

THE ARYAN PATH

Point out the "Way" — however dimly,
and lost among the host — as does the evening
star to those who tread their path in darkness.

—*The Voice of the Silence*

VOL. XXX

APRIL 1959

No. 4

THE INWARD SILENCE

THE TRUE student has ever been a recluse, a man of silence and meditation.

—H. P. BLAVATSKY

Remember that "Thou may'st look for silence in tumult, solitude in company, light in darkness, forgetfulness in pressures, vigour in despondency, courage in fear, resistance in temptation, peace in war, and quiet in tribulation."

—W. Q. JUDGE

Silence is part of the spiritual discipline of the votary of Truth.

—GANDHIJI

INDUSTRIALIZATION, mechanization, militarization, have all contributed to the loudness of our civilization. This is the age of science and technology, the Machine Age. But machines, appliances and even gadgets are noisy creatures. They roar and puff; they rattle and screech; and even so-called noiseless appliances are not altogether quiet: they only make less noise than the others.

Silence is assaulted on all sides and the noise of jet-planes has invaded the countryside so that even villages are submitted to their roaring through space. Most mechanisms are vociferous and in large and congested cities the traffic of vehicles, motor-cars, motor-cycles, trucks and jeeps is almost ceaseless. There is hardly a lull long after midnight towards early morning.

The Machine Age is the Age of Noise, loud and discordant noise, which makes for confusion and strain. Man adds his quota and radios are turned on loudly, loudspeakers used in season and out of season, and every festival made an occasion for crackers and whistles and rattles, and for boisterous behaviour. Under the impact of all this noise man cannot hear

himself think and often finds it easier not to think at all but to seek oblivion in more and more noise!

Medical doctors, psychologists and psychiatrists, as also plain men and women of good sense, are gravely concerned at the adverse effects upon men of all this noise. Nervous diseases are on the increase. Neurotic patients show peculiar symptoms, and even the so-called normal and healthy are often jumpy and tense. Nerves are jarred; tempers become more and more irritable; and tension and friction increase. Watch an average audience in a large city and you will find how few can sit still and how many are fidgety.

Devices are being sought to protect and defend man from all this clamour. There are ear-plugs to enable people in crowded cities to have some sleep. There are silence zones in cities wherein drivers are forbidden to use their horns. But in no city can there be a real silence zone.

The only "silence zone" left to man is the quiet place within himself. But alas! man has lost the key to that inner citadel of peace and must now find it in the discipline of austerity. From the remotest antiquity silence has formed part of the necessary preparation for the spiritual life.

Indeed, silence is one of the indispensable elements of mental and spiritual austerity. The inner life requires silence. The mind is distracted by noise and that is one reason why modern life is opposed to the life of the mind. Psychologists today speak of surface sleep and sleep at a deeper level, and submit that in noisy places sleep is mostly on the surface and fails to bring the necessary rest and refreshment. Thinking is also at different levels and for most people today thinking has become merely surface thinking. Man has to rediscover himself and the mortification of speech will help him to enter a deeper level of experience within his own consciousness.

The discipline of silence begins with restraint of speech. Unrestrained and idle talk is injurious. To control speech is essential, but it extends beyond audible words. There is silence of the mouth, but there must also be silence of the feelings and of the mind, and even silence of the will. When we observe silence in mere words, we face the unspoken words of our minds and the inaudible voices of our desires. These too must be silenced, and so in the *sadhana* of the spiritual life silence begins in the mind and the aspirant is instructed: "Silence thy thoughts and fix thy whole attention on thy Master, whom yet thou dost not see, but whom thou feelest."

Silence, then, includes refraining from speech, but is rooted in inward silence, or what is sometimes designated the mystic's silence. It is that

inward silence of the spirit which results from aloofness from the clamour of passions.

In fact, silence is listed in the *Bhagavad-Gita* as a mortification of the mind. Sri Krishna says: "Serenity of mind, mildness of temper, silence, self-restraint, absolute straightforwardness of conduct, are called mortification of the mind." This confirms the mystic quality of true silence. Silence must envelop the inner consciousness and is therefore a mental exercise. Sri Krishna indicates the austerities of speech and these include "diligence in the reading of the Scriptures" as a preparation for inner reflection and meditation.

The deliberate and regular practice of silence, coupled with the control of speech, will make for greater self-reliance and tend to quiet the mind. Only a mind that is tranquil can reflect the Light of the Spirit. The exercise of silence thus develops that inner receptivity which is not passivity but a positive quality bringing greater awareness of the Real. "When he has ceased to hear the many, he may discern the ONE—the inner Sound which kills the outer."

Let us then learn to practise the control of speech and through real silence enter the island of solitude wherein alone can the Soul hear that "still, small voice" of the Divine Spirit. By retiring now and then to that quiet place we shall bring up good currents and keep back all evil ones.

NAMRATĀ

Silentio, my dear, is almost as good as patience. He laughs best who does it last, and time is a devil for grinding things. . . . Use the time in getting calmness and solid strength, for a deep river is not so because it has a deep bed, but because it has *volume*.

Rely within yourself on your Higher Self always, and that gives strength, as the Self uses whom it will. Persevere, and little by little *new ideals* and thought-forms will drive out of you the old ones. This is the eternal process.

—W. Q. JUDGE

EAST AND WEST

THE CULTURAL BRIDGE TODAY

[UNESCO's major project on the mutual appreciation of Eastern and Western cultural values has focused the attention of the intellectuals of all countries on the need to explore all possible avenues to bring about a real *rapprochement*. We are happy to publish here the first part of an article by **Professor H. D. Lewis**, describing the contribution made by nineteenth-century philosophy towards this mutual understanding and the different approach that contemporary trends seem to suggest. Our distinguished contributor is Professor of the History and Philosophy of Religion in the University of London and is well known as the author of several philosophical books and the Editor of the Muirhead Library of Philosophy.—ED.]

I

THERE can be little doubt in the mind of any thinking person today about the permanent importance of understanding between East and West, and between the inheritors of different cultures in various parts of the world. At the social and political level this is peculiarly obvious and is being forced upon us in the exigencies of events which are rapidly developing and becoming fraught with grim possibilities which are filling our minds with uneasy forebodings of disaster. We are not directly concerned with these social issues in this essay, and it is for the statesman, not the philosopher, to discover the practical measures and institutions by which the sources of power and communication available to us now may be made the means of closer co-operation and friendliness throughout the world. But it is also evident that political understanding is not to be achieved and made permanent without understanding also at the cultural level, where the habits of mind and dominating interests of peoples are formed. We have heard much of late about social engineering, and contemporary thinkers in the West have perhaps been a little too impetuous in adopting these quasi-mechanical concepts of social existence. This may well prove one of the points where a due infusion of the calmer wisdom of the East may enable the West to view its new conceptions in their proper perspective. It is in any case evident that there is a very important cultural side to the social questions which bewilder us today; and, in addition, new advances in scholarship and new insights have made it plainer than ever how valuable in itself, as an enrichment of experience, is a fair appreciation of one another's cultures.

It is here that recent philosophy has, in my opinion, a very distinctive contribution to make, but it is not altogether along the lines laid down by those who shared the same ideals in the last century.

As is well known, the treasures of Eastern philosophy were not made readily available to the West until translations of notable texts began to be made by du Patron and others in the nineteenth century. Occasional and sporadic exchanges there had been, and in many subtle ways the philosophies of the East and the West have affected one another to a greater extent than used to be thought. But it was not until the last century that Eastern philosophy came to be extensively and fairly reliably known in the West; and this was the period also when Western philosophy made its greatest impact in India and other Eastern countries, where Western philosophy became an important item in the curricula of new and expanding universities.

It was not surprising that this should lead to high-minded attempts to discover the factors common to the philosophies of the East and the West, and, on the basis of these, to lay claim to an impressive underlying identity. This procedure had much to encourage it at the time: the optimism of the nineteenth century, for example, and the belief in progress, together with the spread of a liberal and tolerant attitude of mind. But what seems to have prompted it most of all was the dominant position of idealism as a philosophy. Idealism, in this context, means the view that reality is one whole or system of such a nature that the inevitability of its being what it is presents itself as a rational necessity—in other words, everything is bound to happen as it does because of its place in a system which is rationally self-explanatory. For *our* limited minds the explanation might not always be forthcoming, but we could always see the principle of it and know that there is nothing which will not eventually admit of a complete, rational explanation. For anyone able to view the system as a whole there would remain no element of mystery nor any feature of existence which we had just to accept or take for granted. The text for this was the dictum of Hegel: "The Real is the Rational and the Rational is the Real."

It is not easy for us today to appreciate the confidence with which this view was held as recently as the first half of the present century. We have lived through a period of profound disillusionment and have had to reckon with irrational factors in our experience well calculated to depress any confidence we have about the prospect of providing a thoroughly rational explanation of all things. We have perhaps swung to the other extreme and now underestimate the place of reason in life. But that, for the moment, is another story. What we need to remember now is that, in the

latter decades of the nineteenth century, philosophers generally had an unbounded confidence in idealism in the sense indicated and they assumed that this would remain the prevailing philosophical view for all time. All that was left for the future was to refine the formulations of idealism and apply it more effectively to particular problems.

This confidence in reason and the belief that the universe is one whole or system found a ready response among leading Eastern philosophers. This was due in part to the Western training which many of them had received and their proneness to read their own classical texts, the Vedanta for example, through the spectacles of Western idealism. But the initiate will also readily appreciate that there really are important points of affinity between the monism of the Vedanta and idealism, and that many forms of Hinduism could fairly easily blend with the idealist tradition. The notion, present in much Western idealism, that all things, as we encounter them, are unreal or illusory, being only real in their place in the one Absolute Whole, has a great deal in common with the belief in the illusory or unreal nature of our present existence as it appears in more than one Eastern religion. Nor is the affinity confined to general principles. For there is a great deal in Hindu and Buddhist philosophy that has its origin in preoccupation with subtle difficulties about our knowledge of the external world such as Western philosophers study as the subject called "Perception." Students of perception in Western countries are far from appreciating properly what extremely suggestive work, some of it of a closely technical character, has been done, in remote times and in quite recent studies, by Eastern thinkers.

The gentle accommodating habit of mind on the part of Eastern and Western philosophers has, however, suffered many rude shocks of late. For one thing, the erstwhile confident system-building idealist philosophy has fallen upon evil days. It has been very largely abandoned in Europe and America. This is due partly to penetrating criticisms of the main principles of idealist philosophy, but in many cases idealism is left high and dry, in favour of various forms of empiricism, without careful, much less sympathetic, scrutiny of its claims. I think this extremely unfortunate, not because I favour an idealist philosophy myself, but because I believe we have much to learn from it which is most sadly neglected today. That is, however, too long a story to tell now. But the fact is that, in English-speaking countries, all forms of metaphysics and system-building have been extensively discarded as wholly unprofitable enterprises, and have been superseded by the so-called philosophies of positivism and linguistic analysis; while, in other places in the West, the movement known as existential-

ism seems to hold the field.

Among the pioneers of the philosophy of analysis were G. E. Moore, Bertrand Russell and Ludwig Wittgenstein. Of these it is Moore who made the most direct attack upon idealism, but it is probably Wittgenstein who has had the most direct influence in setting the prevailing philosophical fashion.

The substance of this so-called revolution in philosophy was this. It was argued (or assumed) in the first place that nothing can be true or even meaningful unless it can be understood in terms of experience, the latter being thought of exclusively in terms of sense experience or emotional states. This in itself is not very new. It was the position of Protagoras, for instance, among the Greeks, and was subjected to searching examination and criticism by Plato. In modern philosophy it had its supreme exponent in David Hume. Hume seems to be the patron saint of most Western philosophers today, and according to the out-and-out empiricism he advocates there can be no true or even meaningful assertions about the soul as an abiding entity, about objective moral standards or about God and immortality. Beliefs about these sorts of things have to be jettisoned as containing nothing but "sophistry and illusion."

A story about an influential Oxford professor brings out well the shift of interest and attitude in philosophy in recent years. The professor was asked by a distinguished Indian visitor: "And what do they think about immortality in Oxford these days?" —and gave the abrupt reply: "We haven't heard of it for the last twenty years."

Along with an uncompromising acceptance of out-and-out Humeian empiricism and its inevitable scepticism there appeared a new technique designed to dispose of ideas like the soul and God and immortality. This technique is known as linguistic analysis, and it takes the form of ascribing the apparent meaningfulness of statements about, let us say, the soul, to linguistic confusion. The statement "The soul is immortal" sounds a possible one because it has a normal grammatical form and thus gives us the delusion of speaking meaningfully. But in fact it is in the same class as the statement "Gravity runs faster than virtue," which is of course just nonsense. Metaphysics thus came to be regarded as nonsense by which people allowed themselves to be deluded.

Into the close and ingenious ways in which these procedures came to be commended, and into the finer and more cautious developments of this kind of philosophy, I cannot enter now. But it is evident that it accords ill with attempts to bring all the varied facts of experience and facets of culture under some one comprehensive scheme or principle in which differences

of outlook ultimately disappeared or ceased to give trouble. Students of religion, directly or indirectly influenced by the prevailing philosophical fashion, have been increasingly inclined to confine themselves as closely as possible to reporting alleged facts without attempting to press beyond them to some underlying unity. We are to be told how people bury their dead at different periods and places, how they build temples, what form their ritual takes and so forth; but what this carried with it further in the way of belief or inner experience is thought to be too treacherous ground to venture upon.

This change of attitude has certainly some important merits. It has brought us down to earth from the rather vague flights of undisciplined metaphysical fancy, and it has brought much common sense to our studies. We are no longer so prone to overlook disconcerting differences in people's intellectual attitudes and cultures, or to treat opposing convictions and practices as of little account by comparison with some alleged underlying unity. We are more cautious and not so ready to allow high-minded enthusiasm to obscure awkward facts and genuine differences; and in this we have no doubt learnt much from the unhappy course of recent world events which have shown us that distressing and stubborn differences are not to be wished away or resolved by dwelling piously on the glories of an imminent millennium.

A most effective illustration of this change was the inaugural lecture delivered by Professor Zaehner on his appointment to the Spalding Chair of Eastern Religions and Ethics at Oxford. Succeeding Radhakrishnan, who has brought his wealth of learning and profound insight to the task of interpreting the East and the West to one another, Professor Zaehner sounded a much more cautious note in warning us not to set aside too lightly the undoubted differences of belief and practice which appear in the religions of the world. He declared:—

Thus to maintain that all religions are paths leading to the same goal, as is so frequently done today, is to maintain something that is not true.

Not only on the dogmatic, but on the mystical plane, too, there is no agreement.

It is then only too true that the basic principles of Eastern and Western, which in practice means Indian and Semitic, thought are, I will not say irreconcilably opposed; they are simply not starting from the same premises. The only common ground is that the function of religion is to provide release; there is no agreement at all as to what it is that man must be released from. The great religions are talking at cross purposes.

It is therefore foolish to discuss either Hinduism or Buddhism in

Christian terms; and it is at least as foolish to try to bring the New Testament into harmony with the Vedanta. They do not deal with the same subject matter. Even Indian theism is not comparable to Christianity in a way that, for example, Zoroastrianism and Islam are: nor are the various avatars of Vishnu really comparable to the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation.¹

H. D. LEWIS

(To be concluded)

“ THE INDIAN HERITAGE ”

PROFESSOR M. YAMUNACHARYA, formerly of the Department of Philosophy in the University of Mysore, and at present Editor of Gandhiji's works in Kannada, reviewing Dr. V. Raghavan's book, *The Indian Heritage*, at the Indian Institute of World Culture meeting on February 14th, said that the book was a solid contribution to the understanding of Indian culture as reflected in philosophical and religious Sanskrit literature.

Within the ambit of a few hundred pages, Dr. Raghavan has brought out the spirit of tolerance, of synthesis and of unity in diversity, which is the genius of the Indian people and culture. He has rendered the treatises in the “ finest garments.” The synoptic view of Sanskrit literature as given in this book is comprehensive, adequate and soul-satisfying. Dr. Raghavan has also satisfied the reader's curiosity in regard to Vedic practices such as the *Dijathwa* and *Saptapadi*. One remarkable *Sutra* — *Samjnana Sutra* — which is not found in such anthologies is to be found in this book. This *Sutra* is the basis of Sarvodaya, which is being practically worked out by Shri Vinoba Bhave.

Dr. Raghavan brings out clearly in this book that the ancient Indians pursued not merely *jnana* (wisdom) and *vijnana* (sciences), but also *samjnana* (social education). They emphasized that life was worth living in society.

A catholicity of spirit and impartiality are evident throughout the book. *The Indian Heritage* is an anthology of Sanskrit literature in the Unesco's Collection of Representative Works (Indian Series). It is published by the Indian Institute of World Culture, Bangalore 4, and the second edition of the book, which is now available, contains a Bibliography and Indexes.

¹ R. C. ZAEHNER : *Foolishness to the Greeks* (Oxford University Press, 1953).

NEITHER SELF NOR NOT-SELF

[WE welcome this first article in our pages by **Shri Jivaka Kumara**, who tries to elucidate a profound teaching of the Buddha which offers a reconciliation between Idealism and Realism. Shri Jivaka Kumara has been applying himself particularly to a study of Buddhism, and the article is of much interest.—ED.]

THE METAPHYSICAL ASPECT of the Buddha's Doctrine is difficult to grasp even for those who have had a good grounding in world philosophy and logic; much more for those who have had no opportunity to partake of a high education. Within reach of the understanding of all is the *Dhammapada*, with its instructions for Right Living by following the Eightfold Path with all its implications, and this, indeed, must be the first step in the assimilation of the *Dhamma*. But, since the Buddha progressed in thought far beyond the range of most thinkers whose writings are known to us, some effort should be made to elucidate as far as possible the central point of His Teaching, which indeed puts an end once and for all to the age-old problem of Idealism *versus* Realism, a problem which still persists unsolved by philosophers from the time of Plato and Aristotle, who respectively represented these two opposing schools of thought, and who, despite the fact that they lived a century or more after the Buddha, were unaware of His complete annihilation of the problem, even as have been their successors down to the present day. In universities in the West and even in the East, exponents of these two schools of thought still maintain open warfare and books are yet being written in the attempt to prove the one right and the other wrong.

This problem which the Buddha showed to be no problem at all, being fallacious in its very formation and the foundation of wrong thinking, the continuance of which would prevent any advance in Knowledge or Thought, is the problem of the relationship of Mind and Matter, and the nature of the dependence of the one on the other, or whether there is any such dependence at all. Can the world exist except as an Idea in the mind of someone (Berkeleyism)? Are things as they appear (Naïve Realism)? Or do we invest them with qualities as a result of perceiving them (Idealism)? Or do we give them some qualities while others are intrinsic to them (Locke-ism)? Or is the whole world a figment of my imagination and do I alone exist (Solipsism)? Or are there things-in-themselves with intrinsic properties which we distort by using our mental functions in the perception of them (Kantianism)?

Although this is by no means the sum-total of possibilities or theories

that have been woven round this basic problem, it is enough to show how some of the greatest brains in history have been exercised over what the Buddha declared to be a non-existent, an unreal, problem. It rests, of course, on the two old logical concepts of dichotomy and the Law of Contradiction. A or B, and A cannot both be B and not-B. The human mind is so fashioned that it finds it not only necessary but even impossible to think except in terms of the *ego et alter*—myself *versus* everything else. The idea of “I” inevitably produces this attitude: *I* think, *I* see, *I* know—and then follows the object of my thinking, seeing and knowing. Subject-object: subject, object and copula—these are the factors of a judgment, and indeed of any thought.

As long as we continue to think thus, the method of dichotomy and the Law of Contradiction are valid. But it was the Buddha’s contention that both these applied only on a level of mundane thinking and were invalid above that, and in no way able to contribute anything to the discovery of Truth. Indeed, they inhibited progress rather than promoted it. It is necessary to rid ourselves of the idea of a self; if the thinker could but discard the notion of his self on the one hand and the rest on the other, then would Truth break like a sunbeam through the clouds of ignorance, and Enlightenment would be attained. But to the average thinker this is an impossibility, and to show how foolish it is to expect him to achieve this, he will at once point to the famous but erroneous dictum of Descartes: *Cogito ergo sum*—I think, therefore I am. “I” is considered the basis of all knowledge, not its impediment!

Is there, then, any method of approach that will help those who turn aside impatiently when told of the worthlessness of their theorizings and ratiocinations? Let us quote from the Buddha directly:—

What are these erroneous teachings accepted generally by the philosophers? That they do not recognize an objective world to be of Mind itself which is erroneously discriminated; and not understanding the nature of *Vijnanas* [faculties of discrimination] which are also no more than manifestations of Mind, like simple-minded ones that they are, they cherish the dualism of being and non-being where there is but self-nature and first principle. (*Lankavatara Sutra*, 40)

Apparently philosophers before Plato and Aristotle were even then arguing in this same small circle! There is nothing but Mind, says the Buddha. But does this emphatic statement mean anything to us? If Mind is all it must be a Unity. Yet I feel that I, myself, am an individual apart and that, therefore, as Unity must embrace me, too, there being nothing beside it, I must be a part of that Unity; yet I am not the Whole. And

since other individuals obviously must feel the same, it would appear that Unity must be divided into a very great number of parts. But, by definition, Unity is indivisible. How then can one and the same thing be both divided yet indivisible?

Here we see the old mundane-level thinking at work and the Law of Contradiction being applied. A cannot be both B and not-B at the same time. But *ex hypothesi* we are now working on a level at which dichotomy and the Law of Contradiction are inapplicable. There must be a way of resolving the problem.

There is a way in which an Entity can be both divided and yet indivisible at one and the same time. If the individuals who feel (erroneously according to the Buddha) that they are parts distinct from the whole were viewpoints, then these viewpoints could be infinite in number, of varying scope according to the level of Being or development of the individual, and yet they would in no way divide the Whole, the Unity, inasmuch as a point has *position but no magnitude*. It is this attribute of a point that allows of division in the Undivided. As viewpoints on Mind we bear the same relationship to Unity as the waves of the sea bear to the sea itself; for the wave, though an entity, is merely a position. The sea is divided into waves, yet it remains undivided by them, for it is indivisible.

This interpretation is later confirmed by the Buddha in the same *Sutra* when He says: "Like waves that rise on the Ocean stirred by the wind, dancing and without interruption...they are neither different nor not-different: the relation is like that between the ocean and its waves." Such is the relation between the *Vijnanas*, the faculties of discrimination, and *Alaya*, or Solitary Reality, when we try to apply our primitive modes of thought.

If it were possible for us to grasp, even were it with the reason alone, the truth of this annihilation of the self as anything more than a viewpoint on Mind, which alone is Reality, the Whole, Unity, everything That Is, we would perceive how we are one with everything that is and the full significance of all the *Dhamma* would reveal itself. But, even were we able to grasp it with the reason alone, it would not be enough for it to make an impact on our lives, and it would remain no more than a starting-point. Only when a theory or an idea appeals simultaneously to the reason and the feelings do we perceive the truth of it as in a sudden flood of light and desire to make it a part of ourselves. Enlightenment, then, would seem to consist in the sudden dawning of this ultimately simple Truth on both reason and feeling at once, so that it is clearly appreciated that the Self, that I, have no separate existence, that I am one with the Universe,

with Mind, and yet am a viewpoint and have nought but a position. Further, that the idea of my individual existence as a self is based on wrong forms of thought and only through these do I appear to be distinguished from all that I take to be not-I.

Now viewpoints vary in the extent of the horizons they afford; those who have evolved, who have sought to conquer themselves and who have struggled along the upward Eightfold Path, will have extended their horizons and therefore will be nearer to Enlightenment than are those who, soaked in materialism and the notion of their self, which, to them, is more important than all else, have narrowed their horizons down, circumscribing themselves. This is why there is no Enlightenment without a preliminary self-conquest. The horizon of the viewpoint must deliberately be widened to its greatest extent before there is hope of contact with the Whole. Enlightenment itself means co-extensiveness with Unity: the viewpoint has become suddenly infinite, and the realization is present that no one and nothing is apart from oneself, because one *is* now the Whole; and hence the Buddha maintained that Enlightenment is the same thing as Compassion and that is why Enlightened Beings are Wholly Compassionate.

So the Path is clear. It is not for nothing that the *Dhammapada* has been written in simple and comprehensible language and that it is full of directions as to how to widen the horizon. It is the first step of the *Dhamma* as a whole, a step that must be taken firmly before one can proceed any higher. Self-conquest pushes out the boundaries circumscribing our vision; self-conquest involves purification of our thoughts; purification of our thoughts is a *sine qua non* of Meditation; Meditation pushes out the boundaries still further, until one day Light breaks forth and the boundaries become co-extensive with the Whole and Buddhahood is attained. May all attain!

JIVAKA KUMARA

WHO, then, is free? The wise man who is lord over himself; whom neither poverty nor death, nor chains alarm; strong to withstand his passions and despise honours, and who is completely finished and rounded off in himself.

— HORACE

“OUR” FREEDOM AND “THEIRS”

[Mr. Kenneth T. Dutfield once again contributes to our pages an article in which his acute observation launches him upon a subtle train of reasoning. Readers will find it interesting to compare his argument with Shri Jivaka Kumara's account of Buddhist teaching on the self and not-self which also appears in this issue. It is a basic question; for whether we can inwardly accept life or not depends upon how we face the apparent opposition of the self to the rest of the universe.—ED.]

I WONDER why we labour under the delusion that we—each one of us—is not free, but that the others, our fellow men, *are* free, or at all events much freer than we are. Is not this the source of both envy and hatred? You, I firmly believe, are always at liberty to make an unrestricted choice between right and wrong; circumstances over which, so you may believe, you have no control, do not in fact hinder you. I am disinclined to allow you to plead that you are not free to choose, that the way you take is determined by forces external to yourself, that your freedom to plan is really as limited as mine is. It seems to me that this cannot be so, that your actions are the consequences of your freedom. Hence my righteous anger. If you, too, were not free, I should have to admit that you could not justly be blamed. My reproaches are founded on the conviction that your hands—how enviable you are in this respect!—are untied.

We know for our own part that we can only to a certain extent plan our lives. In this we are right. It is not a delusion:—

There is a divinity that shapes our ends,
Rough-hew them how we may.

We are often led by fate in directions quite opposed to the way we thought was best for us. Yet we find it curiously difficult to believe that everyone else is in the same situation as we are in this respect.

As far as I am concerned, the end, of course, always justifies the means, for the measures I adopt are determined by the conditions in which I find myself, and my own power to change those conditions—they are often formed and coloured by the exercise of *your* freedom!—is, I feel, unlike yours, very limited. Whenever, therefore, I perform an action which you regard as wrong, I have an excuse which, for me at any rate, is entirely satisfactory: I am not free; I could not help myself. Moreover, my actions are invariably thoroughly reasonable: the difference between my conception of reason and yours is that mine embraces—or is embraced by—those emotional imperatives (they are usually laudable) which I cannot control.

This curious divergence between the rationalization of our own actions—an underestimation of our own freedom—and our overestimation of the freedom of our fellow men is the source of a great deal of human misery.

In war-time, for instance, we habitually apply a double standard of this kind. As far as *we* are concerned, ends are of supreme and overwhelming importance, and the means we employ to attain them are always pardonable. This is because we imagine that we were compelled by categorical imperatives in waging war; and the very cause for which we struggle, in its absolute rightness, deprives us of our freedom while we struggle for it. As far as the enemy is concerned (from our own point of view, not his own; for his part he thinks just as we do) matters are just the reverse. He is free to capitulate.

War is a paranoiac caricature of much that passes in peace time as normal social behaviour. Our attribution to the enemy of a diabolical capacity for *plotting* parallels our belief that "the others" in our everyday lives are much freer than we are to plan, reasonably and dispassionately, their lives. In all the world's wars, regardless of which nations have been cast for the roles of Blacks and Whites respectively, we notice that cold, inhuman cunning is an ever-recurring characteristic of each successive enemy. The other enemy, of course, whom I shall call "we"—leaving my readers, whatever may be their nationality, to identify themselves as they please—is just as remarkable for the thoroughly human way in which he reacts towards the heartless calculations of his antagonist.

There is nothing odd about this; for just because our own freedom, we suppose, is so much more limited than "theirs," the vital point of our being is not the brain but the heart—or the bowels. We can control our emotions far less easily than our thoughts. Justice is after all far less passionless than we might have supposed; the satisfaction we feel over an intellectual achievement is brightly and warmly coloured by sensual well-being. Stripped of all its emotional connotations it would be but a pale shadow. Ultimately even the Einsteinian formulæ, and other later applications of mathematics and physics to the problems of cosmology and cosmogony, please us mightily by assuring us that there is, after all, *cosmos*, order. Tidiness, we feel, is desirable because it makes life more bearable and more comfortable. And how pleasingly neat is the assurance of a final, systematized truth, when we have at last convinced ourselves that we have got it! The thorough-going materialist seeks and prefers a truth of this sort even if it is based on absolute despair: even that, he feels, is preferable to uncertainty, to the lingering doubt whether there may be *no* final certainty in a world of illusions, no knowable absolute truth—

because, perhaps, truth may be infinite, because it may reveal itself only, as it were, grudgingly and piecemeal to our senses — and because, above all, the portions thus vouchsafed to us seem to be endowed, as far as we are concerned, with a mysterious power of persuading us that they are not merely parts after all, but the whole!

Hence the inconsistency of so many scientists, who assure us that they are directed only by an impartial and passionless search for truth, and that this necessarily leads them to pure agnosticism — and who in the next breath express, *ex cathedra scientifica*, the opinion that, of course, there can be no such thing as extra-sensuous reality, or indeed as meaning at all. Too many loose ends tend to encourage insomnia. And as for social justice? How many progressive political thinkers and scientific materialists can be quite sure that they are moved more by the manifest social injustice of the current Western economic order, or by a passionless love of truth, than by a feeling of discomfort born of despair over the apparent *disorder* of the competitive society or the world of life?

In the case of the avowed materialist there is a dual valuation of the degree of freedom he supposes that men enjoy, according to whether he is considering his own freedom or that of his fellow men, or, for that matter, the freedom of everything which for him is “not-I,” *i.e.*, his whole environment. The latter, he supposes, more or less unconsciously, is free to exercise power in a sense in which he is not. In his veneration for the cold light of pure reason he generally and habitually undervalues the extent to which he is moved by external factors of the kind I have mentioned above: primarily the longing for a comforting orderliness, even if this is of the perverse kind implied by a confident belief that everything is doomed inevitably to final and complete annihilation. At first glance it might be supposed that the apocalyptic historical mysticism in which even the most rationalistic of revolutionary political prophets are fond of indulging (none speak so glibly of “inevitable” historical processes) suggests that they are depriving the “not-I” of its freedom in much the same way as the scientific prophets of doom see the universe as an unfree machine pursuing its predestined course. But in fact the principle holds: the imagined inevitability is thought of as the consequence of an omnipotent freedom. I, if I am a materialist, think of myself as relatively unfree, and my philosophy is a rationalization of this consciousness of my own non-freedom. It is “the system” to which I am opposed. There is, perhaps, nothing that a materialist finds harder to accept than his own freedom, and the rationalistic outlook which leads him to search for a reason why he is unfree conducts him of course sooner or later to just that: a system or order of

things which restricts him. The scientific materialist's belief that everything is fated ineluctably to annihilation, and the social-political materialist's that there is a deterministic progressive process in history, an evolution strictly in terms of material welfare and intellectual enlightenment, are alike grounded in the view that certain motive forces are at work. Though they condemn teleological thinking (the idea that things act towards, and by reason of, a pre-existent and foreknown aim) as a matter of duty, it is not only inconsistent but thoroughly dishonest of them to do so, for "inevitability" necessarily, of course, implies teleology. But, as in our attitude towards the enemy in an ordinary human war, they concern themselves too much, too exclusively, with the Other's means, and their moral or ethical significance, and too little with his "teleological" ends.

The enemy's capacity for soulless plotting is a transference to him, in a grossly exaggerated degree, of the attitude we tend to have towards the next man in everyday life. Enviably, and yet at the same time contemptibly, free, as we suppose him to be, of those "*raisons du cœur, que la raison ne connaît point,*" which trammel *our* freedom, he resembles the total "not-I," envisaged as a blind, relentless historic-economic-social process, or as an unalterably determined movement towards nothingness. There is a good deal of rather muddled thinking among materialists in general on the, for them, execrable doctrine of teleology. On the one hand they believe that they can overcome the hostility to them of a soulless process by taking Oscar Wilde's advice on the best way to overcome temptation: by the simple method of yielding to it, of sacrificing a personal freedom in which, to begin with, they have little or no real faith. In place of self-reliance or responsibility they advise us in effect to put our trust in the way things are bound to happen. It is because they possess such an almost sublime faith in historical inevitability that they have, as their characteristic sin, *hubris*, the notion that they can exploit nature with impunity. Their reliance on an ultimate determinism is their way out of the labyrinth, a determinism oddly born of a self-creating "final cause," for which, apparently, the most astounding miracles were possible because of the enormous lengths of time at its disposal—as if these tremendously long periods of time somehow acquire, as a result of their magnitude, the most extraordinary creative capacities.

On the other hand their preoccupation with means rather than with ends (a shallow concern with effects and appearances) enables them to deny at the same time that the final cause of that teleology in history which they implicitly accept *is* in fact teleological. Teleology is anathema to them since it implies, in a hypothetically soulless universe, foreknowledge

of the end in the beginning, and therefore a complete denial of that all-too-omnipotent "chance" which is supposed to have brought us and our universe into being and to continue to direct our, and its, behaviour. An omnipotent chance, which at first acted aimlessly, freely, at random, has wonderfully transformed itself into a foreseeable systematic process.

The inadequacies of such a view are so glaringly obvious that once again we are forced to ask ourselves why we are so easily led astray.

But if we are materialists we have here a point of contact with the others who are not. For we are in fact helpless and powerless. But not hopelessly so. The whole "not-I" of the universe in space and time is indeed freer than we are; in fact it is so much freer that its freedom is infinite. There is only one further step to take: towards this truth. And if we take it, we shall find that the hitherto apparently irreconcilable conflict between ourselves and our fellow men—because it was based not only on an insufficiency of love but also on false reasoning—will be resolved. The great chasm between I and not-I, between me and my fellow men, between myself and my world, is the same chasm that parts me from God. If I can summon up enough courage to leap, I shall find that its astronomical distance shrinks, even in my leaping, to the distance between myself now and myself a few minutes from now.

KENNETH T. DUTFIELD

UNION

I know that I am bound to you
 and you are bound to me,
 and yet within each heart is nursed
 the song of liberty.
 And this the question without end,
 how bond and free in one soul blend.

I ask it now as oft before,
 but humbler, wiser grown;
 and in my glad humility
 the secret may be known.
 For God Himself is thus revealed
 and all my hurtful doubts are healed.

I supplicate the Holy One,
 His cleansing presence own;
 not as the slave subdued by might:
 here come the free alone.
 And here, beloved, where is no fear,
 we two conjoin, peer with his peer.

WILLIAM EWART WALKER

REVOLUTION IN THE WEST

[IN this article **Miss Margaret Tims**, free-lance writer and playwright and editor of *Peace and Freedom*, supports with facts and figures her ardent plea for *Ahimsa* (non-violence). To renounce violence, she rightly holds, implies the renunciation of exploitation and of the misuse of power. That is the challenge facing the West today. It is indeed the challenge which faces the whole world and which can be met only with the full acceptance of the fact of human brotherhood. — ED.]

IN OCTOBER 1957 a most significant event, too little appreciated by the wielders of opinion, took place in London. A lecture was delivered at the Royal United Services Institution, temple of British "top brass," by a retired naval commander and former Member of Parliament, Sir Stephen King-Hall. His subject was "The Strategy of Non-violent Resistance." If he survived the atom bomb, Colonel Blimp must surely have died that day!

Sir Stephen further elaborated his thesis in his best-selling *Defence in the Nuclear Age*, which provoked serious discussion in the national daily and weekly press. The *Manchester Guardian*, indeed, has returned to the theme more than once, and on October 27th, 1958, a leading article put it squarely to its readers:—

We should have no chance to use our bombs. The calculation is cold-blooded; but it brings us back to relying on the Americans or on non-violent resistance. There is no effective middle way.

For the first time in British history, non-violence as a policy is being taken seriously.

In the long run, the application of this policy—if it is ever tried—is likely to have far more revolutionary consequences than that other great post-war discovery, the release of nuclear energy.

Non-violence itself is, of course, considerably older than nuclear fission; it is as old as violence, and that is to say as old as humanity. It is inherent in the teaching of every great religion, and this teaching has been available to the West in the form of Christianity for precisely 1,958 years. It is only the detection of the principle that is new, and it must be said that the clues to this discovery have been obscured rather than revealed by the established church in every Christian country. Speaking particularly of Britain, the Sherlock Holmes in the case did not wear a clerical collar.

He wore, most likely, the leather breeches of a George Fox, founder of the Quakers; or the loincloth of a Gandhi—surely the most beneficent

legacy of British imperialism. But neither Gandhi nor George Fox were ever part of the Establishment; nor were the many lesser-known individuals who since 1914 have seen it as the peculiar destiny of twentieth-century men to abolish war.

It is true that Sir Stephen King-Hall still thinks of non-violence in terms of "strategy," and still thinks of Communism as the arch-enemy to be defeated. He does not call himself a pacifist, although his conclusion that violence has outlived its usefulness virtually makes him one, because he does not think it would help his cause. His object is to convince the military, and he must beat them on their own ground. Already the Minister of Defence himself has been forced to admit in a government white paper (February 1958) that the choice now is between "total war and total peace."

Thanks to the activities of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), everybody in Britain who is aware of anything at all is aware of the implications of total war. The implications of total peace have scarcely begun to be apprehended. And, except when Sir Stephen is speaking for them, the CND have not tended to regard non-violence as a vital plank in their platform. For this reason many pacifists, in my view mistakenly, have not supported the campaign.

Where non-violence is consistently and regularly preached, and has been for at least ten years, is in the columns of the weekly pacifist newspaper *Peace News*. And it is to the story of *Peace News* that we must turn for elucidation of the processes that have led at least a few of us "through the thought-barrier," as Sir Stephen King-Hall describes it. *Peace News* was founded in June 1936 by a small group of pacifists in North London and edited from the home of a young Quaker journalist, Humphrey Moore. It had eight pages, and sold 2,500 copies. It was shortly afterwards adopted by Canon "Dick" Sheppard as the organ of his newly-founded Peace Pledge Union: a movement that swept through the young *avant-garde* (in the deeper sense) of the 1930's—though far more radically—just as CND is doing today. *Peace News* could speak with conviction as the mouthpiece both of enlightened leadership and of popular sentiment: Aldous Huxley, George Lansbury and Bertrand Russell were among the early contributors. Its first leading article could declare:—

Hitherto there has been nothing that provided anything like an adequate linking together of all that mass of peace thought and action, organized and (as perhaps most of it is) unorganized, in every part of the country. There was not the sense of unity of effort which a paper suited to such a popular movement can certainly give. That is why *Peace News* came into

being.

It is not an attempt to exploit peace sentiment for profit. It is a definite form of peace action seeking to meet what we know from experience is a real need in the peace movement.

The idea of exploiting peace sentiment for profit reads rather oddly today, when the paper has an annual publishing deficit of £ 5,000 and is kept afloat by sales of books and Christmas cards through its subsidiary companies, Housmans Bookshop and Endsleigh Cards! And how much of that peace sentiment was in fact no more than the escapism of an island community? Now the wheel has come full circle and it is our vulnerability that is forcing us to be pacifists.

By 1938, the year of Munich, Dick Sheppard was already dead, but more than 100,000 British men and women had signed the pledge: "I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another." *Peace News* swelled to sixteen pages and its circulation exceeded 20,000. And in November 1939, when the Second World War was two months old, sales reached a peak figure of 42,000.

But with the Battle of Britain, the invasion scare and the consequent emergency regulations, peace pledges were torn up in their thousands. The many who had merely been against war went out to work, to kill, to die. The few who had renounced it meditated on the implications of their position in gaol, in alternative civilian service or on the land, "digging for victory" in more senses than one. It was through these small, resistant cells that the evolutionary process was carried forward.

It was a tribute both to British democracy and to the stature of its editor, the late John Middleton Murry, who took over the paper in 1940, that *Peace News* maintained uninterrupted publication for the duration of the war—with a government-granted paper ration, a permit to dispatch copies to neutral countries, exemption from national service for its editor and manager, and new staff duly engaged with the consent of the Ministry of Labour! And indeed, no fewer than 20,000 people continued to buy the paper, and many more to read it, each week throughout the most devastating war in history.

Its function in these years inevitably changed, shaped both by the character of its editor and by the pressure of catastrophic events. The weekly Commentary edited by Middleton Murry was not only the object of critical questions in Parliament but was widely rumoured to be essential reading for every newspaper office in Fleet Street. More than any other man, he laboured to maintain the humane values in face of the inevitable distortions of hatred and propaganda. His comment on the dropping of the

atomic bomb in August 1945 is still worth quoting:—

Trust one another, or perish. Trust one another, or spend your wretched lives delving vast catacombs in which to immure yourselves and your scientists while they feverishly strive to invent a bomb which will vaporize catacombs.

His warnings against Stalinist Communism were at that time, for reasons of policy, largely unheeded; as were his predictions of disaster from the policies of “obliteration bombing” and “unconditional surrender.”

It is probable that *Peace News* was valued during these years by the independent reader less for its pacifist or humanitarian sentiment than for its insight and objectivity. An example of the latter was its undeviating support for the Indian freedom movement, which was popularly regarded at that time almost as a “quisling” movement because of Mahatma Gandhi’s opposition to the war-effort.

The burden laid on Middleton Murry to witness always to the truth as he saw it—and he suffered acutely from criticism both within and outside the pacifist movement—finally overcame him. A sick man disillusioned by a superfluity of “isms,” he resigned both his editorship and his pacifism in 1946. He was succeeded by a young writer who had formerly assisted him on *The Adelphi* magazine, F. A. Lea.

In a world shattered by the atom bomb and paralyzed in disintegration by the cold war, what had *Peace News* left to say? It was the distinctive contribution of Frank Lea as editor to sift out from the ambiguities of “pacifist” and “peace-loving” sentiment the irreducible sediment of truth. Hard-core pacifism was seen to reside not in opposition to the *motives* or *causes* of a particular war—which can never be proved to be an unmixed evil—but in the *method* of war as such. And this method was seen to apply in other states than war.

Two very different external forces contributed to this conclusion: the cold war and India’s achievement of independence. There was a shift of emphasis in *Peace News* from the challenge of war to the challenge of violence, as exemplified in totalitarian *régimes*; and from the response of negative war-resistance to the response of positive non-violent action, if need be, as a national policy. As a leading article in July 1948 commented:—

For if, once a country is defeated and occupied (and so as not to be too hypothetical, let us recall that Britain is now militarily defenceless), armed resistance is suicidal and it is too late to begin organizing unarmed: then, unless we are prepared to submit and surrender our values, only one lesson can properly be drawn: that organization and training for unarmed resistance should begin before an enemy is even in

sight, before a single army has been defeated or a single territory occupied : in fact — now.

This was a new, indeed a revolutionary, proposition. And it is only now, ten years later, that it is beginning to be made explicit. The immediate post-war period was a time of germination rather than reaping; and there was still a harvest of dragon's teeth to be cleared from the ground.

Frank Lea resigned as editor in 1949, to expound his findings more fully in a revaluation of the philosopher Nietzsche and, later, to become the biographer of his predecessor, John Middleton Murry. A continuing trend in the paper has been a broadening of its basis, in line with international developments in the direction of colonial independence and nuclear disarmament, whilst maintaining its standpoint that these movements can only be effective inasmuch as they adhere to the principles of non-violence.

Peace News has always suffered to some extent from a rival pull between the *élite* and the mass, between the straight and narrow road of the martyr and the broad highway of humanity. In non-violence, perhaps, a meeting-point has been found.

It is the policy of the present editor, Hugh Brock, to popularize the idea of non-violence, as the normal and natural basis for a truly human society, as widely as possible. He was one of the organizers of the famous Aldermaston march. And, slowly, the idea is spreading. *Peace News* has a sales office in the United States, with the valuable co-operation of the American Friends Service Committee; and last year a pacifist weekly, *Liberté*, was started in France. The question is not whether non-violence will spread across the Western world, but whether it will spread in time.

Two demonstrations at North Pickenham rocket site near Swaffham in Norfolk, organized by the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear Warfare in December 1958, evoked some hostility from the workers on the site but a generally sympathetic reaction from the general public. Letters received by Associated Rediffusion after a tv programme on December 30th, in which Rev. Michael Scott put the view of the demonstrators, were 1,142 in his favour and 218 against.

Amongst the demonstrators sentenced to fourteen days' imprisonment for refusing to give an assurance to keep the peace for one year were Hugh Brock, Michael Scott and Michael Randle. The Secretary and Field Organizer of the Direct Action Committee, Miss April Carter and Miss Pat Arrowsmith, were also similarly sentenced. Further demonstrations were already being planned in January 1959 at another rocket site in Norfolk.

And the acceptance of non-violence depends, ultimately, on our attitude

to our fellows. For the renunciation of violence involves also the renunciation of exploitation, and the renunciation of power beyond that derived from the exercise of our natural talents. This is the real challenge, and the real revolution, that is facing the West. As *Peace News* put it in a leading article in January 1958:—

The challenge of 1958 can only be successfully met by the full acceptance of mankind for the first time in history of the fact of human brotherhood.

MARGARET TIMS

PENAL REFORM IN BRITAIN

THE RECENT White Paper on Penal Reform has won general approval in Great Britain for its humanitarian aims, even though it is admitted that it will take many years before its reforms and schemes can be implemented. In an interview with James Margach (*Sunday Times*, February 8th, 1959), the Rt. Hon. R. A. Butler, Home Secretary, discussed the penal philosophy behind the Paper. He described his own penal ideal of fitting the punishment to the person, allying strictness with humanity. He emphasized the need for the courts to have a better knowledge of the personal factors of each case, the need for more remand and observation centres, and the value of psychological and psychiatric investigations. These, together with scientific and social research, would also help to clarify the public attitude to the general problem of mental health.

He gave high praise to the devoted workers in the probation and after-care services, and spoke of the need to foster and enlarge these. An inquiry has also begun on the question of restitution by prisoners to their victims, not confining this restitution only to crimes of violence.

On the side of prevention, the endeavour will be to encourage more co-operation between governmental and voluntary bodies to provide and stimulate constructive activity among young people, and so prevent the drift to crime through aimlessness. The other educative factor to be encouraged is the tradition of family life. These may seem obvious points, but they need to be kept to the fore, and repeated continually, because until the public mind has been sufficiently educated no reform can ever take real root.

A LETTER FROM LEEDS

[Dr. K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar, our old and esteemed contributor, is at present Visiting Professor at the University of Leeds, lecturing on Indo-Anglian Literature. Our readers will find much of interest in his humane and pleasant impressions of university life in Leeds.—ED.]

February 21st, 1959

HAVING already passed the mid-point of the period of my assignment in the University of Leeds, I can now pause a little, and “look before and after” with a feeling of faint gratification—and also deep gratitude. “You’ll be frozen solid,” they said; “or starve yourself to death if you continue a vegetarian,” they prophesied; but they were wrong!

I am here for a term as Visiting Professor in the Department of English Literature to lecture to post-graduate students on Indo-Anglian Literature. The distinguished American poet and critic, Allen Tate, is also here as Visiting Professor, and is lecturing on American Literature. These are new developments initiated by Professor A. N. Jeffares, with the approval and active encouragement of Sir Charles Morris, the able and farsighted Vice-Chancellor. Professor Jeffares had had his education at Dublin and Oxford, and had taught at Edinburgh, Groningen (Holland) and Adelaide (Australia) before being appointed to the Chair in English Literature at Leeds; and he recently toured India under the auspices of the British Council and lectured to students and teachers at a few selected centres. He is young, broad-minded, dynamic, and he hopes to arrange courses in other Commonwealth literatures too in the coming years.

The University of Leeds has grown out of the old Yorkshire College, and is typical Redbrick—not immediately impressive, but purposively efficient as one comes to know it more and more. Located not far from the city’s centre, the University is “housed” in the immense Parkinson Building, whose corridors and passages may well make the visitor wonder whether the fabulous Labyrinth at Minos itself could have been more tantalizing. But here at the heart of the building is no monster, but the circular Brotherton Library, a house of delight perpetual—at any rate, from 9 a.m. to 10 p.m. Not all the University Departments could be comprised within one building, however big, and hence many overflow recklessly into the adjoining roads and streets. New buildings are coming up—even for the Arts Departments—and the artist’s vision of the future, to judge from a sketch that I saw, is quite inspiring. The Students’ Union, the Refectory and the Senior Common Room are reasonably spacious, and seem to provide all social and recreational facilities. There are dining

halls for the students and the staff separately, and halls are also set apart where students and staff can talk or dine *together*—a truly “permissive” arrangement. Queuing and moving, some two or three thousand students have their lunch in less than two hours, and there are no hitches and voices are seldom raised. No doubt, here as elsewhere, by the time building plans are made and executed, the actual needs are found to outrun all earlier anticipations; and so the pressure on space continues unabated.

I could not have arrived at a worse time, they said; on the morning of January 14th the radio droned a doleful tale of frost and fog. But, as I sped from London to Leeds in the Pullman Express, the stretches of snow were rather like foam on sea; there were sudden bursts of sunshine; it was an experience altogether new to me; and, although I shivered somewhat, I found the prospect enchanting and the experience exhilarating. My previous visit to England had been in the autumn of 1951. I had been dazzled then by the glorious colouring, but this universal white was beautiful too, and I suppose, always, everything—almost everything—is right and beautiful if we only knew the right way to look at it.

Arrived at Leeds, it was good to see Professor Jeffares and Shrimati Rao, a colleague at Andhra and former pupil. The chill seemed to stab, the pavements were slippery, the roads and fields were one vast pale white, and the fog (when it came) was forbidding. But the warmth of the welcome was more than a match for the frost and the cold. On the 14th evening I saw in the University a film on the History of Science, produced under the initiative of the new Department of History and Philosophy of Science. It was a creditable piece of collaborative handiwork, and it showed vividly how from tiny beginnings—half-lights and gropings—human knowledge has slowly broken through the resistance of the Ignorance and passed milestone after milestone on the road to Truth. I wish that in India too our University men, instead of merely making State-sponsored or Foundation-sponsored trips to the U.S.A. and holding seminars galore, would *do* something, view the History and Philosophy of Science in creative terms, rather than as a bundle of odds and ends, and also give due emphasis to India's own contribution to the common pool of human thought. During the next few days I met many casually, socially or officially and I received nothing but courteous consideration and generous understanding.

I gave my first lecture on the 19th—some post-graduates, some of the Indian college teachers who are here and some of the staff attended. The burden of my argument was that Indo-Anglian literature is both an Indian literature, being Indian in inspiration and creation, and also, being clothed

in the English language, a variant of English literature. In subsequent lectures I glanced at the nineteenth-century literary scene in India, the new education and its consequences, the awakening in the Spirit and the rediscovery of India's soul by Sri Ramakrishna. I have also discussed the work of Toru Dutt, Romesh Chunder Dutt, Manmohan Ghose, Tagore and Sri Aurobindo. I am planning to give eighteen lectures in all, and should be able to bring my survey to the present time. The main handicap is the lack of books for supplementary reading. But a beginning has been made, and both the Sahitya Akademi and the Indian Council for Cultural Relations have presented some books to the Departmental Library.

Besides my own "Seminars" twice a week, there is much to occupy me here. Every Wednesday there is a special Seminar in the English Literature Department—usually an exciting event. Among those who initiated discussions in recent weeks were Mr. Stewart Sanderson (University of Edinburgh), on Scottish Folklore; Mr. D. Davin, the novelist, on the history of the Oxford University Press as a publishing firm; Professor A. Mizner (Cornell University), on the American novelist, Scott Fitzgerald; and Mr. Douglas W. Jefferson (Leeds), on "Henry James—An English Point of View." The coffee that precedes the talk and the discussion that follows it give a rounded completeness to the function. I attended too one of Professor Allen Tate's seminars, when the discussion centred on Wallace Stevens's poem "Sunday Morning" and proved most stimulating.

In connection with the Indian Republic Day, celebrations spread over a week were organized by the Indian Students' Association, which for about thirty years has been functioning as a unit of the Leeds University Students' Union. I gave the opening lecture on the 20th, and on subsequent days there were film shows, talks by students and socials. At the Republic Day Dinner, curries prepared by the students themselves were served, and both members and guests enjoyed them. The occasion was colourful, the girls in their saris looked graceful beyond words, and even some of the guests, including Mrs. Jeffares, wore saris for a change with poise and taste. The message of the President of the Indian Republic was read, as also a message from the High Commissioner for India; and suitable speeches were made by the President of the Association (Shri Gandhi), the President of the University Union (Mr. Hill), the Warden of the Overseas Students (Mr. Laing), Professor Jeffares and myself. On the 27th evening the Association presented the *Ramayana* as a shadow play, and this was followed by dance sequences and music.

The English Society organized a Supper and Dance on February 5th.

Commendable informality prevailed. The members presented a dramatic sketch, the characters in which were really the teaching staff very thinly disguised. All enjoyed the fun—not least the victims themselves. The English Literature Department has had traditions of its own: C. E. Vaughan, George Gordon, Abercrombie, F. P. Wilson, Bonamy Dobree—great names in English scholarship and criticism—have served as Professors in the past. Today, apart from Professor Jeffares (who has published a valuable critical study of Yeats), scholars like Professor G. Wilson Knight, one of the great Shakespearians of our time; Mr. Douglas W. Jefferson, the (Henry) Jamesian; Dr. Arnold Kettle, the author of a standard work on the Novel; and some others give the English Literature Department a wide base as well as high-reaching altitudes. It was an agreeable surprise to me to learn that there have always been Indian students—undergraduate and post-graduate—in the Department, and at one time an Indian scholar, Dr. Ghosh, seems also to have served on the staff.

On February 10th the Vice-Chancellor gave a “reception,” followed by a dinner, to Professor Allen Tate and myself. The Pro-Chancellor (Brigadier James Noel Tetley), the Registrar (Dr. J. V. Loach), Professor Clapton of the French Department, Professors Jeffares and Wilson Knight and several other members of the Faculty were present, and Professor M. S. Sundaram had also come from London. It was an occasion for exchange of views, and the Vice-Chancellor was gracious and quick-witted, and his alert mind probed into educational problems with an amazing accuracy that is the mark of vast experience. This informal but fruitful meeting of teachers and educationists from America, India and England was a thing of happy augury for the future. With local variations, the problems that face Universities everywhere are the same: the pressure of numbers, the issue between the Humanities and the Sciences, the paucity of personnel, the struggle for the maintenance of standards in teaching and research.

Both teaching and research figure prominently in Leeds, and even “creative writing” is apparently taken seriously here. One of the younger lecturers in the English Literature Department, Mr. Geoffrey Hill, is a sensitive poet, and a first collection is coming out next Spring. There is, besides, Mr. Jon Silkin, the Gregory Fellow in Poetry. There are poetry readings and discussions, sometimes in the University, sometimes in the lounge of the British Council. Mr. Michael Millgate, Lecturer in English (or rather American) Literature, and Mr. Silkin have formed a group of undergraduates interested in serious writing in prose and verse. A weekly

mimeographed magazine, *Poetry and Audience*, has been regularly appearing under the editorship of A. R. Mortimer, and both new and not so new poets have found a forum in its pages. The first poem that caught my eyes was "Lines on a Visiting Lecturer" by R. Coupland. The Visiting Lecturer is almost "skinned alive"—young men (even when they are poets) can be heartless! I have glanced through a few issues, and I feel that there is here a level of poetic effort and achievement not very inferior to that of the more sumptuous and better-known poetry magazines of our time. The editor is justifiably proud of the long poem "Particular Skies" by John Chappell. The skies are charged with the grace of the angels—that is, if you can see them, as the poet has seen them. Mr. Chappell's inspiration is authentic, his imagery has both unexpectedness and appositeness, his seventeen-line stanza has an intricate structural validity and finish, and the poem as a whole is stridently articulate. Mortimer's own "Elegy," too, is good, notwithstanding its "traditional" note; and so are "The Search" by Lori Petri and "Landscape" by W. H. Milner. Under the auspices of *Poetry and Audience* two collections have been published already, "*Mandrake Me*": *Poems, 1953-56* by David Marno and *Out on the Edge* edited by A. R. Mortimer and James Simmons. Twelve poets figure in the latter anthology, and there are quite a few good things in it. I like Simmons's "Leeds 2," for it evokes a picture that has now grown familiar to me; I like Millgate's "Old Miss Theobald," for it invests the death of a mere cat with catastrophic import to its mistress; and I like Wright's "Samson," for it vividly presents the dying Samson in his moment of triumph. Another selection from past issues of *Poetry and Audience* is expected to follow quite soon.

There is also the weightier *Geste*, another mimeographed magazine edited with conspicuous ability by Hugh Probyn. It contains critical articles—mainly on American or Continental literature—by senior students as also by teachers. Originating at first in the French Department, it has since acquired a broader base and is one of the healthiest forces in the University. Yet another mimeographed students' effort is *Scope*, described as "a magazine of film views and reviews." Here is trenchancy unfettered, and, when a correspondence starts on the merits (or rather the absence of merits) in a particular film, the pages become very lively indeed. This throwing about of young brains is great fun, and good intellectual exercise for the contributors. Finally, there is the *Union News*, a printed magazine, which is the official organ of the Leeds University Union. Views, news and interviews mix in its pages, and there are detailed reports of the Union activities.

The people of Leeds are apt to be apologetic about everything—the weather (as if *they* are responsible for it), for the supposed drabness of the city, for the lack of colour and excitement, for the want of a local Soho with its characteristic life (not excluding the restaurants), for the absence of a distinctive intellectual atmosphere. Leeds is not Oxford, neither is it London; Leeds is Leeds—but where is the harm in that? Public lectures and music recitals are arranged by the University in association with the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society; and there are numerous other events organized by the Libraries and Arts Committee of the Leeds City Council. Some of the members of the English Literature Department are conducting extra-mural courses in American Literature. There are lectures on the History of Ideas in the Philosophy Department, there are lectures on the History of Leeds from Stone Age times to the present day, and there are lectures by Professor J. M. Richards on English architecture yesterday and today. And there are lectures illustrated by lantern slides, always an additional attraction! There is, besides, the University Union Theatre Group with its plans to produce Pirandello's *The Pleasures of Respectability* in March, and there are other drama groups within the University with their own plans.

Aside from the societies and Associations in the University, there are also groups like the Leeds Film Society, the Leeds Opera Club, the Association of Yorkshire Bookmen, the Leeds Writers' Circle, the Leeds Polyglot Society, etc., etc., that have functions at least once a month. I have nibbled here and there at the varied feast available, and I cannot say that life is very dull in Leeds. I was happy in particular to hear Professor Jeffares speak on his Indian impressions at the Montague Burton Branch of the United Nations Association on February 6th. It was a perceptive and generous picture of India trying desperately to make the difficult passage from the Old to the New. The president, Sir Linton Andrews of the *Yorkshire Post*, feelingly recalled memories of the gallant Indian soldiers whom he had known at the time of the First World War.

Further, a General Election is said to be round the corner; and so politicians come and go, talk, pose questions, answer them too. Preachers have a busy time. There are private luncheon meetings and dinner meetings to which one is invited; there are sherry parties, *tête-à-tête* at table or lounge, and unexpected encounters—and one may air one's opinions, play at equivocation, improvise cautious understatements or simply act the bore. These are not easy days to entertain guests, but habits of hospitality die hard, and one is invited often to one's great embarrassment. But one is grateful too, for it is near the hearth that human nature is at its best,

humanity grows angels' wings and sweeps the deep heavens of real understanding. There are serious discussions on trivial matters—what a perfect jumble of the ordinarily accepted categories! Throw the mathematician, economist, anthropologist, painter, novelist, ballerina, historian, literary critic—throw them together, and let them talk, see infinity in a grain of sand, or speculate on the incompatibility between feminine beauty and the Groves of Academe. Time passes quickly and already it is time to part!

One can always take refuge, of course, in the libraries—the Brotherton or the Leeds Central Library, and both permit open access to the shelves; or in the many bookshops; or one can lose oneself in the Department Stores, or forget oneself in the cinemas. Better still, perhaps, one can board a bus (any bus) and ask for a ticket to the terminus, and so back again. When the weather is obliging, however, I like to walk and see things for myself without being rushed. The City now wears a familiar look to me; I walk along Woodhouse Lane starting from the Parkinson Building, explore Briggate and the Headrow and their environs, and return to my Hotel by the Clarendon Road. Better lose your way occasionally, if only to have a chance of asking somebody to put you right. One makes discoveries by and by—discoveries of capital importance to oneself. One particular restaurant gives the best coffee, another has a feeble Bohemian look. Life is not very different whether one samples it at Leeds, London, Tokyo, or Bombay. Under the skin—black, brown, white, yellow or red—human nature is essentially the same. All particular skies are the same sky in the end. The glows and frowns are real only on the surface. If one manages to see through the appearances, “dear and dogged” humanity alone remains.

K. R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR

A MAN who leaves home to mend himself and others is a philosopher; but he who goes from country to country, guided by the blind impulse of curiosity, is a vagabond.

—OLIVER GOLDSMITH

NEW BOOKS AND OLD

A TRIBUTE TO A HISTORIAN *

DR. HARI RAM GUPTA, the editor of these volumes, deserves the gratitude of all students of Indian history for having successfully overcome the main hurdle in the launching of the project by securing the consent of Acharya Jadunath Sarkar, not only to the presentation volume but also to the publication of the private correspondence between G. S. Sardesai, the great historian, and him. It was also by a stroke of good fortune that Dr. Gupta was able to issue both parts of the volume during the lifetime of Sir Jadunath Sarkar, the doyen of Indian historians, whose sad demise in May 1958 has created a void in Indian scholarship. Fortunately one of the lasting achievements of the great savant, perhaps his greatest contribution to the study of Indian history, was the production of a large number of distinguished pupils, a band of historians devoted to research, throughout India, who will maintain the high tradition he served.

The first part, entitled "Life and Letters of Sir Jadunath Sarkar," which opens with the inspiring message of Sir Jadunath Sarkar to Indian historians, contains, besides a personal memoir from the pen of Dr. G. S. Sardesai, a close friend of Sir Jadunath since 1904, a biographical sketch and critical appreciation by Dr. Qanungo, the oldest research pupil of Sir Jadunath, and reminiscences by some of his pupils and friends — all giving us glimpses of the various aspects of the life, character and scholarship of Sir Jadunath. There is

also an exhaustive bibliography of Sir Jadunath's works and articles. It was indeed a happy idea to include selections from the correspondence during the past half a century between Sir Jadunath Sarkar and Dr. G. S. Sardesai which, in the words of Dr. Sardesai, "form a guide to future workers... dealing with the various problems of research, the difficulties that were surmounted and overcome." The correspondence is the record of the progress of historical studies during the last fifty years, concerning mainly, as it does, historical material, queries by the one and replies by the other regarding historical personages, place-names, etc. There is a critical appraisal of several original sources as also of the writings of historians of the last and the present century. Besides, it will serve as a valuable help in the solution of diverse problems that confront a scholar in the course of his studies, such as the consistent editing of volumes of letters (pp. 183 ff.); the requisites of a true historian (p. 169); cultivating a good style (pp. 233 ff.); the writing of a school history (pp. 220 ff.); books on Hindu superstitions and manners (p. 186) and on ancient India (pp. 220 ff.); the qualifications of a Professor of History (p. 217); etc. One feels, however, that some references to personal differences and opinions should have been omitted.

The second part contains thirty-eight articles covering a wide range of subjects such as language and litera-

**Sir Jadunath Sarkar Commemoration Volume*. Part I: Life and Letters of Sir Jadunath Sarkar; Part II: Essays Presented to Sir Jadunath Sarkar. Edited by HARI RAM GUPTA. (The Department of History, Panjab University, Hoshiarpur. 371 pp. each. 1958. Rs. 25.00 each)

ture, philosophy and religion, numismatics, painting, geography and history, biography, chronology and records, which claim the largest number of articles, more than twenty-five. In point of chronology the articles relate to the period ranging between the *Rgveda* and the present day. Among the contributors figure the late Father Heras, Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, and Drs. B. C. Law, U. N. Ghoshal and D. C. Sircar. As the total number of articles received was considerable, it must have been a disappointment to several authors to have their contributions "of considerable merit," specially prepared for this volume, excluded by considerations of space and expense.

A welcome feature of this part, worth

emulation by future editors of commemoration volumes, is the summary, given at the beginning of each article, which enhances the reference value of the work and makes speedier reference possible. The Indexes to both parts are very useful.

There are nine plates in the second part besides a fine portrait of Sir Jadunath in each part. All lovers of history should go in for a set of these volumes, especially as out of the sale proceeds of these volumes a fund is to be constituted to endow a periodical course of lectures on different aspects of Indian history to be delivered by distinguished scholars chosen from India or abroad, and the subsequent publication of these lectures.

A. D. PUSALKER

Hegel: A Re-examination. By J. N. FINDLAY. (The Muirhead Library of Philosophy. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London; The Macmillan Company, New York. 372 pp. 1958. 35s.)

Professor J. N. Findlay has given us an illuminating and able exposition and reassessment of Hegel's thought. No one can deny the permanent value of Hegel's philosophy. Though as an integrated whole his system has lost its appeal, there is much in it that is living and will continue to inspire and provoke thought. Hegel's system is the only one that can claim to be revolutionary almost literally. It has, for better or worse, affected political thought and action. True to its basic conception, it has produced movements which are opposed to one another in an almost dialectical antithesis. Marx and Kierkegaard are unthinkable without Hegel and hence the value of a re-evaluation of Hegel for the understanding of modern culture and its crisis is evident.

Professor Findlay's re-examination of Hegel is all the more welcome because it successfully clears away certain very

serious misconceptions about Hegel. In the English-speaking countries Hegel has been seen through thinkers who have incorporated the thought of the master in their own, and given it a twist which is alien to its original nature. It is curious to note that in spite of the contrary belief Kant is more metaphysical than Hegel and Hegel's decidedly anti-metaphysical trend is well emphasized by Professor Findlay. Few people know that Hegel was the arch-enemy of "abstract" thought, and that his was a magnificent attempt to assimilate the whole sweep of experience and history in his thought. No wonder that he did not succeed in what he attempted. But even the failures of great attempts are more instructive than small successes. It is clear that the attempt to reconcile all that is antithetic into one supreme synthesis is beyond human intellectual power, and Hegel's great weakness was his unlimited confidence in the power of reason and complete indifference to the irrational in history and nature.

As the obscurity of language and

style come in the way of a true understanding of this great philosopher, even the most sincere effort to understand him has often led to serious misunderstandings, and commentaries and expositions are nowhere so welcome as here. Dilthey's studies of the early phase of Hegel's thought have brought to light rich material which is indispensable to the true appreciation of Hegel's thought. Since Dilthey's days valuable literature has grown round Hegel in and outside Germany and only recently the veteran German thinker T. Litt has written an illuminating work with almost the same intention as Dr. Findlay's, a critical revival of Hegel. It is in the fitness of things that the English-speaking countries, where, in spite of empirical traditions, the interest in Hegel has been as great as anywhere else, should share in attempts at the critical revival of his thought.

Professor Findlay's exposition is lucid

and succinct. The last chapter, entitled "Absolute Spirit and Retrospect," will be read with profit and pleasure even by those whose interest is not confined to philosophy but extends to art and religion. We must freely admit, however, that every interpretation of Hegel raises controversial issues and can be challenged, and the exposition of an abstruse thought in a language other than the one in which it was originally expressed is beset with insuperable difficulties. It is no small credit to Professor Findlay that he has eschewed any one-sidedness. In spite of his admiration for Hegel he is alive to his limitations and it is a pleasure to pick our way through the labyrinth of Hegel's thought with a guide as reliable as Professor Findlay. Whether we agree with Hegel or not, there is no gain-saying that he is a historical force to be reckoned with and a book that helps us to go to one of the roots of modern civilization should be welcome.

S. VAHIDUDDIN

An Outline of the Cultural History of India. Edited by SYED ABDUL LATIF. (The Institute of Indo-Middle East Cultural Studies, Hyderabad. 364 pp. 1958. Rs. 15.00; £ 1; \$ 4.00)

These sixteen essays written by different authors the Editor has arranged in three parts: the impact of Aryan culture on the pre-Aryan culture, the impact of Muslim culture on the Indo-Aryan culture and the impact of the West, leading to our present cultural situation. The Institute sponsored by Dr. Syed Abdul Latif has performed a valuable service in bringing together a galaxy of scholars to focus the light of modern scholarship on the subject of the unity of human culture throughout the world.

It would be invidious to compare the achievements of the various authors who have contributed to the inter-

pretation of the cultural synthesis that is taking place in India and have supported it by a detailed factual analysis. They have made a substantial addition to the history of the culture of India and evaluated the achievements of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, the Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj, the Theosophical Movement, Tagore, Aurobindo, Ramakrishna, Vivekananda, Mahatma Gandhi and Radhakrishnan. The impact of Muslim culture has been vividly described by four well-known Muslim scholars, and the chapter on the rise of a mixed new language is an interesting analysis by Padma Bhushan Dr. Syed Abid Husain. Similarly, the contribution of Dr. R. C. Majumdar, summarizing the reflex influence of ancient Indian colonies outside India, is noteworthy. The concluding chapter describes how Gandhiji's doctrines of love, *ahimsa*,

service and non-exploitation have evolved into the Nehru philosophy of non-alignment, of *Pancha Shila* and of a welfare state for this ancient

land. They all have combined to achieve for India a new synthesis and status in world culture. The book gives valuable help in the evaluation of these forces.

P. G. SHAH

Mahatma Gandhi: A Biography. By B. R. NANDA. (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London. 542 pp. 1958. 35s.)

Mahatma Gandhi's life requires a large canvas to be portrayed fully. This may be one reason why there is hardly a worthy biography of Gandhiji in a single volume. Shri B. R. Nanda, therefore, deserves congratulations for his successful effort.

Superficially, it is easy to write about Gandhiji, especially after reading his *My Experiments with Truth*, a vivid record invaluable for understanding him. Most of his life was lived in public. He wrote and spoke a great deal. As a personality, he was unlike any other political leader. His career, if one can at all apply such a term to him, was dramatic on a heroic scale. It ended with a martyr's death. No biographer could ask for more.

Yet, it is not easy to write about Gandhiji. For an Indian it is even more awkward. In our memories he towers like a giant and detachment becomes somewhat difficult. This "naked fakir" was an enigma to his enemies, a demigod to his followers. They were all wrong. The fact is, Mahatma Gandhi was a radical social reformer who was compelled to lead a political revolution. All through his life he had to balance the claims of the two, but it was an uneasy balance. What then was the secret of his power?

The clue lies in his life in South Africa. The humiliation of being treated as less than a human being unchained

the repressed revolt in his soul against injustice. This led to his leadership of South African Indians and paved the way for his great role as the liberator of India. He did not start his public life with a revolutionary formula. He responded to the challenge of his environment and improvised as he proceeded, each new challenge drawing out new ideas from him. He never hesitated to fall back, to temporize, when it was necessary. This used to delight his opponents and infuriate his followers. His political career was punctuated by monotonous forecasts of his end as a leader. But he always re-emerged with greater support.

To call Gandhiji a reactionary is to be less than just to him. By his advocacy of the untouchables he set into action cataclysmic forces in a moribund society. It was electrifying, like a dead volcano suddenly coming alive. Moreover, by claiming to be a Hindu, he made rigid Hindu orthodoxy helpless. He did not commit the fatal mistake of becoming an outsider, as some other reformers of Hinduism had done before him. Shri Nanda brings this out clearly.

Shri Nanda's *Mahatma Gandhi* may not be a great biography but it is a good and illuminating one. Unlike other biographies of Gandhiji, it has combined the chronological with the analytical approach. Separate chapters have been devoted, at appropriate places, to the discussion of Gandhiji's attitude to religion, ethics, economics, the communal problem, untouchability and non-violence.

SUNDER KABADI

Bal Gangadhar Tilak. By T. V. PARVATE (Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. 550 pp. 1958. Rs. 7.00)

This book is a carefully documented, comprehensive, sympathetic yet shrewdly critical study of the life and personality of Tilak, and it bears the hallmark of the author's strong authentic emotion and independence of traditional standards. One learns from the book that Tilak was the founder of the Ganpati festival, the promoter of the Shivaji festival, an advocate of prohibition and an ardent devotee of democratic *Swaraj* and of Home Rule, with deep faith in the National Congress which was to develop to be "a powerful vehicle of constitutional, but militant Indian Nationalism," and not by any means through revolutionary violence. Tilak was a great advocate of *Swadeshi*, and was in full agreement with most of Gandhiji's ideas and shared with Gokhale and many other contemporaries the belief that the gospel of Non-violence would eventually emerge out of the welter of conflicts and become the chief current of a world-wide revolution under the leadership of Gandhiji later. Tilak is represented as a true child of India's own past, and his outlook as thoroughly Indian both in origin and development. The author makes us feel how finely true for all the incompleteness and bias of his revolt against British bureaucracy and institutions Tilak was.

In this sympathetic and dignified study of Tilak, the author keeps strictly within the limitations of normal narrative and interpretation and he is less successful in distilling from the vast body of documentary information some of the more elusive value and complexity and charm of Tilak's career, the infinite suggestiveness of Tilak's superb conception of life. Tilak gave a philosophy of nationalism through the *Geeta-Rahasya* and he wrestled with many difficult problems like prohibition and social reform. In all this, he was the authentic voice of the community, the warning voice of a prophet, warning his people to pursue the path of spirit and relinquish that of matter, and to cease the mistaken assimilation of Western education. His was the will to attain to an end imposed on India by the emotion of an ideal organized and transmitted through social heredity. If the national culture dwindles, its soul is subdued, and all that makes a nation great will inevitably melt away. Tilak pointed his finger to what ails India: the yoke of the mind and the disease of the soul. A portrayal of Tilak's inner life in these respects would have enhanced the value of the book.

Still, the author shows a high degree of familiarity with many aspects of Tilak's life and his book is effective and valuable. The book has been issued at a popular price and it deserves to be widely and carefully read.

M. V. KRISHNA RAO

Body and Mind in Western Thought. By JOAN WYNN REEVES. (A Pelican Book. Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England. 403 pp. 1958. 5s.) Received through the courtesy of the British Council, London.

This is an interesting book in so far as it attempts a history of psychology up to the present, from the vantage point of a problem that does not so much as get a mention in a modern

text! (The only exception I can think of is the elementary book by Knights.) The relation of mind and body is certainly not a main theme of psychological interest — it has been properly relegated to the realm of philosophy. It would therefore be very misleading to treat this, as the publisher's blurbs would suggest, as a history of psychology. This would be apparent to anybody who compared its contents with

any well-known history, say Murphy's; it is also obvious from the fact that hardly three or four of the twenty thinkers who are allowed to speak for themselves are better known as psychologists than philosophers or something else.

The purpose which the book would serve thus seems to me a different one. The scientific psychologists' approach to the difficult concept of the mind is surely not the only legitimate approach, and without doubt both the philosopher and the artist are entitled to try their peculiar talents in grappling with it. The mind-body problem is a particularly fascinating one, among philosophical problems, since it impinges in many ways on our day-to-day experiences and also affects man's hopes and fears about his ultimate end. It is while dealing with this problem as such that the author shows insight and scholarship of a very high order. She has cast her net wide indeed and brought out the complexities involved in the six polarities "between which our under-

standing of individual human beings in a social and physical environment still tends to swing." The book is divided into two parts: in the first we have an illuminating survey of the different views of the problem held down the ages; in the second, representative quotations are given from the thinkers' own writings.

The book is welcome, because it would certainly whet an intelligent reader's interest in an abstruse theme. Its style is in keeping with this purpose—clear, crisp and stimulating. And, like a good book in philosophy, it offers no cut-and-dried solution; in fact there are a good many loose threads. Also, some aspects of the problem, such as those connected with extra-sensory perception or certain religious experiences which have a bearing on it, have not been touched upon at all. Barring these limitations, it is an extremely competent history of an important idea.

A. K. JIANDANI

The Devil's Repertoire: Or Nuclear Bombing and the Life of Man. By VICTOR GOLLANCZ. (Victor Gollancz, Ltd., London. 192 pp. 1958. 10s. 6d.; Paper-covered edition 5s.)

Difficult as it is to imagine an issue of *The Reader's Digest* devoted to a symposium of the ideas of Victor Gollancz on mysticism, music, poetry, religion, ethics and the hydrogen bomb, he has himself produced such a work in his latest book *The Devil's Repertoire*. The best pages are devoted to the evils of the hydrogen bomb. They are powerful simple statements, and would have stood best on their own. The worst are when his religious zeal leads him into Victorian banality, claiming that we can nourish our relation to men, women and everything living

by lying tranquil in the patient serenity

of a daisied lawn; and by hearing within us, as we observe the specks of life in our bathtub before we turn on the water,

"Seest thou the little winged fly."

He quotes copiously from a wide range of authors and saints—Tolstoy, Blake, Augustine, the Buddha—as well as from the lesser sages of modern journalism. The quotations, though of excellent quality, are perhaps too copious for so short a book, in which the author never overcomes the problem of how to get a quart into a pint pot.

Gollancz has so many ideas that he would have done better to have divided these into at least half a dozen volumes, and developed them appropriately. No sooner has he gained our interest in the spiritual experiences he derives from listening to music than he throws off a postcard biography of Elizabeth Pilenko, a Russian *émigré* converted from

Marxism to Christianity. There is no doubt an inner thread, but to the out-

side reader this sort of thing has the appearance of a red herring.

DENNIS GRAY STOLL

Sense and Nonsense in Psychology. By H. J. EYSENCK (A Pelican Book. Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England. 349 pp. 1957. 3s. 6d.) Received through the courtesy of the British Council, London.

Dr. Eysenck, who is an authority of repute on "personality testing" and something of an iconoclast among clinical psychologists — he has broken into many shrines — has set forth his reflections in this most stimulating book. He begins by insisting on the need for rigorous experiments in hypnosis and alleged hypnotic therapy. Whether Freud's *libido*, like "animal magnetism," must be consigned to the limbo is not yet clear. Exaggerated popular ideas about "lie detectors and truth drugs" and about their possible uses in police investigations are sternly curbed by the author; likewise large and unverified hypotheses about "dream interpretation." It is safe, he says, to assume that the dream is, in some sense, a continuation of thinking by other means and not *sui generis*. As might have been expected, a whole chapter is devoted to the problem of

"measuring personality." Dr. Eysenck shows that the layman's disbelief in the method is based on his notions of simple and direct measurement and does not touch the complex and indirect multi-dimensional analysis. Personality and conditioning, personality attitudes in politics (radical *versus* conservative or authoritarian *versus* democratic) and the psychology of æsthetics are discussed with admirable lucidity. Dr. Eysenck maintains against Birkhoff that the æsthetic measure is not the ratio of order to complexity in the æsthetic whole but rather their product. Perhaps the most chastening chapter in the book is the third, devoted to psychical research. After discussing the numerous pitfalls and possibilities of false scents in the subject, Dr. Eysenck comes out with the verdict that extra-sensory perception is an established fact of experiment, unless we are prepared to believe in a gigantic conspiracy involving some thirty university departments. Much more research is needed before a comprehensive theory can be framed.

C. T. K. CHARI

The Birth of a Dilemma: The Conquest and Settlement of Rhodesia. By PHILIP MASON. (Oxford University Press, London. 366 pp. Illustrated and Map. 1958. 30s.)

If Rhodes, that intransigent empire-builder, had as one of his avowed aims the spreading of the vaunted *Pax Britannica* of Victorian memory and the buttressing of that peace "with equal rights for all civilized men," the historical reality in Africa south of the Zambesi has indeed generally belied him.

From the signing of the Rudd Concession in 1888 to the attainment of settler-dominated self-government by Southern Rhodesia in 1923, events vindicated Lobengula, the fierce King of the Matabele, who, at the time of the settlement of Rhodesia, is reported to have observed:—

The chameleon gets behind the fly and remains motionless for some time, then he advances very slowly and gently, first putting forward one leg and then another. At last, when well within reach, he darts his tongue and the fly disappears. England is the chameleon and I am that fly.

Lobengula, "every inch a king," was himself cruel and probably no sincere tears could be shed over his personal tragedy. But what was at stake was more than an individual's fate. It was the destiny of a whole people. If it was not so much England as the gold-seekers and settlers that fitted the image of the chameleon, it was also not so much Lobengula as the whole native Bantu people who were the fly.

To read Mason's narrative of the events leading up to the final conquest and settlement of Rhodesia is essentially to go through the mazes of a touching tragedy, the more so since the newcomers were not villains but victims of a curious combination of high ideals and self-seeking drives.

To establish that the gap between conqueror and conquered was complete from the very beginning, the book briefly surveys the history and political organization of the Bantu people of Rhodesia. For a while, but only for a while, one is lost in the wealth of the culture and history of the Bantu. But then comes the unfolding of the tragedy, which the author spins effectively around the vital question of land division between foreigner and native; the no less vital question of labour supply, which the former required and the latter was forced to provide; the delicate issue of social relations, especially over the matter of sex, in a society where for a European to have illicit relations with an African woman was condoned, while for an African man to do so with a European woman was an act punishable by death; and, finally, around the vagaries of justice under a jury system in a society where race was pitted against race and the

jurors were easily swayed by racial considerations. This, as a former magistrate in India (where the author wrote under the name of Philip Woodruff) Mason executes with a shrewd eye and an experienced hand.

The dilemma which confronted the settlers was whether to maintain their position as conquerors "by force and make certain of hatred in the end, or aim from the start at an equality which involves an immediate sacrifice of power." The dilemma was the more acute since the British settlers themselves came from a country which preached equality and professed high ideals of freedom and justice, let alone Christian virtues. Unable to take a rigid, definitive stand, the settlers tended to pay lip service to their professed ideals, perhaps to ease their conscience or perhaps to calm critical opinion back in England, while acting differently and relegating the African to the position of a second-class citizen.

The story is ably told and it makes interesting and provocative reading. It is told against the wide background of the writer's own experiences in multi-racial societies and with the fairness of an Englishman at his best, but also with the understatements that go with it. If the treatment is not rigidly scientific in the sense that history may be regarded as scientific, and if here and there the use of impressionistic evidence may be queried, such criticism as there might be sinks into insignificance before the total and, in a real sense, satisfactory achievement of the work. It tells of the tragedy of race relations and could not, I think, have achieved this end had it been burdened with the pedantry of desiccated histories.

BERNARD T. G. CHIDZERO

A Short History of India and Pakistan. By WALTER WALLBANK. (A Mentor Book. The New American

Library of World Literature, New York. 320 pp. 1958. 50 cents)

To compress the crowded events of

the long history of India into the space of a few hundred pages without missing some of the vital links in the story is a difficult literary feat. Mr. Walter Wallbank has, however, performed this feat with considerable success. After a few chapters rapidly summarizing Indian history until the beginning of this century, he plunges into the developments of the last few decades immediately preceding and following the British withdrawal. The complex, crowded and fast-moving developments climaxed by freedom and Partition are treated with commendable objectivity, making the narrative factually reliable and historically valuable.

During the three decades preceding 1947, the freedom movement attained velocity though it culminated in the unfortunate *dénouement* of division. Gandhi and Jinnah dominated the scene, the former as the architect of India's freedom and the uncompromising upholder of her unity, and the latter as the architect of Muslim separatism and advocate of Partition. Whether India's partition in the circumstances

was inevitable or could have been avoided continues to be a hotly debated issue. In the perspective of India's centuries-old unity, it was a tragedy; but the inexorable march of events between 1935 and 1947 made Partition unavoidable at the time it happened and the continuance of an artificial unity would have gravely imperilled India's security and progress.

The aftermath of Partition has been the Kashmir and other minor Indo-Pakistan disputes. But, as Mr. Wallbank says, the main problem confronting India is the promotion of social justice, with its implication of social and economic equality and progress, while that facing Pakistan is a quest for democracy, which has proved elusive so far and, paradoxically, has given birth to a military dictatorship.

With its sympathetic and objective assessment of events and persons who occupied the stage of this subcontinent in recent years and its unvarnished narration of events, Mr. Wallbank's book is a valuable addition to the literature on India.

C. V. H. RAO

Talks on the Gita. By VINOBA BHAVE. (Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangha Prakashan, Kashi. 283 pp. 1958. Rs. 2.00)

These talks, now translated into English for the first time, were delivered by Vinoba to his fellow prisoners in Dhulia Jail during 1932 as Sunday discourses, recorded in Marathi by the late Sane Guruji, without whom perhaps they would not have seen the light of day. Now we have translations of them practically in every language of India. The present English translation, based on the Marathi and Hindi originals, has been conscientiously and correctly done, retaining the felicity and ease of the originals.

In eighteen chapters Vinobaji gives us the gist of the eighteen chapters of

the *Gita*. The subtlest points in the *Gita* have been dealt with by this liver of the spiritual life with absolutely no pedantry. The happy anecdotes from life and the telling illustrations from the ancient lore of India with which the book is replete have made these talks fresh and fascinating. In this English translation one does not fail to catch the gleams of the great insights of Vinobaji as he goes on walking his way to God and the heart of man. Vinobaji discovers the quintessence of the teaching of the *Gita* in making ourselves "instruments in God's hand." He asks, "How does one become a flute in Krishna's hands?" His answer is:—

To be a flute means to become hollow. But I am stuffed full with passions and desires.

How then can music come through me? My tone is gruff. I am gross. I am filled with *ahamkara*, the sense of "I." I must empty myself of ego. Only when I become fully free, altogether empty, will the Lord breathe through me.

"I am lost in the wish to become an instrument," says Vinobaji. "The Quintessence," a section of Chapter XI, ends thus:—

How this can come to be, the Lord Himself tells us in the last *sloka* of this Chapter. Sankaracharya in his commentary calls this *sloka*, *sarvartha sara*, the quintessence of the *Gita*. It runs—

"*matkarmakrt matparamo madbhaktah
sangavarjitah
nirvairassarvabhuteshu yah sa maameti
pandava.*"

"He who bears enmity towards none, he

who stands impartial and is free from attachment and serves me selflessly, he who dedicates to me all that he does, he who is filled with devotion to me, all-enduring, free of passion and desire, full of love, such a devotee becomes an instrument in the hand of the Lord." This is the essence of the *Gita's* teaching.

The book is a boon to those who do not know the Indian languages. Millions of copies of this book have been sold, making it a best-seller in these languages. The translator has done great service in making Vinobaji's talks on the *Gita* available to the English-speaking world. The *Gita* literature in English is considerably enriched by this contribution.

M. YAMUNACHARYA

World Teachers on Education. Edited by T. S. AVINASILINGAM and K. SWAMINATHAN. (Sri Ramakrishna Mission Vidyalaya, Coimbatore District. 187 pp. 1958. Rs. 4.00)

The editors have compiled a valuable book. The summary of the Upanishads and the *Bhagavad-Gita*, constituting the first two chapters, is a masterly *résumé* of two of the greatest scriptures of the world. The extracts from the *Dhammapada*, the Bible, the Koran and the *Tirukkural* are very valuable. The sayings of Sri Ramakrishna and Sri Sarada Devi are very uplifting and purifying.

But the title of the book is a misnomer. Only the last two chapters containing extracts from the writings of

Swami Vivekananda and Mahatma Gandhi have any direct bearing on the art and science of education. For the rest, the book may have been more aptly called "Sayings from Saints and Scriptures."

The best part of the book is the string of extracts from the writings of Swami Vivekananda. The essence of education is brought out in these extracts and those from Mahatma Gandhi. The emphasis on self-discipline, on *brahmacharya* and on learning through work constitutes the fundamental basis of all true education.

The editors deserve to be congratulated on having brought into one book some of the wisest teachings ever given.

D. GURUMURTI

Flashes in the Night. A Collection of Stories from Contemporary Hungary. Edited by WILLIAM JUHASZ and ABRAHAM ROTHBERG. (Random House, New York. 87 pp. 1958)

This is a collection of seven short stories by Hungarian authors, pertaining to the life of the Hungarians under the Communist *régime* since 1948.

The two stories "Love" and "Behind

the Brick Wall" by Tibor Dery surpass the rest by their sheer human appeal. They reveal in an impressive and moving manner the utter helplessness of the victims of blind order—the Communist tyranny—an order that condemns the human element in man. "Love" is the sad tale of an innocent man imprisoned and debarred from the joys of a free existence for no reason

at all. "Behind the Brick Wall" depicts the pangs of conscience a really good person suffers when he executes the orders of the new rulers. The stories commence with a realistic grimness and end on a deep note of pathos, bearing the readers through an array of the subtlest of human feelings. The expression is superb and the technique polished.

The two stories by Aron Tamasi are narratives, with a moral in disguise, reminding one of folk parables. "Old Man December" is a gentle satire upholding the wisdom of maintaining the natural order of things. "Flashes in the Night" seems to reflect a religious feeling, resembling as it does the Biblical story of the birth of Christ. The musically-woven words lend the style the delicacy of smooth-flowing poetry. An imaginative undercurrent is strongly felt.

New World Writing, No. 13. (The New American Library of World Literature, New York. 318 pp. 1958. 76 cents)

New World Writing has already earned for itself much attention. This semi-annual paperback publicizes new writers, new points of view, fresh assessments, and has taken its readers to fresh literary woods and new artistic pastures in almost each of its dozen issues published so far. In this issue, the thirteenth in the series, one finds a delightful assortment of new writings as well as an impressive array of new writers. In less than 300 pages have been gathered together fifteen prose pieces, five drawings, seven contemporary American poems and nine translations from modern German poetry.

The short stories deal mainly with aspects of contemporary American experience. Perhaps this brazen "Americanness" of most of these short stories, which are, generally speaking, superb

"Straw Bliss" by Ferenc Santha depicts the simple pleasure a couple derived out of three bundles of straw!

Miklos Gyarfas's story "Louis Kosuth at Kisgomboc" is a humorous satire — a story of the glowing tribute given to a hero by erecting him a statue altered from an old marble statue of a much-despised "reactionary" ruler.

"A Mother's Tears in the Bukk Mountains" by Pal Szabo is the recollection of a gloomy event, in a pensive mood. The story has the elusive touch of a dream.

These stories form interesting as well as instructive reading because of the diversity in approach, themes and quality. The struggles of the freedom-loving Hungarians vibrate visibly through every word and phrase. By and large, here is a picture of the life, culture and spirit of the Hungarians.

KAMALA GOPAL

from the technical point of view, makes them caviare to the common reader, not so familiar with the endless wonderfulness of American living.

The translations from the German poets, prefaced by Michael Hamburger, provide much appetizing fare. I liked particularly the following lines:—

Nothing's announced more softly;
so lovers converse in the night,
then sleep remote from each other,
and waking at daybreak discover
the strange earth changed to a nest
full of heavenly down.

—"Snow at Advent"

To many readers the critical essays are likely to appeal most. John W. Aldridge's critical assessment of P. G. Wodehouse poses no intellectual problems and is pleasant reading. Walter Starkie's informative essay on Miguel de Cervantes places the "First Novelist" against the background of his spacious days.

DILIP KUMAR SEN

A DIARY LEAF FROM DELHI

[WE HAVE no "Leaves from a Paris Diary" this month, as **Shri Baldoon Dhingra** has been on a visit home. But we publish below the reflections he sent us from Delhi. Readers may find it of significance that in the busy Indian scene Shri Dhingra is drawn particularly to the Sarvodaya movement, and its basis in philosophy and the deliberate eschewing of politics.—ED.]

WHEN I consider the human situation I am reminded of Emerson's words: "Things are in the saddle and ride mankind." Man must feel his kinship with the earth before he can see the human being for what he is and help create a society in which man relates to man lovingly and which is "rooted in bonds of brotherliness." That is the significance of Vinobaji's work and the meaning of Shri Jayaprakash Narayan's discourses and activities. They proclaim their conviction that man shall work together to create new institutions and a new power of social life. In this sense they are great optimists: in a day of pessimism they offer enduring hope.

Love is the most abused emotion in the world. It is derided by the cynic, debased by the carnally-minded and made the occasion of emotional debauches by the sentimentalist. When J. P. speaks of loving one's neighbour, he speaks of whole-hearted co-operation. Bertrand Russell said like words:—

The only thing that will redeem mankind is co-operation and the first step towards co-operation lies in the heart of individuals. It is common to wish well to oneself, but in our technically unified world, wishing well to oneself is sure to be futile unless it is combined with wishing well to others. This is an ancient doctrine, which has been preached by wise men in many ages and in many lands—hitherto in vain. But now at last if any of us are to survive practical politics must learn to take account of a wisdom which practical

men have hitherto thought too good for the world.

This passage may be said to be a great Western scientist's approach to Sarvodaya.

To Jayaprakash Narayan human society has so grown that it

cannot but be a heaven for bureaucrats, managers, technocrats... Such a society cannot be a home for brothers to live together as brothers. Socialists, in the name of science, production, efficiency, standard of living and other hallowed shibboleths, have accepted this whole Frankenstein of a society—lock, stock and barrel—and hope, by adding public ownership to it, to make it socialist. I submit that in such a society the very breath of socialism would be hard to draw. Self-government... sharing, equality, brotherhood—all could be developed if man lived in small communities.

This indeed is being realized by many Western thinkers, as J. P. states.

To hear Vinobaji and to talk to him is to commune with a lofty spirit. For it is to feel one's mind cleared, the bonds of human compassion strengthened, devotion to all things that are lovely and of good report re-kindled and one's faith restored. In these days when nations struggle and darkness descends upon their children what praise can be higher? I hope to be in Ajmer in a few days to attend the great *sammelan* or gathering of thousands of people. I hope to walk with Vinobaji and once again to hear him speak.

BALDOON DHINGRA

ENDS AND SAYINGS

“—————ends of verse
And sayings of philosophers.”

HUDIBRAS

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, who attracted world-wide attention in 1956 by leading the non-violent resistance on Gandhian lines in Montgomery, Alabama, U.S.A., delivered, on February 26th, an inspiring speech surcharged with great significance in the auditorium of the Indian Institute of World Culture, which was packed to full capacity.

Dr. King emphasized that non-violence had practical application in the area of human relations. The boycott of the bus service lasting for more than a year in Montgomery was a success on account of non-violence, resulting in the injunction of the Supreme Court of the U.S.A. ending segregation in the public transport system. The success was not a victory of one race over another, but was a triumph for Truth. The conflict was not between the two races but between justice and injustice, and the forces of goodness and the forces of darkness. Although the Negroes had travelled a long way in ending racial injustices, they had still a long, long way to go. In fighting for justice, human dignity and brotherhood, the method must be of the highest order and that method was non-violence. Destructive means could never bring about constructive ends, as the end is wrapped up in and is not succedent to the means. The choice now before the world was not between violence and non-violence, but between non-violence and non-existence. The accumulation of violence and hate had gone on for hundreds of years and somebody must have morality enough and goodness enough to cut the chain of hate. A non-violent resister must keep love at the centre of his life. Such

love was the expression of God working in man. Racial injustice prevailed all over the world manifesting as racial segregation, colonialism and imperialism. To end national and international conflicts, non-violence was the only morally right, effective and sustaining method.

The spiritual, intellectual and physical streams of evolution were examined at an interesting Symposium on “Evolution — A Universal Theorem,” arranged by the Indian Institute of World Culture on February 26th in connection with Charles Darwin’s Sesquicentenary. Dr. M. V. Govindaswamy, Director of the All-India Institute of Mental Health, who presided, suggested that Herbert Spencer’s classic definition of evolution as change from an indefinite, incoherent homogeneity to a definite coherent heterogeneity was broad enough to be applied in the fields of sciences, psychology and philosophy, and to the evolution of body, mind and soul.

Evolution as propounded by Darwin greatly influenced the various branches of science and psychology. Present organisms — plant, animal and man — were related to previously existing organisms. Darwin exploded the idea that life was static and species were immutable. He advanced the views that life was dynamic and species were mutable through natural selection. The struggle for existence resulted in the natural selection and survival of the fittest.

Man, like any other organism, was the product of organic evolution. But is man at the pinnacle of evolution? If

this question is answered affirmatively, it would appear that evolution had a purpose, which modern sciences were not prepared to accept at present. There was not only biological evolution but also cultural evolution. Culture was the sum-total of the experiences of the past generations of people. The biological and the cultural streams of evolution were not two independent streams but an integrated one. The ability to talk, for instance, was a biological inheritance, but the contents of talk were the result of cultural evolution. Organisms had to adapt to changing environments, but man might refuse to adapt to the environment, and change it to suit him. Man alone knew how to direct evolution into constructive channels. Darwin's evolutionary theory established universal brotherhood from amœba to man, as all beings were integrated in an organic relationship.

Darwin's theory of evolution tremendously influenced the psychological sciences, emphasizing the need for the growth of mind from immaturity to maturity.

The meta-scientific speculations regarding evolution were of great value to human thought, as they helped to clarify the relationship of man and nature. Life was a response to certain stimulating conditions. These stimulating conditions might arise from the environment or from the individuals. Response was change which led to transformation from one state to another. The Sankhya philosophy propounded evolution in terms of *Gunas* as change from one state to another — *Sattva*, *Rajas* and *Tamas*. Change was continuous. What was the direction of the change? Science refused to answer this question, and philosophies were too many, giving varied answers. Shankara, for instance, defined evolution as a gradual increase in capacity which widened the scope of activity. He identified the source and the goal of evolution as

“indifferentiated equilibrium.” There was emanation from the source, and, through the process of involution, the beings evolved to the goal which was the source.

Evolution was conceived by the ancients as a transaction between the individual and the environment. The individual entered into the environment to gain experience and emancipation, by working through the environment.

Dr. Rajasekarasetty of the Department of Zoology, Central College, Professor S. K. Ramachandra Rao of the All-India Institute of Mental Health and Dr. M. V. Govindaswamy participated in the Symposium.

“Bleak Future for Democracy” is the title of a stimulating article by Acharya Vinoba Bhave appearing in a recent issue of *The Hindu*, in which the twilight of democracy in Asia and Africa in recent times is reviewed and its implications analyzed. The Bhoodan leader comes to the sage conclusion that, wherever there is a decline of individual effort and the people have cultivated, in the name of the Welfare State, the habit of looking towards the Government for every little thing, the concentration of power and initiative in the hands of Government tends to pave the way for military dictatorship. Appealing to the people to regain their initiative, the Acharya says:—

I repeat that where a great deal of power is concentrated in the name of welfare of the people and an army is maintained for its protection, democracy digs its own grave by its own hands. Whether it is a capitalist government or Communist, whether it is a Fascist or democratic, or so-called Gandhian, today the sanction behind every government is the army. If that is so, all these belong to the same category even though they appear in different garbs.

Pointing out the dangerous potentialities of too much centralized government, even if politically democratic, he continues:—

Whether in India or in any other country, if the people are taught to depend on government for everything, then whatever the nature of the government, the situation is potentially dangerous. In its political evolution the human race has rejected monarchy because under monarchy the people become dependent although they may feel happy in the reign of a benevolent monarch. We should have sense enough to understand that if the people become as much dependent under the rule of a Prime Minister in a democracy as in monarchy there is not much to choose between the two...

Modern governments are as omnipotent as God. Such a vast power of great variety is concentrated into their hands that it paralyzes the initiative of the people and leaves them helpless. These centralized governments have then to depend on the force of arms for maintaining and carrying out their authority. Under any circumstances, this is a dangerous state of affairs and calls for serious consideration from all those who believe in democracy.

The only effective solution that can check this dangerous drift towards dictatorship is the enforcement of the Rule of Law, which Shri M. C. Setalvad, Attorney-General of India and President of the Indian Commission of Jurists, emphasized at the Congress of the International Commission of Jurists in Delhi recently. *The Statesman* reports Shri Setalvad thus:—

It needed to be remembered that even in advanced systems of democracy power lay in the majority of the people but in practice and substance these democratic Governments tended to be run by leaders of the majority group. The views and policies of the party in power had not unoften a tendency to affect the judiciary and even the profession of the law. Such situations were more noticeable in infant democracies where the ruling parties were overwhelmingly strong, opposition parties had not gathered strength and public opinion did not make itself felt.

It was, therefore, appropriate that a body like the International Commission of Jurists should repeatedly emphasize the importance of a judiciary who would perform their functions without fear or favour and resist any encroachments by Governments or political parties on their independence and that it should call upon the legal profession to

maintain an attitude which would enable it to effectively assert the right of the individual against the State.

As political currents determine the atmosphere in which human freedom and legal institutions operate, Shri Setalvad was right in pointing out that recent trends in certain countries in favour of absolute and autocratic authority were a matter of "grave concern" to an institution like the International Commission of Jurists. But he also warned that it would be an error to imagine that the enforcement of the Rule of Law needed no vigilance in countries functioning under really representative institutions; for, he pointed out:—

Modern Governments with their manifold functions had so largely encroached upon the manner of life and the liberty of the individual that a constant watchfulness was necessary on the part of those concerned with the administration of law to guard the rights of the individual against the State.

Continuing, he observed that the narrowing of the area of free and democratic government must necessarily result in the curtailment and even total cessation of the operation of the Rule of Law and declared:—

An independent judiciary and a public-spirited legal profession were necessary even where constitutional provisions existed for safeguarding the rule of law. Delegated legislation so extensively resorted to by all modern Governments also required a continuous watchfulness on the part of legislators, the judiciary, lawyers and the public so that it might be kept within the bounds of the Constitution and the laws under which it was enacted.

More constant and more irksome to the citizen was perhaps the encroachment of the executive on the rights of the citizen. Not unoften under the guise of administrative rules and procedure the official engaged in the furtherance and administration of a policy became himself the judge of the validity of the acts done by the executive in furtherance of that policy.

An instance of how the idea of secularism is often misunderstood even in

India is clearly brought out by Shri M. R. Masani, M.P., in an article in *The Hindu* (Madras) under the title "Away from the Gandhian Path." Referring to the lights of constitutional government being snuffed out one by one in the neighbouring countries of India, he cautions India not to remain self-complacent about her democratic structure. He urges the need for self-enquiry whether India is altogether free of certain basic tendencies which have led to military dictatorship in one country after another. According to the writer, there are three such fundamental elements, chief of them being the lack of spiritual or moral foundations on which our society is to rest. He continues:—

The two slogans under which we renounce any attempt at building up a spiritual basis for our society are the slogans of Secularism and of a Socialist Pattern of Society. In so far as the first is concerned we misread our Constitution as one that is equally against all religions. On a careful perusal of the Constitution—I was one of the founders—I cannot find anything in it to warrant the proposition that we are a Secular STATE. What we really are is not a Secular Republic but a National Republic, non-denominational, in which all religions are equally respected.

Deploring the tendency in the country to look down with some kind of suspicion in the name of secularism upon anyone who professes his own religion, he adds that it is a phenomenon definitely opposed to Gandhiji's idea of secularism.

While welcoming the socialistic pattern to the extent that it is meant to make the people's life fuller and create more equitable conditions, Shri Masani expresses the fear that its advocacy in some respects savours too much of obsession with material values:—

There is too much emphasis on the *per capita* income as if it matters two hoots what the *per capita* income on paper is, if decent housing, adequate clothing and good food are not available. There are certain countries of the world—miscalled Communist—where the *per capita* income goes up and up, and

yet the people do not see the consumer goods that they need. We are thinking of planning in terms of national income rather than of individual incomes. We have developed a fatal fascination for steel and are apt to adjudge our own and other countries' greatness by the amount of steel production.

He puts in a strong plea for the giving up of slogans which encourage crude materialism, class consciousness, conflict and hatred, which were always repugnant to Gandhiji. In conclusion, quoting one of Gandhiji's favourite phrases, "to turn the searchlight inwards," he says:—

Gandhiji would have liked us, above all, to turn the searchlight inwards, to stop worrying about the wrong doings and faults that other countries may commit, but to concentrate on our imperfections so that we could lead our people worthily and set an example to the world.

The past few decades have seen the return of a certain interest in Nature—astronomy, bird-watching and the observation of animal behaviour, films and photographs galore (and most excellent ones), nature study and ecology generally, under-water exploration. All these, even at a superficial level, tend to present the wonder and intelligence in the natural kingdoms, and serve to offset a little—but how little—the crude, selfish materialism that regards land and livestock in factory terms, and whose only criterion of a country is whether it can be exploited for minerals or industrialization generally. A case in point of the latter is the tragic wholesale drowning of animal life in Southern Rhodesia, Africa, by the submergence of a vast area in the region of the new Kariba dam, a destruction aggravated by the official red-tape obstacles put in the way of a volunteer rescue fleet.

The work now being done in Great Britain by the Council of Nature (41, Queen's Gate, London, S.W. 7) is perhaps little enough to put in the scales against this wanton attitude, but, with the help of a grant from the Carnegie

United Kingdom Trust, it is organizing camps for young people for the voluntary maintenance of nature reserves on as large a scale as can be managed. Those who participate not only help the work but also learn the principles of nature conservation. In Surrey they clear acres of dogwood scrub to preserve the chalk grassland and its fauna. In Lincolnshire cordgrass is kept under, to save the flora of the salt-marsh. The bog vegetation of Askham Bog, Yorkshire, is being protected. Elsewhere, the clearing of footpaths, restoration of old villages, is all part of the work, for practical nature conservation "does not just mean putting a fence round an area, and leaving it alone." It means constant hard work, and as constant an endeavour to realize the underlying balance of nature.

In that phrase "the balance of nature" lies much of our hope for the future, but we have far yet to go before men generally will recognize that "down to the smallest atom all is soul and spirit ever evolving under the rule of law which is inherent in the whole."

An alarming increase in the incidence of alcoholism is reported from country after country in Europe. It was France first; then came the U.S.S.R.; and now, Britain. Mr. R. A. Butler, in the course of his address to Parliament, recently, declared that, as far as drunkenness was concerned, the year 1957 was the worst year since 1928, and gave detailed statistics to prove this. And nearer home, in India, it is saddening to read that, despite the preventive measures being taken by the authorities to discourage people from drinking, there has so far been no "appreciable" change in the drinking habits of the

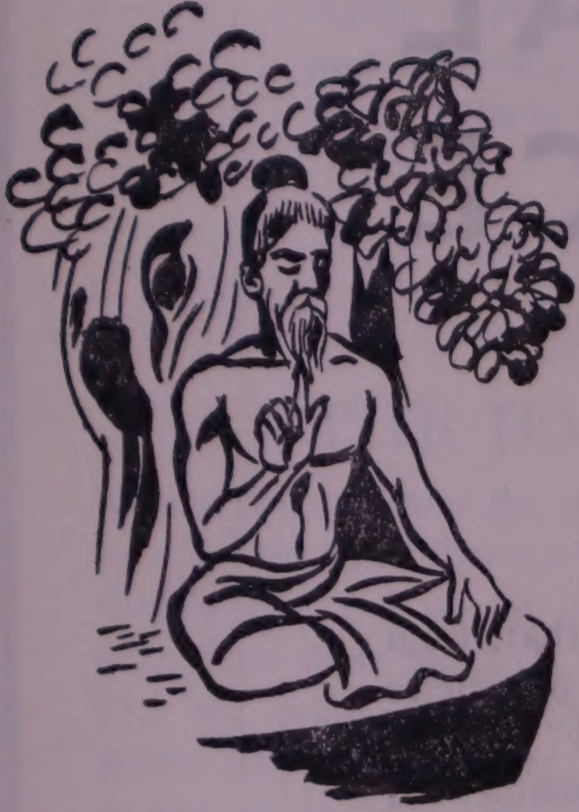
people of Delhi.

Although prohibition is one of the directive principles of the Constitution, not much progress has been effected in nearly a decade. State Governments continue to protest their inability to implement the programme because they cannot afford to give up the revenue which the liquor trade brings in. In every State it has been noted that there is a flourishing industry in illicit liquor and that bootleggers are able to match their wits against a not-too-keen enforcement police. The illicit trade is not only in smuggled liquor, but much more in the manufacture of country liquor, which is more harmful to health. Deploring the rising trend in liquor consumption, *The Statesman* particularly points out:—

The increase in the consumption of country liquor seems to be of serious concern to the authorities at the moment. The increase... during 1957-58 is considered to be a "temporary phase." Having taken more stringent measures to prevent people from drinking, by increasing the price of country liquor and charging sales-tax on it during the current year, the authorities feel confident that they will be able to check the rising trend.

In the United States, the prohibition programme led to a great wave of organized crime, and the experiment had to be scrapped eventually. While such may not be the case here in India, where the organized criminal gangs have not yet arrived, the plea to scrap prohibition is being countered by a demand for more effective police action. This state of affairs is sure to continue as long as legal prohibition is not supported by more basic social action: education in the effects of alcohol; and, even more important, inculcation of responsible and creative habits of mind, which will destroy the weak craving for sensation and escape.

from VEDIC TIMES



“तंतुं तन्वन्, रजसो भानुमन्विहि,
ज्योतिष्मतः
पथो रक्ष धिया कृतान् ॥
अनुल्बणं वयत,
जोगुवामपो, मनुर्भव, . . .”

ऋग्वेद

*Spinning the thread, follow the
shining colour*

*And weave the knotless thread;
Guard the pathways well which
wisdom has prepared.*

Be a thinker

This is the work of poets...

Rigveda



Beauty is as
HANDLOOM
Weaves

ALL INDIA HANDLOOM BOARD

Shahibagh House, Wittet Road, Bombay

DA-58/414

SPECIAL NOTICE

Special notice is given to all that, from the March 1959 issue, a series of articles by **Shri B. P. Wadia** entitled "Studies in The Secret Doctrine" has commenced in *The Theosophical Movement*. These articles deal with that monumental work of Madame H. P. Blavatsky, *The Secret Doctrine*, which has been called "the text-book of the 20th century." Those desirous of acquainting themselves with its value may well take out a subscription to Volume XXIX of *The Theosophical Movement* (Rs. 4.00; 8s.; \$2.00 *per annum*, post free). This series and other articles and regular features in this 40-page monthly magazine are sure to interest the seeker after truth. Subscriptions may be sent to: Theosophy Company (India), Private Ltd., 40, New Marine Lines, Bombay 1.