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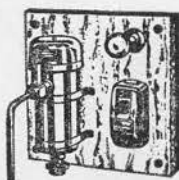


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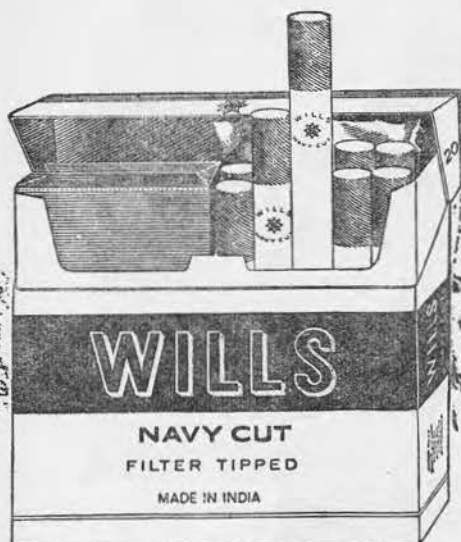


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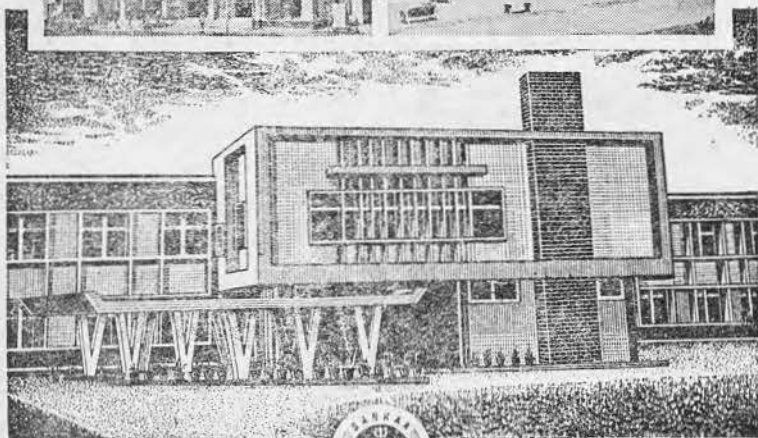
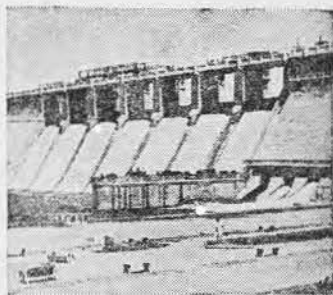
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Q U E S T

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Jawaharlal Nehru on Religion

ABU SAYEED AYYUB

"MUST 'religion' always remain a synonym for 'hatred'?" asked A. N. Whitehead in 1933 in his *Adventure of Ideas*, and a few years later Jawaharlal Nehru said in his *Autobiography*, as if to bring home to us the tragic implications of Whitehead's question, 'India is supposed to be a religious country above everything else, and Hindu and Muslim and Sikh and others take pride in their faiths and testify to their truth by breaking heads'. Only a few hundred heads had been broken in the name of religion by the time Nehru's *Autobiography* was written. A dozen years later the number jumped to a few thousand, and a year later leaped to lakhs. The following years showed a decline in numbers, but hardly a year went by in this sub-continent when the gods were not athirst. 1950 was a good year so far as human sacrifice goes and 1964 has already done better. The Punjab holocaust of 1947 will take some beating, but the tribal gods are still very powerful. We all hope (all?) yet none dare assert with any confidence that the worst days of religious barbarism are over for us. I for one therefore wholly shared Nehru's sentiments when he went on to declare as early as in 1936: 'The spectacle of what is called religion, or at any rate organised religion, has filled me with horror, and I have frequently condemned it and wished to make a clean sweep of it'. In the same context Whitehead had used harsher words, but no less justified by a dispassionate examination of the facts: 'History, down to the present day, is a melancholy record of the horrors which can attend religion.....Religion is the last refuge of human savagery. The uncritical association of religion with good-

ness is directly negated by facts'. (*Religion in the Making*, p. 26)

Yet neither Nehru, one of the greatest men of action of our time albeit endowed with a rarely sensitive and astonishingly contemplative mind, nor Whitehead, whom I regard as the greatest thinker of our era, the era of science, made the mistake of equating religion as such with organised religion and therefore denouncing the essence of religion because its communal manifestations were so abhorrent to them. It is necessary to draw attention to the possibility of making this particular mistake, for it has in fact been made by contemporary leaders of thought and action of no less stature than, for example, Russell and Lenin — to mention only one pair of illustrious names. Perhaps I am wrong in characterising the confusion as a confusion between essence and manifestation. Through a deplorable inexactitude in terminology two easily distinguishable and sharply distinct phenomena have come to be denoted by the same word 'religion'. Nehru was painfully aware of the fact that the use of this word 'causes confusion and interminable debate and argument when often enough entirely different meanings are attached to it'.

We shall be primarily concerned with two meanings of the word, one in the personal sphere and the other in the communal. Though Nehru has some eminently sound observations to make about personal religion which I shall discuss later, his mind was greatly preoccupied with communal, or as he prefers to call it, organised religion. This is not at all surprising, considering the ghastliness of its appearance on the Indian stage during the last 4 decades, and on the European stage too

during the nineteen-thirties and forties when the combination of religious and racial hatreds resulted in the massacre of 6 million innocent and helpless men, women and children. What is surprising is that when, in spite of the disaster which organised religion brought over this land and its people (resulting but not ending in the partition of India), Nehru did attempt a definition of religion, he ignored its communal manifestation and produced a definition of what, following William James, I shall call personal religion. 'What then is religion (to use the word in spite of its disadvantages)? Probably it consists of the inner development of the individual, the evolution of his consciousness in a certain direction which is considered good. What that direction is will be a matter of debate, but as far as I understand it, religion lays stress on this inner change, and considers outward change as but the projection of this inner development' (*Autobiography*, Allied Publications, Indian Ed., 1962, p. 379).

Nehru presents this definition with evident approval, and no reasonable person can disapprove of religion defined thus. The point, however, is that the inner development of the individual does not and cannot take place in a vacuum; the individual lives in society and develops himself under given social conditions — which conditions can help or hinder his personal development. Some rare individuals may no doubt renounce society, squat under a banyan tree in a forest and 'reach great inner heights'. But this is not possible for the large majority of men and women. The logic of the situation compels Nehru to add that 'even for inner development external freedom and a suitable environment become necessary'. But was he right in maintaining that religion 'considers outward change as but a projection of this inner development'?

Islam had from the outset paid much heed to the details of the social organisation which it considered suitable for promoting the good life as conceived by it. In the Brahmanical religion the principles of social organisation were not formulated

at one stroke or within a short period. They emerged gradually, and only after the passage of a millenium did they assume the definite and elaborate codification which we find in Manu's Samhita. Earlier, when under the impact of Upanisadic teaching, emphasis had shifted to inner development to such an extent that social duties came to be seriously neglected and when the Buddha and the Jina were attracting the best minds of the time to their monastic orders, the author of the Gita found it necessary to expound the new doctrine that one of the three ways of reaching the highest inner development (moksa) was through the performance of one's social duties in the right and pure spirit. He was not, however, presenting any new social goals or values and therefore not recommending any change in the social order, but only insisting that the old order be preserved and the prescribed duties (vihita karma) be disinterestedly performed. Christianity too, though not at the time of Christ but two or three centuries later, began to concern itself greatly with the task of constructing a suitable social framework for the Christian way of life.

No religion really ignored the question of social environment, or neglected to lay down the principles of social organisation appropriate to its own conception of the good life. The fault lay elsewhere. It lay in its inability to visualise that society must continuously grow from lower to higher forms of organisation. All the communal religions of the world have been — in spite of occasional wars and massacres carried out in the name of religion — the most potent factors of social stability. They have, alas, also invariably been the most powerful agencies for building dams in the stream of mankind's progress and thus creating the stagnant pools of history. Centuries of effort were needed in Europe to break these dams and make the waters run again. In India, by and large, we are still living in the midst of stagnant pools. No one in this country was more keenly or sadly aware of this than Jawaharlal Nehru. For Nehru's especial talents lay in

the visualisation and promotion of social growth, and this is the cause for which he worked all his life from early morning to midnight till the day before his death at the age of 74.

Let us not forget, however, that all communal religions in their origin were revolutionary forces, their founders were in revolt against existing beliefs and practices. In some cases they became so dangerous to the powers that be that the latter found it necessary to 'liquidate' them either by invoking due processes of the law or by inciting the fury of the mob against them. In the face of persecution and under great hardship they preached their doctrines and made the first converts mostly from the victims of the existing social order. Apart from their own fervent faith and moral rigour, and a humanitarian zeal for spreading the light, they had an infectious quality about them or, to use the popular jargon, a 'magnetic personality'. They attracted people around them; wherever they went they made converts; those who came to scoff, stayed to obey and follow. Within their lifetime or soon after their death the number of converts became large enough to organise themselves for self-defence against the hostile members of the old order and also to carry the new light they had received to those still immersed in darkness. In the course of time, as William James, a most sympathetic student of religion, observes, 'when these groups got strong enough to 'organise', they became ecclesiastical institutions, with corporate ambitions of their own. The spirit of politics and the lust of dogmatic rule are then apt to enter and to contaminate the originally innocent thing'. (*Varieties of Religious Experience*, p. 328).

It is almost a universal characteristic of religion to start as an emotionally uplifting and morally inspiring personal experience of its founder, then turn into the burning faith and zeal of the new converts, and finally to crystallise into rigid dogma and ritual around which grow dehumanising and soul-killing institutions. The

passage from Jesus Christ to medieval Christianity of course presents the best, or worst, example of such transformation, but nonetheless presents the type, and ghosts of Papacy and the Church Militant still roam about in one guise or another amongst all the large religious communities of the world, particularly amongst the two major religions of India. Hinduism can rightly boast of being to a considerable extent free from the stranglehold of dogma, and it disdains to proselytise; nevertheless it too has given rise to militant and intolerant communal organisations. Nehru had to confront militant Hindu and Muslim communalism all through his political career. One can therefore understand his irritation with and indignation at 'the spectacle of what is called religion'. But curiously enough, and fascinatingly too, one important cause of his impatience with religion was the great love and loyalty he bore towards Gandhi.

No one has ever doubted that Gandhi was basically a religious person. And he was religious not in any purely universalistic or essentialistic sense — a sense in which Socrates, Spinoza, Whitehead, Einstein, Tagore or even Nehru could be said to be religious — but in the narrower sense of religion in which it is divided into communities. Gandhi never thought of himself as anything but a Hindu, and Nehru describes him as 'a Hindu to the innermost depths of his being'. If we were asked to name the best representative of all that is best in the Hindu religion in our time, who else could we name but Gandhi? I find it difficult to think of even Vivekananda in this category, for did he not say that he 'wanted to lead mankind to the place where there is neither the Vedas nor the Bible nor the Koran'? Furthermore: 'Practical Advaitism, which looks upon and behaves to all mankind as one's own soul, is yet to be developed among the Hindus universally. On the other hand, our experience is that if ever the followers of any religion approach to

this equality in an appreciable degree in the plane of practical work-a-day life.... it is those of Islam and Islam alone'. And his conviction that 'for our motherland a junction of the two great systems, Hinduism and Islam — Vedanta brain and Islam body — is the only hope' takes Vivekananda beyond the confines of Hinduism proper to a sort of universalistic religion (Quoted in *The Discovery of India*, p. 341). Gandhi would not think of such a junction. But what he did think of was equally startling.

Gandhi is on record as having told the Federation of International Fellowships in January, 1928, that 'After long study and experience I have come to these conclusions: (1) all religions are true, (2) all religions have some errors in them, (3) all religions are almost as dear to me as my own Hinduism. My veneration for other faiths is the same as for my own faith' (quoted in *The Discovery of India*, Meridian Paperback, 1960, p. 366). It is true that many saints and sages, especially amongst the Hindus, had said before Gandhi that all religions if sincerely practised lead to God. But that did not necessarily mean that all paths are equally long or equally smooth. Even when the poet said: 'The shaikh reached (God) via Kaaba and I via the temple of heart; Dard, the goal was the same, only the routes were different*' — it is not difficult to see which route he approves. But when Gandhi said, 'my veneration for other faiths was the same as for my own', we may rest assured that he meant precisely what he said, and that he did not say it for the sake of politeness or for gaining any political ends. He could, in fact make such a statement with perfect sincerity and with full conviction because his conception of religion had nothing to do with any dogma or custom or ritual. It was basically concerned with his firm belief in the moral law,

which he calls the law of truth or love. Claiming to understand the spirit of Hinduism, he rejects every text or practice which does not fit in with his idealist interpretation of what it should be, calling it an interpolation or a subsequent accretion,' (*The Discovery of India*, p. 366).

Is Gandhi too, then going beyond the fold of Hinduism like Vivekananda, or did both of them believe that their remarkably liberal attitudes and conceptions formed part of the broad stream of Hindu tradition? Or were they of the opinion that although they were breaking new ground, the potentiality for such extension of the tradition existed in the tradition of their ancient faith? The last alternative seems to be the most probable. But if this Hinduism of Vivekananda and Gandhi represents the true spirit of Hinduism, who would not be a Hindu, and who can have any quarrel with Hinduism?

Parenthetically, I might mention that Muhammad Iqbal had similarly extended the confines of Muslim tradition in his book *Six Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, a book which should be better known than it is. In one of these lectures Iqbal gives a remarkably significant interpretation of the Islamic concept of *Khatimul-ambia* (the last of the prophets). Why did Muhammad declare himself to be the terminator of the long line of prophets? I believe the orthodox interpretation is that in the Quran religious development had reached its final stage and had produced at last the perfect religion: no further improvement was possible on it, and therefore no new prophet would come. But Iqbal interpreted this in a very different fashion:

Man is a rational animal, we say. But is a child of two rational, or a Neanderthal adult of 50,000 years ago? Rationality is a matter of slow growth, in the individual as in the species *homo sapiens*. So long as human rationality was at a low stage of development, inadequate for the purposes of life, particularly for the purpose of guiding man along the right path**^a, it was necessary to supplement his natural reason

* Shaikh ka'aba hoke ponhcha, ham kanishte dilme ho./Dard, manzil ek thi, rahi ka ek pher tha.

** "Ihdinas-siratal mustaqima" (guide us along the right path), says the first and most famous surah of the Quran.

with supernatural aid, i.e., divine guidance through revelation. Iqbal maintains that soon after the coming of Islam human reason made a leap in its progress through the discovery of the inductive method. Although the principles of induction were formulated much later by Bacon, the Arab scientists of the 10th and 11th centuries, Razi, Avicenna, Alhazen, etc., were employing the inductive method with confidence and with success in their scientific work. So that by the time it might have become necessary for a new prophet to appear with a fresh revelation in order to meet the changed requirements of the new historical situation, human reason, according to Iqbal, had reached a stage when it could by itself suffice to guide us in the solution of our individual and social problems. This was the significance of the Islamic conception that Muhammad was the last of the prophets, that is, of those through whom mankind receives divine guidance. The religion of Muhammad was the last religion to be based on revelation; henceforward religion must find a new basis — in reason.

But to resume. What quarrel could Nehru have with Gandhi's Hinduism which had 'nothing to do with any dogma or custom or ritual'? And yet he had many a painful issue to join with his great mentor. In the first instance, Nehru insisted on using reason in the solution of moral and political problems. This seemed to him to be the only way. But Gandhi's way was different. Whenever a crisis arose in the affairs of the nation and every one including Nehru looked to him for guidance, Gandhi turned towards God; he waited for the light to come, he waited to hear his 'inner voice'. Nehru admits that Gandhi's instincts (he prefers this word to intuition or 'inner voice') were often right. And he has no objection to a leader acting on 'instinct' in a moment of crisis. But the leader must have a rational grasp of the situation, and is expected to give adequate reasons for his political decision, especially when he wants others to follow him. Not his actions but the reasons which Gandhi

gave for his actions agonised Nehru. 'Gandhi had acted rightly in suspending the Civil Disobedience Movement. But the reasons he had given seemed to me an insult to intelligence and an amazing performance for a leader of a national movement. He was perfectly entitled to treat his ashram inmates in any manner he liked; they had taken all kinds of pledges and accepted a certain regime. But the Congress had not done so; I had not done so. Why should we be tossed hither and thither for, what seemed to me, metaphysical and mystical reasons in which I was not interested? Was it conceivable to have any political movement on this basis?' (*Autobiography*, p. 506).

The 1934 Bihar earthquake with its heartrending scenes of suffering involving scores of thousands of people affected the two leaders in very different ways. Gandhi interpreted it according to his religious frame of mind, and commented on it in his usual other-wordly terminology. Nehru's reaction was sharp. 'During my tour in the earthquake areas I read with a great shock Gandhi's statement to the effect that the earthquake had been a punishment for the sin of untouchability. This was a staggering remark and I welcomed and wholly agreed with Rabindranath Tagore's answer to it. Anything more opposed to the scientific outlook, it would be difficult to imagine' (*Autobiography*, p. 490). What disturbed Nehru most was that he felt this sort of attitude towards human suffering was bound to have an adverse effect on the zeal of social workers, for would they not feel that they were interfering with the workings of Providence by trying to lessen the consequences of divine decrees?

Of course the basic conflict was that Nehru was a social engineer whereas Gandhi was a spiritual healer. Gandhi no doubt wanted 'to wipe every tear from every eye' but he wanted to do this not by changing the forces and relations of production but by changing the minds of men, by teaching men to live simple and pure lives having few wants and working hard to satisfy most of them through their

own individual (preferably manual) effort. Gandhi was full of the ancient ideal of ascetism, whereas Nehru did not 'appreciate the ascetic life as a social ideal, though it may suit some individuals'. Above all, what caused dismay and 'desolation' (this last is the caption of a chapter in his *Autobiography* in which Nehru speaks of 'the vast distance which separated him from me') in his mind was his awareness of the fact that Gandhi was not only not much interested in raising the living standards of the people beyond a certain level which Nehru regarded as ascetic, but was positively giving his support to those very vested interests which stood in the way of their economic and social betterment. 'Gandhi is always laying stress on this idea of the trusteeship of the feudal prince, of the big landlord, of the capitalist. In this he follows a long succession of men of religion'. Nehru gives a brief history of the shameful ways in which most zamindars came into possession of their large properties in land, and remarks, 'according to Gandhiji they are now the trustees for the unhappy people whom they have themselves dispossessed of their lands!' Again we notice the anguish in his voice when he says: 'It comes to this then that whatever is, should continue, . . . there should be no attempts to change the present conditions; all that is necessary is to change the people's hearts. That is the pure religious attitude to life and its problems'. (*Autobiography*, p. 536).

Naturally therefore and almost inevitably 'some of my accumulated irritation turned to religion and the religious outlook'. Nehru's indignation would have been less restrained if he had not had to confront religion for decades and at the closest range in the person of one of the greatest men of religion. For in spite of all conflict and irritation, his deep love for and almost childlike devotion to Gandhi never showed any cracks. He spoke with all his heart when he said a few hours after Gandhi's assassination at the hands of a Hindu fanatic: 'The light has gone out

of our lives'. Gandhi had always appeared to Nehru 'like a beam of light that pierced the darkness and removed the scales from our eyes... He did not descend from the top; he seemed to emerge from the millions of India, speaking their language and incessantly drawing attention to them and their appalling condition' (*The Discovery of India*, p. 361). Nehru was as keenly sensitive to 'their appalling condition' as Gandhi, but did not quite understand Gandhi's language — precisely because it was the language of the millions; he spoke and understood only the language of the intellectual elite. This is not of course to suggest that their conflict was only a conflict of language. It had deep roots.

Not as an abstract thinker but as a man of action and right from the midst of his practical work in the political and social fields Nehru has raised certain far-reaching objections against communal or organised religion. These objections may be broadly put under three heads:

- 1) '*Organised religions invariably become a vested interest and thus inevitably a reactionary force opposing change and progress*'.
- 2) '*The usual religious outlook seems to me to be the enemy of clear thought, for it is based not only on the acceptance without demur of certain fixed and unalterable theories and dogmas but also on sentiment and passion... It is narrow and intolerant of other opinions and ideas*'.
- 3) '*Usually religion becomes an asocial quest for God or the Absolute and the religious man becomes far more concerned with his own salvation than with the good of society... Moral standards have no relation to social needs, but are based on a highly metaphysical doctrine of sin*'.

The rest of this essay is my commentary on these three points.

1. Nehru's ideas on the 1st point are substantially in agreement with the Marxist

critique of religion. The agreement does not extend to the point of his calling religion 'the opium of the people'. On the contrary, Nehru was well aware of the fact that, far from supplying any narcotic to make the common people forget their unhappy lot, leaders of religious thought from the Buddha in the 6th century B.C. to the Popes of our own time have emphasised more than anybody else 'the ills and troubles which beset human life'. Where the socialist leaders agree and stand opposed to the religious leaders is in their belief that those who are deprived of the good things or even the necessities of life need not be so deprived any longer (thanks to modern science and technology) but for the obstruction of vested interests. Religion too constitutes a vested interest and acts hand in glove (whose hand is in which glove may be a moot point) with other vested interests—in power and wealth. Such an unholy alliance becomes a formidable check on social growth and easily takes an unashamedly militant shape whenever threatened by any revolutionary challenge. This sinister combination of evil forces has been more in evidence in Pakistan which is only a thinly disguised religio-fascist dictatorship; but who can deny that in India too fascism has received a tremendous fillip as a result of the recent widespread communal killings (emulating similar events in Pakistan), which were calamitously followed by the death of Nehru—far and away the most powerful modernising and progressive force in the present-day semi-medieval India.

It may be difficult but it is certainly not beyond the capacity of Nehru's successors to maintain his policies of non-alignment abroad and democratic socialism at home; but is it within their capacity to carry on the great liberalising mission which he embodied in his person? We can but hope. President Radhakrishnan said in his broadcast talk a few days after Nehru's death: 'In the building up of our country his main emphasis has been on the freeing of our minds from the obsessions of dogmatic

religion'. If we can remember this in thought and deed, we shall be erecting the most fitting memorial to Jawaharlal Nehru.

2. This brings me to the 2nd of Nehru's objections against religion—its dogmatic character. He writes in *The Discovery of India*: 'I find myself incapable of thinking of a deity or of any unknown supreme power in anthropomorphic terms, and the fact that many people think so is continually a source of surprise to me. Any idea of a personal God seems very odd to me'. (p. 14). Yet belief in a personal God seems to be a *sine qua non* of the religious attitude. It is true that the religious consciousness of man is known to have reached a stage where it could discard belief in a personal God as in the earlier Upanisads or in any kind of God (as in early Buddhism). But these were transient phases, and even while they flourished did not spread far beyond the circle of the intellectual elite. Belief in an anthropomorphic God (a composite figure of omnipotent ruler, stern judge and loving father who when duly propitiated grants favours to the earnest supplicant and rewards everyone for the proper performance of ordained tasks or punishes in the case of failure to perform them) re-emerged not long after, and has remained the dominant element in the mental make-up of the great religious communities of the world down the ages. Some communities or sects believe that their God accepts a sacrificed animal and is pleased when a goat, cow, buffalo or camel is slaughtered in His name. All believe that there is a mysterious entity called 'soul' inside each of us which in some way not understood by any one is distinct from the mind and of course quite distinct from the body; this soul survives the disintegration of the body and presumably of the mind also after death (for the intimate connection between the mind and the central nervous system is not a matter of dispute any longer); it then either transmigrates into some other human or animal foetus and in another birth enjoys or suffers the

fruits of its deeds in the previous birth, or dwells in some unknown region for millions of years until the day of divine judgment arrives when it rejoins its resurrected body to receive the reward or punishment due to it. It is interesting to observe how dogmatic belief in *Karma* and rebirth, which Max Weber characterises as 'the unique Hindu theodicy of the social, that is to say, caste system', runs through all the schools and sects of Hinduism, unaffected by their differences on other important doctrinal matters.

There are other dogmas, differing from religion to religion. Some people, enamoured of the idea of unity of all religions, want to deny or ignore these differences, but that would be running in the face of facts. Even if we consider only the advanced religions of today and ignore primitive tribal religions, we notice points of unity as well as points of difference. A proposition considered basically important by one of them, may well be abhorrent to the others. The orthodox Christian regards the man Jesus, son of Mary, as God incarnate. To the orthodox Muslim there could hardly be any greater sin, except perhaps idol-worship. The Christian notion of unity in trinity is not alien to the Hindus but anathema to the Muslims. *Sati-dāha* (burning alive of chaste women on the funeral pyre of their husbands) came to be regarded by the caste Hindus as a religious duty 'towards the close of the Ancient period.' This cruel practice and the sanction behind it 'endured for centuries among an intelligent and cultured people,' according to Dr. Kalikinkar Datta. The same authority specifies the sanction in these words: 'Not only would such a woman enjoy eternal bliss in heaven along with her husband, but her action would expiate the sins of three generations of her husband's family, both on his father's and mother's side'. This 'religious duty' shocked the moral susceptibilities of the 18th century Christian rulers of India and later of Raja Rammohan Roy, founder of the Brahmo religion, who after many years of unwearied effort succeeded at last in rally-

ing enlightened Indian opinion against the practice. As could be expected, 'the Raja was bitterly opposed by orthodox Hindus under the leadership of Raja Radhakanta Deb; feelings ran so high that even Raja Rammohan's life was threatened' (*An Advanced History of India* by Ray Chowdhury, Mazumdar and Datta, pp 823-829). Etc., etc.

When two persons firmly believing in the infallibility of diametrically opposite propositions and incapable of advancing any reason except authority (which authority is summarily rejected by the other party) in support of their respective beliefs confront each other, they must either begin to doubt what they had hitherto held as self-evident and sacrosanct, or else they must learn to hold one another in contempt as living in intellectual darkness or in moral perversion. Unless religious communities live in complete isolation from and ignorance of each other, dogma cannot survive without contempt and intolerance. The terms heathen, kafir and mleccha are terms of contempt.

The reverse side of antipathy for those not sharing one's particular set of dogmas is close attachment to the group which does share it. A man's religion may be based on his immediate personal experience, in which case it will stand proof against all external attack and can change only if the nature of the experience itself changes. It may be based on reason, in which case it will remain unshaken so long as his reason can hold out against his critic's, like all philosophical or scientific beliefs. Support of a group is welcome, but is not essential or indispensable to rational religion. Or one's religion may be based on dogma, as it is for ninety-nine out of every hundred persons who profess a religion, in which case it is most vulnerable and feels extremely shaky inside, at least to the educated mind. This internal weakness has to be veiled even from oneself by an external show of strength (have we not noticed the loud and aggressive tone of voice in which dogmatic faith is proclaimed?); and, lacking the support of ex-

perience or reason, dogmatic faith can only be kept propped up by the full-throated support of one's group — the larger the group the better one feels. Attachment to dogma necessitates strong attachment to one's group and equally strong feelings of alienation from and antipathy towards all out-groups. Dogmatic faith breeds and feeds on communalism. (Perhaps this is the place to indicate that throughout this essay I have had the educated section of the religious community in mind. The illiterate or semi-literate masses present a different, and in my opinion a simpler, sociological problem. If our university educated people were a little more rational in their approach, the less educated would not be misled into evil and dangerous paths).

It is true that the Hindu community is constituted not so much by dogmatic factors (like the Christian and Muslim communities) as by racial factors or by some illusory notions of racial purity or

superiority. But this does not make the problem of intercommunal goodwill and harmony easier. Racial hatred* is if anything more difficult to get over than religious hatred, for in the latter case the hated fellow is at least potentially a brother in faith.

Finally, I must mention one basic and universal dogma which in a way covers the rest. It is the belief that a particular book or set of books composed more than one or two thousand years ago is the word of God, or at any rate not the word of man, that is to say, it is *apauruseya* — uttered by the God incarnate, brought to the prophet by a super-human intermediary from the heavenly God, or visualised by the seers who had direct vision of all truth past, present and future — and is therefore unquestionably, infallibly and absolutely true. I find the wide acceptance of this belief even more amazing than of belief in a personal God.

All such beliefs were painstakingly imprinted on our extremely young, fresh, receptive minds. Grave faces informed us in sombre tones that doubting or questioning any of these — anything, in short, contained in the sacred scriptures — is mortal sin; details were given to us of the horrible and prolonged (or was it eternal?) tortures in hell awaiting the denier and the doubter. Nehru's keen mind, which never lost its freshness and boldness to the day of his death, found it impossible to 'accept without demur these fixed and unalterable dogmas' whose one important claim to veneration rests on their great age. But is not their ancient origin by itself almost sufficient to render them unable to meet the intellectual and moral needs of the present day? This is not denied; what is insisted upon is that the past age was immeasurably superior to the present, was much closer to Truth and God. It is not the past beliefs and values which have to be transformed to suit the present age, but it is the people of today who have to transform their hearts and lives so as to be in tune with the truths and standards of two or three thousand years ago. I think the

*If racial considerations are brought in (the word 'race' can be used only in a very loose sense in this context), the Hindu community naturally separates into its two constituents — those belonging to the upper castes (claiming Aryan ancestry) and those of the lower castes (who are supposed to be descended from the pre-Aryan dark-skinned inhabitants of India). The term *mleccha* applies to them no less than to Muslims and Christians. In spite of laudable attempts by the medieval saints of India and the enlightened political leadership of our time, it would be rash to assume that the untouchables and members of the lowest castes have achieved complete equality of status with those of the upper caste — except on paper and except for one or two swallows. The great majority of Indian Muslims are from all accounts converts from the Hindus who had been suffering from severe caste disabilities, and are therefore regarded as doubly inferior — belonging to an inferior race as well as to an inferior faith. (This may be truer of West Bengal than of other regions of India.) The Indian Muslim, on the other hand, regards his Hindu compatriot as only singly inferior, on account of his inferior religion — his own religion having taught him to pay no heed to racial differences. When the scheduled castes have been fully integrated into the Hindu community, I believe the problem of Hindu-Muslim integration will have been more than half solved. But national integration is a complex problem with many facets; only one facet, the role of dogmatic religion, falls within the scope of this essay.

religious temper could well be defined (a partial definition but true so far as it goes) as the temper for which the golden age (*satya yuga*) lies in the ancient past from which we have been continually falling away intellectually and morally. In contrast, the scientific as well as the moral temper could be defined as the temper for which the golden age lies in the future which we have to rise up to step by step, or build bit by bit by our individual and corporate endeavour.

At any rate, this defines Nehru's temper. But the people amongst whom he had to live and work had the religious temper, pure and unsullied in the case of some, thinly veneered by the scientific temper in the case of others. Their minds belonged to the past, their basic beliefs, concepts and values had been acquired in their childhood. It never occurred to them, and it does not occur to the great majority of those who are proud of their education and culture (I say nothing of those who have been deprived of the opportunities of higher education) and who occupy the highest positions of power and prestige in the political, administrative, literary and academic hierarchy of our country, that it is their duty as intelligent educated adults to analyse, scrutinise and sift these ancient dogmas and attitudes, to accept what could still be regarded as valid in them, to reject without compunction everything whose falsity, hollowness or harmfulness has been shewn in the course of centuries of human enquiry and experience, and to keep an open but alert mind about the rest. They never realised one really great truth of antiquity, namely, that 'an unexamined life is not worth living'. It is in the midst of such people that Nehru 'felt lonely and homeless, and India to whom I had given my love and for whom I had laboured, seemed a strange and bewildering land to me. Was it my fault that I could not enter into the spirit and ways of thinking of my countrymen? Even with my closest associates, I felt that an invisible barrier came between us. The old world seemed to envelop them, the old

world of past ideologies, hopes and desires' (*Autobiography*, p. 374). Parenthetically, I should like to ask: Could Nehru have entered into the spirit and ways of thinking of the great majority of men of any country? Superstition and dogma, though more prevalent here, are not Indian monopolies.

It is one thing to appreciate and honour the great gifts which the ancients have left to their distant progeny in the shape of artistic productions, religious and moral discoveries, philosophical speculations, scientific beginnings, etc.; it is quite another thing to 'accept without demur' whatever opinion one or some of them happened to have pronounced in regard to all manner of things, natural and supernatural. Nehru's profound veneration for the great cultural heritage of India is evident in every page of *The Discovery of India*; his condemnation of the attitude of mental surrender and slavery to ancient beliefs and practices is equally profound. 'The burden of the past, the burden of both good and evil, is overpowering, and sometimes suffocating'—particularly so when we bind ourselves exclusively and wholly to one particular past. 'To what am I heir?' Nehru asks and replies: 'To all that humanity has achieved during tens of thousands of years, to all that it has thought and felt and suffered and taken pleasure in. . . . to all this and more, in common with all men'. (*The Discovery of India*, p. 22). He is never tired of repeating that today with so many channels of communication opened between the different peoples of the world and so much knowledge of the past achievements of man in many lands and ages before us, we are heir not only to a particular geographical, racial or religious tradition, but to what may be described as the tradition of mankind.

Nehru disparaged the exclusive pride which the Hindus take in their 'Hindu' culture and the Muslims in their 'Muslim' culture. In fact he believed that the ideas of 'Hindu' and 'Muslim' culture 'would vanish at the touch of reality'—by which he meant modern scientific culture and its

product, the industrial civilisation. He asks the protagonists of Hindu culture to regard the achievements of the Islamic races and peoples as 'a common heritage for all of us', and to be proud of the elements of Persian and Arab culture which the Muslims brought with them particularly in the spheres of painting, architecture and music — elements which have merged so thoroughly into the broad stream of Indian culture that it is not easy to point out which ingredients are Hindu and which Muslim. To the Muslims he told more pointedly that 'Iran, without in any way weakening its religious faith, has deliberately gone back to its pre-Islamic days of greatness. The Greeks after their conversion to Christianity did not lose their pride in the mighty achievements of their ancestors.... The past of India with all its cultural variety and greatness was a common heritage of all the Indian people, Hindu, Muslim, Christian, and others, and their ancestors had helped to build it. The fact of subsequent conversion to other faiths did not deprive them of this heritage' (*The Discovery of India*, pp. 343-44).

I believe every cultured Muslim should regard as a test of his cultural attainment his ability to appreciate and enter into the spirit of 'the wonder that was India' — if I may plagiarise from the title of Prof. Basham's excellent book. It has been said before that the man of culture today should regard himself as heir to the entire cultural past of mankind. But of course he has a special historical relationship — a sort of blood relationship — with the past cultural achievements of his own people. If any Muslim of India today forgets or, worse still, denies this relationship, he is guilty of disloyalty to his fatherland; and if any Hindu today thinks that the great Vedic, Epic or Classical culture of India is the exclusive heritage of the Hindus, he dishonours that culture.

3. Coming to Nehru's 3rd objection, I must first point out that religion is not 'asocial' in the sense that the religious man pays no heed to the sufferings of his

fellow men. No doubt there are hermits, forest-dwelling ascetics and god-intoxicated men in every religion. But their number is so small that we may be sure Nehru was not thinking of them when he drew his charge sheet against religion. As for the others, though the religious ideology (with its trust in Providence and the tendency to leave God to look after the welfare of His creatures) might be expected to discourage social service, it has not in fact done so. For religion never fights shy of contradiction, and so while in every religion we find the doctrine that God does not cause any man to suffer except for adequate reasons, and as soon as the purpose of the suffering (whether it be punishment for past sins, testing his faith in the Lord, or the making of his soul in the vale of tears) is fulfilled, his suffering will be ended, we also find alongside of it the injunction to serve and sacrifice, to help those who are in need of succour. In other words, there is the directive to serve man, for thereby too can one serve God. We must also admit that it is religion which has inspired the most selfless, the most heroic examples of humanitarian deeds and personalities known to history.

Did Nehru then miss the mark in making this point against religion? No, indeed; only his conception of the good of society differs widely from the religious man's conception. While religion inculcates the duty of relieving the suffering of individuals, it does not see the necessity of changing those social conditions which are largely responsible for their suffering. Nehru wanted to destroy the roots of suffering, not merely its surface manifestation. A long time ago Gautama Buddha had found the roots in desire, and the remedy in the total cessation of all desire. Nehru, notwithstanding his profound respect for this great teacher, thought such heroic remedies were possible only for rare high-souled individuals. For the ordinary mortals bound to the biological plane by the hard struggle for procuring the barest necessities of life, much could be done by

the more mundane methods of social engineering. Nehru felt an overriding moral obligation to change the social order so that men could live more human lives. Religion stood in the way; it was the great defender of the status quo. And so Nehru must have felt at times like saying 'écrasez l'infame!' But he never used exactly those words of Voltaire, for he was a more refined, humane and reasonable person than Voltaire (or Marx, for that matter), and hated all overstatement. He thought and said that religion was bad, but not that it was an unmitigated evil. In the midst of his sharpest strictures he is anxious to concede the good that there is in religion and to point out the good that it has done to mankind. But the days of organised religion are numbered; humanism and science (by which Nehru meant the scientific temper of mind, the devotion to truth and the determination to accept nothing without questioning and testing) have come to take its place.

Will nothing then remain of religion; is there no need of and no place for it in our lives today? It was said in the beginning of this essay that we are concerned with two different meanings of the word religion, one communal and the other personal. We have dealt so far with the first. When communal religion is gone — and Nehru was impatient for its departure from

the world and particularly from the Indian scene — there remained for him the religion of personal experience and emotion. But of this in the next issue. Communal or dogmatic religion (which is the same thing) must go not only because it stands in the way of social and intellectual progress, but also because it stands in the way of the evolution of religion itself to its highest form — personal religion.

Religion emerged into human experience thousand of years ago with 'the crudest fancies of barbaric imagination' (Whitehead). They have not all been shed yet. There is no reason to assume that the evolution of the religious consciousness came to a dead stop three or two thousand or fourteen hundred years ago and then a process of devolution set in. Like every achievement of man it must continue to evolve. But unlike science or technology which are co-operative endeavours, the religious quest is a solitary quest. It is an eternal quest, perhaps a hopeless quest, in the uncharted domains of the spirit, but a quest which everyone must undertake for himself if he is to realise his full stature as a man. Second hand science or philosophy is a poor substitute; it is only information, lacking the thrill of the great adventure. Second hand religion is worse than a lack; it tends to become dogma which is positive evil.

(To be concluded)

Nehru's Foreign Policy

M. K. HALDAR

THE history of India's foreign policy is a part of the history of the late Mr. Nehru's ideological evolution. In his early youth he was exposed both to nationalism and internationalism. His father was a great lawyer and later became one of the most celebrated political leaders of India. He desired to give his son a thorough training in Western education and for this reason sent him first to Harrow and then to Cambridge. Nehru also qualified for the bar.

The time when Nehru was a student in England witnessed the rise and crystallization of the British labour movement. Nehru was exposed to the internationalism of the Second International. But 'Soviet Russia, despite certain unpleasant aspects, attracted me greatly, and seemed to hold forth a message of hope to the world.' Those were the days when many a brilliant man seriously concerned with the future of humanity read a message of hope in the Third International. But Nehru could not cast his lot with it as he developed a great admiration for the 'moral and ethical side of our (Indian) movement and satyagraha.' He became a disciple of Mahatma Gandhi. But Nehru could not accept the Mahatma's doctrine of ahimsa. It appears that Nehru accepted ahimsa only as a *pis aller*. For later when he led the independent Government of India he said: 'I am not aware of our Government having ever said that they adopted the doctrine of ahimsa in our activities. They may respect it, they may honour that doctrine, but as a government it is patent that we do not adopt and do not consider ourselves capable of adopting the doctrine of ahimsa. If we did, we would not keep an Army, Navy, or Air Force.'

Nehru also recognised that the organisation which was leading the Indian movement for national emancipation 'was a purely political and nationalistic body, unused to thinking on other lines' and felt that 'nationalism by itself' was 'definitely a narrow and insufficient creed.' He suffered under the tension between nationalism and internationalism, satyagraha and the modern techniques of revolution, trusteeship and socialistic ideals, anti-imperialism and admiration for the British.

In 1927 he was sent to Brussels by the Indian National Congress as a delegate to the League Against Imperialism and made his debut in the field of international politics. There he saw the conflict between the two Internationals at work and remarked that 'as between the Labour world of the Second International and of the Third International, my sympathies were with the latter.' But gentlemanliness and humanism forbade him from going the whole hog with the Third Internationalists. The Brussels conference was organised by the Communists and fellow-travellers. About this conference he later wrote: 'It was curious how, in our League Against Imperialism Committee meetings, I would usually be on the side of the Anglo-American members on petty matters of argument. There was a certain similarity in our outlook in regard to method at least. We would both object to declamatory and long winded resolutions, which resembled manifestoes.' Nehru's honeymoon with the Third International was, however, short-lived.

In 1931 when Nehru became a party to the Gandhi-Irwin Pact he was thrown out of the League. The League did not even give him a chance to explain his conduct.

Nehru accepted his leader's verdict and plunged deeper into the national movement. But the lure of internationalism continued to haunt him. The opportunity of taking part in international politics came again with the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War. Primarily due to the efforts of Nehru, the Indian National Congress passed a resolution on the Spanish Civil War. The resolution inter alia stated: 'The Congress has followed with deepest sympathy and anxiety the struggle that is going on in Spain between the people of Spain and a military mercenary group aided by foreign troops and Fascist Powers in Europe... The Congress has noted with surprise that in this struggle the policy of non-intervention followed by the British Government has been such as to hamper in many ways the Spanish Government and people in fighting the Fascist rebels...' Even here we can discern a belief which Nehru shared in common with many an Indian nationalist—belief in Britain's ubiquitous interference on the wrong side.

Under the grim shadow of such beliefs and events, the Indian National Congress authorised Nehru at its Lucknow Session (1936) to set up a foreign department of its own. And since that time Nehru pioneered the foreign policy of the Indian National Congress and later of the entire country.

Anti-imperialist Nehru saw great hopes in Chiang Kai-Shek's China—a country which asserted its independence against tremendous odds. Shortly before the Second World War Nehru went to China on a voyage of discovery; and he wrote: 'I returned to India an even greater admirer of China and the Chinese people than I had been previously, and I could not imagine that any adverse fate could break the spirit of these ancient people who have grown so young again.'

But outbreak of the war confused and shattered many of his dreams. He wrote in his *Autobiography*: 'There were many shocks and adjustment was difficult. The Russo-German Pact, the Soviet invasion

of Finland, the friendly approach of Russia towards Japan. Were there any principles and standards of conduct in this world, or was it all sheer opportunism?'

Initially Mahatma Gandhi, fully conscious of the menace that was Fascism, offered moral support to the Allied war efforts. But with the set-back of the Allied forces when they were fighting against the worst menace of this century with their backs to the wall, the Mahatma counselled the British Government 'to accept the method of non-violence instead of war.' War was a small matter to such lofty and empyrean moral and human ideals. When Japan knocked at the gates of India, Gandhiji thought it fit to call upon the people of India to assert their right to independence and enjoined them 'To do or die.' Proposals for the partial transfer of power to Indian hands were rejected on the demand for complete independence. The Indian nationalist leaders could not foresee the immense possibilities of the war despite the warnings of men like Rajagopalachari and M. N. Roy. They continued to sit on the fence; and eventually when the power was transferred to Indian hands, the country was partitioned bringing untold misery to millions of people and creating a cancerous sore in the political life of the Indian sub-continent.

Nehru haltingly sided with the nationalists. In the statement at his trial in Gorakhpur Jail (1940) he said: 'There are very few persons in India... who have for years past consistently raised their voice against Fascism and Nazism as I have. My whole nature rebelled against them...' But he, like many other Indian nationalists could not see the revolutionary possibilities of the war and said that 'We must dissociate ourselves from this war and advise our people to do likewise and not to help in any way with money or men. That is our bounden duty.' Despite the marginal difficulties created by the Quit India Movement the British Government were able to muster sufficient help from the Indians in their war efforts. With the end of the war the liquidation of the

British Empire became a fait accompli and Nehru once again got back his perspective. On January 27, 1947, he declared in the Constituent Assembly: 'Indian revolution will lead also to the freedom of other countries of Asia because in a sense, however unworthy we may be, we have become—let us recognise it—the leaders of the freedom movement of Asia, and whatever we do, we should think of ourselves in these larger terms.'

This was also the time when the idea of being non-aligned between different forces of the world attracted his serious attention. In a broadcast over the All India Radio on September 7, 1947, he declared that as far as possible India would keep away from 'the power groups lined against one another.' He, however, formulated his policy of non-alignment more clearly in what he said on December 4, 1947. Showing the relative merits of his policy he pointed out that 'We did many things which both groups disliked, but the comprehension came to them that we were not allied to either group... They did not like that, of course, because the position to-day is that there is so much passion and so much fear and suspicion of each other between these great rival powers and groups that anybody who is not with them is considered against them.'

Affirming that peace was of paramount importance to the world, he pointed out that it was more so to the countries of Asia. In pursuance of this belief he convened an Asian Relations Conference on March 25, 1947. There he declared: 'Peace can only come when nations are free and also when human beings everywhere have freedom and security and opportunity.' He further stated that 'We have arrived at a stage in human affairs when the ideal of 'One World' and some kind of a world federation seems to be essential though there are many obstacles in the way. We should work for that ideal and not for any groupings which come in the way of this larger world group.'

On December 18, 1948, the Dutch forces launched an offensive against Indonesia.

The Asian Conference assembled at New Delhi on January 20, 1949. Nehru's anti-imperialist and non-aligned policy was on trial. Indian delegates promptly came out with a three-point scheme at the Conference. Nehru took pains to make it clear that the purpose of the Conference was not hostility to any nation but 'an endeavour to promote peace through the extension of freedom.'

The resolutions of the Conference were transmitted to the Security Council. As the result of its action, backed by the strong pressure of the Delhi Conference and world opinion, especially of America and Great Britain, the Netherlands Government stopped its military action in Indonesia. Negotiations between the two governments started in April 1949 and led to the Round Table Conference at the Hague in August. The Dutch-Indonesian Agreements were signed on November 1, and the transfer of sovereignty to the Indonesian government was completed on December 29, 1949. Nehru's foreign policy registered its first significant success.

The year 1948 saw a series of events which strengthened Nehru's faith in non-alignment. Burma, Ceylon and Malaya became independent and South Korea was declared a Republic. But about the same time Communists were planning forcible seizure of power in several countries of Asia. Nehru had a taste of this in his own country. Indian Communists tried a Yanan in Telengana. Nor did Europe remain uncontaminated by the virus of Communism. The liberal Government of Czechoslovakia was subverted on February 28, 1948. And in Greece a Communist guerilla war was on.

The Western powers became increasingly more apprehensive of the growing power of the Communist bloc. On April 14, 1949 the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation came into being. Thus in the current of its first significant test, the policy of non-alignment confronted problematic alternatives. However, despite Britain's membership of NATO the Constituent Assembly of India under the leadership of Nehru

decided to remain within the Commonwealth. 'If we are dissociated from the Commonwealth, said Mr. Nehru in May 1949, we shall be completely isolated. This will involve commitments far more than there are now.'

President Truman and Prime Minister Attlee wrote to Nehru in August 1949 stressing that the only force likely to benefit from unrest in such areas as Kashmir, Indonesia and Indo-China was Communism. But Nehru had great hopes in the Chinese Communists. He wanted to remain non-aligned between the forces of Chinese Communism and the democratic forces of Asia.

Mao Tse-tung proclaimed the People's Republic of China on September 21, 1949. Nehru hurried to extend India's recognition to People's China on January 31, 1950. India became the first country to extend recognition to People's China.

Possibly Nehru could see the growing menace of Communism in Asia. This may explain his attitude towards Ho Chi-Minh's Indo-China. He had taken a series of steps in favour of Indonesia. But he did not extend the same treatment to Ho Chi-Minh's Indo-China. The debates in the Indian Parliament in 1950 disclosed the anxiety of Indians at the growing powers of Communist China. Norman Cousins reports that Nehru himself admitted that the emergence of Red China did pose a serious threat to South and South East Asia. On February 14, 1950 Nehru warned the Indian people that 'the whole world is in the grip of a crisis. Some neighbouring countries are in turmoil. It is now the task of the Union Government of India and the people to keep their country safe from trouble.'

But Nehru thought that his policy of non-alignment was a better way to contain Communism. That is why he reacted very sharply when ex-President Hoover suggested on May 1950 that there should be a United Nations without the Soviet Union. He was still thinking that Communist China could be contained by a moral appeal.

In June 1950 a number of intellectuals (mostly European) met in Berlin and the Congress for Cultural Freedom was born. The intellectuals put forward their growing apprehensions about the totalitarian menace. At about the same time, Sir Ian Jacob, Chairman of a group of investigators, issued on behalf of the Royal Institute of International Affairs (London) a report on Defence in the Cold War. The report *inter alia* stated: 'The danger clearly now is that the main Communist effort will continue to be made in the area where military and political cooperation in containment on the scale it has been developed in Western Europe exists hardly at all—in Asia. For in parts of the area between Pakistan and Hongkong there is so far no formal joint declaration of aims and interests such as the Atlantic Pact contains in Europe. Pakistan, India, Ceylon and Malaya are members of the Commonwealth and thereby directly affected by and associated with British policy. But the Powers that present such a solid front in Europe have a very ragged line in Asia... The Group has considered all the difficulties that prevent a Pacific or Indian Ocean Pact taking the form that the Atlantic Pact has taken; but they cannot understand why an agreement for mutual assistance and collective security could not be worked out in these areas. It could surely take a form which would respect the Asian nations' intense desire to maintain independence from the West in foreign policy, but which organises the forces of Asian nationalism against military threat or interference.'

In these developments Nehru saw every danger of India's being drawn into the cold war. But his hopes in the policy of non-alignment were again raised when Stalin pulled out of his dusty shelves Lenin's long forgotten thesis of 'Peaceful coexistence'. The most important thing that India must keep in view', Nehru told Parliament in March, 1950, was 'to build our country on solid foundations and not to get entangled in matters which do not directly affect us.' Nehru was not uninte-

rested in those matters; but he recognised that 'the burden of those entanglements would be too great and the problems we have to face in this country are big enough for any country.' Nehru almost echoed what George Washington had said in his Farewell Address on September 19, 1796 in an entirely different world context: 'Cultivate peace and harmony with all. A passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils... 'Tis our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world.'

When hostilities between North and South Korea broke out, India joined other nations in branding North Korea the aggressor. But still Stalin's declamation for peaceful coexistence stirred Nehru's mind. He opened up correspondence with Stalin and for the purpose of saving his policy of non-alignment from utter collapse opined that Communist China should not be branded an 'aggressor' even though it had intervened in Korea with its 'volunteers' in a massive way. He went to the extent of advising the United Nations on September 30, 1950 saying that it would be wrong to invade North Korea. A week later Red China sent her armies to Tibet and prepared to bite the hand that fed her. Nehru reacted sharply when Red Chinese troops massed on India's borders. But he was severely admonished by the Red Chinese leaders for not realising the fact that Red China had massed her troops on the Indian borders 'to wipe out imperialistic influence.'

In an article the late M. N. Roy wrote on June 22, 1951: 'Notwithstanding the absurd language of their propaganda, the Communists know that no vestige of British influence remains in Tibet after their withdrawal from India, and the Americans have no access there. The target of their attack, therefore, is India. It is the unkindest cut for the Prime Minister, who dreamed of sharing with Mao Tse-tung the leadership of Asia, and perhaps with Stalin that of a morally regenerated world.' But Nehru was too much worked up by

his theory of non-alignment. His sister, Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit echoed his feelings when she said that war was a 'greater threat to India than Communist domination of Asia.' Nehru himself angrily retorted on December 7, 1950: 'I am not prepared to surrender my judgement or my country's judgement or my country's position to any single country or group of countries.' This retort came when some members of Parliament pressed him for a revision of policy in the face of the Red Chinese menace.

The tragedy of Tibet, however, did open a big rent in Nehru's foreign policy. On March 31, 1951 in an interview with a correspondent of the *New York Times* he confessed that Communist tactics were 'closely allied to expansionism' and that his personal 'reaction is that the Communist Party is completely unscrupulous.' Nehru thought that the only answer to the Red Chinese menace was economic development of South and South East Asia.

It was in pursuance of the above that the Government of India took a leading role in the Colombo Plan. India, Pakistan, Britain, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand and Ceylon pledged themselves to assist economic development in South and South East Asian countries. Sir John Kotelawala of Ceylon in his address to the Indian Council of World Affairs delivered in the third week of January 1954 pleaded for a wider perspective. He listed among other causes of Asia's low standard of living 'the blood and plunder that accompanied Communist hot war in some of Asia's most productive areas.' But the process of offsetting the crystallisation then expected had already begun.

In December, 1953 there were rumours that the U.S. Government was going to give military assistance to Pakistan. This caused much consternation in India. Pakistan has been India's *bête noir*. Speaking at Dehra Dun on December 19, 1953, Nehru said that 'If the strength of the Pakistani army increases with United States aid, it will have repercussions not only in India, but in the whole of South

East Asia. This will disturb, without fail, the entire balance of power in the region.' American Military Aid to Pakistan was viewed by Nehru as an attempt to 'check the growth of freedom movements in those Asian countries which were fighting colonial domination of one kind or another.'

Though President Eisenhower had offered proportionate military aid to India, Nehru rejected that offer and clung desperately to his policy of non-alignment. Nehru's policy was welcomed in India as it was believed that such a policy would secure the support of other non-aligned countries on Kashmir, the load stone of India's foreign policy. Nehru declared on March 1, 1954, in the course of a Parliamentary debate that 'Our two policies are wholly opposed to each other.' His adviser in foreign affairs, Mr V. K. Krishna Menon went a step further and described the SEATO as 'an incipient and embryonic infringement of our peace area approach.' And Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit said that only two Asian nations were members of the SEATO while 'The other members are Western nations. They will have to supply the arms. If one country receives arms from another, she will lose her independence. At a time of emergency she will have to obey the country supplying the arms. From this point of view, India believes SEATO threatens the independence of Asian people. Besides, the purpose of SEATO is not peace, but war. Asians will become implements of war.'

Meanwhile the Communists saw tremendous possibilities in the policy of non-alignment. In spite of or because of the Leninist dictum that 'war is continuation of class policy by different means' they enthusiastically took up the task of practising the theory of Clausewitz, 'disarm your enemy in peace by diplomacy and trade, if you would conquer him more readily in the field of battle.' It is with this purpose that Red Chinese Premier Chou En-lai visited India in June 1954. The Hindi-Chini-Bhai-Bhai phase of our foreign relations began. By 1957 Nehru had become apprehensive of Red Chinese

designs, yet he had hopes that India would remain unaffected by Red Chinese expansionism. Speaking in Parliament on November 27, 1959, Nehru confessed that 'ever since the Chinese Revolution, we naturally had to think of what new China was likely to be. We realised that this revolution was going to be a very important factor in Asia, in the world, in regard to us. We realised—we knew that amount of history;—that a strong China is normally an expansionist China. Throughout history, that has been the case. And we felt that the great push toward industrialisation of that country, plus the amazing pace of its population increase, would together create a most dangerous situation. Taking also the fact of China's somewhat inherent tendency to be expansive when she is strong, we realised the danger to India. We have discussed it here, and it has been discussed in other countries. As the years have gone by, this fact has become more and more apparent and obvious. If any person imagines that we have followed our China policy without realising the consequences, he is mistaken. If he thinks that we followed it because of fear of China, he is doubly mistaken.' It is legitimate to ask here: Why, then, was the phase of Hindi-Chini-Bhai-Bhai at all initiated?

In August 1954, Sir John Kotelawala proposed a conference of the Colombo Prime Ministers to discuss the possibilities of setting up an 'Asian Locarno' as an alternative to SEATO. To this Nehru replied that he had some other 'solution'. Nehru thought of an Afro-Asian conference. In accordance with this proposal the Bandung conference was held in April, 1955.

Bandung turned out to be not only an anti-imperialist but also an anti-Western affair. Krishna Menon said at the conference that 'Anyone tied up with America must have a bad conscience in the face of the collective African-Asian sentiment.' Bandung marked the zenith of Nehru's policy of non-alignment. But it also is the beginning of Red China's entry into the affairs of South and South East Asia. Nehru demonstrated to the West that the Afro-

Asian nations did not consider Red China to be an outcaste. He took great care to play 'mother hen' to Chou En-lai, as General Carlos Romulo of the Philippines put it.

But soon Nehru's hopes in the powers of his policy were belied. On April 29, 1954 his ideas of Panch Sheel or Five Principles of mutual non-aggression, help, respect for territorial integrity, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence had been first enunciated in the Sino-Indian Agreement on Tibet. But despite this Agreement Red China continued her nefarious designs. This together with the brutal repression of the Hungarian Revolution in November, 1957, and the encouraging American attitude towards the Suez crisis in August led Nehru to rethink his policy and realize that non-alignment and Panch Sheel alone were no guarantee for the territorial integrity of India.

The year 1957 also witnessed the big foreign exchange gap (\$650 million) which threatened India's Second Five Year Plan. To counterbalance Red China's designs India could rely neither on her own strength nor upon Soviet goodwill. Nehru's visit to the U.S.A. in 1956 and the subsequent visit of General Eisenhower to India in 1959 symbolised the changed and improved Indo-U.S. relations. Though Nehru had realised very early that India could help to create and maintain a political equilibrium which no potential aggressor would lightly dare to disturb, yet his initial negligence of the growing menace of Red China landed India into problems which a more circumspect and less idealistic foreign policy maker would have avoided.

The policy of non-alignment which Nehru pursued was however partly based on a recognition of the realities that India had to face. India was and is not an actual but a potential power. She also had and has the potentiality of acting as an example to other ex-colonial and colonial people. In such a situation Nehru could not but follow the policy of non-alignment. But his liking and initial trust of the Communists—things which he exhibited in his early youth—his preoccupation with a Socialistic Pattern of Society and the introduction of some Gandhian moral elements into foreign policy made his policy of non-alignment seem impotent in the face of Red Chinese aggressiveness. His intention was to exert some moral pressure on the powerful nations, safeguard India's independence and maintain equilibrium in the world especially in Asia. But it is here that his policy failed if not totally, at least partially. Thanks to the policy of non-alignment, India, which had the grandest opportunity of becoming the leader of the democratic South and South East Asian countries, partially surrendered her own interests and the interests of the freedom-loving people of the Afro-Asian countries to the machinations of the totalitarians. The assumption that the policy of non-alignment is best suited to a weak but moral country which can exert great moral influence in a world of power politics cannot justify failure to recognise the realities of life. It is also debatable whether the major part of the foreign aid that India has so far received is because of or in spite of Nehru's foreign policy.

Nehru's Foreign Policy

PUNYA SLOKA RAY

WHEN the Chinese invaded India in 1962, many people saw in it a defeat for Nehru. General Eisenhower was a shining exception. With his incomparable grace of manner, he said that he could see no alternatives to Nehru's policies in so far as India was concerned. Why did he say this, and was he right? To begin the discussion, we should have a grasp over the realities of the geopolitics of our national survival. What I call realities are of course not perfectly obvious to everybody. These are nevertheless what I personally accept as the relatively more stable and common basis for a set of conceivable alternative courses of action. The central assumption for this outlook is that different nations have different concepts of their vital interests, of such interests that are worth fighting for. These terms are certainly far from precise. All the same, vital interests may be explained as those for the defence of which a nation agrees to put up a relatively unlimited amount of resources.

Of course the vital interests of a nation may be defined differently at different times and by different sections within the ruling group of a nation. Until 1950, the Republicans generally regarded Korea as within the vital interests of the USA, while the Democrats generally did not. The humiliation inflicted on General MacArthur changed the mind of the Democrats rather suddenly, and reversed the slow and cautious disengagement that was being attempted until then. The debates over questions of vital interests are all exercises in psychological perception and psychological prediction, not to be fogged over by the pious verbiage through which they find expression.

Our vital interests are best understood when we consider the vital interests of our neighbours, of which we need consider here only Pakistan, China, the USSR and the USA. What are the vital interests of Pakistan in relation to us? According to the hopes of the British and the USA, the partition of 1947 was merely an administrative convenience, much like the separation of Andhra from Madras later. This view ignores the conception some Pakistanis have themselves had, which was simply that it was a regrouping into a more compact base from which they would recover their empire. This almost impossible dream steadily came nearer fulfilment as Pakistan increased its military strength from a third of India's to equal and even acquired superiority in supersonic fighters, the modern equivalents of those terrible mounted archers of Babur. That the dream is beyond repair now may lead Pakistan to a revised conception of its vital interests, one to which we may find ourselves able to agree.

What are the vital interests of China in relation to us? According to many rational well-wishers, there are none in conflict beyond the control of the Aksai Chin plateau over which runs the main highway between Sinkiang and Tibet. Since the Aksai Chin is not by itself vital to us, these persons would advise us to sell it away for an honorable price, say in exchange for the Chumbi Valley, until very recently the only easy link to Bhutan. This view fails to take account of the conception the Chinese themselves have had of their vital interests, which is again to recover their empire, which had included in established aspiration, though never in fact, all the

peoples with yellow skin. There is not the slightest indication as yet that they have begun to think differently now.

The issue is a little more debatable here, for it is less obvious that satisfying the Chinese will hurt us vitally. What are the consequences of giving up the areas they have claimed? The reasons for our refusal are two, so far as I understand these. The first of these is the impossibility of precision in boundaries based on race or culture or ancient tributes. While the watershed principle leads to clear decisions, the principles preferred by the Chinese lead to a maze of overlaps. Are not even Bengalis largely Mongolian in racial origin? Is not China the holy land of Tantrism, a religion that once covered almost all of India? The second of these is that any foothold this side of the Himalayas will enable the Chinese to interfere in our internal affairs and change the shape of our polity. Since they certainly have the missionary zeal to desire to interfere, this opens up unpleasant prospects.

What are the vital interests of the USSR in relation to us, if any? For a long time it was doubtful that there were any. Of course the USSR would like to win friends and influence people everywhere, but there was little of vital interest. The first change in the situation occurred with the establishment by the USA of the base at Peshawar, and the arrangement by which Pakistan agreed to supply cheap and reliable ground troops for use in defending the Iranian oilfields. Of these two steps, the first was and still is the more important, because of the extensive aerial and instrumental espionage it makes possible. The second change occurred much later along with the break between China and the USSR. If the Chinese want to involve the USSR in a war over Formosa, take back the border areas ceded earlier, and so on, then it becomes a vital interest for the USSR to prevent precedents.

What are the vital interests of the USA in relation to us? Few influential Americans believe that there are any, in spite of the several billions of dollars invested and the

genuine admiration for our secular welfare democracy. Directly after the Chinese invasion, the *New York Times* advised us to seek peace on Chinese terms. President Kennedy was unusual in his sense of the importance of India. If the Johnson administration is continuing the Kennedy policy, then that is because of situations developing as foreseen by President Kennedy in other countries.

In contrast, Pakistan lay within the area of vital interests, because of the geographical position of West Pakistan. Air and radar reconnaissance could be conducted over the otherwise inaccessible Central Asian areas of the USSR, and ground operations could be prepared for Iran from a convenient foothold with well-trained troops. It is only very recently that the thaw with the USSR, the use of artificial satellites, the improvement of the local Iranian army, the surplus of oil in the USSR, the increasing involvement of the USA in Southeast Asia, the demonstrated unreliability of Pakistan against China etc. have combined to decrease the value of Pakistan in US strategy.

In regard to China, it has been one of the most well established principles in American thinking that a land war in Asia must be avoided at all costs. Korea is an exception that proves the rule, since the early success of MacArthur led them to believe that Korea could be unified at limited and low cost. Even now there are very serious vacillations concerning the defence of South Viet Nam. The only reason why the will to stay in Southeast Asia is gradually strengthening is the emergence of China as a not only hostile but also powerful neighbor, a change neither the fact nor the speed of which could be anticipated intelligently.

Granted these realities, what else could any other prime minister of India do? Of course there have always been alternatives. But how could we have hoped to win against China if neither of the super powers would support us effectively?

Or, we could have tried to involve the USA in our fate by involving ours in theirs:

enter the pacts. But that could have only meant giving up the sole friend we had against Pakistan, precipitation of Chinese attacks much sooner, and sending our troops to defend a position in South Viet Nam that we were not sure the USA was quite determined to hold.

Or, we could have allied ourselves with the USSR. That might have led to an earlier break between the USSR and China, but would also have invited economic sanctions from the USA, if nothing worse, as well as an increased say for the Communists in our government.

All these alternatives have been there since the day we became an independent nation. For all the basic realities were crystal clear even then. To be sure there has not always been perfect expression of these perceptions. Nehru did weep sentimental tears on first landing at Peking. He did fail to establish communication with President Truman at a time when it would have been useful. He certainly was unlucky in his subordinates, who neglected to prepare lines of retreat even at the moment of advance along any given policy. There were many other shortcomings of this general sort. But none of these can be

shown to have come from a lack of perception of the realities.

If modifications are now called for in the old policies, then these should be derived from the perception of new realities. Are there any such? Yes, there are such in the making, though not quite made yet. Firstly, the decision of President Kennedy to stand with us, and to stand in South Viet Nam. Secondly, the break between China and the USSR. Thirdly, the growing understanding between the USA and the USSR to agree on the vital interests of each other. If these processes grow, then both Pakistan and China will have to understand their vital interests better, and peace with both may become possible. To his everlasting credit, Nehru always maintained a line of communication open to Peking, and took the initiative in opening one to Rawalpindi. When many persons were sure of his senility, and even members of our parliament could taunt him about his invalidity, he was as perceptive as the best of our minds, and effectively redesigned the necessary modifications of policy. May his successors have equal insight into the characters and intentions of our neighbours!

We are glad to announce that two short stories published in *QUEST* ("Lawrie Lewis" by Kewlian Sio, Jan.-March 1963 and "Bing and the Chicken" by Bonomali Goswami, Jan.-March 1964) were selected for reproduction by the well-known *Short Story International* of New York.

—EDITORS

Reflections on an Alleged Anecdote in Samkara's Life

DAYA KRISHNA

SAMKARA is perhaps the greatest name in Vedanta that the world has known. At least, there can be little doubt that his name and his works are associated with this philosophy in a pre-eminent manner. Equally, the philosophical school with which his name is associated has been considered by many to be the most distinctive contribution that India has made to the world of philosophic thought. In the considered opinion of many historians of Indian Philosophy, Vedanta is not merely the culmination of Indian thought but, in fact, of all philosophical thought whatsoever.

Vedanta, on the other hand, is not merely a school of Philosophy. It is regarded, at least by its followers, as the distilled essence of all spirituality, as the truth behind all religions, as the last seeking of the soul to be lost in All and to become All, to dissolve all duality, the source of all the problems of man and the universe. Samkara, in this context, is not a mere philosopher, a person who only ratiocinates and splits hairs about unnecessary and irrelevant problems. He is primarily a person who does not merely talk and verbalize and move his lips, as the Great Buddha would have said, but also lives and realizes the great truth he preaches. In other words, he is not merely the embodiment of Vedantic thought but also of Vedantic realization. The truth which the thought articulates is lived and illustrated in the life of its great teacher.

The presupposition that the life of a real founder or master is a living illustration and embodiment of his thought is intrinsic to the Indian mind. The essen-

tial hiatus between thought and life is not ultimately accepted by the Indian psyche. One may not believe in Samkara as the ideal of Vedantic realization or one may not accept his version of Vedantic thought as the genuine or the real one. But, then, whomsoever one will regard as articulating the genuine thought, one would also regard as genuinely embodying, illustrating and realizing it in his own life.

And, in India, this is not confined to Vedanta alone. Whatever be the Truth claimed, it is supposed to be lived, embodied and realized by at least one person in the universe. The Indian mind would be completely nonplussed at the idea that there can be a Truth which is intrinsically unrealizable by anybody anywhere in the world. Not only this, the person or persons who have realized the truth completely must already be there either in the past or the present or both. That alone would ensure the *actual* possibility of the realization of that Truth. The abstract possibility of someone realizing it in the future will hardly ever satisfy him and only appear as Pickwickian in character.

It is in this context and this context alone that the biography of a thinker in India assumes the form of a living commentary on the truth he verbalised and preached in his works. It is as if one were to understand the truth of the Gospels from the Life of Christ or of the Koran from the life of Mohammad. There just can be no discrepancy between the two, as the dichotomy between thought and action in the case of such perfect beings will shake the very foundation on which such a way

of looking at life and things ultimately rests.

The least little anecdote, therefore, is as important as any other. One may deny its veracity or its interpretation, but one cannot, within the limits of the perspective, be indifferent to its implications for the truth of that which is articulated only in the verbalized form. The context of the life that was lived by the presumed perfect being is, so to say, overridingly imperative for the understanding of the text that he wrote. The two cannot be dissociated and if there is a seeming conflict between the two, it can only be apparent and not really so. And if it ever seem that the two are irreconcilable, the primacy, as always, has to be given to the life and not to the text which is always, in this perspective, only a partial commentary on it.

The life of Samkara assumes, in this context, an overwhelming importance whose significance for Vedanta has not been seen in this way, so far as I am aware. One always goes to the texts for an elucidation of the views that he held and not to the alleged anecdotes of his life for an insight into the truth that he preached. There is, of course, a problem about the historicity of the events alleged but then that is a problem which plagues us about everything that is past. This much, however, may always be said that none who *accepts* the veracity of the anecdote may truthfully *reject* the implications it entails, unless he is prepared to deny the truth of the entailment itself. And this is all that we wish to urge here. Our plea is only that one who accepts the following anecdote to be true of Samkara's life cannot truthfully reject its implications for the Vedantic knowledge and realization, in case he also accepts Samkara to be the perfect embodiment of it.

The anecdote we are referring to is well known, at least amongst those who have not been completely cut off from their tradition by the alienating system of education in this country. It concerns the famous debate of Samkara with Mandana

Misra and may briefly be recapitulated as follows:—

'Samkara engaged in a debate with Misra, the condition of the debate being that whoever was defeated would adopt the ashrama of the other. In other words, if Samkara were to be defeated he would become a householder and if he were to win, Mandan Misra would become a Sanyasin. Mandan's wife was agreed to be the judge of the debate by both of them. After a long debate, when the judgement was given in favour of Samkara and he asked Mandan to fulfil the terms of the debate and become a sanyasin, his wife interposed and said that he had defeated only the half of Mandan, as, according to the scriptures, husband and wife together made one single unit while singly, they were only incomplete halves of each other. Unless, therefore, he defeated her in the debate also, his victory would not be complete and he could not legitimately ask for the fulfilment of the condition of the debate.

Samkara agreed to the objection and started the debate with Mandan's wife who adroitly took the discussion to realms of love and sex about which Samkara, being a celibate from birth, knew nothing at all. He begged for a time-interval of six months during which he entered into the body of a king who had just died and through that body acquired the knowledge he did not have before. After mastering fully a knowledge he did not know before, he returned back to his body which had been carefully preserved and safeguarded by his disciples and defeated Mandan's wife finally in the debate'.

This is only a brief outline, but it suffices for the purpose I have in view. If we critically reflect on the anecdote, assuming it to be correct, it would reveal features which have implications which are radically at variance with beliefs held to be axiomatically true by most Vedantic and non-Vedantic seekers of the spirit in this country. Take, for example, the astounding fact that Samkara did not know about love and sex even though he

was supposed to be a person who had completely realised Brahman, i.e., the ultimate truth and reality. The implication is obvious and inescapable that knowledge of ultimate reality does not necessarily give you a knowledge of other things as well.

Not only this, the anecdote has deeper implications still. It is not merely that Samkara did not know about the questions raised by Mandan's wife but that he could not know even if he wished except by the usual processes through which such things are known. To put it in another way, there was *no* transcendental or yogic method available to Samkara for knowing such an empirical matter of fact as love or sex. He could not, for example, just concentrate on it and know about it all that he wanted to know. Yet, surprisingly, this is what almost every Indian believes. There are no limits to what a realized soul may know, if it wants to. And this 'knowing' is not to be supposed to be achieved by such pedestrian methods as the ordinary student of the subject is perforce obligated to follow. The realized person has merely to concentrate to get at the knowledge he wants or rather just to attend and bring it into the focus of his consciousness, for he is already supposed to have it.

Whenever, of course, a challenge is presented to such a belief to substantiate itself, the defence usually takes the form of pointing out that the Yogi or the realised person does not wish this at all. Fortunately, in this case, such a line of defence cannot be undertaken for Samkara obviously very much wished to know what he needed to know. In fact, his need was so great that he was prepared to undergo all that trouble for the sake of acquiring that knowledge.

There is a deeper problem still. What exactly was the knowledge that Samkara thought could be got *only* by *actually living* the life of love and sex and which could be acquired in no other way? For example, why could not Samkara study the Kāmasūtra of Vatsyayana or any other such treatise on the subject and acquire the

knowledge he so badly wanted to defeat Mandan's wife in argument? Was he distinguishing between knowledge by experiencing, or what some modern philosophers have called 'knowledge by acquaintance' and 'knowledge by description'? Was, for him, only that knowledge which could be directly and immediately experienced? But if so, what could all the discussion have been about since the essential core of any experience is as much indescribable as, say, the experience of Brahman?

In fact, the alleged anecdote does not help us in this matter. It does not tell us the exact specific questions which Samkara was asked and which he felt he could not answer without direct experience of the things or events to which the questions referred. But, though deficient in this respect, the anecdote does unquestionably establish that there undoubtedly are *some* questions whose answers, according to Samkara, cannot be known by any other means except sense-experience itself. Neither Sruti, i.e., the revealed texts, nor authority of any other kind nor yogic meditation nor the realization of Brahman is competent either singly or collectively to answer such questions. This, basically, is the minimum empirical position with respect to the issue of knowledge and if the alleged anecdote about Samkara's life be held to be true then the great Vedantin should be supposed to have held some such position.

It should be clearly understood in this connection that what we are urging is different from the oft-quoted verse of Samkara wherein he is supposed to have said that if any statement of the Sruti concerning empirical matters of fact conflicts with direct sense-experience, then the latter alone should be considered as true. This does not entail at all that there are such statements in the Sruti which actually do conflict nor that there are types of knowledge which just are not found there. The anecdote certainly is equally silent about the first, but it does positively imply the second.

The points, then, that the anecdote actually implies for the issue of knowledge may minimally be stated to be the following:—

1) The Revealed Texts do not contain all the knowledge that a person needs or requires in his life, even if one believes in them as revealed.

2) The realization of Brahman does not give all the knowledge that one may require or need in one's life, even when one has realized it absolutely and completely in this life.

3) The practice of Yogic concentration and meditation cannot give all the knowledge one wants or needs, even when one has gained complete facility and mastery in it.

4) Sense-experience is the *only* way of getting at certain types of knowledge which can be had in *no other way*.

These four points, as almost everybody in India would know, are the exact opposites of what most persons born and brought up in the Hindu tradition believe axiomatically. To question those beliefs seems a sacrilege to most Hindus. Yet, if the considerations given above are even approximately correct, the beliefs seem unfounded in the light of any reflection on the tradition itself.

The obvious and the most convenient way out of the difficulty is to deny either the truth of the anecdote or the truth of the statement that Samkara was a realized soul. But the problem, as anybody can see, is not of Samkara or the alleged anecdote we have been talking about. If one does not believe in Samkara, then, well, there is Buddha or Rāmānuja or Rāmkṛishna or Aurobindo or Chaitanya or anyone else whom some individual or individuals consider as occupying that status or position. Also, the issue is not confined to Hinduism alone. Christ and Mohammed are in the same position and, thus, the Christians and the Muslims have a similar situation to face.

The problem, then, may be reformulated at a more general level in the following way:

1. Do we or do we not regard any historical individual as having completely realized in his actual person the perfection which that tradition envisages for the human individual?

2. Do we or do we not grant authenticity to any events, incidents or anecdotes about the actual lives of such persons in case we do choose to regard them as perfect?

3. In case there is any fundamental and irresolvable conflict between the incidents of the life held to be indubitably veridical and the conception of perfection as it is usually envisaged in that tradition, what do we do?

There is scarcely a single religion or even a religious sect, which does not hold at least one individual to be completely perfect. Equally, there is hardly any religion or religious sect which does not hold to the absolute veracity of at least some incidents in the lives of these persons. What has escaped attention, however, is the simple fact that the two are in essential conflict with each other at some points at least in their formulation. Either the conception of perfection that we have and which we so confidently ascribe to these persons is mistaken or the incidents which we narrate and believe in are false. But there is hardly a version of the life as it was actually lived which does not flatly contradict the notions of perfection ascribed to such persons. Whether it be the *Gospels* or the *Koran* or the *Srimad Bhāgavata* or the *Tales of the Buddha* or *The Gospel of Sri Rāmkṛishna* or *Sri Aurobindo on Himself and the Mother* or *The Master as I saw Him*, the discerning reader can always find plenty to contradict in what is so absolutely believed by the believer.

The usual way to resolve the contradiction is to resort to Dialectics which seems the only way to escape out of a desperate situation. But it is not seen by those who resort to it that it makes nonsense of every assertion, the true as well as the false. The presumed perfection is no more illustrated by the life, for that which illustrates and

that which contradicts become equally unreal.

It may, I suggest, be infinitely better to revise the concept of perfection, to admit that there *are* no perfect beings, that there are only persons infinitely better than ourselves and better only in certain respects. Even if we are convinced that there is such a thing as spiritual perfection and that there are beings who are spiritually perfect, it does not follow that they know all that man needs to know or that even all that they say, specially about empirical matters of fact, is objectively true. Nor does it follow that their conduct is always right or that their judgement about aesthetic matters is unimpeachable. How can a saint, even if he be a perfect saint, pronounce relevantly on the truth of the theory of relativity or the correctness of a fiscal policy or the morality of birth control or the comparative aesthetic excellence of the famous Khajuraho Kiss and *The Kiss* of Rodin?

The saint, of course, may have an answer for all of these but then they would hardly follow from his being a saint. A saint, like any other person, may be other things as well. But what is even more important is the fact that if the saint, however perfect he may be regarded, chooses to make pronouncements on such subjects he will be

judged in the same way as anybody else making these statements. If a Buddha, for example, were to say 'there is an elephant in the quarter No. C-6 of the University quarters in Jaipur on the 15th of April 1964 at 10.00 A.M.' and if no one who is there at that time and is not blind sees it, then the statement is false even if it be made by a Buddha.

This seems trivial when stated this way. Yet it has far-reaching implications. It suggests that there is no other way of finding the truth or falsity of statements concerning sensory matters of fact than by an appeal to the senses themselves. It shows the crucial and inalienable role of the senses in validating statements claiming knowledge about certain fields of phenomena.

This, if reflected upon, would put into question the axiomatic Indian belief shared from the peasant to the President that the realization of Brahman is sufficient for everything including the validation of such mundane beliefs on the veracity of which most of the success of our empirical action depends. This is the minimum that has to be accepted. But if we reflect upon the lives of any of the so-called perfect beings, we would come to the even more radical conclusion that there is no other way to the truth of the senses except the senses themselves.

India and Western Scholars

N. K. DEVARAJA

I

A NEW chapter in the history of India's self-understanding began with her closer contact with European nations, particularly England, towards the close of the third quarter of the eighteenth century. India had known foreigners ever since Alexander's invasion of the Punjab in 327 B.C.; the so-called Indo-Aryans had been aware of other cultures from still earlier times, i.e. the time when the hymns of the *Rigveda* were being composed. The very complex texture of religio-philosophical thought in ancient India was definitely a result of the intermingling of several cultural currents, particularly the Vedic Aryan and the so-called Dravidian. Her complex social structure, with a multitude of customs and usages, rites and rituals, was similarly the result of the meeting of numerous ethnic groups and races, both native and foreign, on her soil. With her genius for synthesis and her formula of 'unity in diversity' expressed and applied at different levels and in different forms, she was able to hold together in an ever-evolving, dynamic equilibrium a diversity of doctrines, creeds and practices both religious and secular.

India was able to absorb and assimilate, both socially and culturally, the groups of people that entered her territory from outside and were willing to settle within her borders. This process of assimilation suffered a setback by the advent of Islam whose followers, fired with a proselytizing zeal, refused to merge their identity with that of the native Hindus. On the contrary, some of the Muslim rulers made great efforts to convert Indian people to their own creed. However, having been philo-

sophically less advanced than the Hindus, they failed to make any important contribution to, or exert any significant influence on, the essentials of Hindu thought and culture. They could not persuade the Hindus either to give up idol-worship or to renounce their faith in a plurality of gods and goddesses and in divine incarnations. However, under the influence of Islam, some of the Indian saints including Kabir, who attracted both the Hindus and the Muslims to his teachings, were led to protest against meaningless ritualism and exclusiveness in religion, and to advocate a return to essential inwardness in the worship of God. Muslim rulers also patronized the fine arts including architecture and painting, music and literature; to these some decidedly new elements were added. In their turn, the Indian Muslims imbibed some of the spirit of synthesis that had been characteristic of the Hindus; they also developed greater appreciation for mysticism. The Muslim rulers and their followers settled on the Indian soil, and, though retaining their separate identity, became part of the Indian people. Together with the Hindus, they evolved a new medium of communication called the Hindustani language.

The nationals of the several European countries came here mainly for the purposes of trade and commerce; they never intended to settle in India, and never did. And yet India's contact with them proved to be more revolutionary in its consequences, particularly for the thought and culture of her people, than had been her association with even immigrant outsiders of previous centuries. The impact of the West, both military and cultural, shook her out of her feeling of self-complacence

and spiritual pride in a manner that had not been experienced by her before in her long and chequered history. Muslims, too, had come as conquerors, but they had failed to overpower her culturally and spiritually; further, they had settled in India as part of the people. But the Europeans, particularly the Britishers, who gradually subdued the entire subcontinent, never permitted the Indians to feel as being their equals; having vanquished them physically, they were not slow in announcing their intention to extend their conquests to the cultural realm. Thus, while recommending the introduction of English education for Indians in the 1830s, Lord Macaulay fondly predicted that the young men educated under the new system would be 'Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect'.⁹ However, unforeseen factors, psychological and cultural, gave a noticeably different turn to the development of the Indian mind and spirit from what had been planned and expected by the British rulers.

In 1772 Warren Hastings had gone from Madras to Bengal as Governor. Seeing the advantage of 'ruling the Hindus as far as possible according to their own laws and customs', he caused a digest of Hindu Laws to be prepared in Sanskrit. An English version of this digest was published in 1776. The introduction to this work contained some interesting information about the Sanskrit language and its literature. Among Englishmen present in Calcutta at that time Charles Wilkins (1749-1836) and the remarkable Sir William Jones (1746-1794) had managed to learn Sanskrit. Early in 1784, mainly through the efforts of Sir William, the Asiatic Society of Bengal was founded. In November 1784, Wilkins published a translation of the *Bhagavadgītā*, which was followed by his translation of the *Hitopadesha* in 1787. In 1789, Jones published an

English version of *Shakuntalā*; this was followed by his translation of the *Gita-govinda* (1792) and the *Code of Manu* (1794). These scholars were followed in Calcutta by Henry Thomas Colebrooke (1765-1837) and H. H. Wilson (1789-1860). As a result of these translations, interest in Sanskrit literature began to grow on the continent of Europe. Among the early scholars who made distinguished contributions to Indian studies the names of the following stand out prominently: the German romantic poet and philologist Friedrich von Schlegel (1772-1829) whose work *On the Language and Wisdom of the Indians* appeared in 1808; Eugene Burnouf, Professor at the Collège de France, who published the first history of Indian Buddhism in 1844, and whose eminent pupils Rudolf Roth (1821-95), author of *Zur Literatur und Geschichte des Weda* (on the Literature and History of the *Veda*), and F. Max Muller (1823-1900), voluminous author and editor of the *Rigveda* with the commentary of Sāyana, became the founders of Vedic studies in Europe; Otto Bohtlingk (b.1815) who, in collaboration with Roth, produced the massive Sanskrit German Dictionary generally known as St. Petersburg Lexicon (published between 1852-1875); Monier Williams (1819-1899), author of *Indian Wisdom* and a voluminous *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*; Fausboll, the pioneer Pali scholar, whose six-volume edition of the *Jātakas* appeared between 1877-1897; etc., etc.

But the first Western reactions to Indian culture that managed to reach, and make themselves keenly felt by, the people were far from favourable. The stabilization of British rule in India encouraged a host of Christian missionaries to carry on their propagandist religious activities among the Indian people. These missionaries were highly critical of things Indian, particularly the Indian religions. Many people, particularly those belonging to lower strata of society, felt attracted towards Christianity and sought conversion to it. Quite apart from its religious and ethical merit, Christianity gained prestige as the faith of the

⁹Quoted in *Sources of Indian Tradition* Eds. Wm. Theodore de Bary and others (Motilal Banarasi-dass, Delhi, reprinted 1963), p. 589.

rulers. Some of the young men, who had received English education, also fell under the spell of Christianity. Among these was the brilliant Rājā Rāmmohun Roy (1772-1833) whose admiration for Christianity led him to write *The Precepts of Jesus*. Roy later became the founder of the Brahmo Samaj which had much in common with Christianity. Another important intellectual and reformer, Keshab Chander Sen, also felt great admiration for the Christian religion.

The attacks on Hinduism by Christian missionaries and the prestige and vogue enjoyed by Christianity as the faith of the ruling race tended to generate a feeling of inferiority in the minds of the Hindus. Unsparing in their criticism of the Hindu, and occasionally the Muslim, religion, the missionaries were also unscrupulous in using all sorts of means for achieving conversions to their creed. The overbearing attitude and the unprincipled behaviour of the missionaries is attested by the following extract from Rāmmohun Roy's 'The Brahmunical Magazine' (1823); it also reflects the great change that had overtaken him in his attitude towards Christianity and its propagators:

... during the last twenty years, a body of English Gentlemen who are called missionaries have been publicly endeavouring in several ways to convert Hindoos and Mussulmans of this country into Christianity. The first way is that of publishing and distributing among the natives various books, large and small, reviling both religions.... The second way is that of standing in front of the doors of the natives or in the public roads to preach... the third way is that if any natives of low origin become Christians from the desire of gain or from any other motives, these Gentlemen employ and maintain them as a necessary encouragement to others to follow their example.*

* Vide, *Sources of Indian Tradition*, p. 578.

** *Ibid.*, p. 580 (Italics are the author's).

Another extract is equally revealing, particularly as regards the kinds of things that the Christian missionaries used to say about Indians and their indebtedness to the Englishmen, and the sort of reaction that those things provoked in the minds of educated Indians:

If by the 'ray of intelligence' for which the Christian says we are indebted to the English, he means the introduction of useful mechanical arts, I am ready to express my assent and also my gratitude; but with respect to *science, literature, or religion*, I do not acknowledge that we are placed under any obligation. For by a reference to History it may be proved that the world was indebted to *our ancestors* for the first dawn of knowledge, which sprang up in the East, and thanks to the Goddess of Wisdom, we have still a philosophical and copious language of our own which distinguishes us from other nations who cannot express scientific or abstract ideas without borrowing the language of foreigners.**

The activities of the missionaries tended to throw Hinduism and Hindu culture on the defensive; they also awakened Hinduism to the need of internal reforms. Rāmmohun Roy was neither a saint nor a great philosopher; his acquaintance with Indian religious wisdom was not deep, having been conditioned and coloured by his familiarity with and admiration for the theistic and ethical aspects of Christianity. He protested against the criticisms, professions, and practices of the Christian missionaries; he even proclaimed the superiority of his ancestors; but behind these protests and proclamations, one feels, there lurked the feeling that all was not well with his ancestral creed, which stood in need of drastic reform. It was this feeling which led him finally to establish the Brāhmo Samāj.

The great contribution of Rāmmohun Roy to Indian culture lay in the fact that he aroused India's soul from the self-complacent inactivity and torpor into

which it had fallen. He thus became the author and spokesman of a new kind of self-awareness among the Indians particularly the Hindus. This awareness was the first cultural fruit of India's contact with the West, and marked the first phase in her progress towards a new kind of self-analysis and self-understanding.

Apart from his success in achieving the abolition of Suttee, the activity and influence of Rāmmohun Roy and his associates and followers, including Debendranāth Tagore and Keshub Chander Sen, remained confined mostly to Bengal. The Brāhmos in general professed liking for Christianity and loyalty towards the English rulers; even while admiring the *Upanishads*, they were disinclined to regard them as infallible scriptures. These professions and reservations were completely disowned and abandoned by the energetic ascetic founder of the Ārya Samāj, Dayānanda Sarasvatī (1824-1883). Though dogmatic in his assertion of the infallibility and omniscience of the *Vedas*, Dayānanda was behind none in his denunciation of the evil customs of the Hindus. He vigorously attacked even the Hindu belief in incarnations, condemned idolatry, and disowned most of the religious literature of the Hindus particularly the *Purāṇas*,—all in the name of their avowed scriptures, the *Vedas*. This blunted the edge of much of the criticism directed against Hinduism. Armed with the subterfuge of equating Hinduism with Vedic religion conveniently reinterpreted, he counterattacked Christianity on the same gross plane of literal belief on which Hinduism had been attacked by the missionary preachers. The subterfuge succeeded with the half-educated lower middle classes, if not with the intellectuals, of northern India. To quote the editors of the *Sources of Indian Tradition*, referred to above: 'Dayānanda's energetic and sometimes acrimonious method of preaching epitomized the change among Hindu

religious leaders' from a passive or defensive attitude to an active and aggressive one'. (p. 628).

II

The methods of both attack and defence adopted in different degrees by Rāmmohun Roy and Dayānanda were successful in infusing into the Indian or Hindu mind the spirit of self-confidence and self-respect; such spirit or feeling was necessary for the survival of Indian culture in the new environment of foreign domination. But it was hardly commensurate with the need of growth and expansion in that environment. The sense that the Indians were not only not inferior, but even superior, to the Christian representatives of the Western culture in some important respects, was gradually generated in the Indian mind by two factors: the admiring attention given to Indian culture by Western orientalists, and the appearance of certain spiritual geniuses of the highest order in India itself.

Some of the Western orientalists were greatly enthusiastic and highly generous indeed in their praise of the achievements of ancient India. Speaking of Sanskrit language, Sir William Jones expressed high praise for its '... wonderful structure, more perfect than the *Greek*, more copious than the *Latin*, and more exquisitely refined than either'. (*ibid*, p.590). The versatile scholar Wilhelm von Humboldt wrote in a letter to Aug. Willh. von Schlegel that, in his view, 'Without as thorough as possible a study of Sanskrit, very little can be accomplished either in philology or in that kind of history which is connected with it.'* F. Max Müller wrote a whole book entitled *India, What Can It Teach Us?*—in justification of Indian studies and in praise of certain aspects of Indian philosophy and culture. The German philosopher Schopenhauer had paid high tributes to the *Upanishads*, and, in the opening paragraph of his *A History of Sanskrit Literature* Arthur A. Macdonell wrote: 'Since the Renaissance there has been no event of

* Quoted by M. Winternitz in *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, Pt. I. (E.T., University of Calcutta, reprinted 1959), p. 15.

such world-wide significance in the history of culture as the discovery of Sanskrit literature in the latter part of the eighteenth century.'

The attention and praise given to Indian literature and culture by Western scholars were conditioned by several factors: the general diffusion of the evolutionary outlook and the growth of historical and comparative studies; the belief, generated and confirmed partly by the discovery of Sanskrit itself, that the Indians belonged to the same common racial stock as most of the Europeans; and, above all, the omnivorous curiosity and adventurous spirit of the European mind which sought to encompass the entire universe, physical and historical, under its scrutinizing gaze. The motives of historical and evolutionary comprehension of man's civilization and culture were openly avowed by some of the Western scholars. Thus Max Müller, while dwelling on the importance of the *Vedas*, remarked that one of the factors contributing to their value for us was that in them has been preserved the 'ancient chapter in the history of human mind'.^{*} Macdonell likewise observed: 'Among all the ancient literatures that of India is moreover, undoubtedly in intrinsic value and aesthetic merit, second only to that of Greece. To the latter it is, as a source for the study of human evolution even superior.'^{**} However, notwithstanding the complex motivation of these scholars with respect to Indian studies, the people of India could not but feel jubilant over the praises showered by occidental scholars on their ancient authors and seers. Did not Max Müller himself, in Lecture III of the work already referred to, observe that 'supposing that the Vedic hymns were composed between 1500 and 1000 B.C., we can hardly understand how at so early a date, the Indians had developed ideas which to us sound decidedly modern'?

(p. 111). The same scholar compared some of the Indian philosophers to the greatest that Europe had produced.

The appreciative references to Indian culture by Western orientalists produced in the Indian intelligentsia a more genuine assurance in regard to the greatness of their spiritual heritage than could have been done by the claims made by Roy and Dayānanda. This assurance passed into conviction by the appearance of the great mystic saint and teacher Rāmākṛishṇa Paramhansa (1836-1886) and his illustrious disciple Vivekānanda (1863-1902). The latter's brilliant success at the World Parliament of Religions held in Chicago in 1893, and his lectures and writings expounding Vedāntic religion and philosophy, engendered among Indians the notion that in matters spiritual at any rate, they were superior to the West. This superiority seemed to them to be further demonstrated by the appearance later on among them of such important personalities as the great internationalist and poet Rabindra Nāth Tagore (1861-1941), the illustrious mystic philosopher Aurobindo Ghose (1872-1950), and above all the great *karmayogin* and saint Mahātmā Gāndhī (1869-1948). It may be noted that some of these teachers exercised fascination not only on Indian intellectuals and masses, but also on some noble spirits from the West, including authors and ambassadors of goodwill between East and West. Thus, Max Müller produced a book on the *Life and Teachings of Rāmākṛishṇa*; the French novelist and music-critic, Romain Rolland, wrote biographies of Rāmākṛishṇa and Vivekānanda and an appreciative study of Gandhiji. Such writings and studies gave powerful support to the growing sense of self-respect and confidence among the Indian intelligentsia; they also offered indirect encouragement to the rising wave of nationalism coupled with the demand for India's independence which had followed on the renaissance in the sphere of religion and philosophy. The spiritual awakening brought about principally by Rāmākṛishṇa and Vivekānanda was impor-

^{*} *India, What Can It Teach Us*. (Longmans, Green & Co., London, Reprinted 1899), p. 109.

^{**} *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, (Reprinted by Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1962), p. 5 (Italics ours).

tant not so much for the feeling of elation that it produced among the Indians, as for the sense of discovery with respect to the sources of real strength and abiding inspiration underlying the seemingly worn-out and shabby structure of the Indian or Hindu society. Unlike Rāmmohun Roy and Dayānanda, Rāmakrishna and Vivekānanda refused to be apologetic in regard even to the much advertized evils of idolatry and casteism prevailing among the Hindus. Commenting on the Brāhmo Samāj Rāmakrishna is reported to have said:

The difference between the modern Brāhmaism [of the Brāhmo Samāj] and Hinduism is like the difference between the single note of music and the whole music. The modern Brāhmas are content with the single note of *Brahman*, while the Hindu religion is made up of several notes producing a sweet and melodious harmony.*

As against the arrogant and aggressive attitude of Dayānanda, and even of Aurobindo at a later date, we find in Rāmakrishna, and later on in Mahātmā Gāndhī, a quiet and serene sense of confidence born of deep-rooted conviction of the worth of their ways of life and thought. This confidence and conviction marked the second phase in the self-understanding of the new India.

This new wave of inner spiritual confidence produced new reactions among Indian and Western students of Indian culture. While encouraging the native scholars to discover proofs of India's greatness in fields other than religion and philosophy, it provoked Christian theolo-

gians, such as A. Barth and Albert Schweitzer, to condemn, or minimize the importance of, Indian spiritual tradition on the charge of its non-ethical and/or life-negating character. Among the Indian scholars who endeavoured to counter and combat this charge in a rational spirit, the most important, of course, was Dr. Radhakrishnan.** Sharing the broad, internationalist attitude of Tagore, this philosopher and savant was (and remains) deeply concerned also to promote mutual appreciation and understanding between East and West.

III

Amidst the unrest and turmoil that prevailed in India during the pre-independence decades of the twentieth century, two sorts of intellectual activity went on more or less continually. The first was directed towards the discovery and understanding of India's cultural self, and the second towards the defence of her cultural achievements and their history. After the initial appreciative response to the discovery of India's past, a section of Western scholars went on their guard, as it were, and became more circumspect, and even critical, with respect to her cultural heritage. Among such scholars may be mentioned the names of M. Winternitz and A. B. Keith. Gradually, however, particularly after the publication of the histories of Indian philosophy by S. Radhakrishnan and S. N. Das Gupta, the initiative as regards the researches into Indian thought and culture passed into the hands of native scholarship. In particular, Indian philosophical systems other than the Advaita-Vedānta, which latter had to some extent been explained and expounded at the popular level by Max Müller, Vivekānanda and others, received adequate attention only during the twentieth century, especially after the publication of the afore-said histories. While Vivekānanda's success as a missionary of Indian religion and culture brought prestige to the country and produced a new confidence among the

* Quoted from *The Gospel of Ramakrishna in Sources of Indian Tradition*, p. 645.

** See particularly his thorough and erudite work *Eastern Religions and Western Thought* (1939), esp. Ch. III. An earlier work in the same line, purporting to be purely a defence of Indian culture, is Sri Aurobindo's *Foundations of Indian Culture* (a collection of articles published in ARYA between 1918-21). That work breathes the spirit of offended national pride, even of self-exultation.

people, his own contribution to the study of Indian thought was not important. Western scholars had done much in the field of Vedic studies and in the study of early Buddhism, but the more academic and technical side of Indian thought had remained almost wholly neglected at their hands. The exploration of the Indian reflective genius, as distinguished from her religious spirit, has been undertaken, and largely if not completely accomplished, only during the last four decades.

Until India became independent, scholarly investigations and judgments about her historical and cultural past continued to be conditioned by extra-academic prejudices and sentiments. While Western writers, particularly Christian theologians and some British scholars, wrote about things Indian now patronizingly and now with mild contempt or indirect hostility, Indian scholars felt impelled to be either on the defensive, or to make exaggerated and aggressive claims *vis-à-vis* their own and Western culture. Issues concerning the dates of ancient Indian works and authors, those relating to mutual borrowings between East and West, and such other questions bearing on the relative importance of doctrines and practices that had prevailed in India, gave rise to vehement controversies. Needless to say, these controversies were seldom conducted in a detached academic spirit. In the Preface to his *Buddhist Thought in India** Edward Conze, referring to A. B. Keith's *Buddhist Philosophy in India and Ceylon*, speaks of 'the superciliousness' of the author's tone, which, he remarks, 'belongs to a phase in the treatment of subject nations which has now passed.' Keith's method of treatment of controversial topics, e.g. those relating to borrowings from one another by India and Greece, is particularly ingenious. Whenever a question of India's borrowing from Greece, e.g., is involved, Professor Keith finds the

evidence 'highly probable', while in the reverse case the evidence available is found to be generally 'not conclusive'. Many an earnest seeker, including Dara Shikoh and Schopenhauer have found the *Upanishads* an inspiring reading; but the great Christian theologian Barth has managed, in *The Religions of India* (1882), to make a Chapter on them scrupulously dull and insipid, if not openly derogatory. He finds in them not only 'pale and shallow deism' and 'fanciful physiology', but also 'not a little materialism'.** Mr. Barth finds 'very little mention of positive duties in *Upanishads*', the essential matter, in their view, being 'to stifle desire'. Finding a happier wording for this last expression would have obviously been inconsistent with Mr. Barth's overt intentions. Indian scholars were similarly ingenious in discovering many a modern thought and practice in ancient India; they were equally uncharitable in their characterization of Western civilization and culture as materialistic. Surely a culture that had produced such earnest seekers after philosophical truth and spiritual excellence as Socrates and Plato, St. Augustine, St. Francis of Assisi and Thomas Aquinas, Pascal, Spinoza and Kant, and, during more recent times, apart from a long line of inquirers and thinkers in all fields of knowledge, such large-hearted champions of justice and noble authors as Saint-Simon, Marx, Tolstoy, Ruskin, Romain Rolland, Thoreau, Emerson, Einstein, etc. could not by any criteria be accounted materialistic!

These attitudes of Indian and Western scholars, though morally indefensible, were not psychologically unintelligible. With the political domination and cultural penetration of the world by Europe during the last two centuries, it was natural that Western scholars and thinkers be led to develop a superiority complex; it was equally natural for Eastern scholars to think and react under a contrary complex. What is truly surprising is that, even under these conditions, there were Western men of letters who continued to explore

* Published by George Allen & Unwin, 1962.

** Vide, *The Religions of India* (Trüber & Co. Ludgate Hill, London, 1882), Ch. II, pp. 69, 73.

Indian tradition, particularly her religious tradition, with the earnest and respectful spirit of the early orientalist. This may also be taken as a proof of the abiding interest and vitality of that tradition. It is also surprising for us to think that Indian cultural heritage should have received such high praise from Western pandits of the previous generations when the great *Mahāyāna-sūtras*, the great classics of Buddhist logic, and such masterpieces of dialectical and logico-metaphysical thought as Nagarjuna's *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*, Udyotakara's *Vārttika*, Prashastapāda's *Bhāṣya*, Gangesha's *Tattva-Cintāmani*, etc. were largely unknown to the scholarly world. Western scholarship has continued to help India in her momentous, though agreeable, enterprise of self-discovery and self-understanding, which is part of the bigger enterprise of the discovery and understanding by man of his own self and its possibilities.

IV

To us living in the crisis-ridden post-war decades of the twentieth century, the labours of the scholars of the pre-war generation who sought to prove the superiority of this or that religion, this or that culture, this or that hemisphere of the globe, seem largely to have been wasted. The problem before us today is not how best to promote the sense of superiority and un-Christian pride among the people belonging either to East or to West, it is rather how to make them understand better both themselves and others, and to realize the possibilities of enlightenment and happiness inherent in the new unified world created by science and technology. A still greater problem, which is to be tackled mainly at the theoretical level, has arisen as a consequence of man's loss of faith in the more important beliefs and values of the pre-scientific age. The nineteenth century dealt an inexorable blow to man's faith in a God-designed purposive

universe; I am not sure if mankind is either on the way to recover from it or likely to do so. It is surprising that with all his arrogant trust in science and scientific achievements, modern man, particularly the Western man, should find it so difficult to reconcile himself to the loss of that faith. As a consequence we find two sorts of persons among the Western intelligentsia, those seeking desperately to cling to an uncritical faith in God, and those giving free vent, through the medium of either literature or life or both, to an unrelieved sense of cynicism. Probably a third class of persons seek relief in hectic chasing of pleasures, or in ceaseless action directed towards ends indifferently chosen.

The present writer feels a little amazed to find student after student, coming to study Indian religion and philosophy,^{*} and scholar after scholar, coming either to lecture or to exchange views on religious-philosophical problems, professing unabated faith in God. These gentlemen (and ladies) make me wonder whether they come from the same West whose literary works reflect so much of moral and spiritual conflict. Needless to say, my awareness of these expressions of conflict inclines me to class them under the first of the categories mentioned above.

At the other end one finds the Western humanists like Corliss Lamont, who believe that their creed cannot but be materialistic and irreligious. The possibility of a religion without revelation and without God usually does not occur to the Western man. In India, on the contrary, such a possibility was thoroughly worked out not only by Buddhism in its various philosophical forms but also by several philosophical schools of orthodox Hinduism. In the crucial sphere of religious thought, i.e. thought on problems relating to man's adaptation to the total environment of universe and history, the Western man, justly proud of his achievements in pure and applied science and in socio-political and economic organization, may still learn something useful from his Eastern brethren. The possibility of the West's

* At the Banaras Hindu University.

profiting from Eastern religious thought was already indicated by Vivekananda, though his viewpoint as to what constituted the vital core of Indian religious thought was considerably different from that of the present writer. By the time of the illustrious Swami, neither the Indian nor the Western scholars had yet awakened to the real significance of the great Buddhist, particularly the Mahāyāna, systems.

But the more important thing is not to determine what East and West can learn from one another, but to envisage how best they can cooperate to discover nobler or more vital truths. For in the realm of values the ideal of the *validity* of cognition is more or less identical with, if not wholly replaceable by, that of the *wisdom* of outlook. Amidst the changing conceptions and criteria of good or great literature, the wiser author, partly through instinct and partly through conscious choice, gives his adherence to those that contribute both to greater richness and to greater strength in his work, thus ensuring its greater longevity or permanence. Great cultures similarly manage to adopt relatively wiser outlooks on life; like great poets, such cultures function partly through instinct and partly through reason. Philosophers of culture, like those of art and literature, should seek, particularly in the modern world, not merely to analyse the postulates of a given specimen of greatness, but also to extend and widen the scope of those postulates, so as to make them comprehend the specimens belonging to other places and times.

East and West, in our view, can best serve one another by enriching each other's perceptions, first at the subconscious and then at the reflective level, as to the elements which contribute to the enrichment and stability of the varied patterns of cultural or spiritual life. After the physical and economic, even political, unification of the world brought about by Western science and technology, it is neither possible nor desirable that East and West remain aloof on the planes of finer cultural life, nursing the parochial

sentiments of exclusiveness and racial or zonal pride. For this reason we are opposed to those purists among Indian pandits who either advocate a return to ancient ideals or exhort modern Indians merely to go on interpreting and reinterpreting their ancient philosophies. Happily for the future of Indian culture, our thought and practice in different spheres have already been considerably modified by the impact of Western ideas and institutions. Not only in the domains of our political and economic life, where most of our constitutional and organisational forms have been directly borrowed from Great Britain and America, not only in science and technology, but also in the realms of art and literature, Indian intellectuals have been deriving sustenance and inspiration from the Western sources. Even in the spheres of religious thought and practice Indian genius has not remained unaffected by its contact with the West. The ethical element of Christianity, for instance, enters as a significant component in the complex texture of Gandhi's thought and personality. Gandhi, indeed, constitutes a supreme example of a creative personality assimilating external influences to the genius of the country's native cultural tradition. In India, where Western thought, both philosophical and socio-political, has been more thoroughly cultivated than probably in any other Asian country, the danger lies, not so much in the possibility of exclusive aloofness in respect of that thought, as in that of acceptance, in a spirit of imitation, of ideas and practices that have not yet been assimilated to the thought and culture of the soil. The danger increases with the growing industrialization and secularization of society and the social mind, and with the growing tendency of religious and secular ideas and aspirations to be divided from one another. The tendency also operates in the West, but there the tradition of socio-political and moral philosophy has been richer than in India. While the relative poverty or lack of variety in Western religious tradition, and its disintegration under the growing encroachment on

enlightened minds by science and scientism, has not failed to produce a sense of crisis in the Western world, the consequences of such disintegration are likely to be more disastrous in Indian life and culture. India, however, can avert this crisis by reformulating its religious philosophy in terms acceptable to the modern critical consciousness. It is noteworthy that Mahātmā Gāndhī, though a firm believer in God, seldom resorts to appeals to God the Creator or God the Father while elaborating his truly revolutionary moral conceptions. Drawing inspiration from the great Buddhist systems, as well as from the Greek and Christian components of the Western tradition, with their respective emphasis on the aesthetically rich personality and the ethics of service to man in his daily needs, India may be able to evolve a type of religious philosophy which is both deeply humanistic and profoundly spiritual. I say India, not because of any provincial bias, but because of the feeling that it may be truly difficult for Western religious thinkers to cross the boundaries of the old Judaic theistic tradition on the one hand and the modern scientism on the other. While the latter has not yet taken roots in India, the former has never been in exclusive possession of the Indian religious mind. On the other hand, the pagan and ethical elements, though more or less ignored by deeper reflective thought,

have ever remained important factors in India's actual life. The reflective vitality of the West has already made several attempts to formulate, through such philosophic-literary writers and critics as Nietzsche, Mathew Arnold, Bernard Shaw, D. H. Lawrence, etc., several types of aesthetic-vitalistic-voluntaristic creeds intended to be substitutes for religion; somehow these have failed, like several types of Western humanism, to include enough of inward, spiritual content of the traditional religions.

Any valid pattern of belief and attitude, evolved either in the West or in the East, should, from now onwards, be intended for acceptance by the whole of humanity. But, owing to the inveterate habits of response fostered by long traditions, it may not, for some time to come, be possible for the bulk of the people to assimilate and live patterns of thought and feeling far removed from their own. Nevertheless some men and women in different climes, with more expansive spirits and greater capacity for deconditioning themselves, may be able to extend appreciation to relatively more universal and therefore more valid forms of inner life visualised by kindred though more creative minds. On the shoulders of such men and women lies the burden of uniting mankind in the consciousness of diversified forms of common valid ideas, attitudes and aspirations.

Sleep-Teaching

S. C. DUBEY

SLEEP-TEACHING is one of the latest developments in the field of applied psychology. I use the term 'teaching' in its two broadest senses, (i) to impart knowledge, and (ii) to make the child social. Sleep-teaching makes it possible to sleep on a subject — quite literally — and to learn it faster and more thoroughly than by the most determined application of the conscious mind. But it is something more than to 'sleep on' a problem you have been unable to solve by your conscious efforts, and awaken with the answer. The latter is an informal procedure, the former is a technique. Apart from imparting knowledge (e.g. teaching languages), sleep-teaching makes it possible to break bad habits, ranging from over-eating, thumb-sucking, bed-wetting, nail-biting to speech defects. It helps children acquire a particular behaviour pattern best suited to the culture of the society.

Mechanical Device

Max Sherover of America is one of the pioneers of sleep-teaching. He with the help of a San Francisco engineer, Elmer Brown, produced the first mechanical device for sleep-teaching in the early years of the fourth decade of this century. It consisted of a combination of record-player, electric clock, and under-the-pillow speaker. Records were prepared of the subjects to be taught and the record-player was such as to repeat the records over and over automatically. It was connected to the pillow-speaker, which whispered the recorded instructions into the ears of the learner, while he was asleep, and in such a low tone that he was not awakened by the noise. The electric timer was used to make

the record-player switch on and off automatically, while the learner slept, as many times as it was thought necessary to repeat the instructions into his ears.

Fear of Misuse

Long before Max Sherover with the help of Elmer Brown produced his first mechanical device for sleep-teaching, that prophetic genius Aldous Huxley in his book, *Brave New World* (1932) had envisioned a new world in which he said hypnopaedia or sleep-teaching would be used by the state to condition future citizens in the state religion. Huxley's fears have proved true. Dictatorial countries are doing thorough brain-washing by this device; they are trying to inculcate the state religion into the minds of the young citizens by this method.

But there are other democratic countries which are using this device for the betterment of humanity, and the countries under dictatorship are not exceptions to this general rule either. Anyway the device is a mixed blessing.

Research Studies and Evidence

The sleep-teaching device of Sherover was originally tested by Charles R. Elliot of the University of North Carolina.¹ He tried to teach 15 unrelated words of three letters each to his subjects; the words were: boy, egg, say, art, run, not, sir, leg, bag, row, ice, out, age, box and eat. These words were whispered by the machine seven times into the ears of the sleeping subjects. It was verified that the subjects were asleep by an electro-encephalograph which records brain-waves, which are

different during sleep and wakefulness. The next day this group, and a control-group who had not been sleep-taught these words, were asked to memorize the list of words. And lo! the first group learned the list 83% faster than the control group. Several other experiments were made, and Elliot came to the conclusion that 'sleep-teaching was similar to re-teaching something the person has temporarily forgotten'.

Next year Sherover reported that sleep-teaching was very successful and his students were learning languages 25% to 30% faster than others who learnt normally while awake. In 1948 he prophesied that his device could be used very successfully to teach such necessary information as multiplication tables, chemical formulae, the Morse Code, logarithms, speeches, vocabularies, and languages. But it later proved that he was very modest and conservative in his forecasts. His method was, in fact, much more successful.

In 1949 Ramon Vinay², a Chilean opera star surprised the world by memorizing a leading operatic role in accentless Italian very quickly, by sleep-learning technique, and Sherover's device became celebrated in musical circles. Since then Lary Blyden, Marylyn Erskin, and many others have on occasions learned their complete roles very quickly with the aid of sleep-learning equipment.

Art Linkletter³, a well-known radio and television star offered to test the theory of sleep-learning by attempting to learn the most difficult language in the world — Mandarin Chinese—by this method. He sleep-studied the language for ten nights only and then invited the Vice-Consul of China to his TV show. And to the surprise of the world, he engaged in a pleasant conversation with his guest in Mandarin Chinese. The Vice-Consul admitted that Mr. Linkletter was really conversant in the language, would be able to travel throughout China, and be able to converse with anyone who speaks the elegant Mandarin dialect.

It is a well-known fact that during world war II, members of the armed forces of

the USA were taught the Morse Code and foreign languages with sleep-teaching devices, in a necessarily brief period of time. And the renowned Office of the Strategic Services (O.S.S.) has taught its agents not only languages but also accents, slangs, and customs of countries to be infiltrated, very quickly and thoroughly by the sleep-teaching technique.⁴

Business has been quick to recognize how sleep-learning can help to build up sales. A group of Corporations in America started self-confidence-development courses through sleep-learning to bolster the effectiveness of their salesmen.⁵

In 1951, the Soviet Union passed a law making it compulsory for doctors to pump powerful suggestions into the subconscious of every mother-to-be, by the same method, to make delivery painless. Today considerable interest is evinced in medical circles about the pain-reducing and pain-eliminating faculties of sleep-suggestion.⁶

In 1952 the Journal of Experimental Psychology of America reported tests conducted at George Washington University. Students were taught Chinese during sleep between 2-30 and 3-00 A.M. They were divided into three groups, the first group was sleep-taught certain Chinese words with mismatched English words, the second group was sleep-taught Chinese words with their English equivalents, the third group was sleep-taught Strauss waltzes instead of Chinese. Next day the first group needed 11 repetitions to learn the words, the second group only 6 repetitions, and the third group 18 repetitions.⁷

The memory-training qualities of sleep-teaching have been acknowledged far and wide, and are of particular interest to those who must remember specialized data. Mr. David Curtis reports⁸ that the memorization rate of a mid-western lecturer has increased by 75% by this method. Many parents in America have reported unhesitatingly that young children whose studies involve a considerable amount of rote-learning find this method a boon. It is reported that a railroad despatcher in

America memorized the entire passenger train schedule of the Union Pacific Railways in ten days; a postal employee memorized the postal zones of 16,000 streets; a television-announcer memorized commercials very thoroughly and quickly, remembering them at will when on the air; a production executive in a large advertising firm has memorized 600 telephone numbers of frequent usage within a very short time — all by sleep-learning. These are only examples selected at random to illustrate the validity of sleep-teaching techniques in memory training.

Recently American Television presented to the public a young man who learned conversational French for a week, under controlled test conditions, while asleep. He was examined on a Television programme, 'You asked for it', by Dr. Adrian Miller, Professor of Romance Languages at U.C.L.A. The Professor pronounced his judgment that the young man had absorbed within seven days of sleep-learning the knowledge equivalent of a Semester of class-room study. Redee Vallee, Bing Crosby and Gloria Swanson have learned lyrics in this way.⁹

Socializing a Child by Sleep-teaching

Sleep-teaching helps in two ways to make children social beings. Firstly, it helps to remove their personal oddities which prove a barrier or hindrance in their social mixing. The Institute of Logopedics, in Wichita, Kansas, conducted experiments to find out whether sleep-teaching could cure speech defects. The results of their study showed that students who heard a list of words while sleeping, memorized them and learnt to pronounce them more accurately and much faster than the control group which was not provided with the benefit of sleep-teaching.

Psychologists have also reported success in breaking bad habits of children by this device. Over-eating, thumb-sucking nail-biting, bed-wetting, making grimaces — all these social disadvantages are cured by this method very effectively. Psycho-

therapists submit favourable reports on the success of implanting therapeutic suggestion in the subconscious mind to supplement treatment during waking hours.

The Sleep-Learning Research Association reports some experiences of a Florida doctor in which sleep-teaching therapy resulted in a cure: A man had lost his voice at the age of four due to psychological causes. For twenty six years he could barely whisper; after sleep therapy, he recovered full use of his voice. A minister had to give up his work because of a series of nervous breakdowns, but sleep-therapy cured him and he was able to return to his work.¹⁰

Now let us study the second advantage of sleep-teaching for making children ideal citizens of the state. There are two conflicting views of the purposes of education for citizenship. One is a liberating view: it removes barriers to knowledge; it permits, without bias, the examination of all conflicting political programmes; it encourages critical thinking and independent judgment. The other is a restrictive view: it seeks to impose censorship and to stifle free discussion; it discourages critical thinking by trying to direct the pupils' thought toward preconceived conclusions. Both views have influenced school programmes, one in democratic countries, and the other in totalitarian countries. The schools have always been a battleground between the liberating view and the restrictive view of the goals of citizenship training. In the restrictive view the aim of school is to indoctrinate for the social views of those who dominate the society. This is what Huxley called, decades ago, 'conditioning the citizens in the state-religion' and obviously for this purpose, sleep-teaching is best suited. Democratic countries may cry in the wilderness saying, 'this is the misuse of sleep-teaching', while the dictators will consider it the ideal training for citizenship. But although we are led to conclude that sleep-teaching extends better possibilities to dictators than democrats, this is no reason for the latter

not to employ this method to attain their own goal.

At present the University of North Carolina, the University of California, William and Mary Parsons Training School, U.C.L.A., and George Washington University, besides the institute of Logopedics mentioned above, are busy in America studying the various phases of sleep-teaching, and their findings have led to world-wide recognition of this novel technique.

Historical Evidence

The principle of sleep-teaching was known to the ancients. In Egypt, religious novices were asked to sleep in specially built slumber temples where priests recited scriptures to them when they were asleep, believing all the while that this method would hasten their learning. In Greece as well as in Egypt people brought their problems to the temple priests, who whispered helpful suggestions into their ears while they were asleep, in matters of health, wealth, love and general encouragement.¹¹

Samuel Taylor Coleridge reports the case of a twenty five year old woman who could not read or write, and who could speak only English. Once during an illness which was then known as brain fever, she began to speak Latin, Greek, and Hebrew all of a sudden in very pompous tones. What was the secret of it? She had been a servant to a Protestant pastor for many years. The pastor read aloud to himself the scriptures in the above languages, as he walked up and down a hallway adjoining the kitchen where the young woman cooked. And her subconscious had absorbed the passages, though she was not conscious of it. The words that she uttered during her delirium coincided with passages in books of the pastor. The brain fever had excited those cells of the brain where the impressions were stored and she began to utter those passages in delirium.

The Psychology of Sleep-Teaching

The Psychological basis of sleep-teaching is the working of the subconscious. A machine which records brain waves, called an electro-encephalograph, has shown that our subconscious is receptive and alert all the twenty four hours, and it has established that our sub-conscious mind can absorb impressions for that full period.

Anyone can verify from his personal experience this dynamic characteristic of the subconscious. You are sleeping in a railway carriage: who prevents you from falling out of the narrow bed? Who orders your hands to pull the covers up when they have slipped? Your subconscious. While going to sleep, you ask your subconscious to wake you up, say at 5 A.M., and there are 90% chances that you will wake up at the right time without the aid of an alarm clock. Mahatma Gandhi had so harnessed his subconscious to his service, that he could order his subconscious bodyguard to wake him up after any length of time, a fact fully borne out by his autobiography and by his biographers.

Recently the Reticular Theory¹² of Consciousness has been advanced to explain the working of the brain. This theory says that our cortex, or the outer layer of the brain gives meaning to the incoming stimuli, and stores the meaning for future reference. We hear a man of abusive tongue: this impression is stored by our cortex for future reference, and as soon as we see the man next time, without giving him a chance to abuse us, we avoid him. In this way our cortex condenses, edits, and transmits the sense stimuli to the reticular system, lying deep within the brain. But it is the reticular system of the brain that finally integrates and gives meaning to the incoming stimuli on the basis of all past engrams pertinent to each incoming stimulus. If the past experience says that the man of abusive tongue is also of generous heart, and might be induced to help you financially, then, if you need financial help, the reticular system will send out impulses to the sensory-motor

regions of the cortex to induce a desirable muscular response, and you will hasten to greet him, prepared to hear his abusive tongue, rather than run away from it. Thus according to this theory, it is the mid-brain or the sub-conscious which performs the function of integrating impressions at the highest level, it is the subconscious which stores the patterns of behaviour once learnt for future reference, and it is the subconscious or the reticular system which sends out impulses to the cortex to induce a muscular response. Hence sleep-teaching pedagogues rightly believe in sending impressions to the sub-conscious mind while the subject is asleep, and the conscious mind is unable to create any hindrance. During the sleeping state, the subconscious is more easily reached by suggestion and is taught more effectively.

During sleep mental stresses and emotional disturbances are at a minimum, otherwise the person cannot sleep. It is no longer necessary to make conscious efforts to concentrate on a particular subject, and eliminate distracting thought, or to call up the will to learn, or arouse the interest. All these factors, conducive to efficient learning, are present during sleep. Concentration is there, without the need of eliminating distracting thoughts. The doors of the subconscious mind are open.

It is common knowledge that during conscious study different things present themselves to the various senses and to the minds of the students at the same time, so much so that students are inattentive to their lessons, not because of any deliberate inattention, but for purely unconscious reasons. Even though they may be looking directly at the instructor, they may be wandering off, day-dreaming, and hardly knowing it. In sleep-teaching, there is no such danger of day-dreaming; the subconscious receives all ideas with rapt attention, retains them for life, integrates them into the mind, and affects and moulds our conscious behaviour accordingly. However, sometimes the subconscious of certain people creates a barrier, a resistance to audible directed sounds. Such resistance

may be overcome by techniques to be explained at the end of the article.

The sleep-teaching process utilizes the suggestibility of the students at the maximum. The reasoning function is a great hindrance to suggestibility. This function is almost nil during sleep, and so the mind is much more amenable to suggestion. Sleep-teaching avoids the necessity of requesting the conscious mind to open its doors for the desired information to reach the inner layers of the brain. Suggestion concentrates the attention of the subconscious. Sleep-teaching is based on the principle of relaxation and receptivity to suggestion.

Dr. Wilder Penfield of the Montreal Neurological Institute has established by his experiments that the 'natural tape-recorders in our head require only one impression for retention, possibly lifelong retention'. He discovered this during surgery under local anaesthesia, when he stimulated certain brain cells of patients who were conscious, and they 'reported perfect playback of conversation, songs, and other experiences as far back as childhood'. These experiments have shown that different impressions are stored in separate brain-cells, and that they are retained for life. Sleep-teaching directly records the impressions on the brain cells, where they are retained life long. The problem now is to discover methods of recalling those impressions.

Until some way of triggering off the material is discovered, sleep-teaching is based on repetition and free association. Although one impression is sufficient to register permanently on our brain, repetition is necessary for recall. The reason for this is not yet known. Dallard and Miller, students of Hull, say that reinforcement of all kinds strengthens the responses which immediately precede them. The primary effect of reinforcement is unconscious; thus unconscious habits are formed. But verbalization enables the habits to be recovered from the unconscious.

*Validation of sleep-teaching by
Freudian Psychology*

In sleep-teaching literature and in literature about hypnosis, the term 'subconscious' is used. Literature concerning psychoanalysis does not recognize the term subconscious; it uses the term 'unconscious.' But in practice there is no difference between the two. The *subconscious* of sleep-teaching and hypnosis is in fact the unconscious of the psycho-analysts.

According to Freud, every idea begins in the unconscious, hence sleep-teaching pedagogues are right in pumping ideas directly into the unconscious. Freud believed that extremely complex mental operations are possibly without the Co-operation of the consciousness. This explains the capacity to learn during asleep, that vast capacity which is still to be explored.

Freud said certain impressions during waking hours, are not consciously noted, but they pass on to the unconscious, and if during the waking state they are not settled into the unconscious, the pre-conscious mind is active during sleep to settle them and integrate them in the vast realm of the unconscious. Hence to give ideas to the subconscious during sleep is a natural process, and these ideas will be integrated into the mind with the rest of the ideas by virtue of subconscious activities.

Freud said that certain problems are left uncompleted during the waking state, because our mental powers have failed us; these problems are solved by the unconscious when we are sleeping, or in a relaxed mood. Hence the most complicated ideas can be given directly to the subconscious during sleep, to be solved and integrated within the system.

Freud based his theory of personality organization on his concept of the three chambers of the mind: unconscious, pre-conscious and conscious. He could not separate the unconscious and the pre-conscious completely, it is true; he said they

reveal certain characteristics in common. Sleep-teaching psychologists call both of them subconscious. Freud said the Id represents the entirely unconscious aspect of mental life. The Ego is the agent of the Id, or that part of it more affected by the external world; it is the seat of intelligence and reason. The super-ego represents the demands of the external world, it observes and criticizes sensuous stimuli accordingly, and separates itself from the Ego. Sleep-teaching aims at by-passing the super-ego and the ego, and reaching the subconscious directly to influence the personality organization of the students.

Dr. Bernard Hollander says that subconscious thinking constitutes much of our thinking, and we are conscious only of its result. It is conscious effort which tires the mind, subconscious work is not tiring. By virtue of repetition, many acts become subconscious, and we perform the work without any effort, as walking, writing, holding the handle of a cycle or a car etc. The goal of all conscious learning is to make the act so learned pass into the subconscious, turn into habit, so that we may perform the act smoothly, without any effort, and free the conscious mind to face the pressing problems of external life. Sleep-learning hastens this process. In sleep-teaching ideas are suggested to the subconscious directly, which absorbs them and supplies them to the consciousness when they are needed by its own mysterious process of grouping and selection.

Robert D. Updergraff¹³ has recently written an essay regarding the 'conscious use of the subconscious mind'. He says that we can consciously use the subconscious by the following process: First, organize the material to be learned consciously, then give a definite assignment to the subconscious to learn it, and forget the matter for the time being. If you do not relax after giving the assignment to the subconscious, you keep it from working for you. He has given much historical evidence to prove that most of the great men of the world got their ideas when they were not working but relaxing. Our

subconscious definitely completes the assignment given to it, and in more efficient manner, because our whole life's experience stored in the subconscious, and the experience of the past ages of humanity stored in the *collective unconscious*, are brought to bear on the problem. Thus Undergraff believes that the subconscious can be put to use consciously and deliberately; sleep-teaching does the same, of course, in a more formal and deliberate manner.

Sleep-teaching Procedures

As an aid to overcoming resistance, a student should be motivated to learn during sleep. The psychological process should be explained to him, and his co-operation enlisted. Otherwise, the subconscious of certain people is not receptive to audible directed sound: barriers are created.

A feeling of reward helps motivation. If a student genuinely feels that by sleep-learning he will be able to compete much more successfully with other students, he will learn faster, he will be able to memorize many details much more quickly and more efficiently, and he will be better prepared for sleep-learning.

To assist recall, until psychologists have discovered a definite method of 'triggering off' material, the student should establish a conscious association with the subject he desires to sleep-learn.

After the conscious procedures of motivation, reward, and association, the sleep-learner begins listening to the recordings before falling asleep. The first thing that he hears is 'relaxation affirmations' which are designed to help prepare the subconscious of the sleep-learner for the proper degree of receptivity after falling asleep. This pre-sleep relaxation is very important during the first week of sleep-study sessions, because he has to overcome the tension and nervousness attendant on a novel and exciting experience. It is found that many beginners awake at the sound of the recorded voice, sometimes a moment

ahead of time. But this problem is usually overcome in a few nights, and in some cases, does not arise at all, when the learner is well motivated and well-disposed to sleep-learn. But if the learner's mind creates 'barriers', these can be eliminated by gradual conditioning of the subconscious to audible directed sound. Once it is accomplished, the barrier does not reappear and the material can be easily learnt in a few nights, even in a few hours. Experiments have shown that it takes 15 to 30 nights to condition students to complete nocturnal reception in those cases which show the greatest 'barriers'. If the resistance is very great, it may be overcome by using a tape, with a positive affirmation for sleep-learning, and the repeated hearing of the tape generally removes the psychological block. Other recommendations for getting through the barrier are as follows:

1. Conscious and genuine desire to succeed.
2. Not a single night's interruption in sleep-study.
3. Short lessons at the beginning.
4. Lessons given in the beginning should be musical; alliteration adds to the rhythm, and rhythm is conducive to early reception, and removal of barriers.
5. Avoidance of alcohol and drugs which induce unnatural heavy sleep.
6. Building up self-confidence, by removing tensions and negative thoughts.
7. Even if the barrier appears impenetrable, special sleep-therapy tapes are available as a last resource.

In the beginning only the 'reverie period' should be used for sleep-learning. The light sleep period, just after falling asleep, and one hour just before rising, is called the 'reverie period'. Psychologists have found that during this period the subconscious is most receptive.

When reception has been definitely established, the 'transitional sleep period' should be utilized for sleep-learning. This period begins usually three hours and forty minutes after falling asleep. It is called the 'transitional sleep period', be-

cause it is the period of transition between the third, and the fourth period of deep-sleep. Psychologists have found that the material received by the subconscious during this transitional period is remembered most rapidly of all, but they do not provide any explanation for it.

It is certain that during sleep-learning the number of impressions or repetitions necessary to memorize any material is a great deal less than the repetitions needed while awake; nevertheless repetition is as necessary in sleep-study, as in the traditional method of learning.

¹ Turnbow, A. W.: *Sleep Learning, Its Theory, Application and Technique*, Olympia, Wash., Sleep-Learning Research Association, 1958.

² David Curtis: *Learn While You Sleep*, Libra Publishers, New York, 1960, p. 19.

³ Ibid, p. 19.

⁴ Ibid, pages 20-21.

⁵ *The Wall Street Journal of America*, March 14, 1958.

⁶ David Curtis, op. cit., p. 18.

⁷ *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, America, September 1952.

⁸ Op. cit., pages 21-25.

⁹ *Television Weekly*, 21st December, 1958.

¹⁰ Turnbow, op. cit., p. 135.

¹¹ Athenaeus: *The Book of Deipnosophistai*, XIII p. 605.

¹² C. Daly King: *The Psychology of Consciousness*, p. 51.

¹³ *Reader's Digest*, March 1960.

Jothi Ramalingam

KA NAA SUBRAMANYAM

NEW ideas, new conceptions of life swept over the whole land during the nineteenth century and Tamilnad in the South was no exception. Among the waves of new ideas, the wave associated with Jothi Ramalingam or Ramalinga Swamikal or Adigal as he is variously known was perhaps the largest, the most significant, the most sweeping, the most worth while studying from a modern standpoint.

The Tamils, along with the other Indians, lack the instinct for biography as well as for history, and a man who was important in the past is usually figured as larger than he could really have been. It is however not a conscious exaggeration but an instinctive cumulative accretion to personality out of all proportion to reality. In some respects, it can be claimed that Jothi Ramalingam's present reputation among certain sections of the Tamil public far outweighs the real impact of the man or his later influence. But apart from details, in general it can certainly be said that here was a personality which even the general Indian love of exaggeration could not overexaggerate in its essentials.

Contemplating the phenomenon that is known as Jothi Ramalingam, we are left with a welter of impressions all of them more or less irreconcilable with each other. He has left a volume of verse which is imitative in its poetic essence but is unrivalled and unique in its inspiration and modernity, which is sincere in its devotional aspects as only great metaphysical poetry (in the Indian sense) can be. The inspiration which Jothi Ramalingam's poetry breathes into its readers and singers—for mainly like all the other devotional poets of the Tamils, Ramalingam was a singer—has outlasted a century and is

likely to continue to grow by present indications. It is not necessary to believe the miracles ascribed to him in order to ensure him of the largeness of personality that will merit the attention of future generations—for even without these miracles his personality is big enough. The miracles anyhow are a necessary and inescapable accretion in the Indian biographical scheme of things. Jothi Ramalingam's fight with established religion and the vested interests representing it were perhaps not titanic in one sense but they are sufficient to impress. His attempts at social reform which were far in advance of what could have been expected so far back in time, at the beginnings of Western education in India, were considerable in their import. Add to this the fact that he himself was a strictly unlettered man, learned neither in the native traditions nor in the new learning that was sweeping the land—the effect is surprising indeed.

In his short span of fifty one years, from 1823 to 1874, he could make his influence felt as no other pundit's, professor's, learned man's or poet's was. The challenge that Arumugha Navalar threw to Jothi Ramalingam in public was characteristic of the period. The two men were in complete contrast with one another—a contrast that was complete in more senses than one.

Arumugha Navalar was a pundit, a scholar, trained in the best academic traditions of the Tamils. He was passionately interested in the revival of Hinduism, especially in its medieval puranic aspects. For this revival Arumugha Navalar depended mainly on methods which smack of Christian proselytisation. He drew largely from his experience with the Christian missionaries who had entrusted

him with the translation of parts of the Bible and their catechism and some of their outstanding sermons. Arumugha Navalar did a conscientious job of translation but his heart was with Hinduism and when his period of Christian translation was over, he devoted his time to retelling the Indian puranas in the comparatively new medium of Tamil prose and in writing simply and elegantly on simple aspects of Hinduism and sometimes in the form of the Christian catechism.

It was but fitting that the orthodox traditionalist Arumugha Navalar should challenge the pilgrim of God's love, the revolutionary Jothi Ramalingam. They came together at Chidambaram—Jothi from somewhere near Madras and Arumugha Navalar from distant Jaffna in Ceylon. About Jothi Ramalingam's challenge to Chidambaram itself, I shall speak later on, in its proper place.

Ramalingam, if we are to believe the many legends which have gathered round him, was an unlettered man who was credited with the capacity to speak on the profoundest aspects of Hindu theology and spiritual thought by divine inspiration. But essentially he was a poet and a reformer who drew his inspiration not from academic training but from a devout familiarity with the stream of devotional song in Tamil. He had anticipated with great insight the loosening of the ties of caste under a new dispensation both divine and temporal. He could even be said to have envisaged the spirit of equality between men that was to move succeeding generations of men, both in India and elsewhere. He was also able to sense the tightening of the many fields of Hinduism into one fold—a process which was felt all over India and to which leaders from Ram Mohun Roy to Mahatma Gandhi were striving to give expression and form—a process which is still going on perhaps.

Jothi Ramalingam in his days led a movement which in its broadest outlines could be called humanism. He could envisage a fight against all institutions, all establishments—religious, social, economic

though he did not dabble in the political—when they came into conflict with the individual and his good. In his insistence on individual human good, Ramalingam has indeed uncannily anticipated modern trends. In his songs are many recognisable passages which speak of the humanist urge.

'The Lord is big and my love is a fistful; but He, the Lord is here, in this fistful of my love.'

'I have neither magic nor medicine; the roots of the ego in man are cruel; alas, I know not how to pull them out. Caste and current creeds do torture me; I do not know how to be free of them.'

It is interesting to note that it is about these songs of Ramalingam's that the pundit Arumugha Navalar challenged him. When they gained currency, they gained currency as the 'sacred' or 'divine' chant. Now Arumugha Navalar claimed that the name 'sacred' or 'divine' chant belonged only to the Saivaite great and old devotional poets and it was a travesty on the part of Jothi Ramalingam to take the name and apply it to his own poems. Arumugha Navalar, believer in Establishment that he was, appealed to the British instituted District Court at Cuddalore seeking to restrain Ramalingam from using that time-honoured title. The case came up for trial before a British Sub-Judge. Curiously enough Jothi Ramalingam too seems to have been represented by learned counsel in his cause and to have defended the 'divinity' of the poems. And the learned arguments of the advocates on both sides must have bewildered the judge especially as regards the matter of Indian traditions and usage. Till one day in the midst of the arguments, who should walk into the court but the poet himself and the whole court, including the petitioner Arumugha Navalar, rose as one man to do the saint honour. And that decided the case for the British judge. He took it as a decisive point in favour of the defendant and threw Arumugha Navalar's petition out of court.

The scene of most of the activities of

Jothi Ramalingam for the major part of his life seems to have been in and round about Chidambaram though he is known to have travelled widely in the land and perhaps even went on a pilgrimage to the north. Many of Ramalingam's songs are about Nataraja, the Divine Dancer idol of Chidambaram. Though a stronghold of orthodoxy of a different kind, Chidambaram had a reputation for a revolutionary kind of Hinduism as well; it was the sacred spot where according to the purana the Harijan saint Nandan attained salvation and was admitted, if we are to believe the story, into the temple. Ramalingam had his own ideas of worship and hours of it, though the custodians of the temple, the Dhikshitaras, would have nothing to do with him or his ideas. For a few years Ramalingam tried his best to break into the orthodox fold and make them accept his ideas, but he was hitting at a strong and blind wall. He later left the temple and its custodians severely alone in disgust, claiming that it had been vouchsafed to him by divine grace in a dream that it was not the *true* and spiritual Chidambaram—the true and spiritual Chidambaram being some miles to the north. He did succeed in building a modest temple at the place of his choice, the true Chidambaram, at Vadalur.

Towards the end of his life, Jothi Ramalingam had a large following amidst the unlettered and the unsophisticated and he led the movement in South India as has already been indicated towards a simplification of Hinduism, towards an equalisation of all men, towards the abolition of

caste in its most oppressive forms, towards an acceptance of the dignity of man and the value of the individual. Through his simple songs of devotion which bubbled from him till the end of his life, these ideas seeped down into the masses and have not to this day lost their hold on a large section of the masses of Tamilnad.

Ramalingam's end is shrouded in mystery. Contemporary claims that he was killed because he was becoming a rival to the old Chidambaram and vested interests there and because he was an avowed enemy of the Establishment are known but, except by the too credulous, not seriously considered as probable. He seems to have simply disappeared from the sight of men sometime after the establishment of the new Chidambaram at Vadalur; he could have died unknown on any of his travels, by any wayside.

His last words (if they are really his last words; there is no authentic means of knowing now) are treasured and repeated often even these days by his followers: 'I opened my shop; none would buy of me; I shall come again.'

Considered from many points of view, Ramalingam's efforts at social, religious and spiritual reform were considerable and they had a lasting effect in the minds of the people, especially in the minds of the not-so-sophisticated. Singlehanded and aided by no formal institutions he achieved quite remarkable successes for which we have no parallels in our cultural history. His songs are recognizably songs of victory and love and equality and not of defeat or frustration.

Student Movement in the U.S.A.

PHILIP ALTBACH

ONLY two years ago many observers of the student scene were heralding the advent of a student generation vitally concerned with politics and willing to exert itself for a 'cause', be it nuclear disarmament or Barry Goldwater. A veritable renaissance of student intellectual and political activity seemed to be in the offing, ranging from a number of new magazines devoted to political or literary analysis to large-scale student demonstrations, such as the Washington Action Project, which brought 8,000 students to the nation's capital to lobby for peace. Now, most of these publications are no longer in existence and, with the exception of the South, there have been virtually no demonstrations, either on the right or left.

What has happened to the student movement? Why is it that an almost spontaneous burst of activity on hundreds of campuses, involving many thousands of students and covering the range of political issues has almost disappeared. The fact that the student movement has declined seriously in the past year or two cannot be doubted. Not only have most of the 'little' student magazines ceased publication, but many of the student organizations formed only three years ago are no longer existent. Where student activity has been maintained, it is often a mere shadow of its former self.

Not only were students fooled by the mushrooming of their movements, but such astute observers as Harold Taylor or Michael Harrington, men with broad experience in working with students, were moved to comment on the rising student generation which had seemingly left its apathy and caution for widespread expression of political interest and moral concern for the issues of the day.

While student political activity has declined on all levels, perhaps the most graphic collapse has been that of the conservative student movement, the darlings of such individuals as Fulton Lewis, III, of 'Operation Abolition' fame, and Henry Luce Editor of *Life* Magazine. The largest organization on the right, which only two years ago threatened to take over the 2,000,000 member liberal-dominated National Student

Association, has been wiped off the campus. The Young Americans For Freedom, who were able to fill Madison Square Garden and claimed a membership of 20,000 no longer exist on most campuses. The 'young fogies' have seemingly retreated into the woodwork. Their publications, which were well-financed and impressively printed from the outset, have mostly folded for lack of student interest. The hard core of campus conservatives who could be counted on to heckle any liberal meeting have disappeared.

More importantly, the serious thought that was produced by the student disciples of such *laissez-faire* economists as Friedrich Heyek and Milton Friedman has stopped. A quarterly journal, the *New Individualist Review*, published by a group of graduate students at the University of Chicago, has curtailed publication. This magazine featured articles of substantial scholarship, though most were well to the right of Barry Goldwater. Though probably the most intellectually respectable, this magazine is not the only one to disappear in recent months.

Hardening of the arteries has not been limited to the rightwing. Students have been traditionally liberal, when they have been anything at all, and the liberal student community has suffered major losses. The civil liberties movement, which was sparked by the well known riots against the House Committee on Un-American Activities in San Francisco, has disappeared from the campus. Where issues of academic freedom were hotly debated and outcries against the congressional witch-hunts commonplace on many campuses, there is nothing but silence today. Even the Bay area student civil liberties groups, which sparked the San Francisco riots, has ceased activity. The flood of literature on the evils of congressional investigations has stopped and students are no longer lobbying their Congressmen on this issue. With one major exception, the northern campus civil rights movement has all but disappeared. When the sit-ins were begun in the South in 1959, thousands of students on northern campuses rallied in support, contributing money for court costs and bail, and engaging in extended picket-

ing of Woolworths and other stores in support of the southern students. Now, with racial tension in the South at a boiling point and Southern students again being jailed in large numbers, there has been practically no response in the North. Indeed, the situation in Birmingham, though much more volatile, has not aroused the kind of concern among students that the first sit-in in Greensboro did several years ago.

A substantial number of liberal student publications sprang up in the past few years. In addition to the local, often mimeographed, periodicals which appeared on many campuses, a number of larger, slicker, and more sophisticated publications also appeared. A few of these claimed to be the 'voice of the student movement.' Practically none of the local magazines still publish and only a few of the national journals are in existence. *New University Thought*, which is perhaps the best known and certainly the most highly regarded, has not appeared for more than six months. This magazine, which has a circulation of nearly 10,000, engaged in a series of discussions on the nature and direction of the student movement in the 1960's, and sought to speak for students and younger intellectuals with 'left-liberal' positions. Other student publications have also folded: *Venture*, published by Students for a Democratic Society (the youth affiliate of the League for Industrial Democracy), *New Freedom*, issued from Cornell University, *Root and Branch*, published at Berkeley, and others.

The more 'traditional' groups in the student movement have seen similar declines from the peak of activity in 1959 and 1960, though most have been able to weather the storm and are still in a better position today than in the dark days before 1959. The Young Peoples Socialist League, which took an active part in organizing the northern civil rights and student peace movement, has slackened its activity (and its membership) considerably. Even traditionally 'radical' student centers, such as Chicago, New York, and Berkeley, are hard pressed to maintain active Y.P.S.L. chapters. Similarly, campus CORE and NAACP groups have lost most of their supporters and have been generally dormant recently. As was noted earlier, the civil liberties groups no longer exist, and many of the 'dissent forums,' formed to bring controversial speakers and programmes to the campus, and usually led by a group of liberal or radical students, have disappeared and their functions have been partially taken over by the local YMCA, Methodist, or Unitarian student group.

Perhaps the Student Peace Union epitomizes

the student movement. Developed in the 'heyday' of student activity in 1959 and 1960, the SPU has been able to maintain itself for the past three years, a substantial feat for a relatively radical student group with little support from the adult liberal community. Indeed, the SPU has grown steadily in terms of members and affiliated groups to a point where it now has over 200 local campus chapters of varying sizes. It has, in addition, been able to spread to areas hitherto untouched by campus political activity of any kind. Schools like the University of Kansas, Park College in Missouri, Purdue University in Indiana, and the University of Kentucky, as well as a few Catholic colleges now have active peace groups. In addition, peace is beginning to become a vital issue in the South, where the Student Peace Union has strong chapters at the University of North Carolina, the University of Texas, and several other schools, including a few Negro schools.

Despite its organizational cohesion and its steady, if diminishing, growth, the student peace movement has shown many of the signs seen so clearly in the rest of the student community. Traditionally active campuses, such as Chicago, Oberlin, Antioch, Swarthmore, Grinnell, and others have lost much of their momentum recently. Demonstrations, which used to occur almost weekly, now are rare occasions and do not arouse the support that they used to. A project even approaching the scope of the Washington Action Project of a year ago has not been attempted, and even the outcry at the time of the Cuban crisis did not stir students as, for instance, the resumption of nuclear testing by the Soviet Union followed by the United States two years ago. Perhaps more important, students seem to be unwilling to take on leadership roles on their campuses. No longer are students neglecting their studies for weeks at a time to plan a major demonstration or to prepare for a peace project. While many of them still maintain their membership and take an interest in the peace movement, few are interested in committing themselves to it. If this crisis of leadership, which seems to be plaguing much of the student movement, continues, even the activity which now exists might well cease.

There are a number of hopeful signs on the campus. The fact of the existence of an organization like the Student Peace Union over a period of three years is, in itself, a substantial victory for the student movement. Clearly, college political and intellectual life is still very much more alive now than it was before the advent of the sit-ins three years ago. There is

an observable liberal tone to most of student life. Groups like the 'Y' movement have begun to reassert themselves as centres of intellectual activity. At the University of Illinois, for example, the local 'Y' serves as a centre of liberal student activity and has opened its doors to a peace discussion group, the campus NAACP chapter, and others interested in exploring controversial issues. Methodist and Unitarian groups, as well as an occasional chapter of the Young Christian Students (Catholic), have become more 'open' to liberal political action. The Methodist student magazine, *Motive*, with a circulation of more than 30,000, maintains a clear liberal tone, on issues of peace and race relations as well as theology.

One section of the civil rights movement on the campus has been able to maintain itself despite trends in the opposite direction. The Northern Student Movement, aided by several foundation grants, has instituted various projects in urban areas which have involved college students in working with Negro children in depressed areas. These students have worked as tutors, in an attempt to break the stranglehold of inferior segregated education in northern cities, and as part-time social workers. This programme has been extremely successful and is being expanded into other areas.

There has also been a trend within the student peace movement in the direction of what is usually called 'peace research.' Sparked by Harvard's Tocsin, a peace group with a more academic approach than the mainstream of the movement, the Students for a Democratic Society, and segments of the Student Peace Union, this move has shown that students are concerned with the deeper issues of the arms race and are no longer content to accept simplistic answers to pressing problems. Serious research has been done on a wide range of issues, from the psychological aspects of the Cold War, to technical issues of nuclear test bans.

Many of the students who were 'activists' a year ago are concerning themselves with peace research. Serious papers have been published by local S.P.U. or S.D.S. groups and a few have appeared in more widely read journals. This development of peace research is one of the most encouraging signs on the campus, reflecting a serious concern by many students and a growing sophistication in the peace movement. Indeed, many of the students who left student activity when they realized that the movement offered no well developed programme, have returned to political consciousness through peace research. If this kind of work continues, it is possible that

students will be able to make a valuable contribution to alternatives to the arms race, a field sorely neglected at the present time.

The rash of activity sparked by the 'peace campaigns' in 1960 and 1962 has also proved important to the student movement. Students are beginning to develop a realization of the necessity of building a community base for peace activity before the movement can become a meaningful part of American political life. The campaigns themselves proved two things, that it is possible to talk to a large number of people about peace issues and that the present movement is a very small minority indeed. These lessons, combined with the practical experience that many students gained will be a valuable asset in future actions.

Students seem to have learned that they must meet issues squarely. The Northern Student Movement exemplifies the desire to 'do something' about race problems in the North and a knowledge that picketing is not enough. The trends in the student peace movement show that students are beginning to think seriously about issues and come up with original ideas, in contrast to the banner-waving and over-simplification of only a few years ago. Students are recognizing that one cannot ignore the Soviet Union in talking about American nuclear testing, and that there are far reaching economic and political issues involved in civil rights and peace actions.

It is possible to see a few bright spots in an overall picture of student apathy. Indeed, the student movement presents a curious paradox at the present time. Against a background of general decline, a number of hopeful developments are taking place. The trend has generally been in the direction of decline and demoralization. The conservative student movement has been decimated and the liberal organization, which had a stronger campus base, have been severely weakened. The reasons for this decline are complex. I shall try briefly to point to a few of them in the hope that a fuller understanding of the issues involved in student politics and the challenge that the student movement faces will help to provide a catalyst to more effective and meaningful student action. For without a student movement to act as a 'vanguard,' broader social change will be all the more difficult.

Possibly the most important single factor mitigating against the development of a large and effective student movement in the United States is the nature of the political and intellectual climate which students find around them. Unlike some of the European countries, Ameri-

can students have no tradition of student activity and organization. In addition, they have found that they have very little influence over the 'Establishment.' When students have committed themselves to a cause, they have found themselves thwarted at almost every turn, from blatant attacks from such groups as the Un-American Activities Committee, to subtle pressure from university administrators. They have also found it difficult to reverse the trend toward conformity and 'privatism' which is reflected on the campus as well as in the broader society.

When students have acted for one or another cause, they have generally been unsuccessful. The 8,000 students who came to Washington to lobby for peace found themselves lectured to like children by Congressmen and administration officials with a good deal less information about the various factors of disarmament than the students themselves had. Woolworth picketing and protest demonstrations in the North have gone unheeded in the South, where their influence is most needed, and the Un-American Activities Committee continues to function unabated. As large and well planned demonstrations have little impact outside the campus, students increasingly feel that they 'can't do anything anyway' and cease to try. The result is that an important source of social protest is stilled.

In addition, the sad fact is that the students acting for peace or demonstrating for civil rights have no real base in the community and are therefore isolated. This sense of isolation has bred further frustration among students and has caused many to give up any effort. One hopeful sign is the realization of the necessity to build this kind of community and the efforts that many students have been making in this direction. The quieter, yet necessary community spade work of getting issues to people has been undertaken by an increasing number of students. The 'peace campaigns' showed just how small the constituency of the peace movement really is and the predominantly white, middle-class composition of the campus civil rights movement has necessarily separated it from the Negro community. As more students realize the nature of their 'isolation' and begin to work against it, the gap will slowly be bridged. A constructive trend in this area is the recent interest of many students in the voter registration campaigns in the South, which has been vigorously pushed by such groups as the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and has involved students from the North as well as Southerners effectively. This summer, the national "Y" is sponsoring a voter

registration programme of its own in the South in a pioneering move that will involve new students in this aspect of the civil rights movement. The peace campaigns, which receive a substantial amount of student support (indeed, in many areas the bulk of campaign workers were students) provided students with valuable insights and experience in the area of practical political experience.

A result of the desire to be an effective instrument of social change and of the fear of isolation from the broader society has been a refusal to break away the rhetoric of the Kennedy Administration and the 'Liberal Establishment.' Though many students are highly critical of the Administration's handling of the Cuban affair and looked vainly to Kennedy for leadership in civil rights, they have refused to make any substantive criticism of the Administration. Instead, they have been swayed by the rhetoric of liberalism found in the Alliance for Progress, while overlooking the fact that many of these liberal aims have not been implemented. Another concomitant trend is a lessening of radical activity among students. Under the Eisenhower administration, students felt that they were alienated from the centre of power and could afford to present radical alternatives. Now, they are afraid of losing the tenuous contact with the 'liberal' Administration and have refused to break with the Establishment. As a result, they have been increasingly discouraged by Kennedy's failure to implement much of his programme and have tended to leave the student movement with a feeling of betrayal.

The problem of leadership has been mentioned. Without adequate and ongoing leadership, sustained student activity is impossible. It is true that the majority of the students who involve themselves in the movement do so with little commitment. They are attracted by a fear of nuclear destruction, a realization that Negroes are entitled to equal opportunity, or because protest 'seems to be the thing to do' on a particular campus. Unfortunately, these motives do not have the force to keep the student involved in the day to day organizational work so necessary for a vital movement. Such work falls to individuals with a broader commitment to social change—pacifists, socialists, Christians, and the like. And unfortunately there is not an oversupply of such individuals on the American campus. The result is a movement which falters when the original adherents become discouraged, or bored, and do not continue their participation. Though a few students are willing to work for a full year without pay for the peace or civil rights

movements, often losing valuable credits at school, it is generally true that the student movement has not built the kind of cadre of leadership that it needs.

Finally, one of the causes for decline of student activity has also been a sign of long range hope. Students seem to be no longer content with simplistic solutions to major problems. They are asking questions about their motives for participation in the movement and about possible solutions to important issues. Peace research has been mentioned earlier, as has the voter registration campaigns and the Northern Students Movement. These are all indications that students are going beyond the apparent issues. On the other hand, such searching has caused many students to withdraw entirely into academicity, and has removed them from any active role in the student movement at all. A realization of the complexity of the issues has made many throw up their hands in despair instead of trying to deal with the issues constructively. If these students were able to combine their intellectual consideration of the issues with a moral concern to act on them, the student movement would gain a great deal. Until this happens, the rift between the 'action' groups and the small research-oriented study groups will widen.

What can be said about the student movement? Clearly, it has seriously declined in the past year or two. Groups which flourished on a number of campuses have ceased to exist, perio-

dicals have folded, and those students still involved have a feeling that something substantial has slipped through their fingers. Some of the reasons for this decline have been suggested. A full-scale political and sociological analysis of these developments would be the subject for several books, and such a study would shed considerable light on the dynamics of student life in the United States.

It would not be fair to paint an altogether bleak picture of the American student movement. A number of hopeful signs have been pointed out, and the present lull in activity seems by no means permanent. Groups like the Student Peace Union continue to grow and students are involving themselves in voter registration projects and in peace research. Several of the campus magazines still exist, and the quality of their writing has increased.

The future of the student movement is unclear. It is very possible that students will again take an active concern with the world around them and act vigorously. It is possible that events in the South will eventually arouse enough interest, or that the arms race will again be a major focus of student attention. It is also probable that a conservative response will again make such groups as the Young Americans for Freedom a viable force on the campus. The exact direction of the student movement in the coming period is an open question, though most student leaders seem to be somewhat pessimistic about the prospects.

LETTER FROM BRAZIL

BRASIL is the strategic key to South America. It is in the vanguard of those countries which are transforming themselves into industrial societies. Brazil has overcome racial antagonism in practice. It is, in fact, one of the four or five important testing grounds of the world because something of the future of our planet can be seen there. For these major reasons and for many others, social and political events in Brazil assume an importance which goes far beyond local gossip.

The withdrawal of Janio Quadros, the fall of João Goulart, the defeat of the Left — a defeat without a struggle, without even a rearguard action, without resistance of any kind — the assumption of power by a fraction of the officers' corps at the Senior Defence College (known in Brazil as the 'Sorbonne') the break between these officers and their Rightwing allies on 31st March last, their resumption of the basic reforms, including the vote for illiterates, tax reform and agrarian reform, all these are events of the first order which are already provoking widespread international discussion, and rightly so. The brief comments which follow are a first contribution to this debate.

The basic fact is that Brazilian society is in the throes of industrial transformation. It is, however, a 'continent' where technical and cultural ages ranging from the Paleolithic to the most advanced manifestations of the 20th Century are to be found side by side. A national industry already exists and has reached a highly developed stage in many branches, with a labour force which is truly skilled by international standards. This industry and

labour force are essentially concentrated in the triangle formed by Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paulo and Belo Horizonte. The existence of this closely-knit unit, under full expansion, without any equivalent in most of the other underdeveloped regions of the world, not only telescopes the traditional, even archaic, agrarian structures of the Brazilian continent, but also gives rise to serious distortions in the economy of the country and in the population.

This new trend (historically new in character compared with the sugar and coffee cycles and, of course, the gold and rubber eras) slowly took shape in the Thirties under the dictatorship of Getulio Vargas. It gathered momentum under the impact of the second World War. It became irreversible under Juscelino Kubitschek.

Corruption and inflation were used in Brazil as the incentives needed for the development of the forces of production. Corruption took the place of violence and coercion. Inflation broadened the domestic market. However, inflation and corruption also strengthened the opposition of the middle classes to the regime by hastening their radicalisation.

Today, inflation has gone beyond the point of no return and has the opposite effect. It is now helping to tighten up the domestic market. This reversal in its function is responsible for the revolutionary character of the present situation in Brazil.

The country's industrial growth requires a considerable broadening of the home market, all the more compulsively so because cost prices — which are still very

high — bar all access to foreign markets. Now that inflation is no longer a remedy, there is no alternative but to turn the peasants into consumers. Brazil has gone much too far along the path of industrialisation to be able to turn back; a sudden halt in its industries development would blast apart the federal unity of the country. Converting peasants into consumers is a social operation on a genuinely revolutionary scale. Any fundamental change in their economic condition will inevitably result in the destruction of the centuries-old ties of social dependence. In reality, the arrival on the scene of the peasant consumer necessarily implies the end of the large landowning class. Either the landowners will disappear completely, or they will go over to the camp of heavy industry and thereby transform themselves. In the strictest, the most practical and the most concrete fashion, the level now attained by the forces of industrial production confronts Brazil with social revolution.

The central political problem is thus: How will this revolution be brought about? Who will control it? Who will direct it? This is the most burning question of to-day and has been since the end of Kubitschek's mandate.

Such is the basic factor in Brazil. It does not depend in any way on the manoeuvres of politicians and it is one that will have to be faced by all regimes without exception.

Which is the driving force behind this Brazilian revolution, the North-East or the Rio-Sao Paulo-Belo Horizonte triangle? The answer is quite clear: the triangle. Brazil is being drawn towards the future not by the North-East, but by the South, especially the States of Sao Paulo, Minas Gerais and Guanaraba. The Brazilian revolution is not a peasant revolution, but an industrial revolution. Brazil is no longer an under-developed agrarian country, at least as far as its motive forces are concerned. Brazil is now an unequally and incoherently developed industrial country. The advance guard of Brazil does not

consist of the factory owners of Recife, but of the car manufacturers and their skilled workers of Sao Paulo and Rio. The North-East is a powder keg and the poverty-stricken peasantry may burst out tomorrow in a bloody uprising which could destroy federal unity. But it cannot take the lead or control the Brazilian revolution. If a peasant uprising were not immediately followed and engulfed by a movement on the part of the industrial proletariat, it could only sweep back into anarchy. Only under the impact of the triangle and the blind thrusts of industry have the dark masses of the countryside begun to move.

The initiative and responsibility lie with industrial Brazil. But the greatest concrete difficulty in the way of this transformation stems from the profoundly unequal character of the political and social development of this industrial side of the country. The factory-owners of Sao Paulo and Belo Horizonte and the businessmen of Minas Gerais are intimately connected with the landowning interests, not only through links of family and property, but also in mental outlook. This explains why few of them are fully aware of their essential historical interests. Only a minority can clearly conceive of the vital need for a radical agrarian revolution and even this minority hesitates before the magnitude of the task, through fear of the resulting social upheaval and because they realize that, in order to assume such an undertaking, they might have to allow the State a considerably larger part in property and the economy. This is why many people from this milieu supported Joao Goulart to the end and thereby showed their desire for a political and social middle course as far removed from the socializing nationalization of the Left as from state ownership in the style of Nasser.

The industrial proletariat is truly industrial. It is one of the most extraordinary successes of Brazil. We need only consider the immense difficulties that China has encountered in building up a skilled working class from the pre-revolutionary peasant mass, or observe the obstacles that have

arisen in the same connection in Egypt, for instance, to appreciate that within the space of a few years, Brazil has brought about a quite exceptional situation. This skilled proletariat is an integral part of privileged Brazil. It is, moreover, aware of its position, and its awareness of its privileges compared with the population of the 'favelas' and even more with the obscure masses of the countryside acts as a social brake. To a certain extent, it makes the proletarian a conservative, in that he is not prepared to question the present state of affairs. The radicalisation of the Brazilian proletariat seems slower than the radicalisation of the country, i.e. it postpones the time when the industrial proletariat, conscious of the acute problems raised by the development of its own industry, will be ready to provide the necessary solutions. In contrast, the middle classes living on the fringe of privileged Brazil, who benefit by its expansion but are also subject to the after-effects of the inflation and corruption used to bring it about, have been radicalised much more quickly than the bourgeoisie or the proletariat. Within the middle classes, the intellectuals are in the forefront of the process of radicalisation. The intelligentsia has moved so far ahead that it is now cut off from its social roots and is no longer part of the vital forces of the nation whose interests and will it claims to interpret.

The intellectual Left in Brazil has moved far beyond the milieu from which it grew and is now, in fact, very isolated from the proletariat. Owing to the extraordinary speed at which it has developed, it has inevitably lapsed into political adventurism, in as much as it has supported not only a programme but also a social movement for which it was not equipped, which it was incapable of controlling and which, consequently, paved the way for anarchy.

These, then, are the immediate and deep-seated causes which have led to the dissolution of Brazilian institutions. However, the disintegration of the state and of the authorities would not have proceeded on this scale and at this speed if another, fundamentally political, factor had not been added to them, namely the vacuum at the seat of power. Since the end of the Kubitscheck mandate, i.e. since 1961, Brazil has not been governed. First Quadros and then Goulart were presidents without holding the reins of power. Both of them devoted themselves entirely to the struggle for power. The struggle for power within the government itself has been a powerful agent in the process of dissolution. It is what I call the vacuum of power in Brazil and it explains the political vicissitudes of the drama which has been running from the election of Quadros to the election of Castelo Branco.

DAVID ROUSSET

In the next number David Rousset will further analyse the Brazilian crisis from the withdrawal of Quadros up to the present break between the military and their Right-wing allies.

REPORTAGE

African Socialism, What is it?

JORGEN SCHLEIMANN

WHAT struck me first was the confessional character of the interventions by many of the African participants in the recent *Dakar Colloquium on Politics of Development and Different African Ways to Socialism*.

Whether they came from Senegal itself, from Niger or the Congo, from Tunisia, Tchad or Guinea, from Mali, Nigeria or the Malagasy Republic, the African orators confessed their common belief in Socialism as the road for Africa to follow.

In fact the Dakar Colloquium was but another occasion to ascertain what so many observers of the African political scene have reported for long that the most representative African leaders to-day are people who consider themselves socialists who tell you so with proudness and deep conviction, and who are strongly committed to the socialist course they have made for their peoples.

This is a significant political and psychological fact for the rest of the world to consider. Posing no problems of acceptance to a Scandinavian, himself a born socialist, it may well do so to many other people in this world. It is not in all quarters that the word socialist carries a notion of honour, and yet the world had better get adjusted to the fact that Africa wants to be socialist, that post-colonial Africa is socialist by her own will and by the best of her pre-colonial traditions.

If this is clear and acceptable as a fact, there remains nevertheless one important

point that needs further clarification, particularly in the minds of people outside Africa, and that is the question of the African image of Socialism, for Africans not only want Socialism. They want African Socialism.

By inviting some 60 non-African personalities to attend the Dakar Colloquium the organizers—the Senegalese government and the Congrès Méditerranéen de la Culture—made a major contribution to that process of clarification.

What is African Socialism, then? In the words of the distinguished host of the Colloquium, President Léopold Sédar Senghor: 'Socialism, for us, is nothing but the rational organization of the human society considered in its totality, according to the most scientific, the most modern and the most efficient methods.' But the Senegalese president later in his speech of welcome to the conference participants also made this significant addition to his definition of African Socialism: 'Socialism is, more than the use of the most efficient techniques, the sense of community which is a return to Africanness (Africanité).'

Some people apparently feel that this definition is too vague, some even suggest that it is evasive. I disagree with both of these views.

To my mind it does not weaken a definition of African Socialism that it suits the Africans at large as could be seen in Dakar by the fact that the first speaker to endorse the statement of President Senghor

was the Nigerian delegate, professor S. O. Biobaku, vice-chancellor of the University of Ife, who said with particular reference to the Nigerian Six Year National Plan: 'Is this Socialism? Maybe not according to Marx and Engels—but we agree with President Senghor that we must evolve our own Socialism or better still make an African contribution distinct and impressive to the general concept. We hold that we need not be bound by any theory or practice designed for other peoples in different circumstances—nor import such concepts blindly. What we need to do is to evolve a way of living and community development best suited to our environment—we believe that every African State is entitled to do this. Indeed President Senghor's definition of Socialism as a sense of community appeals to us greatly. He adds that this is a return to Africanism; we would rather say this is the essence of Africanism which must be preserved at all costs in our endeavours to modernize.'

In the eyes of the non-African world the distance between a Senegal republic officially proclaimed socialist and a Nigerian Federation often labelled conservative may seem great but measured in terms of African realities the distance may be considerably shorter. In fact nobody in the audience seemed to be shocked or even surprised by Dr. Biobaku professing African Socialism on behalf of an official Nigerian delegation.

Listening to the speeches in the hemisphere of the Senegalese National Assembly—only one week later to become the stage of Premier Mamadou Dia's abortive coup d'état—I could not help agreeing with Pierre Kanouté who wrote in an important pre-conference essay: 'The question is not to adapt Socialism to Africa. It is to modernize the traditional collectivism.' (The Dakar weekly 'Afrique Nouvelle', No. 799).

Pierre Kanouté has the merit in this essay of pointing to fundamental differences in origin and purpose between European and African Socialism.

European Socialism was primarily a

movement of protest and indignation, a reaction against the abuses of an unbridled capitalism. European Socialism is linked historically to the birth of modern industrialized society and philosophically to traditional West European individualist thinking.

The situation was and still is totally different in Africa. As Pierre Kanouté describes it: 'The African world is a world in permanent process of socialization, and the Black Man is a socialized being; as an African teacher said one day: 'We are born socialized.' African Socialism is not a reaction against anybody or anything. It is not a matter of practising a class struggle, since society is not characterized by the existence of antagonistic classes. The problem is to avoid the establishment of a strongly class-divided society that will sooner or later engender such a struggle. The question is not in our countries to prolong Proud'hon, Jaurès or Marx. It is to return to the sources. African Socialism is a reality which has suffered for a certain time the shock of colonization, and which it is now necessary to rethink in the context of evolution, because scared by the spectacle of Western individualism we prefer to correct the abuses of our 'state of socialization' and guard the communitarian dimensions of our civilization. The expression "African Socialism" is the expression of a reality old as Africa itself.'

Certainly the unanimity, the pragmatic approach, the positive spirit, the confessional touch, all of these characteristics of African Socialism are better understood, when one gets acquainted with the common base of African development which is that of a traditional society built on collective ownership and collective exploitation trying to raise itself from village level to the level of the nation.

The Dakar Colloquium offered little of a discussion between its African participants. Their interventions were statements of faith in economic planification and—for the greater part of them—of their faith in African Socialism, too. Or they were accounts, interesting and challenging, of an

experience that showed a singular degree of similarity. In both cases parallelism was the dominant feature, and not diversity.

Yet, these African contributions were in their uniformity nevertheless more in keeping with the subject of the debate than those interventions by non-African participants relating different examples of Socialism outside Africa, for it is highly questionable in my view, how relevant the Yugoslav, the Czech, the Israeli or the Scandinavian ways to Socialism really are to African socialists, and the same thing goes for French, British, Italian or West German thinking on that same subject.

Indeed, the Colloquium confirmed once more the decisive fact that African socialists are in search of modern techniques of development but in no circumstances in search of an ideology. This may be of some comfort to those people still haunted by the mental picture of an emerging Africa having to choose between Capitalism and Communism.

In a constructive debate like the one of the Dakar conference and faced with African realities the much publicized differences between revolutionary Africa and reformist Africa seemed reduced to differences of temperament coupled with different road conditions along the common path to African Socialism.

In fact the Guinean delegate—ambassador Namamodou Diakité—was perhaps the one who spoke with greatest frankness and an impressive sincerity about hardships encountered and errors committed in the national development, and the strongest criticism against capitalism and neo-colonialism was probably the one voiced by the Congolese trade unionist A. Kithima evoking the scandalous example of Katangese secession.

And was it not the most convincing illustration to President Senghor's words that 'our own African Socialism will be elaborated not only in independence but in the autonomy of our thought', when the most radical participant to the conference, the Mali chief delegate, Dr. Seydou Badian Kouyaté, declared: 'For us other Africans, the socialist option is in conformity with our real structures... but it must be understood that this socialist option can in no way be inconsistent with the religious faith. Our faith in socialism translates our aspirations towards a community, the pillars of which will be justice, fraternity and mutual help. If we realize that the development is a total development (*épanouissement*), then there can be no question for us of amputating a humanized world. To sum up, we can say that the socialist way that we have chosen rests on these two fundamentals: socialism built by a movement led by elements not essentially proletarian; and socialism recognizing spirituality as part of man.'

Dr. Kouyaté, Mali minister of economic planning, was the first top-ranking Bamako politician to visit Dakar since the breaking up in August 1960 of the Mali Federation of Senegal and the then Sudan, and his presence and active participation in the Colloquium as well as the hearty welcome he got from his Senegalese colleagues did announce a West African rapprochement which has not been denied by later events. It may also justify President Senghor's wish that the Dakar Colloquium should be 'the best preparation' for the coming African Summit Conference* which will—in the hope of the Senegalese president—'make a single group out of the groups of Casablanca and Monrovia, provisionally separated rather than divided. Since African unity... can have no other purpose than the reciprocal development of all the African countries.'

* This report was written before the African Summit Conference took place in July this year.

DISCUSSION

Cultural Unity and the Unity of Religion

AMLAN DATTA

IN his article on the 'Cultural Unity of India', Mr. Asaf A. Fyzee quotes approvingly T. S. Eliot's statement, 'religions cannot be reconciled', and adds that 'all that can be done is for these divergent beliefs to settle down with one another in peaceful co-existence'. (*Quest*, Spring 1964, p. 11).

This is not altogether an unusual position to take. But it does go against the life's mission and deeply considered opinion of some of our greatest thinkers from Rammohan onwards, not to mention Akbar, to whom Mr. Fyzee makes a bow in passing, or the medieval saints. It is possible that this earlier point of view is wrong, in spite of the eminence of its sponsors; but Mr. Fyzee does not present it in any depth and does not argue enough to show that it is really wrong.

The purpose of this brief note is to indicate this other point of view, with special reference to Rammohan. I choose Rammohan for two reasons in particular. Monier-Williams described him as 'probably the first earnest-minded investigator of the science of comparative religion that the world has produced'. Whether or not one concurs with this tribute paid by one who was himself no uncritical admirer of Hinduism, Rammohan certainly studied the major religions of India and the world so assiduously and with such power of discrimination as to make his ideas worthy of the highest consideration. Secondly, he was concerned as much with the problem

of the unity of Indian society as with its modernization. In other words, he saw the problem in a perspective that should command Mr. Fyzee's sympathy.

I

Rammohan made a distinction between the dogmas, rituals and forms of worship associated with any particular religion and its central ethical message. There are certain features of a religion which arise from the particular cultural milieu ('habits and training', as Rammohan called it) of the community in question; and in respect of these features different religions differ greatly. But there is also in every religion an ethical message, a message of good neighbourliness among men; and this, Rammohan thought, was part of the common core of all great religions. It is this approach to religion which he brought equally to bear on Hinduism, Christianity and Islam. Thus, in his introduction to the translation of *Ishopanishad*, he wrote that he was laying before the Hindus 'parts of their scripture, which inculcates not only the enlightened worship of one God, but the purest principles of morality'. (*The English Works of Raja Rammohan Roy*, 1906, p.74). Similarly, he made his compilation of the Precepts of Jesus 'by separating from the other matters contained in the New Testament the moral precepts found in that book'. Earlier, in the introduction to his Persian essay *Tuhfat-al-*

Muwahhidin, he had written that 'the inclination of each sect of mankind toward certain peculiar forms of worship or devotion is an extraneous attribute resulting from habits and training', and in the body of that essay declared that only love of fellow-creatures was 'a pure devotion acceptable to God'. (op. cit., p.957).

Nor was this a very singular position to take in his time, though it was certainly a 'radical' position which the more orthodox never ceased to oppose. Among Rammohan's contemporaries a similar position was adopted by one of the greatest Americans of all time, Thomas Jefferson. 'Reading, reflection and time have convinced me', wrote Jefferson, 'that the interests of society require the observation of those moral precepts only in which all religions agree and that we should not intermeddle with the particular dogmas in which all religions differ'. And he too made his own compilation of the precepts of Jesus, leaving out those parts of the New Testament which he thought were inessential, and retaining what he considered authentic, 'as easily distinguished as diamonds in a dung-hill', thus producing what is now known as the Jefferson Bible.

Some of the most cherished beliefs of different religious communities are of the nature of dogmas. Such, for instance, is the idea that Christ is the only begotten child of God; or, that Mohammed is the latest and greatest messenger of God; or, that Krishna, delivering the message of the Bhagavadgita, is none other than God himself in human form. Yet all is not lost either for Islam, or for Christianity, or for Hinduism, when these dogmas are pushed to the background. Nor is it difficult to show a certain similarity—even a striking one—between the basic ethical teachings of the great religions of the world.

'All men are brothers,' Fyzee quotes from the Koran, and the stress on brotherhood is, indeed, one of the salient features of the teachings of Mohammed. 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself,' preached Christ. And, again, 'whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so

to them: for this is the law'. (Matthew, VII. 12). A strikingly similar idea occurs in the Mahabharata:

'This is the sum of all true righteousness
Treat others, as thou would thyself be treated...

A man obtains a proper rule of action
By looking on his neighbour as himself'.
(Monier-William's translation in *Brāhmanism and Hinduism*, 1891, pp.547-8)

III

The objection that such precepts do not correspond to the actual practice, and even as ideas appear in juxtaposition with others that are less worthy, is not quite fatal to the Rammohan-Jefferson thesis. For they themselves admitted as much. The Church in the middle ages sanctioned feudal hierarchy; and at various times, it played a politically reactionary role. Yet in the eyes of the believer it always represented something more than the sum of a series of compromises: it never ceased altogether to represent the idea of human brotherhood and the equality of all men in the love of God. While discussing 'the conflict between the Islamic way of life and the Hindu view of life', Fyzee quotes Amaury de Riencourt on Alberuni. In my humble opinion Alberuni was at times slightly unfair to the Hindus; but he was very learned and painstaking and on the whole much more balanced in his views than the passage quoted from de Riencourt might make one suppose. It is true that Alberuni was struck forcibly by the 'xenophobia of the Hindus, their exclusiveness and hatred for all mlechchas'; but he was fair enough to add, 'we must confess that a similar depreciation of foreigners exists not only among us... but is common to all nations towards each other'. (*Alberuni's India*, English edition by Dr. E. C. Sachan, London, 1888, p.20). Again, while Alberuni made some acute observations on the caste system in India and came to regard it as a source of deep division between Hinduism and the Islamic way of life, he did not fail to notice that

there were different points of view on this question even in Hindu society of the early middle ages. While some would admit the possibility of deliverance only for the upper castes, 'according to the Hindu philosophers, liberation is common to all castes and to the whole human race'. (Alberuni, *op.cit.*, p.104). The main point to note here is simple. No religion as practised or professed by most people is all of a piece. Yet, as Rammohan would have it, there is something in all religions, without which they would not perhaps quite qualify as religion, which is common and universal, and it may be profitable to emphasise this as a way of unity among men and as the basis of an exalted ethics.

With the position outlined above many believers will have reason to feel uncomfortable. For it might be objected that one would not remain an adherent of one's particular faith unless one regarded it as superior to all others. Now, I do not intend to deny that some of the precepts and practices of one religion may indeed be more open to criticism than those of another. To deny this is in a way to deny the value of all reform. But it is not essential for one to argue the absolute superiority of one's religion to remain attached to it. All that one need maintain is that with one's particular cultural background or situation in life, the form in which one's own religion presents the truth is the most appealing. But one tends to claim much more for one's faith. Most people are prevented by modesty from saying that they are personally more excellent than others; but no rule of social decency seems to stop them from claiming absolute superiority on behalf of their religion. More often than not, the pride of superiority that we take in our religion is similar to the coarser pride that some people take in their race. For the truth is that most of us do not come to our religion as a matter of deliberate choice: we are simply born to a faith, and make no more than minor adjustments within the limits imposed by it. The greater satisfaction that one may derive from one's own religion is a result

of richer associations from childhood and more intimate acquaintance with it. It should be possible to express this satisfaction without a sense of superiority.

Much of what has been stated above is consistent with Mr. Fyzee's thesis up to a point. In India the idea of the unity of all religions is often a little too glibly accepted. Where assent to the idea of unity has become mechanical, it is useful to demand a recognition of diversity. To a certain extent variations are necessary and they will persist. In part, they are an inevitable result of the diversity of inherited languages and myths and social situations of different communities. There are some differences of small intrinsic value; for prides and prejudices are superimposed on the essential creed. But there are other distinctions of deeper significance. Religion has different moods, sometimes looking out and sometimes looking inward, and its utterances are coloured by these moods. These differences cannot be totally obliterated. But their importance is perhaps best appreciated when they are seen in relation to the common theme of religion. This is as true of different religions as of different sects within the same religion. In this sense, there is no contradiction between an appreciation of differences and the recognition of unity.

III

A deeper cleavage lies elsewhere. It is arguable that the so-called 'ethical core' of all religions has, in fact, nothing religious about it. The search for common precepts in all religions must end up in the abandonment of religion itself. Earlier religions to the extent they had anything of value to communicate, expressed in mystic language, in language touched with exalted emotions, an ethical insight which one can now sustain and uphold in more rational terms. And it is better to uphold it in these terms. The ethics of universal brotherhood is only obscured when it is surrounded by the haze of religious mysti-

cism. This is the way of thought that leads to 'scientific humanism'.

But there is also a second way.

There is a deep difference between religious and non-religious ethics. Those who accept the former would argue that it incorporates what is best and useful in the latter and goes beyond that. At this point of transcendence religious ethics becomes more than what can be reasoned out. There is in religion an idea of unconditional love and forgiveness, and a certain delightedness about the universe as God's creation, irrespective of the contingencies of individual existence, which make it different from what is purely scientific and ethical. It is possible to make a rational and persuasive plea for justice; but, within the ordinary meaning of reason, it is not easy to rationalize unconditional forgiveness such as Christ's on the cross. It is easy enough to argue for peace, mutual aid, or what have you; but it is a different matter when it comes to the Vaishnava 'ahetuki priti', the love that transcends practical reason. Religion, at its purest, aims at the unconditional and erects it as an arch over the conditional goods of justice, mutual aid, and the rest of man's ideals. This is yet another and a most important meeting point of all religions, that they attempt to provide a timeless frame for all the changing morality in time. This is what religion symbolises by joining the idea of God to its ethical message.

As thorough-going rationalists we may decide that this quest for the unconditional and timeless is a mistake. We may then try to reason our way to a conception of justice and 'fundamental human rights'. Or we may accept the need of marrying the conditional of justice to the unconditional of forgiveness and love. Then, again, we cannot be satisfied with the mere 'recognition of difference of outlook' among different religions. For while we can be indifferent to other religions (as to other systems of thought), we cannot have genuine respect for them without dis-

covering in all of them a common value. There might have been a time when nations looking at one another across distant boundaries could be indifferent or simply curious about the differences, 'the peculiar forms of worship or devotion', sanctioned by different religions. But with the increasing pressure of social proximity, a more positive principle of mutual respect becomes necessary. With it, there is a chance of real fellowship. Lacking it, the best one can hope for is a kind of cold co-existence, occasionally erupting into active animosity.

The major religions of the world had once a unifying role binding together large masses of people. By the time of the crusades, they were already seen as a divisive force. But the need for a wider basis of unity remained and was all the more urgently felt wherever people of different faiths were destined to live together. If religion failed to provide this basis, one would have to turn elsewhere in search of it. After the wars of religion the idea gained ground that while dogmas divided, reason, as a universal principle, might serve to unify. Some opposed reason to religion; others argued that there was in religion itself an idea of transcendence which could complement reason and provide the basis of living together and understanding among mankind. But religion could not be restored to its unifying role so long as it remained bounded by that essentially sectarian mentality which confuses purity of faith with a one-sided stressing of distinctions. This is the background of the broadened outlook of the 'friends of humanity', as some of the radical philosophers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries loved to call themselves. As Rammohan, and not he alone, keenly felt one has to go behind the differences of dogmas in search of something valued and held in common. This we need, and one who cannot find it in religion had better give up religion than give up the search.

Approach to History

SHASHI KANT

HISTORY is purposive interpretation of the known facts. Many writers about history have maintained that one distinction between a history and a mere quantity of information about the past lies in the constant exercise of judgement by the historian. In fact national interests, ideological prejudices and political considerations generally condition this judgement and the narrative is made to convey the desired impression by putting emphatic touches here and there.

The history of India in particular has been subjected to very diverse treatment at the hands of the interested parties, so much so that it has become difficult to appraise the historical material in correct perspective, and Mr. Kastur Chand Lalwani is not far from the truth in observing that 'at the present moment, for circumstances probably unavoidable, a dispassionate construction of history is becoming a problem to historical scholarship in this country.'^{*}

The beginnings of modern historical research were made in this country in the 19th century. It may be argued that it is primarily owing to European writers that during the last hundred years or so a realistic attempt has been made to separate history from fiction, superstition, religious bigotry and fanaticism; original sources have been explored, discovered and studied with a view to correlating them; data have been collected for the assignment of dates, and a basis for chronology has also been worked out. The difficulties of the early European history-writers were many: they were ignorant of Indian traditions,

languages and customs; the source material was scarce and obscure; Indian scholarship steeped in superstition, prejudice and ignorance was not very helpful. The task was really hazardous when we also remember that many of these writers were not trained for the job.

What was there drew them to it? It could not be mere love of adventure for which they had ample scope in their principal vocations. Mere curiosity or love of knowledge also does not sound convincing. In his Introduction to the 'Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon' Prof. C. H. Philips has tried to explain the European point of view as follows:

'As the emphasis in each European country's relations with the East passed from trade to conquest so its writers, especially its historians, no longer rested content with general descriptions of places and peoples but sought rather to influence government policy by publishing works of a politically didactic character. Within each nation in this process two main schools of thought tended to emerge: in Britain, for example, we find both conservative and liberal groups, in France associationists and assimilationists, in the Netherlands liberals and 'culturists', each taking for granted European supremacy and the colonial system and differing from its national rival on the policy and government within the system; and in the instance of Britain in India in the twentieth century differing also on the speed and timing of the transfer of power.

In British, as also in Portuguese, Dutch and French writing the interests shown in their national activities, especially their national heroes in Asia, varies in proportion to the progress of national conquest and policy. This self-centredness is to be detected as much in European studies of pre-European Asia as in European studies of their own activities in Asia. The Indian past, for instance, was assumed to be much like the European present and European categories of

^{*} K. C. Lalwani - A Model for Indian History, Quest, Autumn 1963.

thought, not only in the field of history, were automatically applied. Moreover, as the idea of progress became identified with the extension of Western influence throughout the world this Europocentric view became characteristic also of Western historians generally, whatsoever their field of enquiry.'

It is sufficiently clear that the Europeans took to writing the histories of India with a purpose which was not charitable to this country. The attitude was generally contemptuous, sometimes pitiful. The work was actuated in some cases by the desire to work out a psychological bias in the minds of the Indians that they were born to be ruled and to live in perpetual subjection.

With this end in view it was proved historically that the land of India was always vulnerable to invasions from beyond the passes, hordes after hordes of invaders had been successfully ransacking the land and enslaving its people from the earliest times, and the climate of India was such as to emasculate, enfeeble, degenerate and demoralize the settlers so much so that they too would not be able to resist any fresh horde of invaders but would suffer in their turn a similar humiliating defeat and submit to the oppressive rule of the new comers. Resistance movements and liberation struggles were simply blacked out. Mutual feuds were unduly emphasized. Regional, religious and communal rivalries were provided with historical support.

By way of showing a contrast it was emphasized that India had never seen political unity during historical times, that India's so-called cultural unity was more illusory than real, that there was no security, peace and prosperity under Indian administration, and that it was only under the British that the Indians had enjoyed unity and security and it was the burden of the White Man to teach them the elementary lessons in good behaviour, character-building, citizenship, science, administration, and scholarship.

An aura of the superman was created around the Europeans by repeatedly men-

tioning that small units of Europeans could easily defeat vast armies of Indians, that the European command alone was brilliant, and that the European administrators were efficient, benevolent and honest while the Indian rulers, and even the Indian staff serving under the British masters, were lazy, inefficient and corrupt. And it was true not only of the Modern period but of earlier periods too whenever the Europeans were pitted against the Indians during the long course of history. The attempted invasion of India by Alexander of Macedonia was, on that account, magnified into a magnanimous feat of valour and military strategy. Not only that, whatever was or is good and worth appreciating in this country was attributed to Western influence in the past as well as in the present.

These historians also introduced the potion of ancient glory to lull the Indians into self-praise and complacency. But at the same time they made it impressively clear that howsoever illustrious the remote forefathers of the Indians might have been and howsoever glorious their ancient past might have been, their immediate predecessors were all physically, mentally and morally degenerated people and their recent past was nothing but ignominious.

Moreover, they so painted the picture as to give a descending or devolutionary view of things. It was not a story of progressive evolution; rather it was one of continuously growing degeneration. Even the best characters and the happiest periods were tarred with curious savageries. And when Lalwani advocates a model for Indian history that 'taken as a whole, it must be, not a story of genesis and growth, still less of a central continuous urge to look up through syntheses and renaissances from epoch to epoch, but one of decline from the very dawn of history' (Quest, Oct. '63), their effort seems to be amply rewarded.

The basic object of all these historians was to justify colonialism, demoralize the Indians and boost up the morale of the Europeans. The shades of difference

noticed in the treatment are the reflections of national interests and commitments. The British historians were more aggressive than others and displayed a typical conqueror-ruler cast of mind. They took meticulous care to condemn the other Europeans whenever the latter tried to extend their sway over India or otherwise hit at the British interests in this land.

It is really unfortunate that even after sixteen years of the British quitting the scene under compulsion of circumstances, the British historians have not been able to shake off their superior attitude. Sample this piece from Philips:

'Above all we have come to appreciate that in their urgent task of creating a stronger sense of historical consciousness the new nations of the sub-continent will need more trained historians, and that in the thin years immediately ahead, when their nation-building services will continue to absorb all trained men and women who can be found it is a primary responsibility of historians and university departments of history in western countries to help to train and to encourage and support their Indian, Pakistani, and Ceylonese colleagues. We look forward to the day when with growing maturity they will investigate and describe for the benefit of mankind their view of the history not only of their own and the other countries of Asia but also of the rest of the world'. (*op. cit.*)

Such noble sentiments are no longer in demand.

In his 'Discovery of India' Shri Jawaharlal Nehru quotes an Englishman — 'Our writing of India's history is perhaps resented more than anything else we have done', and also expresses 'the resentment felt by Indians at being forced to study in their schools and colleges so-called histories which disparage India's past in every way, vilify those whose memory they cherish, and honour and glorify the achievements of British rule in India.' As Mr. K. M. Munshi puts it, these histories were almost invariably tainted with a bias towards Indian's conquerors.

Resentment was only natural and hence common and widespread, but the reaction was diverse. The Indian historians who

served in the universities and colleges, thought discretion to be the better part of valour and were content to play the tune of the master. It paid good dividend both in position and reputation. The situation has not changed much since independence because the Indians have not yet recovered from the complex of intellectual inferiority.

Besides the West-oriented view, the Muslim and Hindu views were also reflected in Indian writings, and a nationalistic approach was also attempted.

The Muslim view of Indian history was inspired by the Muslim chronicles which were all written by fanatic and bigoted Mullahs and Maulvis who viewed history as an aspect of theology. They are permeated with the *jehad* outlook throughout. The only laudable events for them were the ferocious persecutions of the non-Muslims at the hands of fanatic tyrants. The administration and government were to serve and benefit the Faithful. The Muslim chroniclers often seem to voice the view that the Muslims should show no mercy to the non-Muslims, should clear this land of the Infidels, be *ghazi* and earn *sawab*. Even treachery and vice were encouraged to help the spread of Islam.

Only a one-sided highly exaggerated version, which had for its main object the inciting of the fanatical passions of the Muslim adventurers, is presented by these chronicles. There is very little in them about the life of the people and the general condition of the land. It is nauseating to read them, being full of nothing but tyranny, treachery and treason. Exceptions are rare.

Everything about India is so distorted that it is not possible to safely identify even the names of places and persons mentioned in them. Judging from their nature and contents, it seems that their value as source material for the history of mediaeval period has been highly exaggerated. It is really a pity that they alone are still relied upon for the history of that period and practically no attempt is made at scrutinising them and finding out the

correct facts through corroboration and verification from other sources.

The most interesting thing about them is that they still provide convenient inspiration for whipping up communal passions and also give a fillip to aggression and expansionism from the side of Pakistan. History was still linked with theology; it was to tell the story of Islam and not of India; it was still the preserve of the theologians who were reared on a tradition of contempt for everything non-Islamic. A sort of foreigner's approach was visible. The writings were mostly in Urdu.

The theologian's approach and the 'Islam in danger' obsession could not be shaken off even in the post-independence period. I doubt very much if there is any book of history written by a Muslim which shows a fair appraisal of the ancient period, a judicious depiction of the conditions in the mediaeval period, a frank condemnation of partition, a shedding of communalistic approach and adoption of secular and nationalist attitude, and a desire to see India unified.

The Hindu view, more correctly Vedic-Hindu or Arya-Hindu view, of Indian history was also inspired by communal considerations but was comparatively more broad-based and liberal because although it had a fanaticism of a sort, it was devoid of proselytising zeal and was firmly wedded to the land.

It worked on the presumption that the source of all our culture and history was the Vedas, and the date of the Vedas must remain indefinite. It was prone to mix myth, fiction and facts. The narrative closed near about 1200 A.D. as if thereafter there was nothing glorious or important to mention about the Indian people, nicknamed Hindus.

The Aryan-non-Aryan controversy was whipped up; the Brahmin-non-Brahmin cleavage was sharpened; the phantom of Brahmin superiority was revived; and as a matter of course, all the base, archaic, anachronistic and idiotic practices and beliefs which came in the wake of social exploitation or degeneration, were given

historical footing and sanctity. Those who did not recognise the Vedas, were belittled and, if possible, neglected. Only the Brahmanical version was accepted and other traditions were as far as possible ignored.

Superstition and religious sentimentalism were also given full play — mainly in books written in Hindi and other regional languages which tried to follow the sectarian Puranas more closely.

There has been little improvement in the situation in the post-independence period. An over-emphasis on sectarian traditions is still to be seen; cultural studies too seem to take a sectarian turn. It is painful to find that the Indian scholars are still ignorant of much of their heritage due mainly to religious prejudice and sentimentalism.

Generally a Hindu scholar is reluctant to fix the date of the Vedas, the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, and even of literary figures like Kalidasa; he would rather quote European writers on the point. He cannot treat Rama and Krishna as historical leaders of men; they must remain to him mythical divinities. He cannot verify the historical content of the Indian literature; the bulk of it must remain to him God-sent (*ārsha*) and sacrosanct, or else he stands charged with blasphemy, atheism, irreligiosity and immorality. He ought to eulogise the past in a worshipful mood and attempt to discover the germs of modern scientific inventions in the ancient imageries, but he must not take up the study of any science or art, even literature, chronologically and historically and trace its evolution and growth rationally in India. Those who call this approach to our history and culture retrograde and reactionary, are certainly not unjustified in doing so.

The national movement demanded a nationalistic interpretation of history. It came as a counter-blast to the imperialistic version put forth by the European savants. In a way it was reflected in the Hindu view also whereby it was sought to prove the antiquity and superiority of Indian culture.

The nationalistic view, however, was shaped by the successive stages of the national movement for throwing off the British yoke. It was sought to neutralise the Muslim opposition as well as to win them over to the cause of liberation by accepting the Muslim view of the history of the mediaeval period with justifications rather than criticism, by treating the Muslim rulers as national leaders, and by minimizing, condoning or ignoring the atrocious activities of the mediaeval aggressors. The case for communal representation was also not lost sight of; there must be an Akbar to match an Asoka. The revolt of 1857 was also marked out prominently partly to emphasise the fact that the Muslims and non-Muslims could join hands in fighting the British. In spite of all this, the calamity and gruesome experiences of Partition could not be averted.

Since 1947 a tendency to absolve the British of their historical crimes, is also visible. A thorough heart-wash of the Indians seems to be aimed at, perhaps as a gesture of goodwill and gratitude. It, nevertheless, becomes painfully plain that justice is not being done to those who laid down their lives at the altar of freedom. The deeds of the revolutionaries are touched upon only lightly. The liberation

movement is presented as consisting largely of the proceedings, programmes and policies of the Indian National Congress. Emphasis is shifted from revolutionary struggle to constitutional development.

Of late the Marxist view, sometimes dubbed as the progressive view, of the history of India has also come to the fore. It seeks to portray a history of the people as against the bourgeois portrayal of persons. Everything is judged from the point of view of dialectical materialism and certain odd standards which are hardly intelligible.

The purpose of history is to present truthfully all the facts in a way which may help the present and future generations to tread the path of progress. In the national context history should shape the national aspirations and prepare the people to meet national emergencies. It is necessary to reconstruct the history of India with a view to meet the national requirements of secularism, unity, independence, democracy, and social, economic and cultural advancement. It would not be a story of decline pure and simple, rather it would be one of growth and evolution, taking of course full note of our shortcomings and pitfalls.

We regret the accidental delay in the publication of this discussion.

—EDITORS

POETRY

TOWARDS THE EAST

After submission
silence,
silence before all things
of the earth
and of the mind.
And when you breathe again
it is not to encounter the world
of which you rid yourself occasionally
by ritual of the flesh
or countless counterfeits,
but to breathe the soil
fertile after the rains have come,
to feel the sun
unbiased in its stare,
to touch the clay
to grasp the landscape with your being,
the being within the budding flower
that is also you.
Knowing at last
that there are no paths
no going forth
and no return,
that thence is nowhere,
and here, where you stand
the universe also waits.

Let the wind carry the cries of suffering,
Let the calendars measure meticulously
the centuries of grief,
Let your face of stone look outwards,
ever turned towards the east.

IAN MACMASTER

DUSK IN THE HARBOUR

(Dedicated to Sri Ajati)

At this hour there is no one seeking love
 Among the godowns or in the old houses, nor yet
 among the stores
 Of ropes and masts. Grounded ships and boats
 Lie there abandoned hoping to be moored.

Rain precipitates the night. Faintly comes the rustle
 Of kites' wings; and the soft sounds of day
 Are hushed swimming to meet the end of sight.
 Nothing moves.
 Land and sea lie sleeping and the waves dissolve.

Nothing moves. Nothing—only I, strolling
 Along the headland, my vanquished hopes within me.
 The last sob smothered upon the beach.

CHAIRIL ANWAR

A WALK IN SPRING

Vapours hover
 Rinsed in a shower,
 The air is muslin
 The sky hoards mischief
 For other hours
 Sunlight rains
 On horses' capers
 Overhead a shiny crucifix
 Darts in and out of sight
 And then a fearsome roar
 Raving in sonic pursuit.

I walk in slow iambs
 Not without a sense of surfaces,
 Shaping things
 Into a bas-relief
 Palpable
 And by a trick of ether
 Compress the third dimension
 To tactile depth —
 The toy plane dinky within reach
 The formal mountain and the trees
 Stark from winter-sleep
 Granulated to the touch;
 Notional antennae
 Stroke the tiles on roof-tops
 Like the scales of a fish,
 Graded smoothness down
 Serrulated up.

Across the path I see
 A snail's belly-print—
 Others have been here before.

A. MADHAVAN

BEYOND THE CORNER OF MY EYE

Smiling to the unkempt years
 that went swirling down,
 I was caught in the
 giddiness of the whirl,
 when the sun had a softer touch
 the saner streets a soul;
 when the lamp-posts were miracles
 and each star a belief
 being my own;

when smoke always hurt
 my eyes, touched red with rebellion,
 while the unintended tears
 wet my soiled shirt and
 not my bones;

when nights sailed into days
 while untutored I danced to the rays
 laced on a myriad eyes
 of quiet glitters, benign
 unbitter and not an adder
 to be seen;

when each leaf of a feather
 had a say, when I
 tread on bricks only as clay
 searching for a certainly
 in the soft moulds
 of my feet yet unformed and
 moist not with sweat but
 lissom morning grass or distant snow
 now swept beyond
 the corner of my eye.

S. P. BHAGAVATULU

ICONOCLAST

Icon upon icon in grim ascent,
 Wierd masks of totems' tapering tips
 Probing the blue for unknown truths.
 Building, forever building tall pillars,
 Symbols, all symbols of sustenance
 To grip about and entwine
 And climb with shivering roots of existence,
 To secure a pillared purpose.

Such pebbles lie scattered
 Littering from shore to shore
 The far reaches of this beach.
 These bejeweled idols of the beach
 These ideals that we build and shield.

But, a leviathan ocean crouches
 A cat with feline patience
 On haunches taut with liquid sinews
 Now springs ahead in foaming fury
 Now ebbs to torture and bait
 Then engulfs again, then renews the wait,
 And the wounded wet sands of the beach
 With pebbles reduced and effaced lie prostrate.

Some rough and some smooth
 Large and small, pebbles
 Strewn upon the sands —
 With a crouching hungering sea,
 Monster without shape
 And with a fluid energy
 Eating idols of the beach
 And vomiting more as bait.

The man in beach, the man in sea
 Perpetually clash, melting ideals to mockery.
 First man with his pebbles and ideals and toys
 And them at last
 Man the iconoclast.

INDRAJIT S. MASUDA

SHORT STORY

Story of a Mother

G. CHANDRASEKHARA MARAR

THOSE were the days when my brother had lost his job once more. And again there was tension in our house. He never used to stay at home, not even when he was unemployed. And so he was out day after day. What he did, no one knew nor asked. When he returned at night, we would have already had our dinner. Mother, after waiting for him a long while, would put his food in a tiffin-box and place it in a corner of the room.

In his presence, Mother never showed her deep affection for him. But hardly had I returned from my bank when she would come and sit on the cot and sob, loud and long.

'Oh Ram! Oh God!'

This was her way of starting a discussion about my brother. Sometimes just to show my interest in what she was saying, I would look towards her. Sometimes I would open a newspaper and put it on my knees.

'Have you seen Ramu's trousers and how the edges are frayed? And his shoes are so caked with mud that...'

Brother's trousers were really in a poor state. His shirt-collar was torn. As soon as he entered a room, his sweat-sodden clothes would give off a sharp odour.

'Who knows where he wanders, without any result, the whole day! Will we starve if for a month or so he does not earn?'

Then turning towards me with a sharp look, she would add 'You'd better make him understand. If I tell him, he feels bad.'

I silently kept looking at Gandhiji's picture on the calendar hanging on the wall.

'You keep giving him confidence. You are of the same age, so he will listen to you.'

I would look at Mother's wrinkled face. Strands of her hair were turning grey very quickly. Her thin, skinny and exhausted body looked almost as if it had reached its final goal. From her outward appearance, it was impossible for me to imagine how much deeper was her sorrow.

I was fond of writing stories and I would write a story or two every three or four months. Sometimes my story would be printed in the weekly edition of some daily. And then there was no end to my joy.

Sometimes, seeing me write, Mother would come and stand by the table with a serious face and say: 'You write stories about other people. Why not write my story sometime...'

I would laugh. Each time I heard this sentence I could not help laughing.

'Yes... Yes... Do write it.... When you can make up untrue stories, why not write a true one?'

Besides the Ramayana, Mother had a copy of *Devdas* — which she would read every day whenever she had a spare moment. She was very fond of *Devdas*'s story. She would say that Parvati had suffered so much, may God give no one else such a life.

I would say: 'Mother, why do you cry? As if this story were true.'

But she would reply emphatically and with complete faith: 'It is true. Definitely it is. Without having experienced such a thing, it is impossible to write such a story.'

I did not have the strength to contradict her.

Then, wiping her tears, she would say: 'Write my story too. Then whoever reads it will also cry.'

We had never seen Mother and Father gossiping in each other's company. They would either remain silent or if they ever talked, they would show their anger to each other. I do not know if Father had any affection for us two boys. In the morning he would read his paper, in the afternoon he would sleep, and in the night read the Gita or some other religious book.

As soon as I returned from the bank, Mother would come into my room as if she had only been waiting for me. It had now become a habit with her to talk to me for about half an hour. She would talk mostly about Brother.

'Old age has made Father's mind decrepit. At first he was not like this....' She would get a kind of satisfaction whenever she could find fault with Father.

'I remember when you both were small. He would often say, 'I will make one read law and make him a lawyer and the other a doctor.' Perhaps it has been a blow to him that neither of you became a lawyer or a doctor.'

I felt like laughing. 'Now one is a bank-clerk and the other—jobless!'

'Oh, but times have changed! One is lucky if one gets enough to eat twice a day.'

One day there was a quarrel over something between Father and Brother. For some time, Mother, who was in the kitchen, went on listening to everything. When she could stand it no longer, she came and stood near my Father and said in a very sharp tone:

'Why are you after my children day and

night? A job will be found. Nagging him to death will not help.'

Full of anger, Father went into his room grumbling. To show his disapproval of Mother's interference. Brother softly scolded her, and without eating anything, went away.

In the evening, when Mother did not come into my room for the usual half-hour after my return from the bank, I went to see her. In the dark, Mother was lying on her bed, with her hands folded to make herself a pillow under her head.

'You are well, aren't you?'

'I'm all right' she replied, without moving.

'Then why are you lying down?'

She did not reply, but went on gazing at the empty wall in front.

That day, after a long while, I looked at her — closely and intensely.

Perhaps she had not combed her hair during the day, and dry strands of hair were falling all over her face. Her eyes looked red. Sometimes, I felt terrible to see her so lonely. She would spend an hour or two with her neighbours, but after that she would have to spend the rest of the day at home. The long summer afternoons and the winter nights were a problem for her.

'Why do you break your heart over us? Let Father and Brother go their own way. Why should you bother about them?'

She did not hear me. I felt as if something was eating up her soul.

'Now get up and wash....'

She got up and sat on the bed. In a choking voice, she said: 'I don't ask anything else of God. If when I die, you both carry out my last rites, my soul shall rest in peace. I shall be free.'

'Don't upset yourself over little things, Mother.'

Suddenly I was shocked to see her start crying. In this confusion, I was not able to give her a word of comfort. She covered both her eyes with her sari. I kept staring at the protruding veins in her hands which were shining in the soft light in the room.

'Your Father and I were never meant for each other. That I know. But when I die, then he will remember me, again and again. But I will not be here to see this....'

That night Mother read the Ramayana till very late, but I doubt if she could forget her sorrow in the verses of the Ramayana.

Brother returned later than usual. His food was left on a teapoy for him.

'Why are you so late?' I asked, looking at him.

But he did not reply to my question. Silently he removed his dust-covered shoes. After changing his clothes, he was going up to the terrace to sleep. 'Your food has been kept on the teapoy,' I said.

'I'm not hungry,' he answered without looking at me.

'If Mother sees it in the morning, she will be hurt.'

'So what can I do? Am I responsible for everyone's happiness or unhappiness? And he went up to the terrace.

For a few moments I went on looking at the tiffin box in which Brother's food had been kept. Then I opened it. Inside were five parathas and potato-salan, a piece of onion and some mango pickle. I wrapped all this up in an old newspaper, and making it into a ball, threw it out of the window into the drain below.

It was Mother's old habit not to talk to any of us for four or five days after there had been a quarrel in the house. She would quietly do her cooking in the kitchen, or spread her mat on the floor of her room and lie on it silently, or keep reading the Ramayana. She would not even go to the neighbours' houses. Whenever I tried to speak to her, she would avoid further conversation by giving me only short answers.

Once, a magazine printed my story and sent me a money order for ten rupees. Mother was bursting with joy. She went round and round giving this news to the entire neighbourhood! There was also no end to my happiness!

That evening, in my joy, I sent for a rupee's worth of sweets.

Mother came and stood near me: 'Now you have become a very big writer. After a few days you will also write a book like *Devdas*.'

After getting the money, I was confident of my ability. I said, enthusiastically: 'Now I will write a novel, a big, thick book...'

'How much money will you get for it?'

'A good novel can fetch thousands.' An idea for a novel started haunting my mind.

'Whose story will you write?'

'I will have to think about this.'

'I am telling you, only write my story, then your book will definitely sell.'

'No, Mother, a story about you can never sell. It must be like *Devdas*.' I said looking at Mother's face.

'If you write my story, it will be even better than *Devdas*. When I recall my childhood, even now, my mind grows sad. When I got married I was 13 years old. I could not adjust myself in the home of my husband's parents. All twenty-four hours I would remember my Mother. Your grandfather had such a bad temper, he never let me step outside the door....'

'No Mother. All this used to happen long ago, and no one will be interested in it now,' I interrupted.

I had a suspicion that maybe Mother would relate her history again.

Perhaps she had not heard what I said:

'If I knew how to write, I would write all my sorrows. Not one of my wishes has been fulfilled. I thought that in my old age I would be relieved of these worldly entanglements and go for pilgrimage, but....'

'Why do you need to go on a pilgrimage? Pilgrimages are for those who have committed sins all their lives.'

Mother's eyes shone with happiness. She never expected to hear these words from me.

'The sins of my previous existence are still sticking to me. I want to wash them away.'

I knew how much Mother was attached

to the home and to all of us. If she went to any relative's marriage, she would never stay more than four or five days. Her mind would start longing for her home.

Mother was always worried about Brother's condition. She felt that because of him, her life was always hanging on a thin thread which would break—when, no one could say. Whenever Father got the chance, he would discuss his friends' sons, sometimes he would condemn Ramu's laziness. And I would laugh to myself, that between us two brothers, neither the one nor the other had become a lawyer or a doctor.

One day, Mother in a depressed voice asked: 'Is there no vacancy in your bank?'

I understood what was in her mind as this question was not something new. 'On the contrary, they are throwing out people.'

Mother gasped, as if she had had an electric shock. 'What you also...?'

Smiling to myself, I began looking at the changed expression on Mother's face. If ever I were to give her the news of my losing my job, she would die of heart-failure. Softly I told her: 'I am permanent, and so there is no danger for me.'

She recovered a little.

'You frightened me.' Then looking towards me she said: 'Ask one of your friends if there is any job vacant in their office or somewhere else. See that Ramu gets a job.'

I was bored by my Mother's talk.

'I have already told them,' I tried to put her off in an indifferent voice.

'In this way how long can he live? Haven't you seen how his chest has sunk in?'

Hearing these words, I felt angry.

From morning to night I sit on a wooden chair, poring over my ledgers—does this make my chest fill out? How is it she never notices me?

It was Sunday. Brother was sitting on a tin box in a corner of the room, reading a newspaper. I was sitting on a chair mending my shirt collar. That day I did not have to go to the bank, and so since

morning my heart had been overflowing with joy. Ever since the morning I had been thinking of writing a new story, but to think out the plot was as difficult as it was for my brother to get a job! It was a wonder to me how other writers could produce such loads of books.

Sometimes I would casually glance at Brother. I was never able to talk to him freely, for it seemed as if there was a wall between us! If we had been neighbours, or if we had been working together in the bank, then we might have been good friends. He had not shaved for three days and I could see the blue veins near his ears, glistening. I began to pity him.

Just then, seeing someone's shadow, I raised my eyes and saw Father entering the room. For a second I trembled. He came very seldom to our room and whenever he did, it was with some ugly motive. The thought of this had made me shiver from head to foot.

Brother also looked up and saw Father. He thought that perhaps he had come to ask for the newspaper. So he picked up the paper and extended it towards Father.

Father did not take the newspaper and went and stood near the open window.

For a few moments an ominous silence hung over the room. From the corner of my eye, I glanced sometimes at Father and sometimes at Brother, but they were neither looking towards me nor even at each other. My shirt collar was already mended, but despite this, I went on stitching round and round...

'So what have you thought at last? Day after day, you go roaming around like a loafer. What is the good of that?'

The newspaper in Brother's hand was quivering. I looked at his skinny long fingers, the nails filled with dirt. Whenever I looked at Brother, I would remember the Accountant in my bank. His features and appearance were very similar to Brother's. If only Brother were to wear a coat, trousers and a tie like him, he too would appear handsome and full of life.

'I cannot feed you all my life. I also have to have something for my old age.'

Father went on talking with a grim face, as if he were repeating parrot-like an old speech. 'You are sticking to this house only as long as you get your meals, cooked and ready. When the day comes for you to feed us, you will run away.'

Just then I was startled by the loud crackling noise of the newspaper and I looked at my brother. He folded the newspaper and threw it on the floor and suddenly got up from the box. His face looked to me quite terrifying due to the growth on his chin.

'Then what do you wish?' Brother asked tersely.

'How many times am I to tell you that I cannot feed you? Earn and feed yourself.'

'Please speak a little softly, your voice can be heard below.'

Father took a step forward away from the window. I thought he would strike my brother, as he did in our childhood, but he did not take another step.

'You don't even know how to speak properly. What do you think of yourself? Loafer...'

At this moment Mother's shadow could be seen near the door but she did not come in.

'Then you say quite clearly that you want to turn me out?'

'You can understand it to mean that.'

'Very well, then...' Saying this, Brother opened the almirah in the wall and began looking for his clothes. Apart from two torn shirts and a pair of khaki trousers he had no other possessions. He began to make them into a bundle.

Like lightning Mother entered the room then, and for the first time in my life I saw her stand up to Father in this way, without any fear or hesitation: 'You cannot throw my children out of this house. I have as much right over this house as you have.' Mother's voice was trembling.

'You shut up. When he goes away then he will know...'

'Then I too will not stay in this house.'

'You keep quiet, Mother.' Brother said, putting his bundle under his arm.

I was shaking with fright. I did not have enough strength to stand.

Father went to his room, muttering to himself.

Mother fell and caught my brother's feet, and began to cry loudly: 'After making my funeral pyre, then you can go wherever you want, for I will not come to stop you. While I am living, I cannot let you leave home this way.'

Brother could not leave. That day there was an atmosphere of mourning in the house. I was feeling bad at the way my holiday was spoilt. It did not seem possible to write my story. Whenever I tried to concentrate my mind on some plot, the happenings of the morning would begin whirling in my brain.

But the next day Brother left the house and did not return. Mother, having given us our meal, kept my brother's food in a tiffin-box in my room. That evening on my return from the bank, she did not come to chat with me. Sitting on my chair, I saw her trembling hands. One could not guess what she was thinking.

Standing some distance away from me, she asked in a soft voice: 'Ramu has not returned yet?'

I had the impression that she was not interested in my reply.

'It's only ten o'clock. He must be coming.'

She gave a deep sigh and went to lie down on her bed. Mother's question gave me a foreboding and sent a shiver down me. Thinking of my story, I felt that if I were to write Mother's story, how happy she would feel seeing it in print! Sunk in these thoughts, sitting in my chair, I do not know when I fell asleep. I opened my eyes with a start, feeling someone shaking my head.

'Ramu has not returned yet.' Standing near me, Mother was looking out of the window.

'What's the time?' I glanced at the clock. It was one-thirty.

'He will not come now. I knew that one day he would disappear just like this...'

I went on staring at Mother's face,

silently. Her protruding cheek-bones looked like sandy hills. There were semi-circular hollows below her eyes, and on her face were countless wrinkles whose beginning or end one could not see. So much suffering and sorrow I had never seen on her face before. I thought that Mother would sob and begin to cry, bemoan her fate, but she stood quite still. Closely scrutinizing her I could not trace any tear in her eyes—as if her two eyes had become wide deserts. She kept silently standing near my chair, and looking out of the window.

‘He will return, Mother, if not today, then definitely tomorrow...’

But it seemed as if she had not heard me: ‘No he will not come, he will never come.’ She slowly started walking and went outside the room.

Next day when I returned from the bank there was no news of Ramu. I began to get worried. I shuddered at the thought that he may have killed himself. I went to Father’s room. Seated on the cot, leaning against the wall, he was reading something. He lifted his eyes and looked at me. He did not start at seeing me but looked as if he was expecting me. I was feeling angry with him.

‘Brother has still not come...’

He did not say anything but went on staring at me. I tried to read his thoughts but was unsuccessful.

After a moment he said in very soft voice: ‘No, Ramu has not come yet.’

It seemed as if his throat was dry. In

that second, I felt as if Ramu’s going away had dealt him a great blow.

That night till very late I went on roaming the station platforms. Trains came and went, the whole station resounded with the sound of the engines’ whistling. There was very little hope of finding Brother here but somewhere or other one had to look for him, and searching at the station was better than roaming the streets.

From that day, Mother never broke her silence. I used to try my utmost to divert her mind. On returning from the bank daily I would go to her room, try to gossip about all sorts of things in order to distract her attention. Sometimes I would begin a discussion about my stories, but it was clear she had no interest left in anything. She would quietly listen to all my talk, sometimes she would try to smile but her indifference could not be hidden from me.

How many days have gone by, I do not know. So many of my stories have been printed, three collections of my works have also been published, and according to my acquaintances, I am supposed to have won a ‘place’ for myself in the literary world! But whenever I sit down to write a new story I remember these words of Mother: ‘Oh write my story also.... You write untrue stories, why not write a true one....?’

Again and again these words echo in my head, my pen stops.... But I know only too well that even if I were to try a thousand times I would never be able to write my Mother’s story.

The Commissar and the Buddha

S . . . Z . . .

(An imaginary dialogue between Lord Buddha and Liu Shao-chi, the chairman of the People's Republic of China, when the latter visited the Swe Dagon Pagoda in Rangoon, the most famous Buddhist shrine in Burma, during his recent tour of that country)

...Liu is standing alone in front of the image of Buddha with a lighted candle in his hand which his hosts have given him to be placed as an offering in front of the Lord. However, his hosts having withdrawn to consult among themselves about his next programme, Liu is left alone for a while and he hesitates whether to place the candle before the image as desired by his hosts or not. Would it not be a sacrilege to do something in which he does not believe? But the hesitation lasts only for a fraction of a second. He suddenly remembers his master's command and the mission for which he has come and boldly comes forward to place the candle. Then, as he looks up, he is startled to see a strange light emanating from the eyes of the image and simultaneously hears a voice whispering in his ears...

Lord Buddha: Welcome Liu Shao-chi! Welcome to this glorious land of the Golden Pagoda.

Liu (startled): Who spoke just now? Was it you, Buddha! Was it... (he looks around and then at Buddha).

Lord Buddha: Yes, it is I, the Buddha, who spoke to you just now.

Liu (pleased): Then, it's not an illusion. I can really talk to you. I thought you were dead long ago and...

Lord Buddha: Physically, yes. But my spirit still survives in the hearts and minds of men. It will never die.

Liu: That's what my master said, though in different words. He was right. But tell me, oh Buddha, whether you really meant it when you said just now that you welcome me?

Lord Buddha: Do you doubt the word of Buddha? From humblest to the haughtiest, everyone is welcome here.

Liu (doubtfully): Perhaps you won't say that when you know the purpose of my visit. Maybe, you will even despise me.

Lord Buddha: Buddha despises nobody. But I must confess that I'm a little disappointed.

Liu (surprised): Disappointed? Why? Even before you know the purpose of my visit...

Lord Buddha: I know the purpose of your visit. It's not that. I'm disappointed because I had expected to see your master and not you. Why did you come in his stead?

Liu: His orders. I had to obey my master.

Lord Buddha: But why did he send you? Why couldn't he come?

Liu: Because he thought I would be better able to convince you.

Lord Buddha: What made him think like that?

Liu: I'm his best brain besides being his most loyal lieutenant. Don't you know that? In fact, there is no difference between us. We are one and the same. You must accept it that way.

Lord Buddha: Well, I don't mind. But what makes you think you can convince me? Aren't you a little over-confident?

Liu: You say that because you don't know my abilities.

Lord Buddha: Let's leave your abilities aside for a while. Just tell me, why do you want to convince me and of what?

Liu: If I can convince you of the correctness of our cause and convert you...

Lord Buddha: So you want not only to convince me but to convert me too... convert me to what?

Liu: To Communism, of course.

Lord Buddha: What do you hope to achieve by that?

Liu: If I can convince you to join our crusade for Communism, you know with your following what a great victory it will be in our cause.

Lord Buddha: I see. So you need my support. But I wonder how you are going to fill up the vast gulf that lies between us, a gap of no less than 2,500 years.

Liu: Haven't you heard of our 'big leap forward'? Nothing is impossible for us.

Lord Buddha: Be careful lest it might not turn into a 'frog leap forward'. Then you will be tightly caught within a closed well from which you may not be able to extricate yourself.

Liu: That's no argument. I thought you had an open mind.

Lord Buddha: So I have! I was only trying to warn you lest you might fall into the same trap many a great man has fallen into before you.

Liu: There is no such fear. We are made of sterner stuff. Our heads are...

Lord Buddha: Stone or steel?

Liu: Again you are going off the track. If you stop interrupting and just listen to me for a moment... then I'll convince you that we have much in common. Our views...

Lord Buddha (astounded): Really?

Liu: Yes. That's why I was sure of winning you to our side.

Lord Buddha: And I thought we were poles apart in our outlook as well as our ways of life.

Liu: That's your mistake which I'll presently make you see. (There is silence for one moment and then Liu continues) Didn't your contemporaries denounce you as an atheist?

Lord Buddha: I believe you are right.

Liu: We too are denounced as atheists, as anti-God, since we deny his existence.

Lord Buddha: Whether you believe in God or not isn't so important. What about the faith I founded—the Four Noble Truths and the Eightfold Path? Do you believe in them too?

Liu: Of course we do. Recount them and I'll tell you one by one.

Lord Buddha: Well, as for the Four Noble Truths, the first one says: 'Existence is full of suffering'. Now, do you agree with that?

Liu: How can we disagree with such an apparent truth?

Lord Buddha: The second truth says: 'All suffering has a cause'.

Liu: We don't dispute that either.

Lord Buddha: The third is: 'Suffering can be brought to an end'.

Liu: That's the aim of Communism... to bring an end to man's misery.

Lord Buddha: The fourth truth says: 'There is a way to end suffering'.

Liu: Of course there is. The way lies through Communism.

Lord Buddha: What did you say? I didn't hear your last words.

Liu: Oh, it's immaterial. We shall come to it later on. First, let's hear your Eightfold Path.

Lord Buddha: The Eightfold Path is... the right view; right mental resolve; right speech; right action; right livelihood; right effort; right mindfulness; right concentration.

Liu: The goal of Communism isn't much different. I'll go still further and say it's identical.

Lord Buddha: You mean to say there is no difference between Buddhism and Communism. They are...

Liu: I'll say the similarity goes still deeper. You rejected riches and wealth. You renounced a kingdom. Didn't you?

Lord Buddha: That's right.

Liu: You founded a faith and organised a brotherhood. It wasn't much different from our idea of a commune. You preached the gospel of peace—eternal peace. We too preach the same gospel, even louder. Why, I can go on multiplying the list without end.

Lord Buddha: You surprise me, Liu Shao-chi! I just can't believe what you said. But if there is no difference between Buddhism and Communism, as you say, why this new name? Don't you think it confuses the matter and hurts the cause? Why not declare yourselves Buddhists and infuse fresh blood into the Faith? It will strengthen...

Liu: There are some differences, though slight. They are due to the gap of time. 2,500 years isn't a small period. We have to be progressive. That's why...

Lord Buddha: Progress is an illusion, Liu Shao-chi! Everything in this universe moves in a circle. It's a cycle, a wheel of life, a merry-go-round at best.

Liu: But there is something like change. You must acknowledge that. It's not the same world in which you lived. Many revolutions have taken place since the time you lived.

Lord Buddha: A revolution is also a round movement; but you are right. There is something like what man calls time and measures in his small mind. Let's not argue about it.

Liu: I'm glad you understand. After all, it's the cause and not the name that counts.

Lord Buddha: Liu Shao-chi! You are a genius. Your sweeping logic has almost disarmed me. Now I know why your master sent you. I'm ready to be converted and to call myself a Communist.

Liu (overjoyed): Didn't I know it! It's the magic of Dialectic Materialism. Nobody has ever been able to resist it and remain undefeated in the end.

Lord Buddha (startled): What did you say? Diabetic...? Isn't that a disease?

Liu (shocked): Not diabetic—dialectic! It means pure logic. We appeal to the head of man rather than to his heart. There is

no place for heart in Communism. Heart, as you know, is the seat of childish emotions.

Lord Buddha: I too have relied on man's reason and insisted that he shouldn't accept anything which his mind refuses to approve. But I can't agree with you about the heart. It's the seat of love, as mind is of logic.

Liu: Love is a bourgeois word. There is no place for love in Communism.

Lord Buddha: I don't know what that queer word 'bourgeois' means. But love is the essence of the Buddha's faith. It's the weapon with which I won victories. I appealed to man's heart as well as to his head. You may call it Dialectic Spiritualism, but that would be a mouthfull!

Liu: Dialectic Spiritualism! We know all about that—something standing on its head. In fact we just turned it right side up and it became Communism. As Communists we are bitterly opposed to anything spiritual. It's a drug concocted by the capitalists to put common people to sleep so that their pockets may be picked while they are dreaming of paradise.

Lord Buddha: That's where we differ. You and I are not just our bodies, we are something more. Spirit is just that extra something. It is born when we cease to bother about our bodies. And once born, it never dies. That's where it is superior to the body.

Liu (exasperated): You are indulging in polemics.

Lord Buddha: This is no polemic. This is hard reality.

Liu: A true Communist does not believe in soul or spirit.

Lord Buddha: Nor in heaven or paradise! But we don't disagree about that.

Liu: We don't believe in anything else except this earth. If there is going to be a paradise it will be here on this earth and Communism will build it.

Lord Buddha: You think Communism is the only answer to all the evils of this earth, don't you?

Liu: That's my firm belief.

Lord Buddha: Can Communism conquer

old age, disease and death? (Suddenly there are voices in the distance)

Liu: They are coming back.

Lord Buddha: Let's finish the dialogue before they arrive.

Liu: I thought I had convinced you beyond any doubt that our ideals are one and the same.

Lord Buddha: I'm not sure. But I cannot accept your arguments until you dispel some of the doubts which have suddenly arisen in my mind.

Liu: We have very little time. But question me and I'll quell your doubts. I must convince you no matter what...

Lord Buddha: Tell me then, what do you do with a man who remains unconvinced despite your dialectic materialism?

Liu (calmly): You are talking of the bandits and the running dogs of the imperialists? We just cut off their silly heads.

Lord Buddha: Now don't you think that's a very cruel treatment? Isn't it a confession of failure to convert, to convince through reason?

Liu (in a satirical vein): Capital punishment is also a sort of conviction.

Lord Buddha: For what crime?

Liu: For not seeing the truth.

Lord Buddha: But what is the truth.

Liu: That's what I've been trying to tell you. The truth is Communism, and Communism is the truth.

Lord Buddha: But he might not be convinced of that, he might see truth differently. Just because a man isn't a Communist he doesn't become a criminal. Each man is an independent individual and is free to believe what he thinks is right for him to believe. Didn't your master himself once say 'Let a hundred flowers bloom...' or something of that sort?

Liu: He was quoted out of context.

Lord Buddha (surprised): What do you mean?

Liu: Someone deliberately dropped the second half of the quotation. What he really said was 'let a hundred flowers bloom but forget not that as fast as they bloom

they must wither and die.' Isn't that the law of nature?

Lord Buddha: The time is running out. They must be very near now. Let's not waste time.

Liu: What's your final decision?

Lord Buddha: It all depends on you and your master. I'm ready to forget everything and follow him... on one condition.

Liu: What is it?

Lord Buddha: You know they called me 'The Compassionate Buddha'. It was not for nothing. The whole essence of my faith was 'Thou shalt not kill'. If your master is...

Liu: Impossible.

Lord Buddha: All life is sacred to me. It's the first article of my faith.

Liu: No life is sacred unless it conforms to Communism.

Lord Buddha: Well, no murder under any circumstances. That's the condition under which I'm ready to compromise.

Liu: Communism without murder! Why, my master will never agree to that. Communism, like the god of ancient Rome, needs human sacrifice, hundreds of them, a blood bath, otherwise...

Lord Buddha: That's not the way of the Buddha but the way of the butcher.

Liu (angrily): You call my master a butcher?

Lord Buddha: What other name does he deserve? Hasn't he murdered millions of men by now?

Liu: It was in the sacred cause.

Lord Buddha: Nonetheless, they were cold-blooded murders.

Liu: No matter what you say he is still great, even greater than you.

Lord Buddha: He is certainly very powerful.

Liu: And power is great if it serves the right cause.

Lord Buddha: What is the right cause?

Liu: Why, Communism of course!

Lord Buddha: We seem to be arguing in a circle.

Liu: Not in a circle. A Communist never

moves in a circle; his movement is always spiral. You don't understand the law of dialectics.

Lord Buddha: Perhaps not. Circularity is the law of Nature. One doesn't move up without long hard spiritual discipline.

Liu: Don't start talking about spirit

again. The very sound of that word makes me sick.

Lord Buddha: I'm sorry; I should have remembered that you are a dialectic patient.

(The hosts and other members of Liu's party arrive, cutting short the dialogue).

OF EYES

Write, woman, write,
 "Bag o' Bones" told me,
 Not of sunlight
 Dappling a tree;

Nor of the red rose,
 Nor the black bee;
 Leave that to those
 Who drink China tea.

But, write of eyes
 Staring in the dark,
 Yellow-rimmed eyes.
 No, no question mark

On the back-drop
 Of an unconcerned today,
 But, each a full stop:
 What future have they?

DOROTHY SINHA

B O O K S

'ENGLISH IN INDIA' by V. K. Gokak (Asia Publishing House, 180 pp. Rs. 12.50)

THIS book is clearly an important contribution to the current discussions about English in the country. The subject is vital to the whole field of education — particularly to higher education and any attempt such as that made by Prof. Gokak in this book to place the subject in proper perspective and to offer practical solutions to the problems it raises must be most welcome. The authority and expertise which Prof. Gokak, as Director of the Central Institute of English, brings to it and the sound and thorough treatment which the subject receives in his book make it indispensable reading for those who are concerned not only about English but indeed about sanity in all our educational planning for the next twenty years in India.

Prof. Gokak shows restraint when he writes about the history of this question since 1947. But it seems to me that in exercising such restraint he does some disservice to the cause. Certainly, bitterness or acrimony are unnecessary; but the lessons of the last 17 years must be driven home for future action. And the one fact that stands out in the record of these years is that indecision rather than wrong decisions has been the main cause of the decline into which our education has fallen. There have been other factors, of course. But the failure to achieve a clear national vision, to arrive at clear-cut decisions in the light of such a vision and to take effective — even ruthless — action has seriously damaged the chance of a

good life for a whole generation and has undermined the potential of a great nation.

In slurring over this terrible fact, in accepting the totally insecure situation created by that fact and then in addressing himself to hopeful but essentially make-shift remedies for that situation Prof. Gokak does less than justice to the basic realities of this question and to his own obvious ability to look beyond the chaotic present. That is how I find myself in fundamental difference with Prof. Gokak. He quotes important support for his stand. The late Prime Minister, the Kunzru Commission, the Official Language Commission, the National Integration Conference, the Chief Ministers' Conference of 1961, University teachers and other oracles have, for over 17 years, shaken their heads and said that for a 'long time to come' English will have to continue as the medium for higher studies. This head shaking threatens to become an incurable palsy!

True, it seemed inevitable and natural that for some time after Independence we should be

*Wandering between two worlds
One dead, the other powerless to be
born:*

But what troubled many observers was the fact that the new world was prevented from being born by a surfeit of politics which fogged our vision and deprived us of vigour.

In any case, if now, after 20 years of dithering on a colossal scale, we still do nothing but keep on repeating the phrase

about English for 'a long time to come', or even 'for at least some time to come', we shall deserve to be the laughing stock of nations. National consciousness and sociological and educational facts have now bypassed the whole idea of a *laissez faire*, leisurely transition from the English medium (and what an awfully shop-soiled medium it is now!) to a regional one. We need a clear decision *now* that in not more than 8 years – say, by 1972 – all Universities except, perhaps, a college or two in each university – will have regional media in full operation – with permission to individual undergraduates to work and answer papers in English as long as there are schools and undergraduates working with that medium and with only the all-India technological and research institutions still retaining English as chief medium. (We may even have three or four all-India or federal Universities like Delhi, Calcutta, Bombay and Madras working as dual medium university.)

This will certainly mean something like a great leap forward and it will involve several colossal jobs to be done during the next eight years.

But there is no alternative. And, indeed, it is only *after* some such definite decision and positive plan of action has been accepted and launched that Prof. Gokak's excellent suggestions about English in the transition period will assume meaning and reality.

Prof. Gokak's enthusiasm for English inevitably finds its echo in one's own mind. Nevertheless, one has a strong feeling that, once University media are regionalised, it would be well to have a general loosening of the apron strings of English as the one inevitable second language. One would like to see not one colour – just the dark blue or grey – but a spectrum of European languages as a feature of our secondary and higher studies pattern. English has obvious and great advantages for us. But, since we really aim to be, not a bilingual but, in Mr. Catford's happy term, an 'ambilingual' people (i.e. people who are equally or almost equally at home

in two languages – which will be mother tongue and Hindi), English should be only one – by far the most dominant one probably, but only one – out of four or five European languages which should be widely cultivated as second languages. It should not be difficult to induce France, West or/and East Germany, Russia and America (for American English,) to give special and substantial aid and personnel and organise all-India facilities for language programmes for both training colleges as well as secondary schools and university students for some years.

After all, what is the linguistic image we cherish of the educated Indian in, say, 1984? Surely not that of a man disdaining to communicate with his fellows except in RP accents in English, diligently making a niche for himself in a coterie the members of which speak in the same accents about the same things – which are normally far removed from the common situations in India – and yearning all the time for an Anglo-Saxon audience? Surely our 1984 educated man will be one who is easily ambilingual – one who will wield his Hindi and his regional language, (or mother tongue) in speech and writing as a fencer wields a keen, supple, flashing blade and will take pride in doing so (already there are thousands of people in non-Hindi regions who can almost do this); who will have mastered his subject through one of these languages but who will also be able to speak and write intelligibly and clearly one European language and will keep up his reading in that language both as a professional necessity and as a regular (and rewarding) exercise. If this is a valid image for the future, let us not waste any more time: let us begin here and now, whatever the difficulties. And the best beginning will be to revolutionise the teaching of regional languages and Hindi at *all* levels and at the same time to make use of all the new methods of L2 teaching which will make our second language – whether English, French, Ger-

man or Russian, a real and important and essential linguistic acquisition.

N. G. THAKAR

Dedicated Genius

ORIENTAL JONES: A BIOGRAPHY OF SIR WILLIAM JONES by Garland Cannon (Asia Publishing House, 215 pp. Rs. 31)

MOST stories can be, and often are told in many ways without losing either interest or basic content. There are a few, however, which can only be told in one way and the genius of the teller lies in selecting not merely a good but the only possible way. Professor Garland Cannon has demonstrated this mastery in his biography of Sir William Jones, poet, linguist, jurist, humanitarian and genius. The book is not merely the story of an idealistic genius, it is an episode in the long, long history of the ideal itself. It is Professor Cannon's skill in linking the Ideal and the Idealist and weaving them together into the historical texture of that age that makes the book so readable.

By the time he was 23 years old Jones had already earned an international reputation as an Orientalist, a scholar and a poet. At 26 he had been elected a Fellow of the Royal Society and was a member of Dr. Johnson's Club, that remarkable body of English intellectuals. Yet, in spite of all these early honours, Jones was not one of those head-in-air, above-the-crowd, dreamy (and dreary) people one tends to imagine geniuses to be. His understanding of human psychology was demonstrated by the occasion when he began his association with his colleagues on the Welsh Circuit, many of whom were dissolute, by joining them in drinking to excess, once! In his own words, 'The fruit, therefore, of one day's excess in wine has been perpetual temperance for the rest of my life; for as I convinced them that I did not abstain from sullenness or reserve, they now let me drink as little as I please, and very little I please to drink.'

Jones's hard, practical commonsense led

him to put aside, temporarily, his chief love, Orientalism, and study and practice law in order that he might no longer be a financial burden upon his mother who had supported him during his early years of intellectual development. It was in the first years of the study and practice of law that Jones fell in love with the constitution that had been developing for many centuries. However, getting, for the first time, a close view of how the King's (George III) policies were administered through Lord North, Jones found that they clashed with his own belief that human rights were, and should be, guaranteed by the constitution. And it was with a view to doing his share in maintaining this belief that he decided to stand for Parliament.

It was necessary, Jones felt, that before actually entering Parliament he should have an adequate income which would give him the time to devote all his energies to work in the House. He therefore started angling for the appointment of a puisne Judgeship in the Bengal Supreme Court where there was a vacancy. A few years in such an appointment, he felt, would enable him to save enough to make him financially independent. When several years went by and the Judgeship still seemed a distant prospect, Jones finally decided to stand as a candidate from Oxford. In spite of his great reputation and his popularity in Oxford he was not elected. This failure was principally due to his own inexperience in campaigning and his unwillingness to descend to the electioneering skulduggery of his opponents, which he felt to be both undignified and unethical.

It is not surprising that the Tories, the party in power when he made his first bid for the Judgeship, should have felt that, despite his acknowledged ability, he was far too much of a radical to be trusted in a position of great authority. His sympathy with the American Colonists in their struggle against George III was well known; so, too, was his friendship with Franklin. His writings and speeches had done nothing to lessen his menace in the

eyes of the Tory diehards. Actually, of course, it was his fervid belief in Constitutional Democracy which led him to support, both at home and abroad, all those to whom he felt Authority was denying the basic rights which the Constitution promised.

It was only after the Whigs, among whom he had a number of powerful friends, came into power that he was finally given the Judgeship for which he had applied years before. And so, in 1783, knighted and married, at last, to the one woman whom he had loved all those years, Anna Maria Shipley, Jones found himself on the ship bound for Calcutta. Great Britain was, after innumerable delays, sending out to India one of the most brilliant, humanistic administrators of the century. Jones's early Orientalism, which had been a literary and philosophic humanism, had now matured. He would be able to take practical steps to guarantee human rights by means of his office and he would be able to seek the answer to the question, 'Could the oriental people learn to love and trust the West?'

During the next ten years Jones laboured unceasingly to win the confidence of the Indian people and to establish the fact that their constitutional rights were in no degree less than those of their foreign rulers. To this end he set about translating into English the Ordinances of Manu, — learning Sanskrit first of all, — so that the English jurists might have a guide to the Hindu Legal System. He founded the Asiatic Society of Bengal so that the West might gain some knowledge of the sociology, philosophy, literature and natural history of the East. He embarked, too, upon a Digest of Indian Laws, covering the Islamic as well as the Hindu systems of Jurisprudence.

In 1793 Jones had to send his beloved Anna Maria home to England. Nine years in Bengal, unrelieved by any periods of rest in her homeland, had sapped her strength. He himself stayed behind to finish, as he hoped, his work on the Digest. This, however, was not to be and, in 1794,

worn out and weakened by his incessant labours, Jones succumbed to an inflammation of the liver.

What had Jones achieved? He was the first modern linguist and world-populiser of the values of knowing foreign languages. (He himself knew 28, including Runic, if that can be called a language.) He had provided a very strong impetus to Indians for a renaissance of their national culture. Above all he had tried to show the West the proper relationship with the Orient, an exchange of material and cultural resources and a respect for human rights and the brotherhood of man based on the government of the people in the spirit of their own institutions and culture.

I can best conclude with the words of Professor Cannon. 'Jones was a hundred years ahead of his time. His spectacular example of a scholarship and humanitarianism was praised but not followed. His far-sighted genius had perceived the way to a responsible world humanism and human equality, only to have the little men of his day block it....'

A. H. MORTIMER

Planning the Peace

THE WASTED HOUR *The Tragedy of 1945*
by Brian Gardner (Cassell, 291 pp. 36s.)

SPEAKING in the British Parliament on August 16, 1945 the day after the surrender, Winston Churchill uttered the sombre words which summed up the paradox of winning the war but losing the peace: 'There is not an hour to be wasted; there is not a day to be lost.' But from the point of view of the war-winner Churchill and the victorious Great Britain the hour was already wasted and not only the day but the game was lost. Pre-war Great Britain had already ceased to be great except in name. The really great powers from then on were to be the United States and Soviet Russia and they were to engage in a world-wide contest for influence that Churchill christened the

Cold War. Mr. Brian Gardner in his *The Wasted Hour* has given a nostalgic account of how this came about.

In January 1945 the German offensive in the Ardennes had begun. It was the last gamble and was destined to fail. The Yalta conference of the Big Three — Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill — was held in the first week of February that year. Though the end of the European war was in sight and the future of that embattled continent was at stake the conference yielded few concrete decisions and great issues remained untouched. While the subdued misgivings of Yalta were giving place to open bickerings between the Big Three Germany was defeated in May, 1945. Emancipated Europe presented fresh problems of post-war power alignments.

The Big Three met again at Potsdam in July, 1945. But the comradeship of war was already vitiated by distrust and growing impatience with one another's motives. And the comrades were no longer the same. Roosevelt had died and Truman had come. Attlee had displaced Churchill as the British Prime Minister. To top it all peace predictably had opened up the latent incompatibilities in the attitudes and aspirations of the victors. The conference as a whole preferred not to face this fact. The task of papering over the chasm between the three countries was passed on to the foreign ministers. The war-worn world turned away from these wrangles to the glimmer of hope in the creation of the United Nations Organisation.

The crucial event which had altered the balance of power among the Allied Powers between Yalta and Potsdam was the possession of the atom bomb by the United States. This fact, it appears, was quite casually mentioned at Potsdam and had no effect on the deliberations or the decisions at the conference. But the bomb blasted Hiroshima on August 6 and humbled Japan into unconditional surrender on August 14, 1945. Unknowing, the world had moved from the diplomacy of balance of power to the brinkmanship of the nuclear deterrent, making traditional diplo-

macy, a *forte* of British prestige and influence for over a century, pathetically irrelevant.

Mr. Gardner has put together a brilliant ensemble of events in the concluding phases of the war in Europe and the Pacific. However, in his chronicle the war is less important than the various tangles which the winners were getting into over the disposition of the enormous areas and peoples that were being freed from the domination of the Axis powers. There were troubles over Poland, Yugoslavia, Greece, Trieste and Austria. There was continuing dispute over Germany itself. With the disappearance of the old domination the future of these areas lay largely with the army of occupation and the national complexion of that army. The war being more or less won, though bloody battles were still to be fought, Churchill wanted the conduct of war to be governed by the primacy of clearly defined national objectives. Great Britain was clearly apprehensive of Stalin and the relentless advance of the Red Army in Europe. The United States was seldom free of suspicion about British motives and preferred to leave the strategy of war to its commanders in the field. Besides America very much wanted the active participation of Russia in the war against Japan; a foretaste of this at Iwo Jima and Okinawa had been frightful and sobering. True the atom bomb, though the ethics of its explosion is not beyond debate, put an end to the Japanese war far sooner than feared.

Mr. Gardner seriously believes that the United States was not at that time fully aware of and therefore did not fully avail itself of its nuclear superiority in its confrontation with Stalin and the tough men behind him. It is one of the minor theses of Mr. Gardner that by 1945 Stalin was no longer the ruler of Soviet Russia and had to be wary of ambitious men headed by Molotov. The cardinal problem of 1945 was not the subjugation of Germany and Japan, Mr. Gardner keeps on reminding us, but of containing Russian influence

and power to those areas to whose winning the Russians had contributed as well as the rest. One reads the book in vain to find out how this could have been done except by turning Germany against Russia. There is little in the events of 1945 to suggest that even greater accord between England and America about the aims and strategy of war as well as peace could have prevented the emergence of cold war since Soviet Russia had by then already become a power big enough to withstand being browbeaten or fooled out of its chosen objectives.

Historians seldom allow for the complexities of the human situations in which statesmen have to opt for a particular decision because their people have wearied of war and would have no more of it. It would be an unreal peace which did not show the scars of the brutality which still permeates the relations between nations at war. The wasted hours on the watershed of history sum up the pointlessness of war as an instrument to settle the affairs of nations. There would be fewer wasted hours at the end of a war if modern man, Mr. Gardner included, accepted the obvious truth that war itself is a wasted endeavour.

MAHESH DESAI

To my Brother

LETTERS OF SRINIVASA SASTRI edited by
T. N. Jagadesan (Asia Publishing House, 377 pp.
Rs. 16.50)

THESE letters constitute at once English literature of high quality, snatches of autobiography and insights into the political history of India during the first half of the current century. Mr. Sastri was an unexcelled master of the English language. His principal teacher of the language was Webster's English Dictionary. During his days at the Teachers' Training College, Madras, he embarrassed its British Principal by pointing out some mistakes in J. C. Nesfield's text-book on English Grammar, and proved himself right. There were

occasions when differences between Englishmen regarding some points in English grammar, idiom and pronunciation were referred to the final judgment of Mr. Sastri.

Mr. Sastri was one of the three or four of the greatest orators in the English language. The late Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, an eminent scholar in English, who was enthusiastic of Mr. Sastri's oratory, was even more so of his letter-writing. He said: 'I have had letters from almost all our great Indians. I don't think any other can write a letter half so delightfully as Sastri. There are other orators, but he is our only letter-writer.' Sastri indulged in letter-writing as a hobby. In his own clear and beautiful handwriting issued almost daily a stream of letters. Some were short cameos of charm and delicacy, as, for instance, his letter of June 8, 1927, to Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar:

Your affectionate letter. People say there is no growth after a certain age. But your wisdom increases daily and your power of instruction. I shall be lucky to retain your good will and love after my return — and after.

Mr. Sastri's letters to his daughter described vividly his travels in India and abroad. His reference to the Taj at Agra was both eloquent and poetic. 'When bathed in moonlight, the blend of many-coloured stones and their marvellous brilliance threw back the moon's beams', and 'the moon shone proudly on the Taj which smiled and glowed in answering triumph.'

He described for his daughter the 'marvels' of London — its policemen, underground trains, houses, the habits and conventions and above all, the politeness of its inhabitants, particularly to women. 'In fact, you heard nothing but 'please' and 'thank you' all the time.' But the marvels of London did not hold Mr. Sastri for long; he longed to return home. In a nostalgic letter of Oct. 16, 1919, to his daughter Mr. Sastri wrote:

I so long to be back. At first I never thought I should be tired of London, but

I am. It is funny for I haven't seen a tenth part of the things one must see. Somehow my relish is gone. I am thinking continually of home, dear home. What if there be mosquitoes and all sorts of inconveniences: still, it is home. Lakshmi and you and Savitri and Sankaran and Ramaswami and others will make hell seem like heaven.

Other letters of Mr. Sastri were fairly long epistles in which he descanted on political questions that gripped and divided public opinion in India, such as Co-operation vs. Non-cooperation, Dominion Status vs. Independence, Constitutional vs. Direct action. Of particular significance were the letters exchanged between him and Mahatma Gandhi. The two stalwarts are a lustrous example, perhaps unequalled, of firm personal bonds of love and admiration co-existing with fundamental differences on public questions. The two addressed each other as 'Dear Brother' for long, and in the final stages, the Mahatma subscribed himself as 'Little Brother'.

In the course of his letter of Nov. 24, 1932 from Yervada Prison to Mr. Sastri, Mahatma Gandhi said:

I had your precious letters. Your criticism soothes. Your silence makes me nervous. Time only deepens my love for you. Our differences appear to me to be superficial. Deep down I feel and touch the meeting ground, and that is precious.

When the Mahatma decided on a fast in 1933, he wrote a 'begging' letter to Mr. Sastri asking for the latter's 'blessing' for it. Mr. Sastri was deeply touched, but was firm in his disapproval.

I will not pretend for a moment that I approve of your fast. . . . Our values are different fundamentally. The difference is radical, no sophistication can abolish it.

Mr. Sastri concluded his letter thus:

Treat the letter as if it were nothing but the expression of my unchanged love and of my fervent wish that you should live long and serve the great causes you cherish. For, contrary to your teaching, I

hold that you are more potent than your memory can be.

The Mahatma clung, as it were, to Mr. Sastri with a tender pathos as when he pleaded: 'You won't give me up, but continue to guide me.'

In the course of his letter of Nov. 23, 1934, to Mr. Sastri, the Mahatma said:

Though our hearts are one we seem to be living in different worlds of thought and action. This knowledge has been oppressing me of late. This is merely to share my thoughts with you and to tell you how I long for your cooperation at some point of my many activities. And yet I want nothing from you that does not command the full approval of your reason. You are too true to act otherwise than in accordance with your reason. Your truthfulness is far more precious for me than your mere cooperation in my activities.

Mr. Sastri replied in a panegyric:

You are used to carry big burdens and seem never happy unless you are jumping from one stupendous task to a more stupendous task. Fly upward, mighty-winged denizen of far-off regions! I can but watch you with breathless wonder for one brief moment, and then you are lost to my blinking vision. A deep-lying affinity calls us together occasionally, but life is heedless and draws us apart with no non-violent hands.

In his letter of July 16, 1940, Mr. Sastri gave expression to his high estimate of the Mahatma for his non-violent creed and his keen disappointment when the Mahatma lowered the flag, as it were.

You have no such double standard: what is not truth is untruth. Non-violence is the highest dharma; it is synonymous with Universal Love, which is a long name for God. Violence is its stark negation; it is blasphemy, sin. Partial abandonment of non-violence is abandonment. How can you have truck with it? I place you alongside the philosophers and ethicists of fame. To see you descend on occasions from the

heights I feel bereft of my garments, disrobed of my national pride.

In 1944, when the Peace Conference was being canvassed, Mr. Sastri wrote several letters to the Mahatma urging him to attend the Conference, even unofficially. In the course of his letter of June 2, 1944, he wrote:

The greatest event to happen in the remaining days of your life will be the World Conference on Peace. You must attend it. If they won't let you go as the representative of India, you must go still. To the good and true men at the Peace table your name will be sufficient credential.

In another letter of the same date, Sastri wrote:

The peace Conference is of the greatest significance for the world, for India and for your special mission in life. Make your way to it. You are much more than the head of the Congress movement in India. Rise, I pray you, to your own height and get a proper perspective of the world, for you are a citizen of the world, eagerly looked for when mighty issues are settled.

This was Mr. Sastri, the superb letter-writer.

P. KODANDA RAO

Authentic Africa

FREEDOM AND AFTER by Tom Mboya (Andre Deutsch, 266 pp.)

TOM MBOYA emerged as a Trade Union Leader of great ability during the Mau Mau emergency in Kenya. His work as a sanitary inspector for the city of Nairobi earlier had brought him face to face with the deep sense of social and political frustration among the workers, their low wages and intolerably bad living conditions. He became secretary of the Local Government Union and later the general secretary of the Kenya Federation of Labour and played a highly effective

role on the political scene. When all the native political organisations were suppressed during the rebellion, the labour unions under him fused their economic and political functions and became deeply committed to political operations and objectives. He says

'despite much hostility from Government and despite all the obstacles which came because of the Mau Mau emergency, the trade union movement in Kenya grew into a vigorous body, so vigorous in fact that it was able to play, during that emergency a political role rarely demanded of trade unions and their leaders.'

Early in life, he rejected tribalism and relied on the most modern forms of political infighting, as he puts it.

'To anyone concerned with African Unity, tribalism presents one of the major problems. We discussed at length this problem at the All African Peoples Conference in 1958; the question of traditional rulers, problems of language and customs. We concluded that if Governments tried to destroy tribal culture and customs, language and ethical groupings, they would create such a vacuum that the African might find he had nothing to stand upon and become a most bewildered person in this modern world. We thought it essential to isolate what you might call "negative tribalism" from tribalism in the forms of customs and culture.'

When the Mau Mau outbreak began in 1952 Tom Mboya was still working for the Nairobi City Council. There is no doubt that in the course of the last fifty years the economy of Kenya had been oriented towards the promotion of European prosperity with little or no regard to the welfare of Africans. In spite of the declaration in 1923 that African interests were to be regarded as paramount, land policies and labour legislation, while ostensibly aimed at promoting general economic prosperity had done little to alleviate the continued poverty of the

Africans. European agricultural enterprises had been assisted in many ways, while that of Africans had been discouraged. A variety of means had been adopted to induce the African to seek employment in the European economy and wages had been below subsistence level with wide differentials between Africans, Asians and Europeans.

Mau Mau's greatest strength lay among the disgruntled tenants on the European Estates, mostly Kikuyu, more than half a million of whom had left the reserves and gone to work in the white highlands or in the towns. The problem of land population had been most acute among the Kikuyu, and this was aggravated by a sense of grievance that much of the land incorporated into the white highlands previously belonged to them. To a considerable extent Tom Mboya's ascendancy originated among the LUO who gained control of urban Nairobi when more than 100,000 Kikuyus were dismissed from their jobs and expelled during the emergency, and LUO tribesmen filled their place. It must be said to his credit that his appeal was always national rather than tribal and when restrictions withdrawn, his Peoples Convention Party became the foundation for the Kenya Independence Movement.

As a result of urbanisation and land title complications detribalisation was a more acute problem in Kenya than in other parts of Africa. Inevitably, missionary efforts and educational developments also became involved with the problem. Schools were first introduced for the children of European settlers. A second separate system was then created in response to the demands of Indian merchants and farmers. African education remained entirely in the hands of missionaries. The segregation policy in Government schools was re-affirmed in 1926 although the authorities still did not finance the education of any but European and Asian children. For Africans, development was therefore restricted by the missions' limited resources and usually

connected with religious instruction. One of the liveliest movements organized by Tom Mboya was the 'Students' Airlift', a scheme which attracted support from the U.S. and Canada.

The problem regarding people of Asian origin in Kenya has been discussed by him briefly and in his speech to the Kenya Indian Congress in 1962 he said,

'There is no intention to replace present privilege with African privileges, but a true Kenyan—irrespective of his race or creed—must be entitled to some degree of privilege in his mother country. In the past the African has been under-privileged and therefore in the early stages at least 'localisation' is bound to give the appearance that it is primarily Africanisation as indeed by force of numbers it is.'

The influence of the Indian community in Kenya had grown rapidly and there are now more than four times as many Indians as Europeans. They predominate in commerce and many are employed on railways and industrial undertakings. While the anxiety of the Indian community is understandable they have to decide within a given period, the question of nationality. They have served Kenya well by expanding its commerce into the remotest parts but culturally they still look to the United Kingdom or India. Kenyan leaders like Tom Mboya and Kenyatta have been anxious to create confidence in the minorities and one of the objectives of the constitution is:

'A united Kenyan nation, capable of social and economic progress in the modern world, in which men and women have confidence in the sanctity of individual rights and liberties and in the proper safeguarding of the interests of minorities.'

Pan Africanism, with its insistence on African brotherhood, non-alignment and African personality, is a movement of ideas and emotions which finds support among most of the leaders of modern emergent Africa. Tom Mboya has said:

We find that both Westerns and Russians look at Africa through the same pair of glasses. Africa is neither pro-west or pro-Russia; they are pro-African.

This is a political expression of that same urge and identity, which made Kenyatta declare that his Government would be committed to 'democratic African Socialism'.

'When I talk of African Socialism, Mboya writes, I refer to those proven codes of conduct in the African societies which have over the ages conferred dignity on our people and afforded them security regardless of their station in life. We must come forward ready to build from our own resources, energy and sweat, the Africa of our own vision and dreams and not the blueprints of the West or the East. We are immersed in a massive transition in which we are seeking new identities at personal, national and international levels. We need a new political philosophy of our own that will explain, validify and help to cement our experiences. We are thus cast for our own role.'

So the problems of Africa are not merely the problems of poverty, ignorance and disease. These are present. But young Africa is emotionally involved in an intensive search for its own personality and its own destiny, to emerge from the primitive tribal way of life to an aggressive membership of modern society.

V. R. NARAYAN

Traitors by Default

THE HOUR OF MAXIMUM DANGER by James Barlow (Penguin Books, 400 pp. 5s.)

THIS book belongs to a rare type: its theme is unappetising, and its characters depressing; yet it makes first-class reading. It is an admonitory novel about the techniques of Russian espionage in modern Britain. Its purpose is to show what a simple job spying can be in a flabby, morally decadent, democratic

society, where the individual's cherished freedom all too readily becomes the freedom to behave as irresponsibly and as unethically as he finds personally convenient.

Barlow's material is a nondescript group of ordinary people whose private frustrations and inadequacies make them easy prey for exploitation by the conscientious, singleminded Russian master-spy Gouseev, with disastrous results. Treason is a formidable word, associated with colossal acts of overt, dastardly crime — the classic large-scale crimes of regicide, usurpation and rebellion. It can suggest activities altogether too appalling and complicated to fall within the short range of ordinary folks' experience. Barlow demonstrates that this concept is not only misleading but dangerous. Although his professional spies are highly sophisticated, dedicated specialists, the tools they press into their service are unspectacular amateurs, easily recognisable types of everyday humanity — the girl on the switchboard, the factory hand, the disgruntled student, the self-satisfied cover-girl. In the restless, demoralised, tawdry, money-grubbing Britain he evidently knows so well it is the least pretentious and subtle, the stupidest, indeed, who find themselves up to their necks in the secret-smuggling game, trapped by their own weak wills into performing puny teacheries, hardly realising what has happened to them.

To make its point successfully, the characters and their behaviour in such a story must be entirely convincing; and Barlow's achievement here is conspicuous. One cannot fault his handling of all these squalid little people, with their mean aspirations, their bumptious facades and inward insecurities and malaise; nor can one for a moment deny the possibility of such an espionage operation working in real life. He introduces and pursues the decline of his characters independently, like so many separate case-histories, and draws each into the middle of the web from his own individual point on the circumference. Thus, instead of creating the usual quite unrealistic no

man's land of elusive puppets with brief-cases, belted raincoats and sinister trilby hats who lurk furtively in doorways in far too many spy stories Barlow is able to examine and develop each fumbling personal dilemma in its own peculiar but wholly authentic context, and give it an independent veracity.

This he does in a masterly fashion. No one could read, for instance, his portrait of the unpopular South African university student who vainly longs to be one of the chaps, or the chapter in which a pathetic down-at-heel creature in a factory making parts for a secret weapon steels himself to pocket one of them from the assembly line and walk out of the factory with it (and is, inevitably, caught red-handed), without recognising that Barlow is a more than competent author who thoroughly knows his job. The case histories are without exception entirely convincing, and although there is no question of the characters invoking much of our sympathy — they are a lousy lot — our curiosity is alert throughout, and interest never flags.

This is a book that would be difficult to abandon half-read, by an author whose maturity and keen perception of human behaviour make us determined not to miss his next work.

STEWART MELLUISH

Writers Meet

INDIAN WRITERS IN CONFERENCE Edited by Nissim Ezekiel (*The PEN All-India Centre, 40 New Marine Lines, Bombay 1. 221 pp. Rs. 10*)

THE sixth P.E.N. All-India Writers' Conference was held at Mysore in August, 1962 at the invitation of the University there. The Conference was inaugurated by the President of India, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan. The present volume, edited by Nissim Ezekiel, includes all the papers read on that occasion.

Indian Writers In Conference is divided into two parts of which the first contains three of the four symposia at Mysore.



CHARLES H. HEIMSATH

Indian Nationalism and Hindu Social Reform

The author traces the development of the social reform movement in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries — from Rammohun Roy to Gandhi — with special emphasis on the period before the First World War, and discusses its varied and shifting relationship to modern nationalism. A short epilogue gives the main course of the movement after 1947 in independent India.

Princeton
Rs 27.50

AZIZ AHMAD

Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment

Based essentially on primary sources, this book covers an extremely wide range of religious and cultural activity over a period of four hundred years and contributes a new perspective to the study of Islam and Islamic history. It will be equally of interest to the student of Islam, of India, and of contemporary cultural history in general.

Rs 30

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS



These are: *How Writers See Contemporary India*; *Ideas In Modern Poetry*; and *East-West Dialogue*. The second part deals with reports on *Humour In Indian Literature*, which follows the convention of P.E.N. conferences by running through all the languages recognised by the Indian Constitution.

Although the papers are, naturally, not of an equally high standard, and a few are not to the point at all, the book as a whole gives an excellent view of the current Indian literary scene, reflecting our writers' strength as well as weakness. In the first section, *How Writers See Contemporary India*, Gulabdas Broker provides an interesting, though depressing picture of present-day India, and how the writers react to it. The average writer, belonging to the middle class, he says, looks on Indian life with dismay, and suffers from a feeling of frustration. His anguish is strongly expressed in his writing. Mr. Broker ends his paper by stating that side by side with this expression of bitterness, quite a 'considerable volume of goody-goody writing is being done, which tries to reflect a serene, a normal, a moral, a no-longer-existing world.' This view is restated by Gangadhar Gadgil in his paper. He says that sometimes Indian writing depicts India as only a garden where lovers coo sweet nothings to each other, and sometimes it appears a desolate waste land.

In the next section, *Ideas in Modern Poetry*, Nissim Ezekiel provides an interesting and learned paper. He refers to modern poetry in English or in English translation as an example of how ideas animate it or weaken its power. He shows how certain poets put ideas to work and what has been gained or lost for poetry by their doing so. Mr. Ezekiel is concerned with ideas in poetry, but not as ideas capable of being separated from the poetry. Poetry cannot be ignored while the ideas are discussed. Today, if the poet merely has ideas, which he wants to propagate, he does it in prose.

In the third section, *East-West Dialogue*, Dr. Mulk Raj Anand in a forceful and tell-

ing paper complains that the translation of literary works from one language to another is not commensurate with the urge for mutual understanding. He also states that although there is an encouraging exchange of the various literary treasures of Europe, unfortunately this same exchange of significant works of Asia and Africa to the West has been thwarted by the fact that for over 500 years, the West has dominated the East and denigrated its cultures.

The second part of the present volume consists of papers on *Humour in Indian Literature*. Of the various Indian languages dealt with, the most interesting paper is on humour in Hindi by Dr. Dharmvir Bharati. As Dr. Bharati says in his introduction, the independent development of humour in Hindi literature is only a modern phenomenon. This is so, he feels, because humour is an element which is best manifested in private conversation. Prose is its natural medium, not poetry, and in medieval Hindi literature prose never achieved any high position. Also, conversation generating good humour are best conducted in friendly circles. But ancient courts had a formal atmosphere, and untainted humour could not prosper there. In modern times, however, circumstances conducive to the development of humour in literature are present.

Many of the other papers on *Humour in Indian Literature* do little more than list writers and their works in various regional languages. Of passing interest, however, is the paper on *Indo-Anglian Literature* by H. H. Anniah Gowda.

KAMALA BOSE

The Poetic Coin

THE WHITSON WEDDINGS by Philip Larkin
(Faber, 46 pp. 12s. 6d.)

IT is not easy to put down this second collection of poems with a feeling of ease. The more one reads into each poem the more disturbing are the nagging in-

sights which reach out, like that in the poem taking Mr. Bleaney's name, as reminders that 'how we live measures our own nature'. Even though it is not strictly relevant to wonder about Mr Larkin himself one is nevertheless encouraged to ponder over the naked stance of some of his poems,

*In this way I spent youth,
Tracing the trite untransferable
Truss-advertisement, truth*

whose tone, an amalgam of the nostalgia of choice, might delude one into simple literal-mindedness, like bumping into the furniture of a house in the dark.

The evident truth is that Mr Larkin writes poems which, for all their urbane, deft colloquialisms, the novelist's eye and dramatist's ear, steadily proclaim his to be one of the most carefully formed techniques of expression in English poetry today. In this wringing out of the processes of self-clarification, Mr Larkin's achievement lies in the sureness with which he touches off the poetry of it. This achievement cannot be underrated however beguiling may seem the twists and turns of

a phrase here, a fretted complex of emotions taughened there; what Mr Larkin does lucid dalliance with, with a many faceted relentlessness, are in effect cumulative intimations of a stark honesty of approach to the process of living.

To produce poetry from the terrors of self-awareness is to enjoy the privilege of a surprise ending. To the perceptive reader Mr Larkin may reveal the painful stigmata of a deeper humanity 'leaving nothing to be said'; nevertheless there is a very delight in the unerring manner with which his punch-lines foreclose on the almost humdrum stuffing of his poems. An attempt to describe these further would be to circulate bad coinage. These poems were written for reading and feeling, not for reviewing, and they merit the discipline of an internal concentration. This is indeed a measure of their success, like that of the title poem, the best in this selection. The reader's time would be wellspent on the insistent demands of their reading in the hope of reaching an appreciation of the other side of the poetic coin, the patent demands of their writing.

FOY NISSEN

NOW OUT

A National System of Education for India

edited by A. B. SHAH

Papers presented to the seminar held under the auspices of the University of Bombay and the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom in June 1964. (Contains *The Concept of a National System of Education* by A. B. Shah and *Approaches to the Fourth Five Year Plan in Education* by J. P. Naik, Member-Secretary, Education Commission, *Inaugural Address* by R. V. Sathe, Vice-Chancellor, University of Bombay and President, World Medical Council, and the *Statement* issued by the Seminar) pp 52—Rs. 1.75 (Rs. 1.25 for members of the I. C. C. F.)

Free copy of *Perspective Plan in Education for India* by J. P. Naik to buyers of the pamphlet.

Also read *A National University* edited by A. B. Shah, being the papers submitted to the seminar convened by the I.C.C.F. in September 1964. pp 89—Rs. 4.50 (Rs. 3.50 for members of the I.C.C.F.)

Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom

148 Mahatma Gandhi Road, Bombay 1

Our Trade Unions

LABOUR MOVEMENT IN INDIA by G. K. Sharma (University Publishers, Delhi, 238 pp. Rs. 15)

IN recent years the labour movement has attracted the attention of many scholars, both Indian and foreign. Many have studied the course of its development and some have also tried to look into the future in order to assess the role that it is likely to play in the planned economic development of the country. Mr. Sharma's book is a valuable addition to the growing literature on the topic.

The major part of the book is devoted to a history of the movement as it grew since the advent of industry. As trade unions still constitute the main part of the movement, the history has become the history of their birth and growth. In telling that story the author has, through diligent and painstaking research, brought to light some new facts about the movement. But having deliberately chosen a term with a wider import, it would have been better if he had also given some information about the attempts made to develop the political, the cooperative and the welfare aspects of the movement. The attempts have not, it is true, yielded substantial results so far, but in a history of the labour movement they should have found some mention.

Scholars may be interested in the history of the movement, but men of affairs are interested in its present condition and the role that it is likely to play in the economic development of the country. Will Indian trade unions help or hinder economic development? What will be their relations with the Government and what will be the Government's attitude towards them? Will they develop as responsible social organisations or will they function merely as pressure groups interested only in securing the largest possible benefits for their members? The future of the movement depends upon a correct answer to these questions. Mr. Sharma has raised some of them in his book.

The answer that he has given is: 'But, in general, in an economy moving towards Socialism the relations between the State and trade unions will be increasingly based on consultation and mutual reliance.' This is too general an answer which will not satisfy anybody. It is necessary to go further and elaborate how 'consultation and mutual reliance' will develop and how it is essential for the purpose that the State should change its attitude towards trade unions and the latter towards the former. It is only when that happens that the labour movement will become a positive factor contributing to the growth of a free society.

V. B. KARNIK

OUR REVIEWERS

N. G. THAKAR, at present principal of the Bombay International School, was vice-principal of Scindia School for many years.

A. H. MORTIMER is interested in Orientalism, and is a student of North Indian languages.

MAHESH DESAI is an active trade union worker.

P. KODANDA RAO was secretary to Srinivasa Sastri for many years.

V. R. NARAYAN is interested in literature and politics.

STEWART MELLUISH represents the Oxford University Press in Madras.

KAMALA BOSE is a Bombay journalist.

FOY NISSEN works for the British Council in Bombay.

V. B. KARNIK is a veteran Trade Union leader.

CORRESPONDENCE

Dear Abu Sayeed Ayyub,

Will you convey to Sri D. C. Mathur that I read his article in *Quest* of July-Sept. 1964 with much interest? And he would be glad to learn from me that, as far as I could gather from all my talks and contacts with Gandhiji, Gandhiji's understanding of non-attached action according to the Gita was what Mr. Mathur has interpreted it to be, in the penultimate paragraph of his article. He will find the last sentence in Gita II.50 strongly supports his interpretation: *Yogah karmastu kausalam*, which means 'Indeed, the way of yoga which I preach is real kill in the work you undertake'.

I read also Sudhir Chandra's article with considerable interest. He has rightly pointed out that Tilak spoke about passive resistance in 1905 at Banaras. Sometime later I remember (as I was even then an active politician & 'intellectual') Gokhale deprecated all talk of passive resistance as unsuitable for our country. But I particularly appreciate what Sri Sudhir Chandra has said in the article about Gandhi:

"To attribute to Hinduism the cardinal principles of Gandhi's philosophy is to take too literally his assertion that he was a Hindu. In the first place Gandhi culled them from a number of religions and their rediscovery in Hinduism was the sequel rather than the prelude to his quest, secondly the message of love and non-violence is not an exclusive feature of Hinduism but is enshrined in all the major religions of the world".

I have tried to take up this same stand when I spoke about Gandhiji's philosophy at the Poona University.

Accept my renewed good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

P. S.: Dr. Raj Krishna's article is as you say a brilliant contribution. Your point against him seems to be only one—that he ought to give a minus quantity value always to the alternative of violence, it being intrin-

sically a bad thing. I believe Dr. Raj Krishna does it himself without saying it explicitly. He does permit loading the scales, so to say, against violence. But he would not go with it.

July 12, 1964

C.R.

July 16, 1964

Shraddhaspadeshu,

I am indeed very flattered to get your letter of July 12. As the editor of *Quest* I cannot but take pride and find sustenance in the knowledge that *Quest* can count amongst its painstaking readers a man of your eminence and intellectual distinction.

May I, however, register a mild protest against your characterising my criticism of Dr. Raj Krishna's article as centering round 'only one point'? I believe I tried to make three points against him; you may of course pick out only one as the cardinal point and disregard the others as of secondary importance. The three points were:

1. Dr. Raj Krishna was not quite right in characterising his opponents as value-monists and claiming some merit for speaking from the more correct position of value-pluralism. This I suggested was due to his having failed to distinguish properly between instrumental and final values.

2. Dr. Raj Krishna does count violence as a 'minus quantity value,' as you say. I would prefer to put it as 'a destruction of value', and stipulate that violence can only be justified when it is clearly seen as preventing the destruction of a greater value. The comparison of non-violence as a plus quantity of value and violence as a minus quantity of value makes the moral issue more difficult of solution.

3. While I agreed with him that we should be in a state of military preparedness to meet any aggression, I deprecated the mental state of cold war both because of its liability to push the cold-warriors into a hot war, and even more because of its being the wrong temperature-and-pressure condition for preserving that dispassionateness and scrupulousness of intellectual activity to

which we as intellectuals and believers in the high value of intellectual freedom must necessarily owe a very especial allegiance.

I am sending copies of your letter to Dr. Mathur, Shri Sudhir Chandra and to Dr. Raj Krishna, but would also ask your permission to print it in the next issue of *Quest* because I am sure our readers would be interested in your remarks.

May I in conclusion request you for a contribution to *Quest*? It is long since we have published anything from your esteemed pen.

With deep regards,

Yours sincerely,
ABU SAYEED AYYUB

My dear Abu Sayeed Ayyub,

Thank you for your kind letter. I am grateful to you for your large forbearance. My remarks about your critique were only to help and could not possibly pretend to be anything like a full-dress examination.

I must ask you to realise my age and consequent limitations in energy. If I felt like writing anything of a suitable nature and quality I would send it to you without your asking. You may, if you think it would be of any use, print my letter in *Quest* as you say.

Kind regards always,

Yours sincerely,
C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

18th July, 1964

Dear Sir,

I have read Professor Ashin Das Gupta's comments on my review article (published in the July-September and April-June 1964 issues of your Journal respectively) criticising Dr. Spear's recent book on Indian history, with interest and care. While I understand his zeal in defending his erstwhile Cambridge associate, possibly old teacher, I am somewhat surprised at his missing out on the real point of my article. The essence of my criticism was, if I may repeat it, to expose such history-writing which does not indulge in complete falsehoods or total suppression of vital facts, but employs different standards of scrutiny in different cases, assembles half-truths dexterously, highlights certain facts while playing down others, does not let the story unfold itself but places events and facts in convenient historical contexts, and aims at conveying a desiredly distorted image. Such skillfully disguised pre-dispositions, if backed by competent scholarship, are ordinarily difficult to detect, and are generally easy to defend.

The fact that even a trained historian, such as Professor Ashin Das Gupta, has been taken in by Spear's book, only underlines the risk which an unsuspecting non-specialist reader or a young under-graduate is exposed to, and which I had endeavoured to point out.

Dept. of History
University of Queensland
3rd Sept., 1964

D. P. SINGHAL

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

M. K. HALDAR teaches philosophy at Delhi College and the University of Delhi.

PUNYA SLOKA RAY is Assistant Professor of Linguistics at South-East Asia Language and Area Centre, University of Chicago.

DAYA KRISHNA is Professor and Head of the Philosophy Department at the University of Rajasthan. Besides philosophy, he has contributed papers on economic theory and sociology, and has recently published a monograph on the sociology of economic change.

S. C. DUBEY is a free lance journalist.

N. K. DEVARAJA is Sayaji Rao Gaekwad Professor of Indian Civilisation and Culture and Head of the Dept. of Indian Philosophy and Religion at Banaras Hindu University. The article published in this issue will form the concluding chapter of his forthcoming book *The Mind and Spirit of India*.

KA NAA SUBRAMANYAM is a distinguished short story writer and novelist. He writes in Tamil, but some of his work has been translated into English.

PHILIP ALTBACH is National Chairman of the Student Peace Union (U.S.A.) and is working toward his Ph.D. degree in the Comparative Education Centre at the University of Chicago.

DAVID ROUSSET is a French writer and journalist.

JORGEN SCHLEIMANN is a Copenhagen journalist and is founder and executive director of the Committee for Afro-Scandinavian Cooperation.

SHASHI KANT contributes articles on historical and cultural subjects to various periodicals. His book *Kausambi* (in Hindi), a historical study, is in the press.

IAN MACMASTER, a young English poet, spent a few months in Calcutta in the first half of this year.

CHAIRIL ANWAR who died in 1949 at the age of 27 is regarded as "the forerunner of modern Indonesian literature and the most outstanding Indonesian poet".

A. MADHAVAN, a member of the Indian Foreign Service, is currently posted at Berne, Switzerland.

S. P. BHAGAVATULU, "journalist by profession", is on the editorial staff of *THOUGHT*, the New Delhi weekly.

INDRAJIT S. MASUDA is doing his M.A. in history at St. Stephen's College, Delhi.

G. C. S. MARAR is a young poet and short story writer.

our way is clear . . .

India is on the move and the old order passes . . .
The initiative comes to our people now and we shall
make the history of our choice. Let us all join in this
mighty task and make India, the pride of our heart,
great among nations, foremost in the arts of peace
and progress. The door is open and destiny beckons
to all.

—Jawaharlal Nehru

Our way is straight and clear—the building up
of a socialist democracy at home with freedom and
prosperity for all, and the maintenance of world
peace and friendship with all nations abroad.

—Lal Bahadur Shastri
Prime Minister

Our economic planning and the policy of non-alignment have laid firm foundations
for progress, prosperity and peace.

Let us work together to build a strong and prosperous India.
Discipline and united action are the only answer to the challenge of today.

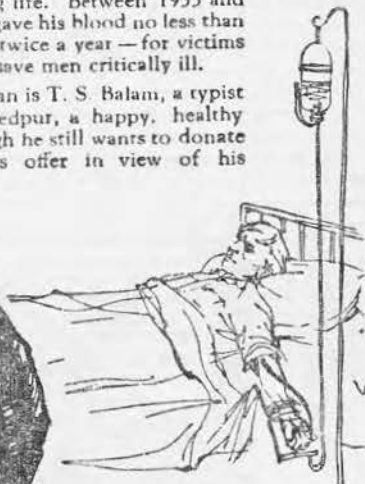
JAI HIND

MARCH TOGETHER, WORK TOGETHER

His blood has saved many lives

Way back in 1935, at Jamshedpur's Main Hospital, a man lay dying. Only a transfusion of blood could save him. In those days, most people thought that blood donation permanently damaged health. But a young man came forward and voluntarily gave his blood to sustain the ebbing life. Between 1935 and 1955, the same man freely gave his blood no less than 40 times — on an average twice a year — for victims of industrial accidents, to save men critically ill.

This extraordinary man is T. S. Balam, a typist with Tata Steel at Jamshedpur, a happy, healthy family man of 50. Although he still wants to donate blood, doctors decline his offer in view of his advancing years.



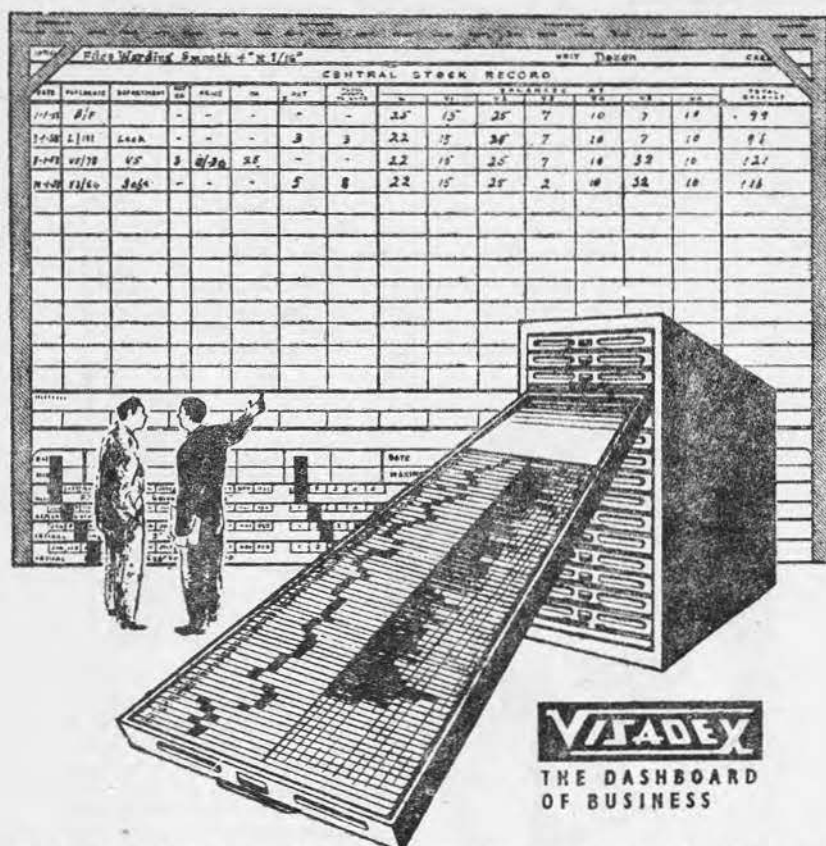
Inspired by the selfless example of men like Balam many, many others in the steel town have donated blood. No less than 20,000 employees of Tata Steel have had their blood tested and grouped, while many more are coming forward regularly for testing and grouping... to help prevent avoidable deaths... to save families from sorrow and ruin.

This is yet another instance of the fellow-feeling, born of the indivisible bond of labour, that binds together the steelmen in Jamshedpur, a city where industry is not merely a source of livelihood but a way of life.

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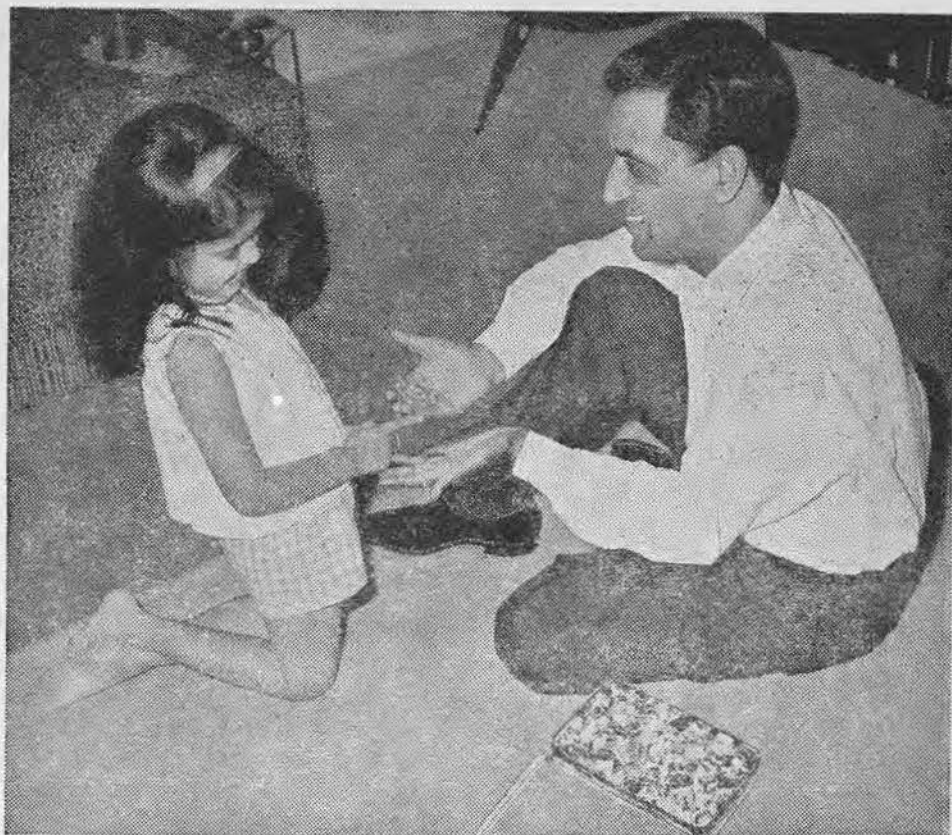
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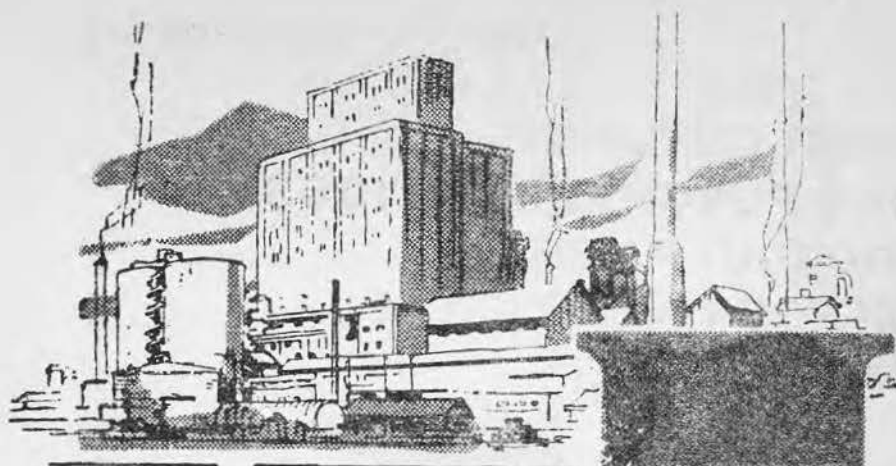
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This very important product is bound up with our Country's industrial progress.

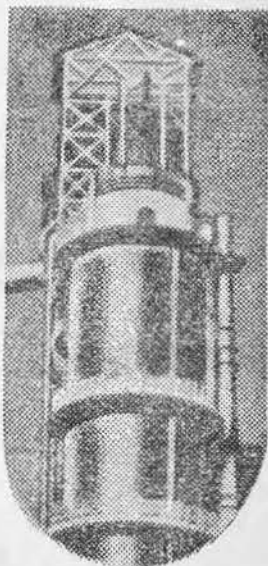
Not only is it a basic material for making Caustic Soda and other alkalis—which serve many industries—but the glass industry too depends on the use of dense Soda Ash, which is also made in Mithapur, along with light Soda Ash.

As India's Five Year Plans raise our standard of living, Tata Chemicals make their contribution through comprehensive expansion. Yesterday's planning results in today's progress and in tomorrow's chemicals.

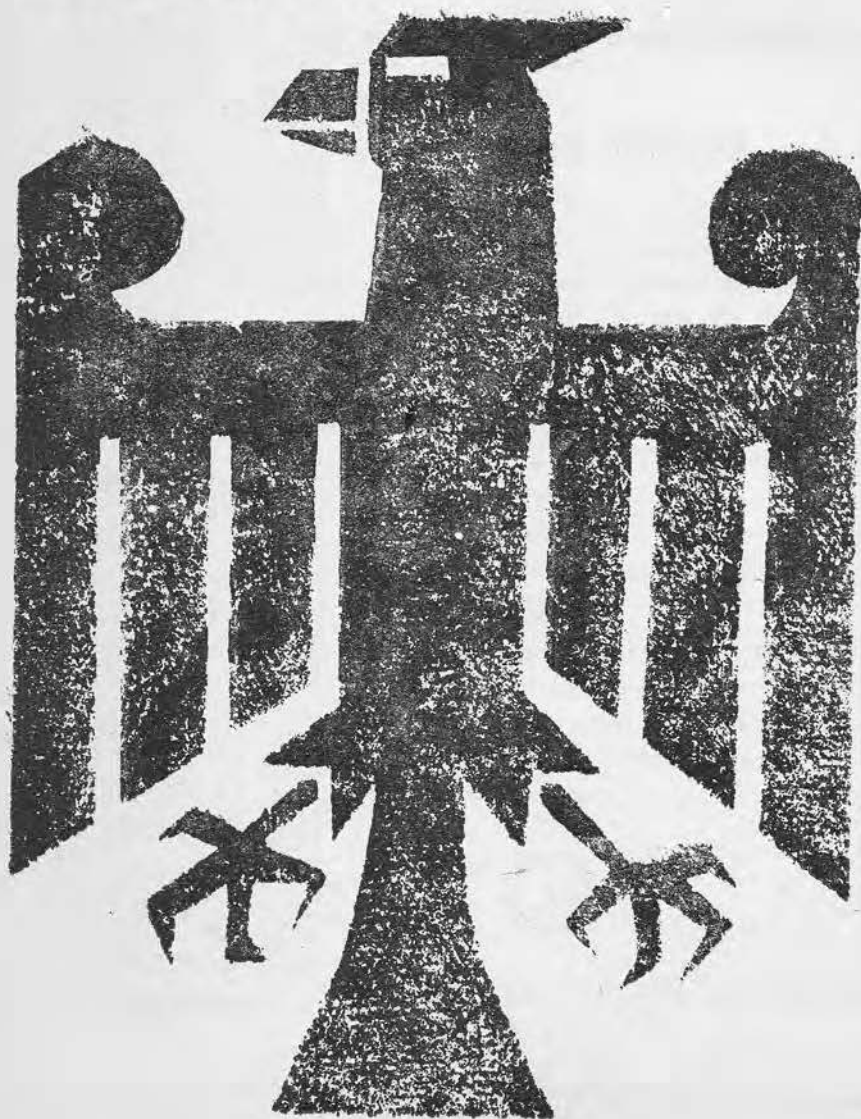


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what happened to the rest of the milk?



IT JUST isn't there! About 5 oz. of milk is what you get per day—if all the milk India produces is equally shared by her people!

That includes milk products, too! Not enough? Precisely. More milk has to be produced. Distribution has to be widened. That means more dairies and equipment: milk cans, can-washers, pasteurising plants, special storage tanks, bottle-washers and filers...even foil caps for bottles! And that is the range of our products for the dairy industry alone—from a foil cap costing a few naye Paise to complete dairies worth several lakhs of rupees! When you next open a milk bottle, consider—

Who puts the wheels on milk cans?



We do—but not exactly on cans! Large dairies need large quantities of milk. And it has to

be collected in time. A special job for road tankers—virtually tanks on wheels like the ones we make.

Here, food preservation is not a problem!

...but in the tropics foodstuffs deteriorate fast. Take milk, for instance.

Tons of it! That is what a large dairy handles every day! Milk is collected from distant centres, weighed, tested, clarified, pasteurised and chilled.

It's then stored in insulated tanks or cold stores.

Next comes filling and capping of lakhs of bottles. A complicated process? Certainly.

Something that cannot be done well enough—fast enough—without special plant and the know-how—exactly what we provide.



How many hours to churn 11,500 litres of cream?

If by hand—well, it is impossible! But with automatic butter-making plants, in just a day!—and fully packed, too! Special equipment

of this type that we supply to milk-products factories, include those for making cheese, milk powder, condensed milk, ice-cream—even ghee!



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