is, is conditional upon an absolute subservience to Soviet policy and interests.

Typical of this subservience is the comment made by Hera Pieck, the puppet President, about the East German elections. He claimed that they were "the most democratic elections ever to be held in Germany." So they were, but only if the word "democratic" is accepted at the Soviet valuation. That is to say, groups of agitators have spent the summer canvassing from house to house in the Russian manner and coercing the electors to sign a declaration that they will vote for the Government. The names of those who refused to do this have been published in the Press with threatening and abusive comments.

Factory workers have been forced to sign resolutions that they will not insist upon a secret vote but will cast their votes in public. Those who refused to sign such a resolution have known themselves to be marked men. Most typical of all has been the parading of voters in town and country and the marching together in formation to polling booths. All that is "democratic" in the Russian sense but the reverse of democratic in any true sense of the word.

The same holds good for the word "elections". Let us try to define this word as the Russians use it and as it has been applied in the Soviet Zone of Germany. This is what it really means: a compulsory demonstration by an oppressed people of enthusiasm for their oppressors.

(Special Feature from British Information Services)

THE TRUTH ABOUT TIBET —Continued from page 2

hundreds of miles. Ideological infiltration will increase enormously. An independent Tibet was the best physical barrier for the Indian mind against the Cominform's tentacles from upper Asia. She was also our Maginot Line of military protection. Once our frontier with her becomes our line of contact with a Stalinist Mao, we shall be left naked to a cold cutting wind from the north which, unless we act boldly, may blow out the Light of lights enshrined and cherished for ages in India's heart for the good of the whole world.

OUR COURSE OF ACTION

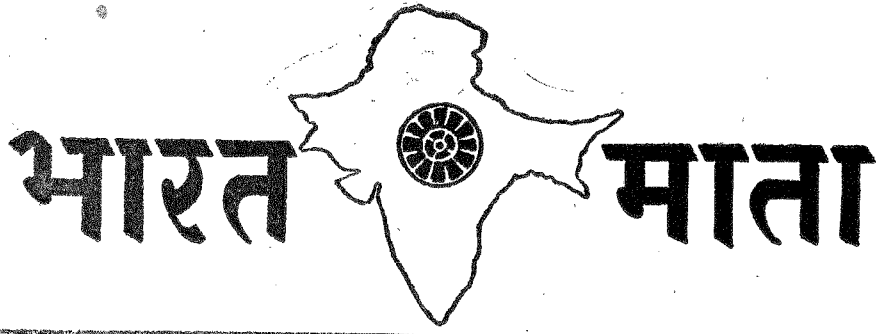
Our course of action should be pretty clear. It is understood that the Tibetan Government, besides urging Delhi to render every possible help in maintaining freedom in Tibet, has suggested that the issue of invasion be referred by us to the Security Council. The suggestion is sound and we should carry it out immediately. We have a natural right to do so, since Tibet has very friendly ties with us on the level both of culture and commerce and the Chinese invasion is a rude slap in our face and affects our security the most. But our charge against Red China of attacking without provocation a country whose autonomy is vital to its own people and to us must be accompanied by a definite renunciation of our sponsorship of the attacker's case for a seat on the U.N.O. That sponsorship cannot logically or morally go together with a clear recognition of Mao's unconstitutional and uncivilised conduct. We must not yield to any such notion as recently advanced by Mr. B. N. Rau that if the Chinese Communists had been seated in the Security Council their invasion of Tibet might not have taken place because they would have been called upon to account for their actions before a world tribunal. Mr. Rau overlooks an important fact: Peking has sweepingly declared that Tibet is part and parcel of China and that its action there is a purely internal affair into which no other country must poke its nose. What then has it to account for? Just because it had a delegate on a world tribunal it would not be deterred from "disciplinary" action against what it pretends to be a component of the Chinese nation. It could snap its fingers at the Security Council's claim to ask questions. Its fellow-conspirator Moscow will also brush aside any charge which India may bring now against Mao. Tension over Tibet could

not have been eased by the expedient of giving Red China a seat. And to hope that if a seat is offered today there will be any change of mind in Peking is to expect roses to grow on thistles. It would be as fatuous to mix up the Tibetan issue with the question of Mao's membership of the U.N. as to mix up that question with the Korean problem. His membership could never have prevented North Korea's attack, for the simple reason that he never considered the attack to be a reprehensible act but rather justified it on the most fantastic grounds. The same holds for the present situation. The one and only means of shaking up Mao is to declare our utter disillusionment and withdraw our support to his case while accusing him of violating international law on the "roof of the world".

If we take our courage in both hands and stand by the Tibetan people we shall strike a blow in the cause of freedom and start our country at last on the right road. We need have no misgiving as to the actual outcome of our decision. America is straining on the leash to leap anywhere in defence of democracy. Her condemnation of Mao's encroachment on Tibet is downright and she will grudge no help. If India has inadequate forces America will gladly lend hers. It is wrong to think, as some do, that America unreservedly turned down the appeals made several months ago by Gaylo Tsondup, brother of the Dalai Lama, to the President of the United States for arms aid and for protection against the Chinese threat. Nothing substantial seems to have resulted from the S.O.S.'s. But America had to ascertain whether mere arms aid would be sufficient and also whether the arms supplied would not fall, as in Chiang's China, into enemy hands. Besides, there was the question of India's attitude when a country so closely connected with her was involved and when all roads to it led through her territory. India must be fully a party to any scheme of supporting Tibet against the Chinese Communists. Facilities of transit along Indo-Tibetan roads must be provided for help in the shape of materials, if not also of men. If India co-operates with the U.S.A., President Truman will never hesitate to rush to Tibet's rescue. Britain, because of her interest in India's security, cannot lag behind, and with these three democracies marching in unison the mysterious land of the lamas will still remain free, the pure Himalayan snows will be spared besmirchment by Red footsteps, and sinister shadows will stop gathering round the holy head of Mother India.

मातृवाणी

हम भूतकाल में क्या थे इस और अपने ध्यान को रखने की अपेक्षा हमारे लिये कहीं अधिक महत्वपूर्ण यह होगा कि हम अपने ध्यान को जो कुछ हम भविष्य में होना चाहते हैं, उस और लगायें। आत्म जय से बढ़ कर और कोई विजय नहीं है, यही है समस्त स्वामी सुखों का आधार।



'मदर इंडिया' - हिन्दी पूर्ति : : : नवम्बर ११, १९५०.

अपने सुख के लिये चिन्ता करना, दुखी होने का निश्चित उपाय है।
वही संकल्प करना जो भगवान का संकल्प है- यही है परम रहस्य।
केवल भगवान का चिन्तन करो, तो भगवान तुम्हारे साथ होंगे।
हमारा सम्पूर्ण जीवन ही भगवान के प्रति की गई प्रार्थनारूप होना चाहिये।

—श्री माताजी।

सम्पादकीय —

तिब्बत की सच्ची स्थिति

तिब्बत भारत सरकार की बुद्धिमत्ता और सैद्धान्तिक अस्मिता की एक जबरदस्त कर्तव्यी बन कर सामने आया है। कायदे ही कोई भारतीय तिब्बत के लोगों के स्वाधीनता के अधिकार पर शंका उठाये। तब कोई भी अन्य राष्ट्र यदि तिब्बत पर सैनिक आक्रमण करता है तो वह सैन्य-विकार चेशा बना है, यह स्वीकार करने में भी हमें जरा हिचक नहीं होनी चाहिये। यदि तिब्बत पर चीन द्वारा होने वाले आक्रमण की हमारी भाव की सरकार इस दृष्टि से नहीं देख पाती है तो मानना होना कि उसमें प्रतिनिधित्व की क्षमता प्रखर विचार शीलता और प्रजासैनिक उद्देश्य का अभाव है।

हमने बहुत कठोर बात कही है। पर तिब्बत के भूतकाल और वर्तमान पर एक बहुत सरसरी निगाह डालने भर से ही हमारे उन्मुख कथन की प्रमाणिकता सिद्ध हो जाती है। अपनी सरहदों पर भारत, नेपाल और चीन के साथ घनिष्ठ रूप से सम्बद्ध होते हुए भी तिब्बत का अपना एक स्वतन्त्र सांस्कृतिक और राष्ट्रीय अस्तित्व है, इससे इनकार नहीं किया जा सकता। भूतकाल में कभी चीन ने तिब्बत पर, या तिब्बत ने चीन पर अधिकार किया था, इसका अर्थ यह तो जरा भी नहीं होता कि तिब्बत का अमुक अंश चीन का, या चीन का अमुक अंश तिब्बत का भाग हो गया। अब तक चीन और तिब्बत के बीच बराबर एक गौरवशाली समानता का सम्बन्ध रहा है। चीन ने सदा एक बड़े भाई की तरह बाहरी आक्रमणों से तिब्बत की रक्षा की है और तिब्बत इसके लिये सदा चीन के प्रति कृतज्ञ रहा है। पर तिब्बत ने कभी भी चीन का प्रयुक्त स्वीकार नहीं किया है और अपने स्वातन्त्र्य को खड़ा बंदखल रखा है। भूतकाल में बार-बार चीन ने तिब्बत की हथियाने की कोशिश की है, पर उसे बचा करने में सफलता नहीं मिली है। तिब्बत की अपनी परम्पराएं और वैयक्तिक वैशिष्ट्य रहा है और यही कारण है कि अपना स्वतंत्र स्वायत्त शासन बनाये रखने की शक्ति और इच्छा उसमें सतत जागृत रही है।

ब्रिटेन ने चीन और तिब्बत के सम्बन्धों के बारे में जो स्पष्टीकरण समय-समय पर किया है उसका सार यही है कि चीनी कामचलाप में तिब्बत का बड़ी स्थान है जो आज स्वतन्त्र भारत का ब्रिटिश कामचलाप से है। मतलब अपनी स्वदेश और विदेश नीति में पूर्ण स्वायत्त रह कर भा तिब्बत एक विशालतर चीनी राष्ट्र-संघ से समाविष्ट रहेगा। इस मर्यादा का रच भी भंग होना आक्रामक नीति का परिचायक ही माना जायगा। सन् १९४५ में ब्रिटेन ने चीन और तिब्बत दोनों को यह सुचना दी थी कि लाहासा के साथ उसका सीधा सम्बन्ध भारत-स्थित उसकी सरकार को मारफत रहेगा। स्वतन्त्र भारत कभी तक इस व्यवस्था को निनासा रहा है और तिब्बत के साथ उसका व्यवहार सदा सीधा ही रहा है, पकिंग के शासन की मध्यस्थता उसे इसके लिये कभी बखरते नहीं रही।

कोई भी इतिहास, राजनीति या संस्कृति का विद्यार्थी निःशंक इस बात को मानेगा कि तिब्बत हर दृष्टि से चीन से सर्वथा स्वतन्त्र है। तब बलात्कार और सैनिक आक्रमण द्वारा चीन का तिब्बत पर अधिकार करने का प्रयत्न साम्राज्यवाद के शत्रु और देश-देश की स्वाधीनता के जबरदस्त समर्थक भारत के लिये तिरस्कार का विषय ही हो सकता है। यदि तिब्बत चीन के झगड़े तले दबा हुआ होता, तब भी सदा अपनी स्वाधीनता को बनाये रखने के लिये कटिबद्ध रहने वाले तिब्बत को अपनी स्वतन्त्रता के लिये लड़ने में भारत का समर्थन और सहयोग ही मिल सकता था। यदि हम अपने विवेक को ठेल देना नहीं चाहते, और यदि हम निरे माओ के इशारे को कठपुतली नहीं

का प्रेमी नहीं है, बल्कि वह तो एक लुब्ध आक्रमणकारी है जो तलवार के बल साम्यवाद फैलाने के लिये अपनी गृह-दृष्टि आस पास के पड़ोसी राष्ट्रों पर फेंक रहा है। दूसरा अभिप्राय इस आक्रमण का यह है कि माओ ने अत्यन्त बेतक-ल्लुपन ढंग से भारतीय सरकारी हलकों में व्याप्त इस आंति को दूर कर दिया कि चीन की नीति पर भारत का एक मैत्रीपूर्ण प्रभाव है। जवाहर लाल के संबोदा से संजीदा शब्द इस समय माओ को अपनी मनचेती करने से रोक नहीं सकते थे। इस समय माओ साम्यवाद के एक अत्यन्त निर्दय खिलाड़ी के रूप में प्रकट हुआ है जो 'शक्तिशाली अवसर' के सिवाय और किसी भी चीज को महत्व नहीं देता। तिब्बत के समान निर्दोष और निष्पक्ष

चीन की फौज रखना स्वीकार कर ले और इस तरह वह अपनी स्वाधीनता को चीन के हाथों रहन कर दे। चिर दिन से अपने स्वातन्त्र्य के बारे में जागरूक तिब्बत का प्रतिनिधि मण्डल पीकिंग जाकर भी आक्रमण की धमकी खोकर ही लौटता तब उस प्रतिनिधि मंडल का जाना न जाना तो निरा बहाना भर है। आक्रमण की निर्लज्जता को यह कमजोर बहाना साफ खोल कर सामने पटक देता है।

तीसरे इस आक्रमण में रूस और चीन एक संयुक्त योजना से काम कर रहे हैं। रूस ने इस बात को प्रचारित कर रखा था कि पश्चात्य राष्ट्र तिब्बत पर नजर गड़ाये हुए हैं। समय आने पर चीन ने रूस का हथियार बनकर वह काम कर दिया जो भविष्य में शायद रूस स्वयं करता। अर्थात् पश्चात्य राष्ट्रों की सम्भावित आक्रामकता से तिब्बत को बचाने के बहाने वह जबरदस्ती उसकी नसों में साम्यवाद का इंजेक्शन टूस देता। माओ यह सोचना आवश्यक नहीं समझता कि रूस का अनुमान गलत है या सही, वह तो मात्र संयुक्त स्वार्थी की साझेदारी की इस योजना में एक अनिवार्य और अचूक औजार की तरह काम कर रहा है।

यह तो विश्व-राजनीति की एक अत्यन्त सामान्य बात है कि लालचीन को लेकर भारत व्यर्थ ही दुनिया की आंखों में अपने को बेवकूफ बना रहा है। स्तालिन और माओ किसी भी देश को तब तक बर्दाश्त नहीं कर सकते, जब तक वह सौ फीसदी साम्यवादी नहीं हो जाता और ऐसे हर देश को उन्होंने अपने खाद्य-भोजन की सूची पर चढ़ा रखा है। भारत का सबसे बड़ा अपराध तो यही है की वह रूस और चीन के नितान्त भौतिकवादी और मारक सिद्धान्त को स्वीकार किये बिना भी उनका मित्र बना हुआ है। फलतः वह एक शत्रु ही है, फिर चाहे कितनाही तटस्थ वह क्यों न रहे। वह चाहे पश्चिम का हो या न हो, भविष्य में एक बार उस पर चोट अवश्य की जायगी। आन्तरिक चालबाजियां सुपरियाम नहीं खरही हैं; स्थानीय साम्यवादी बच्ची ललित रिश्तियों में है तब स्वाभाविक है कि भारतके बिरुद्ध भी आक्रमण योजना जारी हो। और भारत के पिछले बार तिब्बत पर अधिकार करने से अधिक उपयुक्त कदम इसके लिये और क्या हो ?

हां, माओ के तिब्बती आक्रमण का तुनियादी अभिप्राय यही है कि भारत के सीमान्त तक चीन की सरहद को विस्तृत कर दिया जाय और उपयुक्त अवसर आने पर उपयुक्त मोर्चेबन्दी के साथ भारत पर आक्रमण कर दिया जाय। पर स्तालिन और माओ के रोष को शांत करने के लिये उनके पास जाना तो बचाव का कोई सही तरीका नहीं है। इस रास्ते चलकर तो हम अपने आदर्शों और अभीप्साओं को जोखिम में ही डाल सकते हैं। रक्षा का एक मात्र सही उपाय यही है कि चीन की प्रपंच पूर्ण कालों की हमें खुली भत्सना करें और निर्द्वंद तथा निर्भीक भाव से अमेरिका के साथ खड़े हो जायें और अपने आत्म-सम्मान की मर्यादा में अमेरिका को डर मौका दें कि संकट की घड़ी आ पड़ने पर वह भारत के हित और रक्षा की दृष्टि से चीन के सम्भावित आक्रमण को रोकने का हर प्रयत्न करें। चीन का सैनिक संगठन (शेष पृष्ठ ४ पर)

कौन रहा उर मेरे बोल ।

कौन रहा उर मेरे बोल
पाल पोत के दे द्रुत खोल ।



“एक बस एक बार”

रे इससे कभी मिलेगा पार

तूण, मणि से क्यों ले रहा मोल ?

पाल पोत के दे द्रुत खोल ।



कल'कल' करके जो दिन खोते

दुविधा सर में खाते गोते

काल बजा के आता डोल

पाल पोत के दे द्रुत खोल ।



करना है जो जल्दी कर आज

गत जीवन का बढ़ता ब्याज

नाहक मत कर टाल मटोल

पाल पोत के दे द्रुत खोल

कौन रहा उर मेरे बोल ।

—श्री नारायणप्रसाद जी 'बिन्दु'

होना चाहते तो हमें लाल चीन द्वारा तिब्बत के आक्रमण को कभी भत्सना करनी होगी। केवल 'आश्चर्य' और 'खेद' जैसे शब्दों में कोई पुसुपार्थ नहीं जान पड़ता, कम से कम एक महान आत्मवान् राष्ट्र के योग्य बात यह नहीं है, और ये हाल ही में जवाहर लाल द्वारा की गई उस घोषणा को भी मिथ्या ठहरा देते हैं, जिसमें उन्होंने कहा था कि 'जो भी भारतयुद्ध पर कभी नहीं उतरेगा पर किमो भी राष्ट्र को हमलावर नीति और सैनिक आक्रमण को उलट देने को वह सदा तैयार रहेगा'।

तिब्बत के आक्रमण के प्रति भारत का रुख क्या हो ? इस सवाल का जबाब देने से पहले, हमें इस आक्रमण के सामान्य अभिप्राय को समझ लेना होगा। इस आक्रमण ने स्पष्ट कर दिया कि जवाहर लाल सोचते रहे, माओ स्वातन्त्र्य

वेश शायद ही दूसरा कोई हो। दूसरे तिब्बत ने कुछ तो अपनी स्वाधीनता के लिहाज से और कुछ इस ख्याल से भी कि वह लालचीन की नयी सरकार को नाराज नहीं करना चाहता था, कुमिटांग मिशन को अपने यहां से निकाल बाहर किया था। पर माओ की नजर में इन चीजों का कोई सम्मान नहीं है। और माओ का यह कहना है कि यह आक्रमण इस लिये अनिवार्य था कि तिब्बत का प्रतिनिधि मण्डल सितम्बर के मध्य तक भी मशबिरा करने को पीकिंग नहीं आया, तो एक ऐसी अजीब सनकभरी बात है, जिसने हिटलर और टोजो की सनकों को भी मात कर दिया है। मध्य-सितम्बर के बीच होने वाले मशबिरों में भी माओ तिब्बत को बरबस इस बात के लिये राजी करना चाहता था कि वह हासा में लाल

ऊर की कन्न ।

(ले०—मगवतशरण उपाध्याय)

शुवाद की कन्न है यह । ऊर की रानी शुवाद की पर केवल शुवाद की ही नहीं । चालीस-मंजिली है यह चालीस कन्न गहरी । पुरानी दुनिया में चीजों का मोल, ऊँचाई, गहराई, लम्बाई, चौड़ाई अजब पंमानोंसे कूती जाती थीं जहाँ भी तब गहराई कन्न से कूती जाती थी, क्योंकि कन्न जमीन के अन्दर वहाँ बनती थीं, एक के नीचे एक मकूरों की तरह नहीं पिरैमिडों की तरह नहीं जमीन की सतह के नीचे । जैसे बाबुल और उसके आस-पास के प्रदेशों के देवमन्दिर जगुरत सीढ़ी-दर-सीढ़ी जमीन की सतह से ऊपर जाते थे वैसे ही कन्न जमीन के सतह के नीचे जाती थीं, एक के नीचे एक ।

इसी से यह शुवाद की अकेली कन्न नहीं है । यह काल के विचार से सबसे पिछली कन्न है, हाल की । हाल की माने हजारों साल पुरानी, सुषिष्ठिर-राम से पुरानी, असुर वनिपाल असुर नगीर-पाल से पुरानी, नेबुचे दनेज्जार हम्मुराबी से पुरानी । सो इस कन्न की गहराई चालीस कन्न है; यह कन्न और ये कन्न चालीस पुरतों की माप हैं हजार वर्षों की । और इस कन्न के नीचे कौश, गिरबन, शिर पुरला के राजाओं की कन्न हैं ऊर के पहले राजकुल के राजाओं की, सुती और लुलुबी के राजाओं की, अन्काद के राजाओं की, ऊर दूसरे राजपरिवार की एरेख (उरुक) ईसिन के राजाओं की, ऊर के तीसरे राजकुल की, लारसा बाबुल और अशुर के राजाओं की । इन राज्यों-सम्राज्यों का शासन समय समय पर ऊर पर रहा था, उन शासकों की कन्नों का वहाँ होना स्वाभाविक ही था, उसी शुवाद के कन्न के नीचे ।

सभ्यताएँ नदियों के काँठों में ही अधिकता फैलती रही हैं दक्कल और फरात के काँठे भी प्राचीन सुमेरी सभ्यता के उद्गम रहे हैं । संसार की शायद सबसे प्राचीन सभ्यता इसी काँठे के निचले भाग में जन्मी और विकसी । गेह और धान के खेतों से लहलहाती इन दरियाओं की घाटी उस अति प्राचीन काल में, जब सिन्धु-काँठे की सभ्यता आकाशचूम रही थी, जब मिस्र में पहले दूसरे राजकुल उठ रहे थे, सभ्य जगतका आकर्षण थी । तब दूर पास की उड़ती राजशक्तियों ने बारी-बारी दक्कल-फरात के मुहाने इस उर्वर भूमि पर हसरत भरी निगाह डाली, उसे जंता और भोगा । उन्हीं में कौश गिरबन और शिर पुरला के राजा थे ऊर, सुती और लुलुबी के राजा, अन्काद एरेख ए. ईसिनके, लारसा बाबुल अशुर के ।

इसी देश में विख्यात वह प्राचीन जल-प्रलय हुई, प्रायः ३००० ई०२० में जिसकी स्मृति सारी प्राचीन सभ्यताओं की साहित्यिक स्मृति में छाई हुई है हज्जत नुह की नौका को कहानी, की तरंगों की कथा वास्तव में ऊर के गिलगमिश की कहानी है, उस असीम जल-प्लावन की जो दक्कल फरात के उस निचले काँठे में, उनके मुहानों के ऊपर इरान के खाड़ी के जल के ऊपर उठ आने से हुआ था उसी की राजधानी तब ऊर थी जब वहाँ की कृत्यों की झाया भारतीय आर्यों के ऋग्वेद-अथर्ववेद पर पड़ती थी, जब उसके राजा आलिगीविलगी मन्त्रकार को उसकी नागी के पिता-माता-से लगे थे, जब उसी ऊरके राजा एल्लु बेल्लु भारत में अलाय-बलाय बन गये । तभी की यह कहानी है और तभीकी यह शुवाद की कन्न । पर केवल शुवाद की ही कन्न नहीं । शुवाद तो अपेक्षाकृत आधुनिक है, पर उसके पीछे की वे चालीस कन्न प्रायः हजार वर्षों और पुरानी ।

हां उससे भी पहले ईसासे प्रायः पांच हजार वर्ष पहले, आज से लगभग सात हजार साल पहले, त्रैतासे भी पूर्व शायद सत्ययुग में ऊर पर रौनक धरसती थी । ऊर तब सुमेरियों की राजधानी थी, पर उससे बढ़कर वह दक्कल-फरात के काँठे में बसनेवाली विषय जति का महादीप हा गया

था, काशी और प्रयाग । उसके ही देवता और देवी, उसी के स्वर्ग और नरक, उसी के पुजारियों की पूजा उसके कल्याण का साधक हुई ।

पुजारियों की पूजा उनके कल्याण का साधक! पुजारी जो राजा भी थे पुजारी भी— क्षत्रिय भी ब्राह्मण भी । संसार की सभी प्राचीन सभ्यताओं में अपने-अपने ब्राह्मण अपने-अपने क्षत्रिय थे, कुछमें ये अलग-अलग थे कुछ में एकत्र । मिस्रियों के राजा भी पुरोहित थे परन्तु चीरे-घीरे उनकी राजशक्तिने उन्हें अर्चनासे विमुख कर दिया । पर प्राचीन ऊर की राजशक्ति कमसे कम सर्वदा-सर्वथा पुजारियों के ही हाथ में केन्द्रित रही और वह केवल प्रायोगिक रूप में ही नहीं सैद्धान्तिक रूप में थी । एन राम-कुम्भ-अना इसी प्रकार का पुजारी नृपती था, खल्दी ऊर का स्वामी ।

यह एन अनाही और इसी प्रकार के दूसरे अना अपनी जनता के इहलोक और परलोक के विधाता, उसके जन्म-जन्म के स्वामी थे । इन्हीं के विधानों के अनुसार जनता कुटती-पिसती, रोती हंसती । ये ही उसके लोक-परलोक के रूप निर्धारित करते, उनकी सीमाएं खींचते । स्वयं उनका जीवन सर्वथा अपावन था; वृणित से धृष्टित देवता भी उन के जीवन को देवोत्तर न मानता । पर उनका सार कृतित्व, उनकी अशेष क्रियात्मकता केवल यही सिद्ध करती कि वे देवता के ही प्रतिनिधि हैं । यही उनका प्रश्न और उत्तर था, यही उनका विश्वास और चेतना, यही दम्भ और शक्ति ।

उनका वैभव असीम था, ऐश्वर्य असाधारण । अपार जनता उनके इशारों पर-नाचती थी, अगाध दौलत उसकी पूजामें बरसती थी । अकेले पुरोहित-पुजारी की आय विशेष कर प्राचीन काल में बेधुमार थी, फिर वही पुजारी जब राजा भी हो जाता तब तो उसकी शक्ति और धन की कोई इन्तहा न थी । जहाँ पुारी अपनी संरक्षा के लिये राजा का मुँह ताकता है वहाँ ऊर का पुजारी स्वयं राजा था, राजसत्ता का स्वयं उद्गम और भोक्ता । उसका पार्थिव ऐश्वर्य देव दुर्लभ था । उसका कुल अनुमान उसकी पारलौकिक आवश्यकताओं से होता है । और उसकी ये पारलौकिक आवश्यकताएँ इन्हीं कन्नों में एकत्र हैं, इन्हीं शुवाद की सी कन्नों में ।

इन्हीं कन्नोंकी गहराइयों में, उनके अंधेरे कमरों में कितना धन, कितना सुवर्ण, कितने रतन जवाहर गङ्गे-पङ्गे थे उसका अनुमान बङ्गाल क्या कर सकता है । पुराविदों की ताकिकाओं में उसका उल्लेख हुआ है । जिसे पढ़कर अक्ल चकरा जाती है, आँखें चौंधिया जाती हैं । जितने भी साधन इस जीवन में मनुष्य को सुखी कर सकते हैं, जितने जरिए मनुष्यको उस प्राचीन काल में अपनी शक्ति से अभित्त कर सकते थे वे सभी उन पुजारी-राजाओं को उपलब्ध थे, उनकी मरणान्तर समाधियों में संग्रहित थे । रथ और खचर, दास और दासियां पलंग और सिंहासन, ताज और तख्त सन्दूकें और भाण्ड, वसन और आभरण, पगड़ी और टोपी, नूते और खड्ग, अन्न और पेय, पत्नी और प्रेयसी, सैनिक और सन्नी, दरबारी और मन्त्री-सभी उन कन्नों में सुरक्षित थे, सभी पुजारी राजा के उपदेय और उपासक, उसके भृत्य और सेवक ।

ये चीजें तो सबया पार्थिव हैं, इहलौकिक— इनका वहाँ उस परलोक में, उस स्वर्ग या नरक में, या उनकी राह में क्या आवश्यकता ? आवश्यकता उनका उस लोक में, उस लोक की राह में । क. १

वह पुजारी अकेला नहीं जायगा । रिक्त हस्त वह आया है पर रिक्त हस्त जायगा नहीं । मुझे उस की खली थी जब वह आया, मुझे उसकी बन्द होगी जब वह जायगा । पर जब वह जायगा उसके साथ परिवार होगा, जड़ और चेतन का, धन और वैभव का, खाद्य और पेयका, वसन-अभरण का, आवश्यकताओं का । पर अनिवार्य आवश्यकताओं का ही केवल नहीं, उनके प्रभुत बाहुल्यका, उनकी अशित मात्रा का ।

आखिर देवता क्या खाता-पहनता है, क्या भोगता है ? वही जो उसका पुजारी, मनुष्य—ब्राह्मण और उसके पञ्च विध खाद्य, बोध, लेख, पेय आदि—खाता है । देवता भी मांस, मद्य, फल आदि खाता पीता है । देवता का भी भोजन मनुष्य का सर्व स्वादिष्ट आहार है । उसका मादक पेय देवता का पेय है । उसकी सुन्दर नारी देवता की भोग्या है । मनुष्य की प्रेयसी युवा होती है, प्रौढ़ा होती है, फिर वृद्धा और अन्त में मर जाती है । निश्चय यह मनुष्य की परायण है । यहाँ उसका वश नहीं चलता पर उसके अन्वेषण अण्ड रूप की कल्पना वह कर लेता है । वह केवल अपनी ही पार्थिव प्रेयसियों की कल्पना नहीं करता अपार्थिव देवी वीरगङ्गाओं, सुर-नारियोंकी भी कर लेता है जो स्वर्ग का आकर्षण होगी, जो सनातन किशोरी होंगी, जो न प्रौढ़ा होगी, न वृद्धा, न जिनकी मृत्यु होगी । मनुष्य अपनी इच्छाओं को शतशः बढ़ाकर उनको भोगनेकी कल्पना करता है । अपने पुराणों में वह इन्हीं अख्याओं, इन्हीं भोगोंकी कल्पना करता है, गाथाएं बनाता है । उसके पार्थिव नर सदा देवनारियों को आकृष्ट करता है, उनसे समागम करता है । उपास्य दैवियों तक को वह नहीं छोड़ता, उन्हे भी अपने दुराचरण से, अपने पापसे अपनी अपावन भावनाओं से दूषित कर देता है । ग्रीक ईयस दणोवस पर मर मिटती है, आर्य ऋषी चराचर को सजग करनेवाली देवी ऊमाको स्तन खोले नाचती नर्तकी के रूप में अर्ध नग्न देखता है, शान्तनु पतित पावनी गङ्गा का राग प्राप्त कर, उसे झकझोर-झकझोर भोगता है, उससे देवव्रत-वैष्णव उत्पन्न करता है । मनुष्य-अकृत्रिम प्राकृत वर कृत्रिम सुसंस्कृत वर—किसी को प्यार नहीं करता, केवल अपने तन को करता है, अपने विषयों को करता है और उन्हीं से अभित्तिसि लाभ करने के प्रयत्न करता है, उनके प्रत्यक्ष अभाव में भाव की कल्पना करता है, आभास को भोगता है । स्वयं नर्तकियों की उपासना करता है, अपने देवोंको देवदासियां—महाकाल की नर्तकियां—प्रधान करता है । जिन वस्तुओं की उसे इस लोक में आवश्यकता होती है उन्हीं चीजों की उसे परलोक में आवश्यकता होती है । हाँ उनसे उनका आकार, आकर्षण सम्मोहन कई गुना बढ़ाकर ।

जन्म जन्मान्तर की कल्पना आखिर क्या है ? किसी न किसी रूप में जीव का शरीरान्तर भी जीवित रहना सम्भ-असम्भ सारी जातियों में एक मात्रा तक मान्य है । किसी ने उसे बर्बर स्थूल रूप में स्वीकार किया है, किसीने दार्शनिक रूप में । परन्तु दोनों का उपास्य, दोनों की प्रेरक भावना समान है, अधिकाधिक जीवित रहना । आशागमन और आत्मा की अमरता में जीने कीनग्न इच्छा के अतिरिक्त और कुछ नहीं । संसार का बड़ासे बड़ा विलक्षणसे विचक्षण तार्किक, विद्वग्भसे विदग्ध दार्शनिक का अस्तित्व प्रमाणित नहीं कर सकता पर साधारणतः वह उसमें विश्वास करता है—क्यों की 'इन्द्रियाणी प्रमाणिनि हरन्ति प्रसन्नमनः—इन्द्र्यां शक्तिमती हैं, विमार्ग कर देती हैं । इन्दि-

यां इस सम्मोहक जगत् के उपास्यों से, मादक स्वप्नों अनुभूतियों से बकती नहीं, थकना चाहती नहीं, उपरत नहीं हो पाती और फिर फिर विषयों की ओर ही आकृष्ट हो पड़ती हैं । दार्शनिक और तथाकथित विरक्त जब आत्मा के इस शरीर से छूट दूधरे में प्रवेश करने की बात कहता है, उसकी कल्पना करता है जिसे त्यागने की वह निरन्तर चेष्टा करता है । जिस प्रकार सुर आदि सन्यासी सन्यस्त होकर भी कृष्ण के प्रति गोपी या सखी भावना से 'रती और विपरीत' के 'डिटेल' का रोमान्चक बर्णन करते हुये वस्तुतः अपनी अनुस वासना को ही मानसिक रूपसे (?) चरितार्थ करते हैं उसी प्रकार दार्शनिक भी आवागमनके बन्धन से अपने को मुक्त करने का प्रयास करते समय केवल उस वासना का ही खूबा निरूपण करते हैं जिससे उनकी विरक्ति है । इससे बड़ा और व्यंग क्या हो सकता है कि मनुष्य दिन रात विरक्ति के पनकें गाये, आवागमनके दुःख की बात कहे पर वास्तव में उस घोर मिथ्या का प्रतिपादन करे जिसके अस्तित्व में कभी कोई प्रमाण न मिला ! को नल उलूख न वहरा कस वह देश ! कोई तो कभी लौटकर बताता, किसी तरह यह सिद्ध कर सकता की शरीरका जीवन, शरीर से अन्यत्र भी सिद्ध हो अथवा इतर शरीर में फिर भी लौटता है । एक भी अपवाद नहीं किसी आत्मा के पुनर्जन्म का मिलजाता और यह हेत्वा भास प्रमाणित होता ।

बात तो यह है कि मनुष्य जीना चाहता है । जीना सुन्दर है, सम्मोहक है, प्रिय है । रोग असित व्याधिबिगलित आत्मा जन भी जीना चाहता है । उस वस्तु से चिपटे रहता है जिसे खींचकर वह फिर नहीं पायेगा, वहाँ पायेगा । जीव्य सारे साधन वह सोच लेता है । इन्द्रियों के जितने विषय हैं जिनसे विरक्त होने के वह उपक्रम या ढकोमले करता है उन्हींको वह देवसाधन्य में पाने की आशा करता है । कितनी अभिराम, कितनी उन्मादक, कितनी आकर्षक उसकी कल्पना है ?—सुन्दर स्वस्थ अमर-अजर दीप्यमान तन, देवनारिया सुवासित ब्रह्म, आकाश में इच्छामग्न, पेयबसाआसव, उन्मादिनी मदिरा, कल्पना-प्रवक सोम—नन्दन-कानन में काम इत्तों की छाया—क्या क्या गिना जाय !

तो यह जीवन प्रिय है और जहाँ तक संभव हो, यह जीवन । उसी को रखने के लिये मनुष्य नाना प्रयास करता है और अब उसे जितना नहीं पाता तो उसके मृतक शव को सुरक्षित रखने के प्रयत्न करता है । राधायनिक द्रव्य हृद्द निकालता है, पिरैमिड खड़े करता है, मकूरों बनाता है, ताबुलों में रखता है ताकि कम से कम कृषायत के दिन वह उठ खड़ा हो । और जब वह इससे भी उसे नहीं पाता तब स्वर्ग, नरक की कल्पना करता है, पितृ लोक का सृजन करता है । सोचिए जरा, पितृ लोक की स्थिति—सुरज में, चाँद में, तारों में । आज तक इतने मनुष्य, इतने जानवर, इतने जीव मरे हैं कि यदि उनकी सुदन से सुदम प्रेतात्माओं को भी कहीं रखा जाय तो दुनिया लुक जाय पर वे न लुकें ?

एक ही ही कल्पना सर्वत्र होती है— ग्रीक शव के मुँह पर एक शिकका रख देता है जो वह खारों को दे या जिससे मृतक की राह की नदी पार करने का भाङ्गा लुक जाय । खारों उस नदी का नाविक है । प्राचीन मिथी अपने मृतक के साथ वह पुस्तक रख देता है जिसमें कर्मों के सम्बन्ध के प्रलेख होते हैं । मनुष्य की स्मृति इतनी क्षणिक होती है, काश आंसिरिस कोई ऐसा प्रश्न कर बैठे जिसका उत्तर न आए । इसलिये उस पुस्तक का मृतक के साथ जाना अनिवार्य है । हिन्दू मरने के पहले पाथ शान कर लेता है जिससे समय पर उसकी पूछ पकड़ कर वह वैतरणी पार

(शेष पृष्ठ ४ पर)

हमारा युग

(गतांक का शेषांश)

—आरोह—अवरोह—

विस्फोट अवस्थामावी था। बारूद के घर में एक सलाई भर की देर थी। और १९१८ में प्रथम महा-युद्ध के सूत्रपात्र में ही मानवता ने देख लिया—युद्ध की देवी आज सबसे अधिक सुखी थी। चार वर्षों तक लड़ता हुआ विश्व-जन-समुदाय थक उठा था। हिंसा का न ओर था न छोर। शरीर क्षत-विक्षत था, थका था, लेकिन मन अभी भी प्रतिहिंसा और द्वेष के भावों से उबल रहा था। युद्ध से लोग थके तो थे, ऊबे नहीं थे। और शत्रुओं का भंकार जब सचमुच बन्द भी हो गया तो थकी मानवता विराम नहीं ले सकी। उसका अन्तर अभी चंचल तथा अभी भी व्याकुल था। भुली रणचण्डी अहंता तो हो गयी थी लेकिन हवा में उसके नुपुंरों की भंकार स्पष्ट सुनाई दे रही थी। किसी भी क्षण वह प्रकट हो सकती थी और नरमेघ का दूसरा अध्याय भी शुरू हो सकता था। शक्ति मानवता इसे देख रही थी। उसे और युद्ध चाहिए, नाश का एक दूसरा ताण्डव। पार्थिव जीवन में छिपा दानव इस दानवी अनुष्ठान की पूर्णता के लिये व्याकुल था। त्रण मानव निर्भय सम्भावनाओं को व्याकुल आंखों से देख रहा था। अन्तर तो उसका आज भी दानव ने ही अभिभूत कर रखा था। फिर ज्यों-त्यों कर विश्व राष्ट्र-मण्डल भी स्थापना हुई। विश्व-संगठन और विश्व-न्यायालय को स्वप्न भी देखा जाने लगा। युद्ध के प्रति इस विशक्ति का भाव प्रथम-प्रथम तो सत्य और बलवान मालूम होता था। कुछ व्यक्तियों ने तो शान्ति-स्थापना के कठिन प्रयत्न भी किये। परन्तु शीघ्र ही इन सबों की निरर्थकता और प्रभावहीनता स्पष्ट होने लगी। युद्ध से उपराम का भाव तो केवल दिखलाऊ भाव था, प्रस्त हृदय का भयाङ्कल आलस्य—ऊपरी निष्कृत्यता का प्रवाहहीन प्रदर्शन। विश्व चेतन प्रकृत भाव नहीं था। वस्तुतः तो विद्व-जीवन के अन्तर में छिपा आकुल विद्वेष रणचण्डी का आवाहन दे चुका था। सुखी बंड़ी आ भी लुकी थी। और अब उसकी बुभुक्षा-तृप्ति के लिये फिर नरमेघ की व्यवस्था हो गई। मानवी-क्रिया व्यापारों को एक मानवेतर शक्ति ने नयी और विश्व-सक दिशा में प्रेरित किया। युद्ध से घबराया मानव फिर एक महा विनाश की महत्तर लीला में मग्न हो चला। विगत महायुद्ध में संसार के विभिन्न राष्ट्रों के उन्नायकों ने प्रत्यक्ष अपनी असमर्थता देखी, किसी महत्तर शक्ति के दुनिवार इशारे पर सभी सुरक्षित हो उठे। और फिर वर्षों तक चलनेवाले भयंकर संग्राम से निकल आहत मानव अपने जीवन के वाह्य अंचल में ही सुधार और परिवर्तनों के द्वारा शान्ति और समाधान का अवतरण कराना चाहता है। वह घबराता भी है। उसका उद्दाम रण-कौशल उसी के रक्त की लाली से अतिरिजित जो है। आहत और आहत व्यस्त होता हुआ भी वह विश्व-सक लीलाओं के प्रति एक अहृश्य और अविश्लेषणीय किन्तु फिर भी प्रबल आकर्षण का अनुभव कर रहा है। अविष्य आज भी महानाश भी सम्भावनाओं से आच्छन्न है।

—क्षितिज के उस पार—

आधुनिक विद्व की गतिविधि को देखते हुए यह निःसंकोच कहा जा सकता है, कि हमारा युग मानवी इतिहास का सबसे अधिक घटना संकुल, सबसे अधिक महत्वपूर्ण युग है। मानसिक विकास की चरम रेखा तो प्रायः छू सी गई है, और मनोभूमि में इससे अधिक विकास की सम्भावना का हम अनुमान भी नहीं कर सकते। गत पचीस तीस वर्षों से संसार विवर्तन-पथ पर तीव्रता से अग्रसर होता हुआ आज एक ऐसी भूमि पर खड़ा है जहां से इसी दिशा में आगे जाना सम्भव नहीं दीखता। आगे महानाश की खाई है। फिर क्या हम इसी स्थल पर खड़े रहेंगे या सामान्य लोकमत ध्वंसक प्रवृत्ति हमें उस महानाश क गतांक तक ही खींच ले जायगी? मानवी अस्तित्व के आगे ही आज एक प्रश्न सुवच चिन्ह सा दीखता है। महासंक्रांति की इस विपन्न लक्ष्मी में हम अपने अस्तित्व के सम्बन्ध में ही सोचते हैं। क्या संसार किसी अंधशक्ति में ही दुनिवार इशारे पर आज तक घूमता हुआ इस चरम-स्थिति तक खिंच आया है; क्या विश्व जीवन के पीछे किसी चेतना सम्पन्न शक्ति का क्रिया विधान नहीं? क्या सारा जगत् किसी

कौतुक-प्रिय शक्ति के बाल सुलभ चापसय और प्रयोजनहीन कुतूहल के अर्थहीन प्रदर्शन के अलावे और कुछ नहीं? क्या वैद्व-अस्तित्व का आवार ही जड़, अचेतन अथवा किसी अन्वयस्थित शक्ति का अंधा तथा उद्दाम रूप है? संसार के जटिल विधान एवं मानव प्राणों जैसे श्रेष्ठ आश्चर्य को देखते हुए विस्मय में पड़ जाते हैं। फिर विश्वगत सौंदर्य और चमत्करता तो किसी गढ़ रत्न को बुनाचर सफलता का द्योतक नहीं!

अब हम विवर्तन-पथ पर बढ़ते संसार को ओर दृष्टिपात करें। किसी अन्तर प्रेरणा के अस्पष्ट पाप का अनुभव करता हुआ संसार वाह्य परिस्थितियों के साथ अपना मेल खो जाता है। वाह्य परिस्थितियों के साथ अन्तर्जीवन की समस्वरता ही हमारा अति समीप लक्ष्य है। यही हमारी क्रियाओं का प्रेरक भाव भी है। इसी के इशारे पर बढ़ते हम तरह तरह के ज्ञान और सफलताओं की ओर अग्रसर होते हैं। इसी के संकेत पर विश्व की अनेक अनेक परिवर्तनों और प्रत्यावर्तनों को भेलता एक चरम स्थिति की ओर अग्रसर होता हुआ प्रतीत होता है। फिर वह स्थिति कैसी होगी? अथवा हमारे इस विकास क्रम के पीछे कोई चेतना-सम्पन्न उद्देश्य है या नहीं? ये विचारणीय बातें हैं। हम सुष्ट जगत् की ओर दृष्टिपात करें। यह तो निश्चय ही है कि संसार परिवर्तनशील है और पृथ्वी अपने प्रारम्भिक दिनों में चेतनाहीन जड़ द्रव्य के सिवा और कुछ नहीं होगी। फिर इसी पार्थिव जड़ तत्व में क्रमशः प्राण और मन का विकास हुआ। प्राण से लेकर मन के विकास के क्रम विशेष से कई स्तर हैं और हर स्तर से ऊपर की ओर चलते हुए पार्थिव जीवन को एक विचित्र संक्रांति का सामना करना पड़ा होगा। हम चैतन्य मन के ही निरी भूमिकाओं से ऊंचे सुमिकाओं की ओर बढ़ते विकास-क्रम की ओर देखें। पग-पग पर क्रिया-उद्वेग, संक्रान्ति और अंधकाराच्छन्न अवरोह हमें दिखाई पड़ता है। फिर भी आरोह अवरोह की द्विविध गतियों से निकलते हम निश्चय ही अन्वय-तत्त्व और अपेक्षाकृत विस्तृत विकास की ओर बढ़ते रहे हैं। बढ़ते बढ़ते आज हम प्रायः चैतन्य मानस की उच्चतम भूमिका में अचिछिन्न हैं। हमारे प्राणगत संस्कारों ने मानसिक शक्तियों के आश्रयण से एक नये आवर्त की रचना कर डाली है। विश्व-जीवन इसी आवर्त में उलझा दीखता है। आगे क्या होगा? हमारे अस्त-व्यस्त जीवन को उचित दिशा में जो प्रेरित करे हम उस शक्ति की तलाश में हैं। वाह्य परिस्थितियों के साथ हमारा आन्तर जीवन एकाचर हो, इसके लिये हमारे आन्तर जीवन के भी चरम उत्कर्ष की आवश्यकता है। आन्तर विकास की एक हृदय सर्वजनीन प्रणाली ही आज हमारी सर्वोच्च निधि होगी। हम सभी प्रायः ऊपरी सुचारों और छिछले प्रयोगों के द्वारा अविष्य-निर्माण की चेष्टा को असफल होते देख रहे हैं। सत्यतः तो हम सभी अतिसमीप समस्याओं से ही उलझ रहे हैं। परिस्थिति भी सम्यक पहचान के लिए तो दिव्यबोध की आवश्यकता है। पूर्ण आध्यात्म चेतना के बिना यह सम्भव नहीं। अतिमानसिक सत्यावबोध जब तक हमारे जीवन को अविश्रुत नहीं कराता, तब तक हम वर्तमान द्वन्द्वों के आवर्त से निकलने में अवसथे ही रहेंगे। फिर उस सत्यावबोध की प्राप्ति का भाव ही हमारी इस चल स्थिति का संकेत भी है।

आज इस विषम-स्थिति में फिर भारत ने मार्ग-निर्देश का काम लिया है। श्री अरविन्द मानव प्रकृति को अवतरणशील दिव्य चेतना भी प्राप्ति के योग्य बना रहे है। मानसिक सीमाओं का अतिभ्रमण करता हुआ मानव समुदाय अपने चरम सत्य का दिव्य संधान, अतिमानसिक चैतन्य में करेगा। उस अति-मानसिक चैतन्य का अवतरण भी निश्चित है, ईश्वर—निर्दिष्ट है। हमारा अपूर्ण द्वन्द्वप्रस्त जीवन तब सहज, सुन्दर, पूर्ण और दिव्य होगा। क्षितिज के उस पार जीवन का अशेष रूपान्तर है, अपूर्णता का पूर्णता में, द्वन्द्वों का साम्य में, अंधकार और अज्ञान का प्रकाश और सच्चैतन्य में तथा मृत्यु का अमृतत्व में दिव्य पञ्चसान!

प्रश्न-उत्तर

प्रश्न १.—हत पुरुष को जाग्रत होने में कितना समय लगता है?

उत्तर—यह व्यक्ति पर निर्भर करता है—कई जन्म भी लग सकते हैं और कुछ क्षणों में भी जाग्रत हो सकता है।

प्रश्न—२. हत पुरुष के प्रकट होने को किन लक्षणों से पहचाना जा सकता है?

उत्तर—उसके जाग्रत होने पर मनुष्य निरन्तर सुखी रहता है।

प्रश्न : ३—देखा गया है कि आश्रम के वातावरण में विकास बहुत तेजी से होना आरम्भ हो जाता है और घर लौटने पर वह फिर मंद पड़ जाता है। तब क्या यह आवश्यक है कि हमें सदा के लिये आश्रम में बस जाना चाहिये, या फिर वह वातावरण घर पर भी उत्पन्न किया जा सकता है? यदि हां, तो कैसे?

उत्तर—यह सब विकास की भूमिका पर निर्भर करता है। कुछ लोगों के लिये भूमिका विशेष में सदैव उपस्थिति आवश्यक होती है, जब कि दूसरों के लिये नहीं होती।

ज्योतीन्द्रदेव बहनोट देहली

प्रश्न :—यदि ऐसा प्रतीत हो कि चिन्ताओं और आवश्यकताओं को त्याग देने से आध्यात्मिक विकास शीघ्रता से हो सकता है, तो क्या हमें उन्हें त्याग देना चाहिये।

उत्तर :—यदि किसी को ऐसा लगता है, तो त्याग देना ही उचित है।

यू. प्रसाद रख, गुडीवाड़ा

प्रश्न :—मैं श्री अरविन्द के आश्रम का सदस्य होना चाहता हूँ। आपकी क्या सम्मति है?

उत्तर :—आश्रम में प्रवेश पाना आसान बात नहीं है। पहली बात तो यह कि आपको यह प्रतीत होना चाहिये कि आप आश्रम के नियमों का पालन कर सकेंगे। दूसरी, सबसे महत्वपूर्ण बात यह है कि श्री अरविन्द और श्री मां यह देखेंगे कि आप उनके शिष्य बन कर आश्रम में प्रवेश होने के योग्य कहां तक हैं।

रामशङ्कर लाल-बस्ती

प्रश्न १ :—मरने के बाद जीवन का क्या होता है?

उत्तर :—जन्म के बाद जितनी चीजें सम्भवतया हो सकती हैं, उतनी ही मरने के बाद भी हो सकती हैं।

प्रश्न : २—क्या आप कोई ऐसी पुस्तक सुना सकते हैं जिसमें व्यवस्थित और पूर्ण रूप से उपरोक्त समस्या का विवेचन किया गया हो?

उत्तर :—श्री अरविन्द ने इस विषय का प्रतिपादन निम्न लिखित स्थलों पर किया है,

(१) भागवत जीवन, अध्याय २०, २१ और २२, (२) श्री अरविन्द के पत्र : सिरीज २ तथा (३) विश्व—प्रपंच (The Riddle of the world) ८७—९१

एस. के प्रसाद-पटना

प्रश्न : १—लोगों को यह पता कैसे लगेगा कि अतिमानस का अवतरण हो गया है? क्या वह मात्र आन्तरिक मनोवैज्ञानिक अनुभव की वस्तु होगी, फिर वह किसी इन्द्रियग्राह्य प्रत्यक्ष रूप में भी प्रकट होगा।

उत्तर : प्रतीक्षा करिये और देखिये

प्रश्न : २—ग्राम तौर पर लोग इस कपोल कथा में विश्वास करते हैं कि धरती पर मनुष्य के अवतरण के प्रारम्भिक दिनों में सतयुग अर्थात् सत्य और सुवर्ण का युग प्रवर्तित था। क्या यह कथन आधारभूत है. या फिर निरी पुराण-कल्पना यदि ऐसा कोई सतयुग अस्तित्व में था तो वह बाद में विलय क्यों हो गया? और क्या अति-मानसिक अवतरण द्वारा ही उस सतयुग को वापस

लाया जा सकता है? पुराने सतयुग और नये सतयुग में क्या अन्तर होगा?

उत्तर :—भूतकाल का सतयुग आगामी सतयुग की एक प्राथमिक भूलक या आशवासन मान था।

प्रश्न : ३—क्या प्रज्ञ समाज में स्त्री-पुरुषों के बीच विवाह-सम्बन्ध होंगे यदि होंगे तो किन सिद्धान्तों और उद्देश्यों के आधार पर और उनका रूप क्या होगा? क्या उसमें यौन चर्चा के लिये कोई स्थान होगा, और क्या दम्पति अपना एक अलग कुटुम्ब बना कर रहेंगे?

उत्तर :—इस प्रश्न का उत्तर श्री अरविन्द ने अपने लेख 'मानव शरीर' में दिया है जो कि 'शारीरिक शिक्षण'—बुलेटिन में प्रकाशित हुआ था (जिल्द १ संख्या ३)।

प्रश्न : ४—क्या आप मानते हैं कि श्री अरविन्द के पूर्ण योग की साधना बीस वर्ष से कमवय के बच्चे भी सफलतापूर्वक कर सकते हैं? यदि आप इसे बच्चों की वर्तमान समझ और शक्ति से परे मानते हैं, तो क्या आप योग का कोई और ऐसा सरल मार्ग सुझा सकते हैं जो बानकों को आरम्भिक जीवन से ही अतिमानसिक अवतरण के लिये तैयार कर देगा?

उत्तर—'मदर इंडिया' की १६ सितम्बर की संख्या में प्रकाशित 'बालक को हमेशा क्या याद' (शेष पृष्ठ ४ पर)

SRI AUROBINDO, THE LEADER OF THE EVOLUTION

PART II OF "THE WORLD CRISIS AND INDIA"

By "Synergist"

SECTION III : THE NEW WORLD-VIEW

(a) THE SPIRITUAL METAPHYSIC

(ii) KNOWLEDGE OF THE DIVINE REALITY

(Continued from previous issue)

TOWARDS THE HIGHER KNOWLEDGE

In the essay *The Nature of Man's Ignorance and its Causes*, we saw that human ignorance has, according to Sri Aurobindo, seven aspects. The first is 'the original ignorance'—man is ignorant of the source of his being, the Absolute; the second is 'the cosmic ignorance'—he is ignorant of the Spaceless and Timeless Immutable Self behind the cosmic flux; the third is 'the egoistic ignorance'—he takes his limited ego-personality for his true self; then there is his 'temporal ignorance'—he has no knowledge of his eternal becoming in Time, and thinks that he is just a transient and evanescent form, mistaking the brief span of his life to be his beginning, middle and end; even in this temporal becoming he is unconscious of his total personality—the inner and higher as well as the nether regions of his being; this is his 'psychological ignorance'. Then he is ignorant of the true constitution of his becoming, says Sri Aurobindo. He mistakes the mind, life or body, or any two of these or all three for the true principle of what he is and is unaware of that which is meant to determine their operations by its emergence; this is his 'constitutional ignorance'. Because of these six forms of ignorance man cannot satisfactorily govern his existence, and stumbles through life always hoping and planning but never realising—this is his 'practical ignorance'.

In our search for the higher knowledge then, we must bear in mind the real nature of human ignorance, for it will determine the kind of knowledge we must seek. Only a revelation within our consciousness annulling this ignorance can possibly be the higher knowledge.

We have seen that the epistemological cause of man's ignorance is the separate and indirect basis of his knowledge, that the psychological cause is the narrow focus of his consciousness in the ego, making him oblivious of its inner and higher ranges and of his inmost soul, and that the ontological cause is the evolutionary level of his being—the mental-vital-physical level; the fourth principle, the Supermind, has yet to emerge in earth nature and integrate into it the three that have already emerged.

Sri Aurobindo sums up the real nature of human ignorance and limitation in a line when he says that its distinctive character is "a separation of the being from its own integrality and entire reality." This separation is the root cause of the ignorance and unhappiness of man. Therefore the remedy can be nothing short of a complete and total reunion with the integral Divine Reality, who is the secret source and essence of his own being—or as Sri Aurobindo says, "A return or a progress to integrality, a disappearance of the limitation, a breaking down of separativeness, an overpassing of boundaries, a recovery of our essential and whole reality must be the sign and opposite character of the inner turn towards Knowledge. There must be a replacement of a limited and separative by an essential and integral consciousness identified with the original truth and the whole truth of self and existence. The integral Knowledge is something that is already there in the integral Reality: it is not a new or still non-existent thing that has to be created, acquired, learned, invented or built up by the mind; it must rather be discovered or uncovered, it is a Truth that is self-revealed to a spiritual endeavour: for it is there veiled in our deeper and greater self; it is the very stuff of our own spiritual consciousness, and it is by awaking to it even in our surface self that we have to possess it. There is an integral self-knowledge that we have to recover and, because the world-self also is our self, an integral world-knowledge. A knowledge that can be learned or constructed by the mind exists and has its value, but that is not what is meant when we speak of the Knowledge and the Ignorance.

"An integral spiritual consciousness carries in it a knowledge of all the terms of being; it links the highest to the lowest through all the mediating terms and achieves an indivisible whole. At the highest summit of things it opens to the reality, ineffable because superconscient to all but its own self-awareness, of the Absolute. At the lowest end of our being it perceives the Inconscience from which our evolution begins; but at the same time it is aware of the One and the All self-involved in those depths, it unveils the secret Consciousness in the Inconscience. Interpretative, revelatory, moving between these two extremes, its vision discovers the manifestation of the One in the Many, the identity of the Infinite in the disparity of things finite, the presence of the timeless Eternal in eternal Time; it is this seeing that illumines for it the meaning of the universe. This consciousness does not abolish the universe; it takes it up and transforms it by

giving to it its hidden significance. It does not abolish the individual existence; it transforms the individual being and nature by revealing to them their true significance and enabling them to overcome their separateness from the Divine Reality and the Divine Nature.

"An integral knowledge presupposes an integral Reality; for it is the power of a Truth-consciousness which is itself the consciousness of the Reality. But our idea and sense of Reality vary with our status and movement of consciousness, its sight, its stress, its intake of things; that sight or stress can be intensive and exclusive or extensive, inclusive and comprehensive. It is quite possible—and it is in its own field a valid movement for our thought and for a very high line of spiritual achievement—to affirm the existence of the ineffable Absolute, to emphasise its sole Reality and negate and abolish for our self, to expunge from our idea and sense of reality, the individual being and the cosmic creation. The reality of the individual is Brahman the Absolute; the reality of the cosmos is Brahman the Absolute: the individual is a phenomenon, a temporal appearance in the cosmos; the cosmos itself is a phenomenon, a larger and more complex temporal appearance. The two terms, Knowledge and Ignorance, belong only to this appearance; in order to reach an absolute superconsciousness both have to be transcended: ego-consciousness and cosmic consciousness are extinguished in that supreme transcendence and there remains only the Absolute. For the absolute Brahman exists only in its own identity and is beyond all other-knowledge; there the very idea of the knower and known and therefore of the knowledge in which they meet and become one, disappears, is transcended and loses its validity, so that to mind and speech the absolute Brahman must remain always unattainable. In opposition to the view we have put forward or in completion of it,—the view of the Ignorance itself as only either a limited or an involved action of the divine Knowledge, limited in the partly conscient, involved in the inconscient,—we might say from this other end of the scale of things that Knowledge itself is only a higher Ignorance, since it stops short of the absolute Reality which is self-evident to Itself but to mind unknowable. This absolutism corresponds to a truth of thought and to a truth of supreme experience in the spiritual consciousness; but by itself it is not the whole of spiritual thought complete and comprehensive and it does not exhaust the possibilities of the supreme spiritual experience.

"The absolutist view of reality, consciousness and knowledge is founded on one side of the earliest Vedantic thought, but it is not the whole of that thinking. In the Upanishads, in the inspired scripture of the most ancient Vedanta, we find the affirmation of the Absolute, the experience-concept of the utter and ineffable Transcendence; but we find also, not in contradiction to it but as its corollary, an affirmation of the cosmic Divinity, an experience-concept of the cosmic Self and the becoming of Brahman in the universe. Equally, we find the affirmation of the Divine Reality in the individual: this too is an experience-concept; it is seized upon not as an appearance, but as an actual becoming. In place of a sole supreme exclusive affirmation negating all else than the transcendent Absolute we find a comprehensive affirmation carried to its farthest conclusion: this concept of Reality and of Knowledge enveloping in one view the cosmic and the Absolute coincides fundamentally with our own; for it implies that the Ignorance too is a half-veiled part of the Knowledge and world-knowledge a part of self-knowledge. The Isha Upanishad insists on the unity and reality of all the manifestations of the Absolute; it refuses to confine truth to any one aspect."

"The integral knowledge of Brahman is a consciousness in possession of both together, and the exclusive pursuit of either closes the vision to one side of the truth of the omnipresent Reality. The possession of the Being who is beyond all becomings, brings to us freedom from the bonds of attachment and ignorance in the cosmic existence and brings by that freedom a free possession of the Becoming and of the cosmic existence. The knowledge of the Becoming is a part of knowledge; it acts as an ignorance only because we dwell imprisoned in it, *avidyayam antare*, without possessing the Oneness of the Being, which is its base, its stuff, its spirit, its cause of manifestation and without which it could not be possible."

"The higher self-knowledge begins therefore as soon as man has got beyond his preoccupation with the relation of Nature and God to his superficial being, his most apparent self. One step is to know that this life is

Continued on page 8

IN THE MOT THE CONQUES

By RISHA

PART I

It is said that when the light of knowledge (bodhi) descended on Buddha at the close of his long meditation, the very first words he uttered were: "I have caught thee at last, thy name is thirst (desire). No more shalt thou make me wheel from birth to birth, from suffering to suffering."

With an unerring intuition, Buddha thus laid his finger on the prime cause of terrestrial suffering and the greatest enemy of man's spiritual evolution. Renunciation of desire, he taught, was the elimination of all evil and ignorance and the surest means to the extinction of the egoistic human personality, which is a not-self, a mere ephemeral construction of Karma. The Gita affirms the same truth of desire with a repeated and hammering insistence: desire is the arch-enemy of man, the eternal foe of the wise and the origin of obscuration and suffering. Therefore, slay desire, root it out of your nature once for all and desirelessly act in God and for God in the world. In the Upanishads, though the didactic method of the Gita and the Buddhist scriptures had not yet so much developed,* the renunciation of desire is woven into the very grain of their teaching, as the following references amply testify:

(1) In the Brihadaranyak Upanishad, in the course of his elaborate reply to Janaka's questions, Yajnavalkya says that when the desires that are lodged in the heart are eliminated, then the mortal becomes immortal, and even here realises the Brahman.

(2) In the Chandogya Upanishad (IV—10) Upakoshala says to his preceptor's wife who was importuning him to break his fast, "In this Purusha (ie. in me) there are many desires running in various directions. I am full of many diseases (maladies of the mind). I shall not eat."

(3) In the Kathopanishad Yama says to Nachiketa, "Hardly a wise man here and there desiring immortality turneth his eyes inward and seeth the self within him. The rest childishly follow after desire and pleasure and walk into the snare of Death who gapeth wide for them. But calm souls, having learned of immortality, seek not for permanence in the things of this world that pass and are not."

In the words of Christ, "Take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat or what ye shall drink; nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on", there is an implicit denunciation of desire and an ardent advocacy of a complete dependence on God.

We find, therefore, that, whatever its spell on deluded minds, under the spotlight of spiritual knowledge, desire stands thoroughly unmasked as the prolific parent of most of life's evils. The progressive rationalistic mind of to-day, if it is searchingly honest, will readily admit this truth; but it will ask in amazement, as Bossuet asked Madame Guyon, "If the desires are renounced, how will the springs of life function. Will not life come to a dead stop?" The astounded interrogation is not so naive as it may appear to a hide-bound religious mind; it is perfectly legitimate and merits a straight and serious consideration. Life, as it is normally lived, is apparently geared to desire, and if the desires are relinquished, it may be reasonably contended, how can life get on? Is there not a desire or the drive of a purpose (as the Purposivists in modern psychology maintain) behind every human action, as its initiating and impelling force? Will not the stifling of desires mean the stifling of life itself and its motor forces? The Buddhist gospel or the Gita's may be a counsel of perfection, but how in this work-a-day world, in practical life, in this grim struggle for existence, can one renounce all desires and not sink into inertia and stagnation and eventual disintegration? Will it not spell a total defeat and frustration of life's purpose?

The answer, usually advanced by the spiritual man, is that this very defeat of life's purpose is the crowning victory of the soul. You lose the kingdom of the earth in order to gain the kingdom of Heaven. You cannot surely have the best of both worlds, serve two masters at the same time. But the answer falls flat on the modern mind, for, first of all, it cannot believe that life which has brought it to its present state of evolution will stop short at a half-result and betray a sudden bankruptcy of all its resources to carry evolution to any higher perfection. And, besides, it is fired with a synthetic idealism, a supreme gift of the Time-Spirit, which insists on the discovery and realisation of unity and harmony in life and

* In the Isha Upanishad we have, however: "Lust not after anyone's possession."

is loth to reject it out of hand as an ever-circling futility. A victorious unity of Spirit and Matter, Life and Light, Silence and Movement, One and Many, seems to be its master passion, which it cannot forswear simply because life confronts it with the lash of desire and the trail of tragic suffering. It seems to have the courage to look desire in the face, stultify its goad and probe into its heart to discover something of which it is a dark distortion. A complete conquest and conversion of the energy which desire embodies is not only possible, but inevitable, if life is not to languish and the human society not to turn into an unprogressive structure of quietistic ascetics. The modern approach to life is, at its best, an intellectual, scientific approach, and it augurs well for the rediscovery of truths which have long lain buried under the wreckage of the past and wilfully neglected by a narrow spirituality impatiently avid of the beyond. A rehabilitation of the ancient truths will transform life from a clamorous hunger into a divinely creative force led by the supernal Light to a greater and greater fulfilment.

What is Desire?

When inorganic Matter evolves out of the indeterminate flux of the primal energy of the Inconscient, there begins, in the dance of the released atoms, a rhythmic swing, characterised by the dual movement of attraction and repulsion. The atoms combine and separate, aggregate and disaggregate, in response to an inscrutable force operating in them. That force is a blind hunger, immeasurable, unquenchable. It is an urge implanted in the centre of every atom, towards individual growth, development, expansion and expression. It is a mysterious, irrepressible urge which makes each atom draw towards itself only those atoms which can help its growth, and repel or draw away from those which are likely to be harmful or hampering. It is a marvellous, automatic action making for the rhythm which regulates the stupendous movements of the material universe. In organic Matter this urge assumes a more distinct and definite form. Life, in its first manifestation, appears to be a heaving sea of hunger and richly deserves the vivid Upanishadic epithet: "Life is hunger, which is death." Individual life feeding on other lives in order to maintain and aggrandize itself, feeding and eventually being fed upon by the contending lives—this is the spectacle that presents itself to our view behind the apparent birth and death of living Matter.

When Life evolves Mind, this hunger becomes desire, a conscious craving, an insistent longing to seize and possess and enjoy what one feels one lacks. No individual life at this stage of evolution can progress without this propelling force of desire. It is the sole motive force that neutralizes to a considerable extent the constant gravitational pull towards inertia and disintegration on the one hand, and creates the conditions and designs the contours of the future out of an indeterminate mass of possibilities. Desire dominates and directs the movements of life. Springing from hidden sources which man does not care to explore, but stinging him into incessant action, physical, vital and mental, desire leads him through whatever defeats and detours, struggles and sufferings, to an increasing development of his individuality and an efficient functioning of his awakened faculties. A desire is an energy, a creative and formative energy which does not lie idle in us, but, either on our conscious or sub-conscious level, is always busy trying to bring about its own fulfilment. Even when we repress it, it does not disappear out of existence, but only sinks underground and ferments and works there, biding its time for a fresh outburst and self-satisfaction. It can wait there long, very long, indeed, if our will is strong and alert enough to prevent its recurrence, and we may lay the unction to our hearts that we have got rid of it for good and all, but that would be a sheer self-delusion, liable to be shattered some day in this life or the next.

The ego in the individual thrives on desires. Its finite, individualised consciousness cuts itself off from others and makes it concentrate on its own growth and gratification. Thus divided and limited, the individual in his ignorance desires the objects which attract it and, impelled by desire, struggles to possess them. Human life on the surface is this struggle, this ceaseless seeking and striving after the objects which, being finite and fugitive, are unable to give anything like a full and abiding satisfaction to the soul. But though desire acts in the beginning and for a long while as a lever by which life lifts itself out of the lower bog and advances towards fresh gains and conquests, yet a stage arrives in this evolutionary advance when the compelling tyranny of desire and the struggle and suffering it entails become too acutely disquieting to be borne. Desire then reveals itself in its true colours, as the greatest obstacle to a further progress. That

HER'S LIGHT T OF DESIRE

BHCHAND

which worked as a lever appears now as an insufferable fever, a futile fret and a mounting frustration. It is more and more clearly perceived by the individual that desires are endless, and endless the uneasiness they cause—uneasiness and anxiety in the pursuit of them, uneasiness and anxiety in the insecure enjoyment of their satisfaction and uneasiness, exasperation or corroding grief in their frustration. They allow no repose or peace or a calm, dispassionate view of the meaning and goal of life. They lash and drive man on in a vicious circle. They bar his passage into the eternity and infinity of the Spirit.

What should man do at this juncture? If he gives up all his desires, he fears he may lapse into an inert passivity and quiescence, the springs of life may cease to function, its wheels come to a stand-still. A further perfection in terms of life may be barred out for ever. He may slip out of life, if he is so inclined, and merge in some infinite Void or indefinable immutable Existence; but that would be a flight and not a conquest. How to conquer desire and lead a divine, desireless life of joyous freedom, richly and resplendently creative, is the problem man must solve if he is to achieve his highest perfection on earth.

We have seen that desire is an evolved, mentalised form of the hunger which characterises both organic and inorganic Matter, but we have not traced hunger to its ultimate source and watched its primal genesis. If we do that, we shall know what hunger or desire represents in the material world and what it is in its eternal essence. A clear perception of this essence will tend to liberate us from the tormented yoke of desire and make us revert to the source which is a perennial fount of force for a manifold fulfilment in life. Once this source is seen in the light of knowledge renunciation of desire will cease to be an arduous and painful endeavour, but become, instead, a glad and natural sacrifice offered to the Supreme.

Desire—a Distorted Splinter of the Divine Will

It is said in the Upanishads that in the beginning there was the One without a second. That One desired to be many. This, then, is the first birth of desire; but it is better to call it Will than desire, for, desire, in its ordinary acceptation, means a longing for something which we lack. The Divine lacked nothing; He willed to reproduce Himself in numberless forms, to deploy the infinite possibilities of self-formation inherent in Him, to enjoy variously, manifoldly, even in the contrary terms of pain and suffering, the eternal, invariable delight of His unconditioned self-existence. This flaming out of the divine Will to self-creation or rather multiple self-realisation and self-expression is an eternal fact of the omnipresent Reality, as much as its immobility and silence. The Will to create argues no want or deficiency in the One who is Absolute, but is a spontaneous play of His Consciousness-Force (*chit-tapas*). Its purpose in our evolutionary world is a progressive self-manifestation of the Divine in terms of unity in diversity. But in the material formula diversity or division seems to be its primary objective. It creates a myriad centres of the one indivisible consciousness; a myriad units of the one, unitary Existence; countless waves and ripples of the one infinite ocean of Power and Delight; and, breaking itself into splinters, emerges as the dark, blind hunger which we have envisaged as the motive force behind every little movement of organic and inorganic Matter. This hunger is a fragmentary impulse of the one universal Will, but a fragment darkened and deformed in the conditions of the inconscience out of which it springs. Its business is to organise and consolidate the individuality of each unit, to mark it off from others, so that the original intention of the One to be many may become a concrete fact of terrestrial existence. Passing through a long process of evolution, this hunger turns into conscious desire in man. Based on division, it signalises a pronounced development of the ego and its sharp separation and clear-cut distinction from other egos. This ego is the desire-soul, a dark reflection of our delight-soul, which is a spark of the sempiternal Fire. When the separative development of the ego is complete and its individuality well formed, its consciousness tends towards universality, impersonality and infinity. Evolution registers now a new turn. The ego-centric stress gives place to a growing tendency towards self-giving—desire melts into love.

Two Stages of Life

Terrestrial life can then be divided into two stages: the first is that at which the chief pre-occupation of Nature is to form and consolidate the ego, the dynamic centre of every constructed individuality. Her stress is

on multiplicity, on the creation of inexhaustible genuses and species with distinctive traits and characteristics, on sharply differentiated individualities. From the formation of the atom to that of the full-fledged ego in man, the whole stage is marked by a sub-conscious hunger or a conscious desire, impelling the growth of the individual unit. The universal Will is stationed behind, controlling and co-ordinating the giant interaction of the multifarious hungers and desires of the evolving units, but not obtruding on the surface. It acts through the unconscious drive or the sub-conscious urge or, as in man, through desire and a delusive free-will, in each individual unit. Hunger or desire is the distinctive stamp of this first stage.

At the second stage the stress shifts on to unity. The full-fledged ego in man, smarting under the slavery of desires, yearns to transcend itself and attain to freedom and mastery. This new yearning does not originate in the ego, though the ego seems to be its immediate medium of expression, but in the soul—it heralds the replacement of the desire-soul by the delight-soul in man. An increasing unity, harmony, order, loving and joyful mutuality mark this stage at which, in proportion as the individual being is purified of desire and enlightened and widened in consciousness, the divine Will, the sovereign creator and ruler of the universe, unveils itself and takes up the charge of the nature. Life does not stop, because desire is dying, but is, on the contrary, immeasurably heightened, widened, quickened and superbly accentuated in its manifold self-expression under the luminous direction of the omnipotent Will. The egoistic division having disappeared, the individual identifies himself with the Universal and the Transcendent and partakes of the life of all and embraces all things in his unwallied consciousness. What will he now crave or covet? What gain will elate and what loss depress him? Perceiving the underlying unity of all beings, himself in all beings, he "neither mourns nor desires", but works out God's Will in the world, poised in the absolute equality of his liberated soul and nature.

It is evident from the fore-going consideration that desire is not the real and ultimate motive force behind the movements of individual and universal nature, but is only an overt incentive to action, a concomitant of ignorance, entailing conflict and struggle and suffering, which are inevitable, even necessary in the egoistic phase of evolution. The real motive force is the Will of the supreme Being, which emerges from behind the confusion and anarchy of individual desires and cravings, as man surpasses his ego and recovers his unity and solidarity with all—with the All and the One in all and beyond all.

Two Attitudes Towards Desire

In spiritual life there can be only two attitudes towards desire: one is that of the ascetic, which is an attitude of relentless hostility and rigid repression, and the other the plastic and supple attitude of the lover of God in life as well as in Light. The ascetic, whose single aim is to wake up from what he calls the delirium of life, strives to strangle desire by sheer will-force and rigorous self-denial, and in strangling desire, strangles or sterilises life itself. He bruises the motor springs of life and inhibits all expansive faculties, cripples all will and initiative till he finds himself sitting upon his own corpse. It is true that the Gita advises the slaying of desire, but of desire only as the immediate and overt cause of delusion and suffering, and not of the Will behind it, not, certainly, of life itself. The ascetic's dealing with desire, and for the matter of that, with his whole nature, is remorselessly repressive, drastic and destructive. If he succeeds in it, he returns, when his body drops, to the Inane or the Beyond; but if he fails—and the majority fail—there usually results a violent upheaval in his nature, or an obscure mixture and disorder, a quasi-spiritual state of unresolved anomalies, or a steep fall from the poise and purity so laboriously attained. The Gita deprecates this strenuous, short-sighted, cavalier attitude of the ascetic and gives preference to the second attitude, which is one of equality, detachment and a quiet and persistent rejection of desire. This attitude is of those who believe that God is not only transcendent of life, but also immanent in it; and that it is His unblemished manifestation in terrestrial life that is the object of the soul's descent into birth. A calm and integral rejection of desire for the discovery of the divine Will and its creative play in life, constitutes the cardinal principle of the second attitude, which we shall consider at some length in the next article.

To be concluded in the next issue

SRI AUROBINDO, THE LEADER OF THE EVOLUTION

Continued from page 5

not all, to get at the conception of his own temporal eternity, to realise, to become concretely aware of that subjective persistence which is called the immortality of the soul. When he knows that there are states beyond the material and lives behind and before him, at any rate a pre-existence and a subsequent existence, he is on the way to get rid of his temporal ignorance by enlarging himself beyond the immediate moments of Time into the possession of his own eternity. Another step forward is to learn that his surface waking state is only a small part of his being, to begin to fathom the abyss of the Inconscient and depths of the subconscious and subliminal and scale the heights of the superconscient; so he commences the removal of his psychological self-ignorance. A third step is to find out that there is something in him other than his instrumental mind, life and body, not only an immortal ever-developing individual soul that supports his nature but an eternal immutable self and spirit, and to learn what are the categories of his spiritual being, until he discovers that all in him is an expression of the spirit and distinguishes the link between his lower and his higher existence; thus he sets out to remove his constitutional self-ignorance. Discovering self and spirit he discovers God; he finds out that there is a Self beyond the temporal: he comes to the vision of that Self in the cosmic consciousness as the divine Reality behind Nature and this world of beings; his mind opens to the thought or the sense of the Absolute of whom self and the individual and the cosmos are so many faces; the cosmic, the egoistic, the original ignorance begin to lose the rigidity of their hold upon him. In his attempt to cast his existence into the mould of this enlarging self-knowledge his whole view and motive of life, thought and action are progressively modified and transformed; his practical ignorance of himself, his nature and his object of existence diminishes: he has set his step on the path which leads out of the falsehood and suffering of a limited and partial into the perfect possession and enjoyment of a true and complete existence.

"In the course of this progress he discovers step by step the unity of the three categories with which he started. For, first he finds that in his manifest being he is one with cosmos and Nature; mind, life and body, the soul in the succession of Time, the conscient, subconscious and superconscient, —these in their various relations and the result of their relations are cosmos and are Nature. But he finds too that in all which stands behind them or on which they are based, he is one with God; for the Absolute, the Spirit, the Self spaceless and timeless, the Self manifest in the cosmos and Lord of Nature,—all this is what we mean by God, and in all this his own being goes back to God and derives from it; he is the Absolute, the Self, the Spirit self-projected in a multiplicity of itself into cosmos and veiled in Nature. In both of these realisations he finds his unity with all other souls and beings,—relatively in Nature, since he is one with them in mind, vitality, matter, soul, every cosmic principle and result, however various in energy and act of energy, disposition of principle and disposition of result, but absolutely in God, because the one Absolute, the one Self, the one Spirit is ever the Self of all and the origin, possessor and enjoyer of their multitudinous diversities. The Unity of God and Nature cannot fail to manifest itself to him: for he finds in the end that it is the Absolute who is all these relativities; he sees that it is the Spirit of whom every other principle is a manifestation; he discovers that it is the Self who has become all these becomings; he feels that it is the Shakti or Power of being and consciousness of the Lord of all beings which is Nature and is acting in the cosmos. Thus in the progress of our self-knowledge we arrive at that by the discovery of which all is known as one with our self and by the possession of which all is possessed and enjoyed in our own self-existence.

"Equally, by virtue of this unity, the knowledge of the universe must lead the mind of man to the same large revelation. For he cannot know Nature as Matter and Force and Life without being driven to scrutinise the relation of mental consciousness with these principles, and once he knows the real nature of mind, he must go inevitably beyond every surface appearance. He must discover the will and intelligence secret in the works of Force, operative in material and vital phenomena; he must perceive it as one in the waking consciousness, the subconscious and the superconscient: he must find the soul in the body of the material universe. Pursuing Nature through these categories in which he recognises his unity with the rest of the cosmos, he finds a Supernature behind all that is apparent, a supreme power of the Spirit in Time and beyond Time, in Space and beyond Space, a conscious Power of the Self who by her becomes all becomings, of the Absolute who by her manifests all relativities. He knows her, in other words, not only as material Energy, Life-Force, Mind-Energy, the many faces of Nature, but as the power of Knowledge-Will of the Divine Lord of being, the Consciousness-Force of the self-existent Eternal and Infinite.

"The quest of man for God, which becomes in the end the most ardent and enthralling of all his quests, begins with his first vague questionings of Nature and a sense of something unseen both in himself and her. Even, if as modern Science insists, religion started from animism, spirit-worship, demon-worship and the deification of natural forces, these first forms only embody in primitive figures a veiled intuition in the subconscious, an obscure and ignorant feeling of hidden influences and incalculable forces, or a vague sense of being, will, intelligence in what seems to us inconscient, of the invisible behind the visible, of the secretly conscious spirit in things distributing itself in every working of energy. The obscurity and primitive

inadequacy of the first perceptions do not detract from the value or the truth of this great quest of the human heart and mind, since all our seeking—including Science itself—must start from an obscure and ignorant perception of hidden realities and proceed to the more and more luminous vision of the Truth which at first comes to us masked, draped, veiled by the mists of the Ignorance. Anthropomorphism is an imaged recognition of the truth that man is what he is because God is what He is and that there is one soul and body of things, humanity even in its incompleteness the most complete manifestation yet achieved here and divinity the perfection of what in man is imperfect. That he sees himself everywhere and worships that as God is also true; but here too he has laid confusedly the groping hand of Ignorance on a truth—that his being and the Being are one, that this is a partial reflection of That, and that to find his greater Self everywhere is to find God and to come near to the Reality in things, the Reality of all existence.

"A unity behind diversity and discord is the secret of the variety of human religions and philosophies; for they all get at some image or some side clue, touch some portion of the one Truth or envisage some one of its myriad aspects. Whether they see dimly the material world as the body of the Divine, or life as a great pulsation of the breath of Divine Existence, or all things as thoughts of the cosmic Mind, or realise that there is a Spirit which is greater than these things, their subtler and yet more wonderful source and creator,—whether they find God only in the Inconscient or as the one Conscious in inconscient things or as an ineffable superconscious Existence to reach whom we must leave behind our terrestrial being and annul the mind, life and body, or, overcoming division, see that He is all these at once and accept fearlessly the large consequences of that vision,—whether they worship Him with universality as the cosmic Being or limit Him and themselves, like the Positivist, in humanity only or, on the contrary, reject Him in Nature and Cosmos,—whether they adore Him in various strange or beautiful or magnified forms of the human ego or for His perfect possession of the qualities to which man aspires, his Divinity revealed to them as a supreme Power, Love, Beauty, Truth, Righteousness, Wisdom,—whether they perceive Him as the Lord of Nature, Father and Creator, or as Nature herself and the universal Mother, pursue Him as the Lover and attracter of souls or serve Him as the hidden Master of all works, bow down before the one God or the manifold Deity, the one divine Man or the one Divine in all men or, more largely, discover the One whose presence enables us to become unified in consciousness or in works or in life with all beings, unified with all things in Time and Space, unified with Nature and her influences and even her inanimate forces,—the truth behind must ever be the same because all is the one Divine Infinite whom all are seeking. Because everything is that One, there must be this endless variety in the human approach to its possession; it was necessary that man would find God thus variously in order that he might come to know Him entirely. But it is when knowledge reaches its highest aspects that it is possible to arrive at its greatest unity. The highest and widest seeing is the wisest; for then all knowledge is unified in its one comprehensive meaning. All relations are seen as approaches to a single Truth, all philosophies as divergent view-points looking at different sides of a single Reality, all Sciences meet together in a supreme Science. For that which all our mind-knowledge and sense-knowledge and suprasensuous vision is seeking, is found most integrally in the unity of God and man and Nature and all that is in Nature.

"The Brahman, the Absolute is the Spirit, the timeless Self, the Self possessing time, Lord of Nature, creator and continent of the cosmos and immanent in all existences, the Soul from whom all souls derive and to whom they are drawn,—that is the truth of Being as man's highest God-conception sees it. The same Absolute revealed in all relativities, the Spirit who embodies Himself in cosmic Mind and Life and Matter and of whom Nature is the self of energy so that all she seems to create is the Self and Spirit variously manifested in His own being to His own conscious force for the delight of His various existence,—this is the truth of being to which man's knowledge of Nature and cosmos is leading him and which he will reach when his Nature-knowledge unites itself with his God-knowledge. This truth of the Absolute is the justification of the cycles of the world; it is not their denial. It is the Self-Being that has become all these becomings; the Self is the eternal unity of all these existences,—I am He. Cosmic energy is not other than the conscious force of that Self-existent: by that energy It takes through universal nature innumerable forms of itself; through its divine nature It can, embracing the universal but transcendent of it, arrive in them at the individual possession of its complete existence, when its presence and power are felt in one, in all and in the relations of one with all;—this is the truth of being to which man's entire knowledge of himself in God and in Nature rises and widens. A triune knowledge, the complete knowledge of God, the complete knowledge of himself, the complete knowledge of Nature, gives him his high goal; it assigns a vast and full sense to the labour and effort of humanity. The conscious unity of the three, God, soul and Nature, in his own consciousness is the sure foundation of his perfection and his realisation of all harmonies: this will be his highest and widest state, his status of a divine consciousness and a divine life and its initiation the starting-point for his entire evolution of his self-knowledge, world-knowledge, God-knowledge."

To be continued in the next issue

YEATS AND SHAW

BY K. D. SETHNA

The death of Bernard Shaw on the 2nd of this month, at the grand old age of 94, poses the question: What is the outstanding characteristic of his mind? Something of a Voltairean quality, though somewhat prevented from being quintessential by idiosyncratic dilutions, emerges as the typical Shaw from the various modes of expression he adopted. In view of that brilliant intellectual incisiveness the following note apropos a letter by another great Irishman may be of interest to our readers.

Yeats once wrote to Dorothy Wellesley: "Shaw has written a long, rambling, vegetarian, sexless letter, disturbed by my causing 'bad blood' between the nations."

It is curious to find any act of the most efficient fighter of our day described thus. The very efficiency of Shaw's fighting seems to have misled Yeats. Measured against Shaw, Yeats on the war-path can be nothing except quivering rage, with a quixotic sword which he waves about but mostly to cut thin air. Shaw is like a fencing expert, parrying blows and dealing death-wounds with such smooth ease, such effortlessness, such absence of violent waste that he appears to many eyes "vegetarian" and "sexless." But you have just to look around and you will see the corpses mounting up. It is also a certain intellectual impersonality in Shaw, a freedom from pseudo-romantic fog, that creates that impression and hides from Yeats the clean supple strength. Shaw may not strike out of sheer feeling; he lifts everything to the cerebral plane—above mere meat and sex, so to speak—but that does not make his activity anaemic and impotent. He sublimates his elemental nature into idea-force; that is all. The force is superb and intense—only, it issues through the channel of thought.

"Long" and "rambling" are another pair of inapt and superficial adjectives. If Shaw is "long," it is because he is both inexhaustible and many-angered—he has much to fight and plenty of energy to go on fighting. "Rambling" is a misobservation of his intellectual fecundity: he has everywhere the fencing expert's skill that never fails to touch the right spot, but he has a multiplicity of strokes and a delight in complex movements and gestures—leaping here, prancing there, driving at the midriff, thrusting at the heart, sticking into the jugular. He loves to play with his opponents in an intricate all-wounding manner; he does not want merely to kill, he wants also to expose on as many sides as possible the rottenness of which his opponents are composed; he "rambles" over their whole bodies and attacks them from every quarter and with his entire repertory of strokes either fiercely pointed or furiously sweeping.

And then there is the laughter running through each rapier-flash. Such confidence is Shaw's that he pokes fun with his deadly jabs and cuts capers while slashing at people's follies. The caper-cutting has another aspect too: he acts a bit of a clown while making his antagonists look fools, because he wishes to relieve the duel of overgriminess on either side and to save himself from pompous pretentiousness and the pride that may render him forgetful of his own humanity.

Yeats makes no mention of this double-edged humour. Just as he missed the Shavian idea-force and ingenious gusto, I suppose he would have dubbed the Shavian laughter lack of seriousness.

Yeats's "blind spot" towards Shaw is regrettable. However, we must not conclude he has less valuable things to give us than Shaw. The two men are different and bring us different treasures. Shaw is the analyst mind and the ironic spirit taking art as their instrument; Yeats the mind of insight and the spirit of aristocracy, fused with the artist. Yeats is certainly more artistic and has in his work a closer touch with inner realities. Shaw does not know these realities intimately even when he champions some mode of them like the Life Force as conceived by him, a vast urge in the world to attain through trial and error a deific consci-

ousness. The occult, the visionary, the hierophantic are not truly his domain: he can probe them but without getting to their heart, for to get to their heart one needs a glowing intuitive faculty plucking words out of one's depths and not just a sharp intellect with a gift for imaginative rhetoric. Yeats in his own sphere cannot be equalled by Shaw: there is much more food for our souls in a few "Celtic" or else "Byzantine" poems of Yeats's than in all the forceful argumentation set to drama in *Man and Superman* or *Back to Methuselah*. The same holds good between Yeats's essays and Shaw's prefaces.

But when Yeats impinges on the field of the intellect, with its demand for an argus-eyed acuteness, he must suffer by comparison with the Shavian genius. Political science, whether concerned with national or international affairs, is not, generally speaking, a poet's *metier*, what though the poet may have passed from reveries and wizardries to "passionate masterful personality." The early Yeats was a rapt whisperer of enchantments, the later Yeats a man of intense will dabbling in ideas and handling many matters besides soul-secrets. Still, "passionate masterful personality," go as it may through a noticeable thought-process, does not tend to a satisfying play of the intellect proper if made the keynote not merely of poetry where it is quite in place but also of all the departments of one's life. It leads to a marked self-grooved condition, not caring to enter into the skins of those who hold a vision dissimilar to one's own; it encourages neither an open mind nor a real detachment—states that are requisite for genuine intellectual activity.

Shaw too is full of personal penchants: he, nonetheless, works them out like a logician, capable of seeing all the points of his antagonists and therefore capable of refuting them if they are weak or of readjusting his own case to make it more strong. Yeats's temper as well as method is unShavian: even outside poetry he feels like a pontiff and the reasons he brings forth have an air as of revelation, a tincture of poetry, but he is mostly blind to the merits or demerits of a case from the standpoint of the pure intellect which has to preserve a calm dispassionate centre amidst the whirl of personality. A certain intolerant heat and a leaning towards Fascism were characteristic of Yeats in old age. The latter came from a confusion of Fascism with aristocracy and the superman's strength, the former from that strain in him which developed as a reaction against his early dreaminess and which insisted on the "vigour of blood" and which even made him ribald in his last writings. Shaw does not lack zest and energy but they are more of the nerves than of the blood and his penetrating intellect is lord over them. He seems to Yeats bloodless and to be insufficiently gripping the stuff of the world. The impression is not false if Shaw's dramatic characters are put by, say, Shakespeare's: it is wrong if meant to charge him everywhere with defective force and dispersed light. Shaw is one of the greatest breakers of Victorian hypocrisy and sentimentality: the nineteenth century's citadel of sham received the strongest, most vital blows from him; its unhealthy air was made bright and clean most by the laughing and penetrating Shavian sunshine. Shaw gets indeed out-statured by Yeats when that poet is seer-mooded and mystical, but on the plane of moral and political and sociological theory as well as of critical thought in general it is Yeats who is the diminished head—wholly unconvincing when he denies edge and *elan* to G. B. S. on his own grounds and pronounces him a long-winded bore or an empty meanderer.

(First published in the "All-India Weekly").

Bernard Shaw On Hinduism

From A Letter To Ensor Walters

"I am writing this in the Gulf of Siam after inspecting a remarkable collection of religions in Egypt and India. The apparent multiplicity of Gods is bewildering at the first glance; but you soon discover that they are all the same God in different aspects and functions and even sexes. There is always one uttermost God who defies personification. This makes Hinduism the most tolerant religion in the world, because its one transcendent God includes all possible Gods, from elephant Gods, bird Gods and

snake Gods right up to the great Trinity of Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva, which makes room for the Virgin Mary and modern Feminism by making Shiva a woman as well as a man. Christ is there as Krishna, who might also be Dionysos. In fact Hinduism is so elastic and so subtle that the profoundest Methodist and the crudest idolater are equally at home in it." (Feb. 1933).

BOOKS IN THE BALANCE

The Ideal of Complete Education
UNIVERSITIES AND THEIR FUTURE IN INDIA
By KEWAL MOTWANI

(New Book Company, Bombay, Rs. 8/4)

*We are blind until we see
That in the human plan
Nothing is worth the making
If it does not make the man.
Why build these cities glorious
If man unbuilt goes?
In vain we build the world, unless
The builder also grows.*

So sang the poet Edwin Markham. But unfortunately in every sphere of life we find forgetfulness of this great principle. It is a pity that even reformers and builders of society are moved by other considerations in their undertakings. This is true also of university education and university reform. In recent years we have had quite a number of commissions and their reports, but in none of them is sufficient evidence of keeping the idea of "making the man" in the forefront. Hence it is a pleasure to come upon a book which in its discussion of university reform keeps the right human consideration in its rightful place.

Dr. Kewal Motwani has made a careful study of the condition of modern Indian universities, and he is dissatisfied with the way in which they prepare young men to meet modern conditions of life. He discusses, therefore, the right kind of university reform needed in modern India, and for this he makes a survey of university education in ancient India and draws some very valuable lessons therefrom.

While the survey of earlier education in India and the suggestions made are all good it must be said that Dr. Motwani seems at times to forget the changed conditions of the present day. For example, in the old days it was possible for a student or scholar to aim at proficiency in all subjects. Even Bacon took "all knowledge for his province." But today with the vast accumulation of knowledge in every branch of every subject specialization is inevitable in the higher studies. Again it is doubtful if all that is said in the Jatakas and travelogues of

foreigners about ancient universities could be accepted at their face value. This, however, does not affect the general conclusions of the author. Nor do the few other observations which appear to me as the result of not facing facts. For example, is it not a little in the vein of Swift's satire to suggest that it is wiser to spend money on health-giving things rather than on hospitals? Says the author: "The energy and resources that will be required to build 600 medical colleges and thousands of hospitals and train hundreds of thousands of doctors and nurses, could be more usefully spent on universal education regarding birth control, on enriching the exhausted soil with artificial fertilizers, and on improving the quality of dairy animals, so that the masses can have the milk and other dairy products." His suggestion about giving up affiliation of colleges, the introduction of a system of termly examinations so that a student need not carry in his head more than a little portion of a subject, and his insistence on university bodies consisting of only academic experts—these seem to be too idealistic, and not without defects especially under the conditions obtaining in India.

I have put together all the minor differences I have with the author's opinions so that I may speak in wholehearted praise thereafter of the central points in the book. The most important point made in the book is that our education under the influence of the west has been too analytical and that it should be synthetic. Compartmentalization has its uses and needs. But wisdom does not lie that way. And in the past in India this was well realized. Only the other day Shri K. M. Munshi was saying: "Our culture once embraced the whole of life. We are now paying the price of segregating its sectors into watertight compartments. We have lost the art of viewing life as a whole, as a unity. We will, however, never regain our national self-

confidence and tide over the crisis unless we learn the art of viewing life as a whole." Dr. Motwani says the same thing. He refers to the crisis in which India is, shows how university education now is not directed in a synthetic way, and insists that such synthesis is necessary if university education is to serve its real purpose.

Education to be vital should in any case be in agreement with the genius of a people. The trouble with university education under the influence of the west has been that it was divorced from the true nature of the east. The fundamental difference between the eastern and western outlooks which has been responsible for this is touched upon (though in another connection) by a contemporary American writer. He refers to the Westerner's "habit of classification, of separating and stowing away in discrete, impermeable vaults those various elements of our one life which science (or the scientific method) has taught us to discern. Thus the nineteenth century error, philosophically immense, of the isolation of religion from politics; thus, the imbecile notion.... that 'foreign policy' and 'domestic policy' are strangers to one another."

Dr. Motwani delivered at Utkal university on August 23, 1948 an address which outlines the synthesis that our universities, in his opinion, should attempt. It is given here as the last chapter under the title, "Age of the Whole: New Synthesis." This may be called his gospel in university education. He shows that in the physical and mental worlds there is a sense of the whole which should influence all education. Hence even at the very beginning of the book in discussing the function of a university he has called the chapter: "University, Unity of the Universe." He defines the aim of a university as the bringing together of "varied ideals, interests and avenues of knowledge into one unified, meaningful pattern,"

and odds, "the second function of a university is the synthesis of the claims of the individual and the group, the former through the education of the whole man, and the latter through presentation of an integrated picture of culture and transmission of the social heritage to the younger generation." These observations underline the special contribution of the book to the study of the question of university education and university reform. It is evident that the author proceeds from certain ideas which are of vital importance in the proper orientation and direction of university education in India at the present transitional and most important period in her history.

For the rest, Dr. Motwani's sketch of universities in ancient and medieval India is very full. He has given some account of Takshasila, Benares, Nalanda, Valabhi, Vikramasila, Navadvipa, and even Kanchi and Madura. Nor has he overlooked Muslim contribution to higher education in India during the period of their rule. Then a rapid account is given of the history of university education during the British period, emphasizing the circumstances that led to the shaping of the particular form of education that prevailed during the last hundred years. He discusses very clearly the defects in this system, and suggests the needed reforms. Apart from his fundamental idea of synthesis, he advocates "religionised education", psychological tests, decentralization, independent colleges and simple administrative machinery. No one can differ in these matters except in details. But whatever differences of views may be called forth, the book is a valuable contribution to the study of university education in modern India, and it emphasizes one fundamental aspect of right education which is but too often overlooked: namely, the cultivation of the full and integrated personality of the student.

PROF. P. L. STEPHEN.

Exhortation

The light that sleeps within, O soul,
Awaken till it attain
The summit of your consciousness
Where only sky-thrills reign.

You see around what you have nursed,
No ghosts can loom outside
But vapours of your coward self
Within their shadows hide.

Fatality subdues but those
Who choose not to be free:
Who aspire to soul's high courage—hear
Joy-bells of liberty.

This birthright claim, unfaltering:
If proud you still must be,
Be proud of bowing to His will
Who outwills destiny.

DILIP KUMAR ROY.

Blue Dawn

I have glimpsed the white and gold of an ultimate Peace—
Yet now a blue sun mounts the flame-lit sky,
A blue dawn presages the soul's release
Into the breathing vast of a cosmic sigh.

The earth is astir with desire, the oceans alive
To the wind and sun clothing their heaving breast—
A Constancy, an inexorable drive
Urges the life-fires to a wonder crest.

Mind, visioned as an ultimate, crumbles away
Leaving a naked Love in splendour born,
And man's beginnings enter the birth of day;
Earth to awake, while heaven salutes the Dawn.

A fallen star lies thrilling in the deeps,
Though bathed in night it now no longer sleeps.

NORMAN C. DOWSETT.

"THE SCRIPTURE SAYS—"

By SURESH CHANDRA CHAKRAVARTY

(Rendered into English by the author from his original Bengali)

I

The king Dharmaketu was reigning then.

One day the wisemen of the kingdom came to the king and said—"Your Majesty! the Scripture says—this is the Holy Land".

The king said—"Yes, this is the Holy Land."

The city-people said—"Yes, this is the Holy Land."

The village-folk said—"This, the Holy Land."

So the wisemen going round and planting stakes put a clear demarcation line all along the frontiers of the kingdom and declared—"This is the Holy Land and beyond this all else is unholy—all are untouchables."

The king said—"Yes, all else are untouchables."

The city-people said—"All else are untouchables."

The village-folk said—"All are untouchables."

The restive and ambitious king of the Huns of the north had come out with his army to conquer the other kings of the earth. After subjugating all the other sovereigns to the north he was fast approaching the northern frontier of the Holy Land. The people, alarmed, rushed to the king and said—"Your Majesty! where is our army?"

The wisemen lifted their eyebrows. "Goodness gracious!" they exclaimed—"Army! The Huns do not eat rice, their staple food is powdered wheat. To give battle to such people is—unthinkable. We must keep the Holy Land holy and its people pure. Just think of the powdered wheat. The Scripture says....."

But a messenger arrived at that instant from the king of the Huns to the sovereign of the Holy Land and what the Scripture said remained unrevealed for the moment. The message from the Hun king to king Dharmaketu was crystal-clear. The message said—"O king Dharmaketu! I am waiting with my army at the northern frontier of thy kingdom. Give me battle or surrender."

The king Dharmaketu looked at the wisemen. They said—"Your Majesty! there is nothing to fear. The demarcation line of the Holy Land is as clear as the day-light. The wheat-eating Huns dare not cross our frontier. We are going to meet the king of the Huns."

The wisemen came to the northern frontier and addressing the Hun king said—"O king of the Huns! the Scripture says—this is the Holy Land and this is our demarcation line."

The king retorted—"It is your demarcation line, not mine."

Shocked, the wisemen rejoined—"O king! it is not only our demarcation line but thine also—this line is eternally true."

The king retorted again—"If it be eternally true, let the truth eternal defend it."

The wisemen expostulated—"O king! thou hast no reverence for the Scripture."

The king replied—"I have indeed. But that Scripture is written on the pages of my life with the blood from my heart."

The wisemen again said—"O king! thou hast no respect for Dharma."

The king replied—"Indeed I have. And that Dharma has impelled me hither to conquer your king."

Then the wisemen in great anger said—"King of the Untouchables! Take heed, at thy peril thou cross-est our frontier. The Scripture says...."

The king turned to his general—and simply said—"General! make these fools my prisoners."

The news reached the king of the Holy Land that his wisemen were made prisoners and the king of the Huns with his army had crossed the frontier.

There was panic and confusion everywhere.

The king of the Huns with his army entered the Capital without any opposition anywhere. For full seven days the Hun soldiers plundered the city. Their king said to the king of the Holy Land—"King Dharmaketu! I am thy Liege Lord,

thou art my vassal."

King Dharmaketu said meekly—"O king of the Huns! I am thy obedient servant."

The king of the Huns with his army went back to his Capital. Before going he said to the general—"Set free the prisoners. They have no use for us."

The wisemen of the Holy Land were set free.

II

King Dharmaketu was sitting on the throne. The wisemen came and with lowered heads stood before him. The king looked mournfully at them. They said—"O king we have made a mistake."

The king said—"Yes, we have made a mistake."

The city-people said—"We have made a great mistake."

The village-folk said—"Yes, a mistake."

The wisemen then said—"No demarcation line any more. Demarcation line means narrowness. Narrowness means denial of life. Denial of life means denial of its further possibilities. So the seven seas are our demarcation line, the blue sky our frontier. The whole world is our kith and kin."

The king's face brightened up—he said—"Yes, yes, the whole world is our kith and kin."

The city-people said—"The whole world is our kith and kin."

The village-folk said—"The whole world our kith and kin."

The Chief of the Barbarians of the south had left his homeland with his horde for plunder. After plundering many lands to the south he was approaching the southern frontier of king Dharmaketu's kingdom.

The Wisemen hastened to the king and said—"Your Majesty! the Chief of the Barbarians is coming with his horde for plunder. Get an army ready to drive him away."

The king called on the city-people and said—"Citizens! the Barbarians are approaching—come and defend the Motherland."

The citizens in astonishment exclaimed—"Motherland! Where is

the Motherland? The whole world is our kith and kin."

The king said—"Your wealth will be plundered."

They replied—"With our wealth we shall go and take shelter under the powerful king of the Huns."

The king sent messengers to the village-folk. They went to the villages and said—"Village-folk! the Barbarians are coming—come, take up arms and fight the Barbarians."

The village-folk were puzzled and said—"Why fight? Whom to fight? The whole world is our kith and kin."

The messengers pointed out—"Your wealth will be plundered."

Ha ha ha, ha ha ha, ha ha ha—hilariously they laughed to their face. Then after exhausting their merriment they spoke.

The artisan said—"My wealth is my skill in craft, how can they plunder that, mate?"

The peasant said—"My wealth is my land. How can it be stolen?"

The labourer said—"My wealth is my physical fitness. Who can rob me of that?"

In the meanwhile the Barbarians came and plundered the king's treasury and went away.

III

The king Dharmaketu was sitting on the throne. Crestfallen the wisemen came and stood before him. The king reproachfully looked at them. They said—"Your Majesty! we have made a mistake again."

The king said—"Yes, we have made a mistake again."

The village-folk said—"Made a mistake again."

The Wisemen then said—"A new device has to be discovered—a device in which the demarcation line will not kill the freedom of mind and the freedom of mind will not efface the Motherland."

The king enthusiastically said—"Ah! that is the thing."

The city-people and the village-folk in one voice cried out—"Ah! yes, that indeed is the thing."

The new device is still going strong.

White Flame—11 November 1949

Two minutes of silence reserved for the dead:
Up from the one ground where soldiers bled
Rose the Mother,
The sweet world-Mother
Of men and of earth,
Trailing her white robe, smiling,
Tenderly reconciling
The living and dead,
Dying and birth.

Like a flame
On the deep she rose fanned by the breath
Of myriad mouths calling in death
Her name:
Living white incense ascending
Out of a brazier of battles inending.

Deep from the heart of the seeing came
The all-knowing—transparently knowing the dead,
The myriad dead are not dead.

ELEANOR A. MONTGOMERY.

Mahasaraswati

Not in the supernal altitudes of trance
And orb'd by the flame of a diamond sphere
But near to life's verdant loneliness
Is her sleepless presence—a vedette of light.
A pearl of moon in the sea-depths of sleep,
Her immensity hidden in an opal veil
And masked dim her wonder-gleam of gold,
She bears the vast toil of patience divine
To furrow the dark fields with her spear
Of deathless ray and sow the immortal seed
In the grey vistas of aeonic death.
Luminous and undaunted she labours on
Through countless barriers of penury
And eyeless revolts and ceaseless strifes,
Through twilight dreams and midnight somnolence
To cast, to build and shape to crystal mould
This lampless cathedral in the heart of the abyss—
A mirror of sun-perfection in the dust...
She, with her white and marvelled sculptor's hand,
Is here to change the visage of the earth!

ROMEN.

LIGHTS ON LIFE-PROBLEMS

(41)

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

Q. 1: A number of thinkers, both ancient and modern, attach considerable importance to the purifying effect of Art. Aristotle, for example, speaks of the purifying effect of tragic poetry. Does art exercise such a purifying influence?

A. "Aristotle assigns a high value to tragedy because of its purifying force. He describes its effect as *katharsis*, a sacramental word of the Greek mysteries, which, in the secret discipline of the ancient Greek *Tantrics*, answered precisely to our *chittasuddhi*, the purification of the *chitta* or mass of established ideas, feelings and actional habits in a man either by *sanyama*, rejection, or by *bhoga*, satisfaction, or by both. Aristotle was speaking of the purification of feelings, passions and emotions in the heart through imaginative treatment in poetry but the truth the idea contains is of much wider application and constitutes the justification of the aesthetic side of art".

Q. 2: How is this purifying effect produced by the aesthetic side of art? What is its value in life?

A. "It purifies by beauty... It raises and purifies conduct by instilling a distaste for the coarse desires and passions of the savage, for the rough, uncouth and excessive in action and manner, and restraining both feeling and action by a striving after the decent, the beautiful, the fit and seemly which received its highest expression in the manners of cultivated European society, the elaborate ceremonious life of the Confucian, the careful *achar* and etiquette of Hinduism. At the present stage of progress this element is losing much of its once all-important value and, when overstressed, tends to hamper a higher development by the obstruction of soulless ceremony and formalism. Its great use was to discipline the savage animal instincts of the body, the vital instincts and the lower feelings in the heart. Its disadvantage to progress is that it tends to trammel the play both of the higher feelings of the heart and the workings of originality in thought. Born originally of a seeking after beauty, it degenerates into an attachment to form, to exterior uniformity, to precedent, to dead authority. In the future development of humanity it must be given a much lower place than in the past. Its limits must be recognised and the demands of a higher truth, sincerity and freedom of thought and feeling must be given priority. Mankind is apt to bind itself by attachment to the means of its past progress forgetful of the aim. The bondage to formulas has to be outgrown, and in this again it is the sense of a higher beauty and fitness which will be most powerful to correct the lower. The art of life must be understood in more magnificent terms and must subordinate its more formal elements to the service of the master civilisers, Love and Thought".

Q. 3: Does this aesthetic sense serve no higher purpose than merely refining the external conduct of man?

A. "A still more important and indispensable activity of the sense of beauty is the powerful help it has given to the formation of morality. We do not ordinarily recognise how largely our sense of virtue is a sense of the beautiful in conduct and our sense of sin a sense of ugliness and deformity in conduct. It may easily be recognised in the lower and more physical workings, as for instance in the shuddering recoil from cruelty, blood-thirst, torture as things intolerably hideous to sight and imagination or in the aesthetic disgust at sensual excesses and the strong sense, awakened by this disgust, of the charm of purity and the beauty of virginity. This latter feeling was extremely active in the imagination of the Greeks and other nations not noted for a high standard in conduct, and it was purely aesthetic in its roots. Pity again is largely a vital instinct in the ordinary man associated with *jugupsa*, the loathing for the hideousness of its opposite, *ghrina*, disgust at the sordidness and brutality of cruelty, hardness and selfishness as well as at the ugliness of their actions, so that a common word for cruel in the Sanskrit language is *nirghrina*, the man without disgust or loathing, and the word *ghrina* approximates in use to *kripa*, the lower or vital kind of pity. But even on a higher plane the sense of virtue is very largely aesthetic and, even when it emerges from the aesthetic stage, must always call the sense of the beautiful to its support if it is to be safe from the revolt against it of one of the most deep-seated of human instincts. We can see the largeness of this element if we study the ideas of the Greeks, who never got beyond the aesthetic stage of morality. There were four gradations in Greek ethical thought,—the *euprepes*, that which is seemly or outwardly decorous; the *dikaion*, that which is in accordance with *dike*

or *nomos*, the law, custom and standard of humanity based on the sense of fitness and on the codified or uncodified mass of precedents in which that sense has been expressed in general conduct,—in other words the just or lawful; thirdly, the *agathon*, the good, based partly on the seemly and partly on the just and lawful, and reaching towards the purely beautiful; then final and supreme, the *kalon*, that which is purely beautiful, the supreme standard. The most remarkable part of Aristotle's moral system is that in which he classifies the parts of conduct not according to our idea of virtue and sin, *papa* and *punya*, but by a purely aesthetic standard, the excess, defect and golden, in other words correct and beautiful, mean of qualities."

Q. 4: Can this aesthetic standard of the Greeks be considered to be the sufficient standard of morality?

A. "The Greeks' view of life was imperfect even from the standpoint of beauty, not only because the idea of beauty was not sufficiently catholic and too much attached to a fastidious purity of form and outline and restraint, but because they were deficient in love. God as beauty, Srikrishna in Brindavan, *Shyamsundara*, is not only Beauty, He is also Love, and without perfect love there cannot be perfect beauty, and without perfect beauty there cannot be perfect delight. The aesthetic motive in conduct limits and must be exceeded in order that humanity may rise. Therefore it was that the Greek mould had to be broken and humanity even revolted for a time against beauty... The excess of this anti-aesthetic tendency is visible in Puritanism and the baser forms of asceticism. The progress of ethics in Europe has been largely a struggle between the Greek sense of aesthetic beauty and the Christian sense of a higher good marred on the one side by formalism, on the other by an unlovely asceticism. The association of the latter with virtue has largely driven the sense of beauty to the side of vice."

Q. 5: What is then the true relation between the aesthetic sense of beauty and the moral sense of Good?

A. "The good must not be subordinated to the aesthetic sense, but it must be beautiful and delightful, or to that extent it ceases to be good. The object of existence is not the practice of virtue for its own sake but *ananda*, delight, and progress consists not in rejecting beauty and delight, but in rising from the lower to the higher, the less complete to the more complete beauty and delight".

Q. 6: Many thinkers consider the beautiful and the good to be the same. How far is this idea true?

A. "Though the idea may be wrongly stated, it is, when put from the right standpoint, not only a truth but the fundamental truth of existence. According to our own philosophy the whole world came out of *ananda* and returns into *ananda*, and the triple term in which *ananda* may be stated is Joy, Love, Beauty. To see divine beauty in the whole world, man, life, nature, to love that which we have seen and to have pure unalloyed bliss in this love and that beauty is the appointed road by which mankind as a race must climb to God. That is the reaching to *Vidya* through *Avidya*, to the One Pure and Divine through the manifold manifestation of Him, of which the Upanishad repeatedly speaks. But the bliss must be pure and unalloyed, unalloyed by self-regarding emotions, unalloyed by pain and evil. The sense of good and bad, beautiful and unbeautiful, which afflicts our understanding and our senses, must be replaced by *akhanda rasa*, undifferentiated and unabridged delight in the delightfulness of things, before the highest can be reached. On the way to this goal full use must be made of the lower and abridged sense of beauty which seeks to replace the less beautiful by the more, the lower by the higher, the mean by the noble."

Q. 7: Rabindranath Tagore in one of his essays says: "The good is necessarily the beautiful. Beauty is the picture of the good, goodness is the reality behind beauty." Is this true?

A. "These epigrammatic sentences are difficult to understand. "The divine good no doubt seeks only the beautiful, hence on a higher plane good and beauty and all else that is divine in origin meet, coalesce, harmonise. But what men call good is often ugly or drab or unattractive. Hence beauty is not always the picture of the good, it is sometimes the mask of evil and the reality behind that mask is not always goodness. These things are obvious, but probably Rabindranath meant good and beauty in their higher aspects or their essence."

K. G.