

OCTOBER 1953

True Freedom

by C. Rajagopalachari

WHEN Mr. Ka. Naa. Subramaniam asked me to accept this invitation, I hesitated because I did not know exactly what the whole thing was about. I made enquiries and accepted the honour; but, yet I must confess that I did not quite understand my position in this respect. Then I communicated with Mr. Minoo Masani, my old colleague and friend, and asked him to tell me what I was to do in this conference. I gave him a *carte blanche* even to write out my speech. He did not do that, but sent me a volume of papers which has been presented at the conference of this organisation in 1951. I read among the papers a most illuminating paper from Sir Rustom Masani, his father and an old respected friend of mine. What Sir Rustom Masani had said in that paper set me thinking about what culture is and what freedom is and what we are all about in this organisation. If I say anything of use or to the purpose on this occasion, it is entirely traceable to the inspiration derived from a reading of that paper.

Culture is not just art or literature or dancing or music or painting as it prevails among a people. It

is the pattern of behaviour generally accepted by a people. Culture is very far from freedom. No man of culture feels free. He imposes on himself all sorts of restraints. So then, the culture of a people is the pattern of restraints which that people have as a whole, after trial and error through generations, settled down to accept, in the interest of social order and happiness. There is joy and pride in the acceptance of such restraints and no resentment or pain. In that sense there is freedom in culture as an essential part. It is this which distinguishes culture from State-regulation. 'State-regulation' began as a protest against the anarchy created by indiscriminate individual freedom and the greed and competition that resulted from it. The practice of State-regulation has resulted in the discovery of several evils in the remedy worse than the disease. In the cycle of human progress the slogan of 'freedom' has therefore been raised as a counter to excessive State-regulation. The one comes from Moscow and the other from America. But neither the slogan of 'freedom' nor the slogan of 'State-regulation' can solve the difficulties of humanity. The right slogan is 'self-control' and that is the message of Indian philosophy and the culture that can be claimed by India as its own.

Every culture is based on and bound up with a definite idea. The culture of Greece was bound up
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The Neuroses of the Indian Intelligentsia

by Sampurnanand

IN adopting as the theme of my address this morning "The Neuroses of the Indian Intelligentsia," I am afraid I have taken on too wide a canvas. In the first place, the subject of my discourse seems to suffer from the fallacy of begging the question. Without wasting time, however, on an academic discussion as to whether there is any ground for believing that the intelligentsia does, as a matter of fact, suffer from any universal malaise, I shall simply proceed on the assumption that it is so. I may, here and there, make references to conditions outside India. It must be understood, however, that whatever observations I might make in this connection cannot possibly refer to countries situated behind what is called the Iron Curtain. It is not that the intelligentsia in those lands is whole in mind but that the disease is different.

At the outset, I should like to emphasize that my personal experience is confined to my own country: it may be that in applying this experience to conditions elsewhere I may be making very wide generalisations not fully warranted by the facts. But, in spite of the wide spaces that separate us, so intimate and growing is the intellectual and cultural contact between India and the West, particularly the English-speaking nations of the West, that there is every reason to believe that I shall not err very far in assuming that what I find in India finds its counterpart, to a large extent, elsewhere as well.

The intelligentsia do not constitute a caste or even an economic class. It may not, therefore, be easy to define the term, but surely one characteristic feature
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Notes

Gullible Professors

A dead set is evidently being made by the Kremlin at the Islamic world. *Freedom First* is in a position to reveal one of the latest moves in furtherance of this campaign to get at intellectuals in Islamic countries. At the University of Cracow an "Organising Committee for an International Muslim Academy" has recently been set up. It has been announced that the Chairman of this Committee is a Polish Mohammedan named Prof. Ismail Weislaw Jezierski. The amusing part of the story is that nobody has ever heard of such a professor in Poland, and it must therefore be presumed that he is a communist Agitprop agent masquerading as an academic figure. It is claimed by the organisers that they have received promises of collaboration from about fifty writers and scientists in Arabic countries. Some amongst these are undoubtedly people of good faith who are unaware of the real character of this move. The organ of this effort in this part of the world is a monthly review entitled *Islamic Literature* edited by Sheikh Mohammed Ashraf in Pakistan.

Such a move could easily have been ignored but for disturbing reports that two leading dignitaries of Osmania University in Hyderabad are among those misled by the alleged "professor" in Cracow. We are happy to hear from one of these, a former Head of that University, that he has now severed his connection with this "Academy."

Indira in Wonderland

HAVING made several statements about the U.S.S.R., Mrs. Indira Gandhi issued on September 6 what might be called a statement to end all statements. Like Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur, she is content to be naively adulatory and awkward things like "the political philosophy underlying communism or the political happenings in the U.S.S.R." are definitely out. Indeed she has looked at everything but seen nothing.

Statements like, "Soviet planes never have any accidents" or "an eye hospital was moved back (on wheels;) so skilfully that physician and surgeon did not need to interrupt their work" will undoubtedly rank among the more notable feats of sheer credulity. Her discovery that "shops were full... but still there were queues and often things were sold out. This is because of the increased purchasing power of the people" may yet cause economics to be revised. "Wherever one went one looked into the future," says Mrs. Gandhi—but we think it will take long before Sovietland replaces the crystal ball! Of Sochi: "She had never seen such a resort in her life, wide open for working people"—really, her next itinerary must include Brighton and Blackpool.

Having described herself "as one who has been fighting all my life for women's rights in India" (*Evening News of India*, July 24, 1953) she says how wonderful it was to find "women doing the hardest of jobs" and "not barred from any work however hard"—presumably like going down mines and in forced labour camps.

The systematic hate-America campaign is very well-known, but Mrs. Gandhi says she "did not see or hear any country being described as warmonger." Deliberate famines, mass liquidations and forced labour, the price of Soviet "progress," are euphemistically styled as "tremendous sacrifices and ordeals of self-denial."

If Mrs. Gandhi had contented herself with "three enormous sandwiches, tea with lemon and luscious cherries," all would have been well; whitewash of evil is, of course, another thing altogether.

Mudaliar Report

OUR "nation of clerks" has needed badly a complete reorientation of the educational system. The Mudaliar Report is a step in the right direction. The most outstanding suggestion of the Secondary Education Commission is the introduction of agricultural, business and technical education at the higher secondary stage. It also recommends that there be a certain core of subjects comprising of languages, social studies, general science and a craft common to all students. Stress is to be laid on games and physical education and provisions are to be made for providing playgrounds and other amenities for sports. In the assessment of a student's school career examination marks are not to be the only criteria for consideration. His general school record is also to be noticed. This should very effectively discourage the habit of playing the truant the year round

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and burning the midnight oil just a month before the examinations.

It is gratifying to note that languages, social studies, general science and a craft are to form the core of subjects for all. The choice has a very practical basis and yet one cannot help noticing the exclusion of mathematics, which even Plato considered indispensable in his classic theory of education. The suggestions relating to languages, however, are disconcerting. The medium of instruction is to be the mother-tongue, but the study of at least two languages, one a foreign language and the other Hindi has been recommended. This would have at least two undesirable results. Firstly, a termination of the study of English. Secondly, an increase in the linguistic disparity of the various provinces.

Viewing the whole matter in a wider perspective, would the recommendations of the Mudaliar Report bring about a change for the good? Would they help to solve the problems of pedagogic learning, unemployment and frustration? Would that in itself solve the menace of over-population, unemployment, hunger and disease? For what good is a technologist if the economic and social frame-work in which he is to operate is missing? The great need is for a "Renaissance", which England experienced as far back as 1485 and which we have still to experience before any substantial headway can be made. Accordingly, more stress needs to be laid on the *process* of education rather than merely its *arrangement*. Mark Twain in his characteristic way said: "I never allowed my schooling to interfere with my education." That spirit of independent evaluation is to be sought and encouraged. Qualities of decision, responsibility and leadership are to be engendered. These cannot be done through a system which is not even remotely connected with the demands of present day living. Rather a campus after the American style needs to be encouraged where the students cook their meals in the cafeteria, construct the school buildings, print their own newspaper, repair their cars, sell newspapers in the morning and run the grocery store by night. In all this they get more educated than they would with all the books in the libraries. For the average American or Westerner is not intellectual. He is resourceful. And unless we inject that quality of "getting things done" into the educational atmosphere of the Indian school, we shall continue to be a nation of 'lotus-eaters'. To this extent the Mudaliar Report falls short of the ideal.

Congressmen Gagged on Tibet

IN attempting equidistance between unequal quantities, neutralist thinking ceases to be really neutral. Its false assumption forces neutralism to adopt a double standard of morality—a strict one for the Democracies, a lax one for Communist totalitarianism. In the result, its votaries land themselves in some morally indefensible positions.

The latest illustration of this unhappy process is provided by the incident which marked an attempt

made by a group of members of Parliament and others to give expression on September 12, the third anniversary of the forcible and fraudulent conquest of Tibet by Chinese Communist forces, to the sympathy with our helpless and oppressed neighbours in Tibet which is undoubtedly felt by a large number of patriotic Indians of all parties.

That there should be difference of opinion on the expediency of such a demonstration is perhaps natural. That the General Secretary of the Indian National Congress should have felt compelled to issue a warning to members of the Congress Party not to associate with such a course can only be described as deeply disturbing. The reason advanced is that it would be "an unfriendly act towards a friendly country" is too naive to have been advanced seriously. Who was the genius who thought up that excuse? In the observance of 'Tunisia Day' (in which the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom participated last year) then to be considered similarly objectionable? And what of Malaya Day and Kenya Day? If so, why were they not similarly prescribed? And if not, why not? Are not France and Britain also "friendly countries"?

The sad fact is that implicit in this attempt at smothering the Indian people's resentment against the Chinese communist conquest of Tibet is an unprincipled refusal to admit the existence of Red Imperialism. Such an attitude undoubtedly comes naturally to the Communist Party. That it should be sought to be foisted on members of the Congress Party must give cause for concern to all who hold that organisation's record of past opposition to imperialism in high esteem. From now on, it would appear, the Congress leadership will only participate in protests against the relics of British, French and Portuguese imperialism. Opposition to Soviet and Chinese communist imperialism is to be now taboo, unless genuine anti-imperialists in the Congress who are prepared to denounce imperialism of all kinds—and of these there are many—can succeed in reversing this sinister trend betimes.

The Indian people may congratulate themselves that there is as yet no one Party monopolising public life in this country. It is this that made possible the observance of "Tibet Day" in the Indian capital and a demonstration outside the Chinese Communist Embassy on September 12, despite the attempt to smother popular sentiment. At a public meeting held with Mr. M. A. Gurupadaswami, Praja Socialist M. P., in the chair and addressed by Socialist and Jan Sangh speakers a resolution was adopted raising "the voice of sympathy against Tibet's plight under foreign subjugation."

Meanwhile, many Congressmen must be asking themselves how the active participation of Congress M. P.'s and other members of the Party in the Communist "peace" front continue without apparently disturbing the peace of mind of their "neutral" leadership.

Second Annual Conference

THE Annual Conference of the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom, which was held in Madras on 12th and 13th September, was marked by two remarkable speeches—one by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, that defined 'freedom' as restraint developed from within, that was one of the governing aspects of Indian culture; and the other by Dr. Sampurnanand, which analysed the neurosis of the Indian intellectual as resulting from frustration and spiritual vacuity. These speeches of the inaugurator and the President not only defined the nature and scope of the values that form the basis of cultural freedom, but also provided a framework of spirit for the future activities of the Committee.

The resolutions passed by the Annual General Meeting, in some measure, echo these values and provide the warp and woof of these activities. The resolution on Bhoodan Yagna, for instance, welcomes the movement as a non-violent solution of an urgent socio-economic problem and underlines the fact that it is enriching the spiritual life of the country. By another resolution, the Committee, as if to provide a contrast to this Indian phenomenon, refers to the existence of Forced Labour in the Soviet countries and the possibility of its coming into existence in South Africa and condemns slave labour as a great scourge on human dignity. Following up this resolution, the Committee extended its sympathy and admiration to the peoples of those lands who were struggling against the conditions of slavery.

The resolution on "A New Threat to Freedom in Asia" exposes the technique of infiltration and subversion of Soviet imperialism and calls upon the Indian intelligentsia to be conscious of the nature of this new menace which advances under the false face of people's causes, false slogans of liberation and democracy and false promises of social justice and progress.

The Committee's concern for the complex cultural problems of India was demonstrated by a series of seminars in which reputed authorities on Karnatak music like Sangeeth Kalanidhi Justice T. L. Venkatram Iyar, Sangeeth Kalanidhi Subbarao, Prof. R. Srinivasan and Prof. P. Sambamurthi, leading scholars like Sri K. S. Ramaswamy Sastri and K. Chandrasekhar, renowned thinkers and publicists like R. Bhaskaran, N. Raghunath Iyar, Rohit Dave, Philip Spratt and Dr. Harry Gideonse, and well known writers like N. Pichumurthy, A. N. Krishnarao, P. Y. Deshpande, Gangadhar Gadgil, N. Narsinha Benipuri and S. D. S. Yogi took part.

The seminar devoted to 'Why Freedom First?' was presided over by Prof. R. Bhaskaran, head of the Political Science Department of the University of Madras. The group discussing this subject agreed that freedom had a spiritual quality that made it preeminent, and since social betterment was possible in free societies there was no justification for barter-

ing away freedom for social gains. Mr. N. Raghunathan (Assistant Editor of the *Hindu*), who presided over the seminar devoted to 'Communism and the Intellectual', gave a trenchant analysis of the Indian intellectual of today and the group more or less agreed with him by saying that the reason why the Indian intellectual felt attracted towards communism is that he lacked both ideals and leadership. The writers discussing 'The Writer's Responsibility' agreed that the writer was primarily responsible to himself and that he must be free from tyranny of any kind, though it was expected of him that he should work with a sense of devotion to the culture of his country. The great authorities in music taking part in the Seminar devoted to the subject seemed to agree that since art was an expression of great souls automatically demanded freedom; art had its restraints, but they were inherently provided by tradition and artistic necessities.

These seminars provided an excellent example of collective scholarship where a subject developed by contributions from several authorities coming to grips with it.

The fact that the Conference evoked a sympathetic response throughout the country was proved by a number of messages received from various quarters. Among those who sent their good wishes were Mr. K. M. Munshi, (Governor of Uttar Pradesh), Mr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya (Governor of Madhya Pradesh), Mr. G. S. Bajpai (Governor of Bombay), Pandit R. S. Shukla (Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh), Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyar, Sir R. P. Masani, Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan, Dr. John Matthai, Smt. Rukmini-devi, Dr. C. Kunha Raja (of the University of Teheran), Mr. Masti Venkatesh Iyengar, Mr. Shantilal Shah (Labour Minister, Bombay), and many others. The International Secretariat of the Congress for Cultural Freedom and the American Committee for Cultural Freedom sent fraternal greetings. Delegates to the Conference came from places like, Calcutta, Bombay, Patna, Nagpur, Poona, Bezwada, Bangalore, Mysore and Alliwaye.

Towards the end of the Annual General Meeting, Mr. Sri Prakasa, the Governor of Madras, was welcomed to the meeting by the chair and he said a few words by way of greetings and good wishes to the Committee.

A Public Rally was held as part of the Conference when Mr. C. Subramaniam, Finance Minister of Madras, presided and several leading figures like Mr. Gopal Reddy, Mr. Sanjeev Reddy, Principal Mathias, Mr. N. Dutta-Mazumdar, Mr. K. S. Ramaswamy Sastri, and Mr. Jayawardhane (Member of the Ceylonese Parliament) spoke. Public enthusiasm for the cause of the Conference was amply demonstrated at this rally.

Along with the Conference, several cultural shows

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Resolutions

I BHOODAN

The Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom offers its tribute to the Bhoodan Yagna movement started by Acharya Vinoba Bhave which is achieving significant success both in its concrete results and the climate created. In addition to providing a non-violent solution to an urgent socio-economic problem, the movement is enriching the spiritual life of the country and creating a new life in the villages. It has awakened the sense of duty not only of the donor but also of the recipient. While the movement testifies to the value of individual initiative, it is also indicative of the sound instinct and latent vitality of the Indian people. It is to be hoped that this great urge of selflessness will touch other fields of national life.

II FORCED LABOUR

The Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom welcomes the report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Forced Labour appointed by the United Nations and the International Labour Organisation which, after two years of exhaustive enquiries, fully justifies the anxiety over the subject expressed in a resolution adopted by the Indian Congress for Cultural Freedom in March 1951. The Committee is pained to note that the scourge of slave labour exists in certain parts of the world. It assumes, according to the Report, its most hideous forms and proportions in Soviet Russia and the captive countries whose penal legislation "constitutes a basis of forced labour employed as a means of political coercion and punishment for holding or expressing political views" and whose "legislation is, in fact, applied in such a way". The Report also proves that "Soviet legislation makes provision for various measures" permitting forced labour which "seem to be applied on a large scale in the interests of national economy".

2. The situation in South Africa also causes anxiety, because, according to the Report, the

(continued from page 4)

and literary programmes were organised. The Kalakshetra group of Adyar gave a demonstration of the classical art of dancing and the sisters Lilitha-Padmini regaled the audience with a more popular variety. The literary programme started on the 11th September with the celebration of the Bharathi Day and ended with a new Tamil drama (Darkness and Light) specially staged on the occasion on the 15th September. The programme included a 'Poets' Meet' wherein leading Tamil poets like Kothamangalam Subbu, P. Thuran, Surabhi, Kambadasan and Trilok Sitaram participated.

Further material about the Conference, including Mr. M. Bhaktavatsalam's speech, reports of seminars, rules and messages, will be published in the next issue of FREEDOM FIRST.

Suppression of Communism Act could be used for the correction of political opinions of those who differ from the ideology of the State," and because the ultimate consequence of the legislative system in the Union of South Africa is to compel the native population to contribute, by their labour, to the implementation of the economic policies in the country".

3. The Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom reiterates the opinion expressed by the Indian Congress for Cultural Freedom in 1951 that "the spread in this century of the concentration camp system and of state-controlled slave labour is a tragic violation of the dignity of man and a threat to the entire basis of cultural freedom," and looks to the United Nations and the International Labour Office to act speedily on the Report and apply all necessary sanctions against countries guilty of this inhuman violation of Human Rights.

III A NEW THREAT TO FREEDOM IN ASIA

The achievement of national independence by most of the peoples of Asia has reached its culmination. The urges that have resulted in this happy consummation and that now strive to find fulfilment are the desires of these peoples to live their own way of life, develop their own culture, realise the dignity and freedom of the individual and achieve economic and social justice through democratic processes.

2. It is a tragedy that, just when so many peoples of Asia have become masters in their own homes and are settling down to the task of national reconstruction and cultural regeneration, a new kind of imperialism should appear on the horizon. Employing such noble terms as 'liberation' and 'democracy', this new imperialism has already subverted the freedom of no less than ten nations in Eastern and Central Europe. It has now turned to face towards the East and is trying to enfold Eastern nations in its empire. In this attempt, it takes advantage of poverty illiteracy and social reaction resulting from historical circumstances including exploitation by past imperialism and colonialism.

3. Acting through a fifth column directed and controlled from Moscow, this new imperialism employs varying tactics in individual countries, some of them assuming the most innocent garb of 'peace campaign' and 'friendship associations.' Such alluring phrases as 'progressive literature' and 'peoples' theatre' are used in order to befog people's minds. A new religion of 'historical necessity' is preached to take advantage of the fatalistic tendencies of the people. Corrupting tactics of financing handpicked delegations to foreign countries are liberally employed.

4. Unfortunately the real facts about this new imperialism are not yet widely known and the Soviet myth still persists, making it possible for the new menace to advance under a false face, false slogans and false promises.

5. It is urgently necessary to make the people, especially the intelligentsia, of the countries of Asia aware of these facts and the danger they represent to their freedom and their culture.

IV SOLIDARITY WITH THE VICTIMS OF TOTALITARIAN TYRANNY

The Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom has watched with sympathy and admiration the struggle of the peoples behind the Iron Curtain to assert their Fundamental Human Rights and their national freedom. It expresses its solidarity with the workers of Berlin and the East Zone of Germany who, unarmed, fought for their rights and freedom against tanks and sub-machine guns and congratulates them on their heroic effort which will live long in the history of the struggle for freedom. Since freedom, like peace, is indivisible, the Committee looks forward to the day of liberation when the peoples of the world now under totalitarian tyranny will be able to join hands with the peoples of the free world in creating conditions in which the full flowering of culture becomes possible.

2. The Committee is at the same time conscious of the existence of political subjection and racial discrimination in certain other parts of the world such as South Africa and it similarly expresses its solidarity with those who suffer from such lack of freedom and equality of status and are striving to end it.

V CULTURAL FREEDOM FOR ADIVASIS

While it is obvious that there can be no question of keeping the aboriginal and tribal population in a kind of museum either for the delectation of scientists or as a picturesque embroidery to Indian life, the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom recognises that these peoples have the same rights as others to their own manners, customs and religion; that their own social organisation and leadership and their economic systems have for them a real authority; that they should be free to eat and drink whatever is sanctioned by tradition; that their way of dress and personal decoration, their art, their dances, their mythology and poetry have often a genuine beauty and are worth preserving in themselves since they are an important contribution to the endless variety of the Indian scene; that, in short, their culture is not a 'savage' or 'backward' thing, but is logical, complete and well adapted to its economic and geographical environment.

2. The tragic decline of tribal communities in America and the Pacific provide a warning of the danger of a too rapid process of assimilation and change. It is urged, therefore, that while the goal of progress must clearly be that the aboriginals and tribesmen should take their full share in the life of the country and be open to all its benefits, their progress should be so adjusted so as not to lead to moral and cultural degradation—such as the adoption of customs and beliefs like child marriage, communalism and untouchability, of which they have

hitherto been innocent but which are rapidly entering their life. Nor is there any advantage if progress merely means the exchange of simple for more sophisticated superstitions.

3. All tribal areas, including those of North-West Frontier, should be free and open to contact with the outside world, and any system of passes and permits within the boundaries of India is to be deprecated.

4. The Committee urges upon both the Central and State governments the importance of research by Indian and foreign scholars into every aspect of aboriginal and tribal culture, both for its proper understanding by the administration and for the records of history which will be incomplete without it. It stresses that primary importance should be given to economic improvement—the fair distribution of land, the adjustment of forest rights, the control of money-lenders, the removal of corrupt and oppressive officials; the health should be regarded as the next necessity, and that hospitals and dispensaries should be opened in the woefully neglected areas; and that, in the educational policy of government, due regard be paid to the language of these peoples.

VI OUR STAND

The Indian Committee for Cultural freedom requests the Executive Committee to publicise widely the text of the Declaration on Cultural Freedom adopted by the Indian Congress for Cultural Freedom in March 1951 in order that the fundamental purpose and principles of the organisation may be known and understood.

VII GREETINGS TO WORLD MOVEMENT

This Second Annual General Meeting of the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom extends its greetings to the World Movement for Cultural Freedom and, through it, to its sister organisations in other countries and offers its cooperation in the furtherance of the cause of cultural freedom.

NEW EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Mr. R. Benipuri
Mr. M. Bhaktavatsalam
Mr. K. Chandrasekharan
Mr. Eric de Costa
Mr. P. Y. Deshpande
Mr. Jaipal Singh, M. P.
Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan
Mr. M. R. Masani
Mr. Asoka Mehta
Mr. Ram Singh
Dr. Sampurnanand

Hon. Secretaries :

Mr. Philip Spratt
Mr. Ka. Naa. Subramaniam
Mr. J. B. H. Wadia.

Review

Nehru—the Lotus Eater from Kashmir

by D. F. Karaka (Dereck Verschoyle, London. Rs 6/8)

IT is distasteful," Karaka writes "for an Indian to break an image of his own creation." While there can be no doubt that the biography of Nehru makes a fairly thorough job of this, it is also remarkable for its fairness and objectivity. It does the author credit, that through his thesis of gradual disenchantment there was a thread of personal feeling, almost affection; and that he can acknowledge, without bitterness, the magic of Nehru's personality and the promise which it held for millions of his countrymen who, though gradually and consistently disillusioned by his policies, are yet unable to throw off the spell that binds them to him. Nehru's "influence as a party leader is not great; as a thinker he is not impressive; his record as a capable administrator is nil," the author claims, "but his personality as an individual is irresistible. He has a sincerity which is compelling; it makes even reason yield to it."

In his analysis of politics and events Karaka is well-informed and clear-sighted. His comments on the 'liberation' of Tibet, what he describes as our 'deliberate unpreparedness,' and the consequences of Nehru's neutralism, are food for serious thought. "Nehru's neutrality," he complains, "was in no way disturbed by this major operation in Tibet whereby a huge territory... virtually slipped behind the ever-expanding Iron Curtain... it has brought one of the most dangerous enemies of democracy right on to

our Northern gates while Pandit Nehru... exchanges goodwill missions with the Chinese."! Lucid and equally realistic is Karaka's resume of the complex and controversial situation in Kashmir. While it advances no mystical or moral pleas for Kashmir's accession to India, it makes abundantly clear the hard practical facts which make the valley vital and necessitous to our defence, dispelling much of the emotional haze which seems to cloud nearly all discussions of this issue.

Reviewing Nehru's performance as an administrator, Karaka concludes that far from creating a sound democratic State, Nehru's administration has fast assumed the character of an autocratic police state with one door wide open to communism. This summation seems a trifle over-wrought in view of the fact that we continue to enjoy a measure of stability and individual freedom which is encouraging in comparison with that of our immediate neighbours. Nevertheless, Karaka's comments are supported by factual evidence, not lightly to be dismissed, and even where one is not disposed to complete agreement, they are extremely disquieting in the surmises they provoke.

Informative, precise, written with courage and a keen analytical insight, this biography of Nehru formulates the tragedy and predicament of millions of his compatriots who are "too old to look for a new hero to worship, but young enough to feel the sting of defeat." Despite a certain bias implicit in the title, Karaka's book reveals a reassuring objectivity, both in its approach to Nehru, as well as in its handling of contemporary affairs, and the crisp, fluent vital prose makes agreeable reading. M. K. C.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

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with the sense of beauty. The culture of Rome was developed round the sense of order and law. The culture of India is built round the central idea of self-control. The way of life, the pattern of behaviour accepted as correct and esteemed by the people of India as worthy, by the common folk as well as by the enlightened, is the way of self-control as laid down in the Upanishads and the Bhagwat Gita and emphasized in recent times, with the whole force of a political revolution behind it, by Mahatma Gandhi.

Therefore before we discuss culture on the Indian background, it is necessary to dwell on the essentials of it even if it may seem we are using the occasion for a religious discourse. The first two verses of Isa Vasya Upanishad put it down in simple and brief language:

God pervades everything in this world.
*Isaavaasyamidam sarvam yatkincha
jagatyam jagat.*

Dedicate everything to Him while doing the things you do and enjoying the things you possess. Do not entertain covetous desires.

*Tena tyaktena bhunjiitha maa gridha:
kasyaswidhanam.*

Life involves necessarily activity and work. Work involves necessarily some evil or other, particularly

attachment to the fruits of activity. If one must work, as one must live, there is no other way to escape the contamination of evil, except by dedication of all activities to the all-pervading Supreme Spirit.

*Kurvanneveha Karmani
Jijivishetchatam Samaah.
Evam thvayi naanyathetosti
Nakarma lipyate nare.*

Whatever you do, do it as an act of dedication to God, be it small or be it big, whether it is a trivial business or is a thing of great and general importance. This is how Brother Lawrence is said to have lived. Even when cooking or scrubbing the floor or cleaning the vessels, he did his work in company with his God. He worked and he laughed with God by his side.

There is a soul in the body that functions in the material world. He who denies the soul and identifies it with the body and thus kills his own soul will find the world all dark and without any light to guide his steps.

*Asuryaa naama te' lokaa andhena
tamasaavritaah
Taanste' pre'tyaabhi gachchanti
ye' ke' chaatmahano' janaah.*

Why? Because their minds are led by desires and will wander into evil and grief. The soul can conquer

the wandering mind and senses. It can control the senses and prevent their attachment to sensuous pleasures which leads men to ruin. All that one thinks to be other than oneself moving or unmoving, near or far should be seen and realised to be part of oneself. The sense of separation from those around you should be overcome.

*Yastu sarvaani Bhuutanyaatmanyē'vā
nupac, yati
Sarvabhūte' shu chaatmaanā
tato' na vijugupsate'.*

What I have explained is a rendering of the first six verses of the Isa Vasya Upanishad and it is also the teaching of the Gita. The Upanishad proceeds to explain that by the result of the life and discipline taught therein, one will attain equanimity and reach knowledge and the power of enjoying all that comes to one to the best advantage. You will thereby, says the Upanishad, properly enjoy the things of enjoyment for years and years, that is, in the right way and not leading to pain and grief.

*Yaathaathiyatah arthaan vyadadhaat
saasvatibhya:
samaabhyā:*

All Indian culture is bound up with this doctrine of self-control based on a recognition of the existence and the functioning of a soul within and pervading the material casement.

Civilization in modern times has developed into and identified itself with man's control over his environment, man's control over nature. In the pursuit of this objective civilization has forgotten the prime requisite for happiness, viz., control over oneself. We have learnt very greatly how to control nature, but we have not learnt how to control ourselves. Control over nature and man's environment has extended beyond all expectations and has in recent years spread out to a dangerous field, viz., to the obtaining of psychological power over the minds of men and women. Humanity is reduced to the condition of material nature and the rulers of the world have developed a technique to control the minds of men and women even as they have succeeded in controlling material nature. The attempt to control the minds of men and women as if they were raw material like coal and iron took shape in Hitlerism and Communism.

If civilization means happiness this must not be permitted. If men and women are reduced to something like coal and iron, where are moral values, the weights and measures by which we judge progress and civilization? Moral values cannot be allowed to become the plaything of psychological technique.

The culture of a people is essentially the prevailing pattern of joyous restraint accepted by the people. If this is so, what then does freedom of culture for which your organisation stands mean? Does your conception of freedom contradict self-restraint? I think not. I consider the slogan of your organization means only this — that restraint should be developed from within in accordance with truth to replace the restraints that are imposed by the State. Truth is another name for moral values. Truth

should not be sacrificed at the altar of other objectives. It is to this I think you give the name of cultural freedom. Freedom does not mean licence, absence of self-restraint. No one can be free of the restraints by moral values: nothing can claim liberation from the shackles of truth, the chains imposed by moral values.

Now Hitler claimed when he was in power, and the Communists claim that truth is not an inviolable temple. Their activities past and present are based on the conviction that truth is just what we agree to be truth and nothing more permanent than that. This cannot be accepted. When you stand for freedom of culture, I presume you claim that no direction should be given to culture in disregard of the respect that is due to truth, that is, in disregard of moral values.

Now there are some who argue that truth continually grows: that it is not static: that it is ever a matter for further research and therefore there is no sense in talking about the absolute essentiality of regard for truth or for moral values. I agree that the truth is not entirely disclosed to man, but there is such a thing as an unalterable desire to seek the truth and unqualified respect for what we for the time being believe to be the truth. The opposite approach is that we do not know the ultimate truth and therefore what the ruling party has decided to be good for the people is the truth.

What I most dislike in Communism is the deterioration it works in moral values and the respect for truth. When regulations lose the life-giving governance of moral values and when indoctrination is deemed lawful and proper, in order that some objective may be reached, then there is loss of freedom, which your organisation and all of us deplore. And this is what happens when communism is allowed to rule. This is what we have in mind when we say that freedom is lost in communist-ruled countries. God is dethroned in those countries as the first necessary step to dethrone truth and in order that nothing may stand in the way of whatever the ruling party decides, on such data as are accepted by them, as good for the people. In fact "the people" is a phrase that has with communists replaced moral values. Of all the slogans that I dislike, I dislike most this misleading slogan of "the people". It is sought to replace every moral value, everything sacred. Even justice in judicial matters is, according to the communists, justice, only when an indoctrinated crowd shouts it. The party that has got hold of power makes the people what they are, if not in one generation, in two or three. And this was sought to be done secretly before, but it is openly done now. In fact it is acclaimed to be lawful education. The difference between culture as we understand it and culture as developed in communist countries consists in this—that we respect truth and have regard for moral values, which are deemed inviolable.

It may be that everything is relative and we have to be content with truth as we know or believe it to be. But it is something to love what we regard as truth. It is disgusting altogether to shape life not

caring for moral values. You know that a child grows. It will be in course of time quite different from what it is now. But you love it with all your heart. You do not stint in your love or in your attention because the child will grow into a big man later on. Truth grows, but we must love it at all stages and not regard it as an illusion. I consider that this is the meaning of the slogan of freedom by which this organisation swears.

But for my own part I would love it that instead of making 'freedom' the banner of our struggle against communism, we set up self-control, that is, the restraint of our activities based on moral values as our battle-standard. Not freedom which may deteriorate into licence and anarchy, not State-regulation which may deteriorate into tyranny, but 'self-control' is the right slogan. As against the culture of unrestrained liberty which is the slogan on one side and the culture of all-round State-regulation which is the slogan on the other side, India stands for self-control, which is neither freedom nor regulation from outside. This

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(Continued from page 1)

of every member of the fraternity should be the capacity to take a rational view of things. A rational view of things implies the acceptance of reasoning as a valid source of knowledge. It is quite another matter that in certain cases people may not find themselves in agreement about the premises: it is also a fact that, in certain matters, those pertaining to religion, for example, even some of the most rational of men may not be prepared to accept reason as the final touchstone of truth. Nonetheless, the intelligentsia, as a class, is distinguished by its logical approach to the problems of life: it is willing to weigh evidence and to revise its opinions, if need be. It is not guided by *a priori* judgement and is willing to hear all sides before coming to a decision. It is, above all, willing to allow the expression of opinions contrary to those held by the majority of its class for the time being, because it recognises that this is the only way in which knowledge can grow: वादे वादे जायते तत्त्वबोधः ।

This does not mean that the intelligentsia, as such, stands for anarchy and licence. A page from ancient Indian history can profitably be studied in this connection. There were certain principles which were considered essential for what may be called the Hindu way of life. They were comprised under the term Varnashrama Dharma, a set of rules defining the norm of conduct for the citizen. They lay down the duties of the individual in various stages of his life as an individual and as a member of society. But beyond this, there was no attempt at canalising the activities of the intellect. All forms of belief and non-belief ranging from the unadulterated materialism of Charvaka to the atheism of Kapila and, further on, to the absolute monism of Vedanta, were tolerated. Anyone was free to express and propagate any opinion. Had it been otherwise, heterodox schools of thought would not have been allowed to flourish unscathed. The fact that Buddha and

is what Gandhi stood for, what the Bhagwat Gita preached and what was solemnly voiced forth in the ancient Upanishads. This alone will save the world from anarchy as well as from the slavery of totalitarianism. To cultivate self-control, faith in Divine rule is an indispensable pre-requisite condition of mind; without it, we may talk of self-control, but it is not possible. It is only when based on faith in Divine rule that self-control will be a joy and a fulfilment and progressively increase, instead of being pain and travail and remaining so all the time.

The culture of India is based on and bound up with self-control. It is the characteristic fundamental of Indian thought. It is this alone that can establish true freedom not to be confused with the free play of individual ambitions. It is self-restraint, control from within that makes art artistic, beauty beautiful an order orderly and enjoyable.

(Inaugural Address to the Annual Conference of the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom.)

Mahavira went about preaching against the Vedas and all they stood for is proof of the freedom of thought which was such an important feature of the society of those days.

Such freedom does not exist, and its necessity is not recognised, in countries dominated by the Red Star. There can be no room for any independent philosophic thought in those lands; all that a person calling himself a philosopher has to do is to interpret the gospels revealed to mankind by Marx and Engels. One would not, perhaps, mind very much if such restrictions were confined to the region of speculation alone. Unfortunately, they are not. Science, psychology, history, literature and sociology all feel the whip. Facts yielded by research are stubborn, but the scholar and the writer must interpret them so as to make them fit into the framework of communism. Many a scientist, historian and literary critic has had to eat humble pie and grovel in the dust before the gods who run the Party machine to atone for what they were pleased to call his deviationism from the straight path of Marxism. The penance of some was accepted while others were simply snuffed out and thrown into oblivion for ever. And this baleful light has now begun to shine on China as well.

Such an atmosphere can never be wholesome. It breeds fear and uneasiness. Young men and women brought up in such a milieu know no other religion than communism. They are inspired by evangelical fervour to convert the whole world to their way of thinking; whoever will not be converted must be liberated, nonetheless, even if the liberation involves his physical death. This fanaticism is understandable, even if one does not consider it desirable. But it is strengthened from another source. Even the highly regimented mind of the communist intellectual is bound to be upset at times by inconvenient facts which refuse to fit into the pattern which he has been taught to regard with religious awe. He knows that even the expression of an honest doubt will lead him into serious trouble. There is an un-

resolvable conflict; the makings of a serious neurosis. And the only way he can preserve some semblance of sanity is by plunging madly into action, by lashing savagely at everyone who seems not to accept the theory and practice which his own mind now refuses to accept as wholly valid. Action is his only means of escape from his own thoughts. There is every reason to believe that the Indian communist has borrowed lavishly the neurosis, along with the ideology, of his mentors from abroad.

The neurosis from which the Indian intelligentsia, and to a greater or less degree, the intelligentsia of many other civilised countries suffers is of a different nature, although it also seeks expression through the familiar technique of escapism. Much of the indiscipline, for instance, which has earned so much notoriety for the Indian student is, I believe, a direct consequence of his neurotic mentality. In his subconscious effort to escape from himself he takes refuge in activity, the wilder the better.

To my mind, the first component of the malaise from which the Indian intellectual suffers is utter uncertainty and instability. Political independence has been achieved in an age when the forces of communism and democracy are drawn up against each other in preparation for a mighty war of extermination and, in between the two, there are any number of warring groups owing allegiance to an infinite variety of shades of pink faith. India is destined to be one of the important battle-grounds of these ideologies and the men who profess them. His education and the bringing up of those who are the present leaders of society align the young Indian with the protagonists of democracy, but the call of communism is no less insistent. He is treated every day to tales of the achievements of communist countries. India frequently sends out good-will missions. These are composed generally, either of colourless individuals or of persons whose mission in life is to decry India and praise her communist neighbours. Little wonder, he feels increasingly drawn towards communism, but cannot, at the same time, divest himself wholly of his weakness for democracy.

The economic situation seems to be equally hopeless. Money may be plentiful but purchasing power has shrunk inordinately low. Unemployment stares large numbers in the face and the fatuous resolutions passed by bodies like the Congress Working Committee and the Planning Commission have no message of hope to convey to those sliding helplessly down towards slow death by semi-starvation. The social prospect is no less gloomy. Old bonds are getting loose. The joint family system, for example, is breaking up. The impact of the West has given rise to new ideas, many of which are accepted without analysis. New social legislation is being rushed through, not because there is any pressing demand from a considerable section of the people but because it is felt that its non-existence on the Statute Book will brand us as an inferior people in the eyes of the West. But whatever its genesis, it cannot fail to set up painful strains tending to disrupt the even tenor of life. The growing chasm between the physiological and the

economic ages of marriage also produces hysteria, melancholia and a hundred other nervous disorders.

Is it to be wondered at that, buffeted about by so many warring forces, the Indian intellectual's mind is in a state of chronic uncertainty and frustration? He finds it difficult to retain his self-respect or self-confidence, and this generates fear. The only way, I repeat, in which he can retain some shred of sanity is to avoid facing facts, to avoid thinking, to engage in some kind of activity all the time. A person who feels that he has not been treated fairly by society cannot be blamed if he finds satisfaction in activities that give him a sense of meting out well-deserved retribution. No one wants deliberately to injure the interests of his own country, but we have only to listen to the terms in which large sections of our intellectuals discuss schemes sponsored by the government. It almost appears that they take a malicious pleasure if such schemes go awry, even if such failure spells a costly loss to the nation.

Such a frame of mind is not wholesome. Honest doubt is no doubt better than half the creeds and there is a place in society even for the cynic, but the prospect of a whole nation, or what comes to the same thing, its intellectual elite, turning cynic cannot be contemplated with equanimity. The best efforts at nation-building will founder on this rock. It must be realised that there is solid truth in Sri Krishna's words: *संशयात्मा विनश्यति*. "The man who is perpetually beset with doubts is destroyed."

Utter lack of faith is the culmination of the Indian intellectual's neurosis. The sanskrit word for faith is *श्रद्धा* which is derived from *श्रच्*, meaning truth. One can have faith only in that which one holds to be irrevocably true. An object in which one can repose faith is like a shield and a sheet-anchor: it gives fortitude to face a thousand onslaughts of an adverse fate and inspires with courage and hope not only to meet, but to shape, the future. If the object of one's faith were somehow shown not to deserve trust, a void would be created which would make life miserable.

There is nothing abnormal about the trials and tribulations through which India is passing. Any country, similarly placed, might have to face them during the period of transition. What makes our burden appear so heavy is that we are not spiritually equipped to bear it. There is no faith and no object of faith. Along with the breaking up of social and economic fabric, old values are also losing their hold and new ones have not replaced them. Religion has become a mummery and old traditions, taking the memory back through a thousand years of the nation's history, embodying its hopes and aspirations, its ideals and its experiences, are being brushed aside with a contemptuous shrug. Spiritual vacuity has become almost a badge of intellectual superiority.

The fault does not lie with the younger members of the intelligentsia. They are the victims of a strange conspiracy. The blame must be put squarely on other shoulders.

There are the Universities, for instance. Whatever their achievements in the purely intellectual

field—and I do not belittle them—they have failed us miserably on what might be called the cultural front. There has been no effort, so far as I am aware, to initiate a new movement of thought, to evolve a new ideology, to work for the shaping of a new culture, a new religion if you will, which shall conserve all that is best in the old, assimilate all that is good in the new and present a frame-work within which the soul of the nation, anchored firmly to its spiritual moorings, shall find the fullest opportunity for self-expression and expansion. The Universities do not seem to be aware of this obligation to society. There are courses in Indian culture and sociology in some of them, but they might as well be courses in Sumerian culture or the culture of Pre-Montezuma Peru. There is no attempt to link up the past with the present and make it a living stepping-stone to the future. The subjects comprised under the various faculties of Arts and Sciences are taught with more or less efficiency and there is some attempt at carrying on research as well, but there is no attempt to coordinate knowledge, no effort to look to the needs of the whole man, no conscious search for means to develop the full personality, to create a balanced individual. It is not at all surprising, therefore that the atmosphere of our Universities is charged with cynicism and irreverence.

There is another source which has failed us in this hour of need. If Russia, after her great revolution, was not engulfed in a great spiritual chaos, the reason was firstly that the philosophy of Marx was there to fill the void and secondly because she had the good fortune to have at the helm of affairs a Lenin with a Gorki to assist him. The result was that, while the country was fed on Marxism, its culture was not torn up by the roots. Even though bourgeois, the old art and literature were given their rightful place in the development of the new. Russia's rulers had strong cultural affinities with the people; they were, therefore, eminently fitted to lead them.

We are in an entirely different position. The man who knew the Indian people intimately because his heart-strings beat in unison with theirs, who could speak in a language pulsating through and through with our traditions and age-long ideals, is no more. He was cruelly snatched away from us. The leadership that remains is not attuned to the Indian mind. There is a vast cultural chasm that separates it from the masses. The customs, the songs, the folk-tales, that appeal to the multitude repel the national leadership. It is one thing to tolerate, as one tolerates the play-acting of children, the foibles of one's unenlightened countrymen, it is another to enter into their spirit and discern the heart-throbs that lie buried beneath the crust. It is true, everyone speaks of Indian culture, claiming that no one other than himself understands what the word means. We patronise Ustads and send Indian singers and dancers abroad to carry the message of Indian culture to far-off lands. But our appreciation of these things is purely intellectual, if it exists at all. There is no real effort to develop dance and music, as it has been developing all through the ages, because it does not

ICCF NEWS

The Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom organised a reception at Bombay on September 17 in honour of Dr. Harry Gideonse, President of Brooklyn College and Chairman, Board of Freedom House, New York. Fifty members of the Committee and guests heard Dr. Gideonse speak trenchantly on 'The Problems of McCarthyism and of Academic Freedom.' Sir N. J. Wadia, Vice-Chancellor of Bombay University, presided. Among those present were a number of Principals of colleges and professors.

really appeal to our leadership. The same is true of literature. The men who go abroad carry with them only the corpse of a dead tradition, much as one might take along with him some of the stones and pieces of terra-cotta, reminiscent of an art that died a thousand years ago.

A Radhakrishnan tours the world and speaks to it about the Vedantic conception of life and everyone of us swears by the Mahatma and his message. But all this is more or less for foreign consumption. It has little effect on life at home. Our Constitution has no doubt its great points: it has, one may admit, the virtues inherent in all the constitutions upon which it has drawn so liberally, but it has a singular individuality of its own in one respect: one shall search it in vain for the faintest trace of Vedanta or Gandhism—the two are really not antagonistic conceptions—or any other ideological basis. There is no suggestion that its authors had the faintest idea of what the goal of life and endeavour should be. It is not possible, therefore, so far as the constitution is concerned, to give any direction to life, to the system of education which prepares a man to live his life fruitfully. There is no ideal to which one may aspire, for which one may sacrifice one's self.

True, there is the concept of the Welfare State. It is, unfortunately, too prosaic. An ideal should be something that lifts a man above himself, that is really impersonal. The Welfare State cannot be impersonal, because one expects to share in the welfare. Men, as a rule, do not sacrifice themselves for such a thing. Food and clothes and houses, roads and hospitals and schools, are all good things, but they are such obvious expansions in degree of the necessary, but humdrum, details of every day life that it is difficult for them to assume that air of holiness which an ideal must possess.

Our leaders do not seem to realise this. It is true that the Welfare State can materialise best through cooperation. Indian thought has likened us, and all else that is in the universe, to the component parts of one organic whole, the Virat, and told us परस्परं भावयन्तः श्रेयः परमवाप्स्यथ—You will gain the highest good by serving one another. But then the term has come to us from the West, where the mind has been fed for several generations on the philosophy wrongly borrowed from biology of a perpetual struggle for existence, in which only the fittest, namely, the most ruthless and ego-centred, survive. Such a philosophy seems to be so true to

the facts of life that no appeals for cooperation can wholly remove it from the mind. And there is no room in such a struggle for sacrifice. The utmost one can concede is that one's self-interest must be enlightened.

There is another concept that is often put forward as a crowning triumph of our statesmanship, the concept of the Secular State. I can only say that the main idea behind this term is as old as Indian history. The empires of Asoka, of the Guptas and of Akbar were secular in all essentials. The ruler professed a religion which was also patronised by the State, but the sole criterion for appointment to places of trust and responsibility was talent. It would be sheer presumption to say that Britain is not a secular State in the real sense of the term because it has a State religion. In India, however, the bugbear of communalism has made secularism almost synonymous with anti-religion. In any case, all reference to Hindustan is looked upon with suspicion. We talk about Indian culture and refer to its composite nature. This is perfectly correct, but at the same time we cannot forget that the main current of this culture, fed by a hundred tributaries as it has been, started on its humanising mission when the first Vedic Rishi chanted his Sama on the banks of the Saraswati.

I speak of its humanising mission, because the great lesson of tolerance was brought home to mankind when the Rishi uttered the words: एकं सत् विप्र बहुधा वदन्ति — The Absolute Existence is one, the wise call it by many names. Could there be a better method of teaching men to make cooperation, rather than competition, the rule of life than telling them that they are all inseparable units in the cosmic body of Virat? The Upanishad tells us कुर्वन्नेवेह कर्माणि जिजीविषेत् शतं समाः—One should live one's life engaged in action—and then says explicitly त्यक्तेन भुञ्जीथाः—enjoy through renunciation. What wiser code of conduct could one have? Do you not help to lift a man out of despondency, by reminding him that he is not a bond-slave to a blind fate but a shaper of his own destiny, one of the अमृतस्य पुत्राः—sons of Immortality, one with God himself in essence?

I have no intention to preach Hinduism here but, at the same time cannot help pointing out that some of the finest elements of Indian thought have received their inspiration from sources which have

no other name than Hindu. We could well base our culture of tomorrow on these elements which are the warp and woof of our nation's life. They have to be brought to the fore-conscious and once again made potent forces. An appeal in these terms will evoke warm response and endow our lives with the inspiration of a living mission. They envisage the building up of a new humanity, practising tolerance and good will, each carrying for all and all for each, in which men shall love their neighbours as themselves because everyone will have the conviction that in reality his neighbour is none other than himself. This message will not be confined to one race or religious sect or country or political dispensation. इमां वाचं कल्याणीं भावयानि जनेभ्यः Carry these words of good cheer to all men.

We who are looked upon as the leaders of the people speak to them in a language borrowed from the West, because we know no other. There is, moreover, the fear, groundless but nonetheless potent, that to speak rich in associations gathered in forty centuries of usage is to open the flood-gates to Hindu communalism. The result is what might have been expected.

The Young intellectual who takes his cue from us has learnt from us just enough to despise what comes from the past. Religion is to him a silly mumbo-jumbo and the intellectual life of those days a record of superstitions and extortionate priest-craft. But the mind cannot feed on distrust and contempt alone: we have not given him anything positive to fill the void we have thus thoughtlessly created. This is his malady. He cannot get much enlightenment from abroad, because, it seems, the West is itself in a state of ideological flux. The old *laissez-faire* is crumbling in the realm of the spirit, no less than in the field of economics. Forceful regimentation along the lines that might appeal to a political party will be harmful in the extreme, but it is being increasingly felt that the denial of the claim of the spirit, the Higher ego, in man for the sake of material prosperity has been disastrous. Without a definite conception of the goal of human endeavour, even the quest for knowledge becomes a dangerous weapon. One can see before one's eyes how the most powerful nations, in which there has been the fullest opportunity for intellectual development are hurtling down the path that will lead to the destruction of civilisation, if not of the human race itself. The West, therefore, which is itself in the grip of a tremendous nervous strain, is not in a position to guide anyone to mental balance.

We have to set our house in order ourselves. Our leadership must take an active part in shaping the cultural life of the people. This is the only way to lift the Indian intellectual out of the abyss of imperialism, frustration, cynicism and utter lack of faith in which he finds himself at present. Then only will the intelligentsia be able to pull its weight in the all-round development of the nation and of humanity.

(Presidential Address to the Second Annual Conference of the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom)

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