

Hindu Philosophy In A Modern State

by C. Rajagopalachari

MANY earnest men from foreign lands have studied Hindu religious philosophy and some of them have shown a measure of understanding that is very surprising when one remembers the great difference in religion and tradition between these scholars and their subject of study. In spite of their efforts, this difference in milieu is a real and great handicap in the way of just appreciation. As for our Indian savants, the trouble has always been that one is apt to fail to see the wood for the trees. The chief object of my present exposition will be to bring the civic aspect of Hindu philosophy into prominence. I claim that the philosophy of Hinduism is particularly suited to create and shape a conscience for the effective performance of those civic obligations without which there can be no progress in modern times.

Secondly, I claim that no religious philosophy is so consistent with modern scientific knowledge as that which forms the common fundamental of the worship of the Almighty in India, and this is important as there can be no normality of psychological well-being with inconsistencies prevailing between religious practice and accepted knowledge. Last but not least, I wish to emphasise that the catholicity which lies at the root of Hindu philosophy makes it especially suitable for creating conditions in the present-day world for ordered advance in the way of general happiness.

Devotion of Philosophy

It is thought that the history of civilisation in India has failed to prove my proposition in respect of Hindu philosophy and civic conscience, I may admit that the fault lies in the latter-day decline of

devotion to that philosophy and not in the philosophy itself. The falling off in recent centuries in living devotion to the philosophy to which people have continued to give external allegiance was certainly due to political conditions which interrupted the natural link between creed and life. We have an opportunity now to test the validity of all the civic claims I have made for the Vedanta philosophy; for now we have conditions and opportunities conducive to shape daily life on the basis of religious conviction.

It is my firm belief that Vedanta as conceived and developed in ancient India is a faith particularly suitable for modern times. Indeed, it is my conviction that it is more consistent with the discipline and the knowledge that have come to stay in the world through science than most other religious philosophies and beliefs, and for that reason it is more suitable for whole-hearted adoption and practice to-day than ever before.

Other religions are more or less based on fear—that is, on the punishment that may be inflicted by a supreme authority. Some phases of Hindu religion that have survived Vedanta may seem to suffer from this common frailty of dependence on what may be called the postulate of monarchic rule. But it may be generally and truly stated that Hindu philosophy rests more on the rule of law than on the authority of a Ruler—on law as understood by natural philosophy, not authoritarian law enunciated by law-making bodies for execution by courts.

Hindu Faith and Science

We read in Chapter IX of the Bhagavat Gita, verses 4-10, that all beings abide in God but He stands apart from them; He is the origin and support of beings; yet He stands apart from them; He uses Nature and creates again and again all this multitude of beings, keeping them completely dependent on Nature; It is a part of His scheme of sovereignty that Nature brings forth the moving and unmoving and in consequence of it, the world evolves. A study of the Upanishads will show that the universe is recognised

therein as the result of a gradual unfolding of the creative power inherent in primordial substance. It is a remarkable achievement of intellect and imagination—it would not be incorrect to call it inspiration—that the rule of law as known in science was anticipated in the Hindu scriptures.

It would not be wrong even to claim that the philosophy of Hinduism anticipated the basic theories of biology and physics. The very approach to things that one can read in the Upanishads is a scientific approach. There is constant insistence on adherence to truth and investigation. Hindu faith does not rest on the unusual or the miraculous but is linked to unchangeable law. Religions running counter to the discipline of physical science and demanding compartmental loyalty can only lead to hypocrisy. My claim is that Hindu philosophy steers clear of this.

Just as Vedanta anticipated the basic ideas of science in respect of evolution and prepared the ground for harmonising religion with science, so also, the Hindu seers saw long ago that the profit-motive, the civic right of unrestricted competition was inconsistent with human progress. The Hindu scripture lays down in clear and emphatic terms the doctrine of work for the sake of society according to capacity and not for profit. The Gita lays stress also on what is a necessary corollary of this, the equal dignity of every form of labour. It furnishes the motive power for the altruistic performance of work by elevating it to the level of religious worship and piety. This is what is known by the oft-repeated but I fear inadequately understood term Karma-Yoga. It is not for profit but as an offering to God that one is asked to work. If a man is devoted to his particular duties and performs them, he wins Beatitude.

When a man performs his proper duty, he worships Him from whom the world issued and by whom all that we see is pervaded. It is better for one to do imperfectly the duties that fall to his lot than to do those of others perfectly. One should not abandon one's natural duty even if evils seem to adhere thereto. Every human activity involves some evil as fire carries smoke. He who works with mind detached and free from selfish longings is the real sanyasi. In these terms the Gita explains true renunciation.

Regulated Economy

The Gita thus supplies the spiritual foundation necessary for the new economy that is everywhere sought to be installed in the modern world in place of what has been found completely inadequate, namely the profit motive. Yet these very texts which I have just now condensed and rendered into English have lent themselves in the hands of ignorant critics to the interpretation that the verses are an apology for the selfish preservation of privileges. Perversity and prejudice can convert elixir into poison.

In modern conditions wherein costlier standards of living have come to stay and increased population has created very difficult problems, the common weal must have the dominant claim over the activities of every individual and people must govern themselves and live under a regulated economy. This regulation

causes wide-spread and deeply felt pain. It hurts because it goes against the instinctive desire in the individual to be free. Therefore regulation should be so designed as not completely to stifle individual liberty and initiative and the joy that flows therefrom. The pain of a regulated economy is due to the fact that the regulation comes from outside, imposed by an external authority. Properly designed and placed on a spiritual basis, a regulated economy need not be inconsistent with individual satisfaction and individual zeal. The restraints and habits of mind that are required to be developed for altruistic action must flow from faith and inner conviction.

Community-effort is but the sum total of individual effort and it cannot be brought into being unless individuals work with zeal, deriving joy therefrom. Joy can only be in the individual because a corporation as such has no feelings. We should therefore find and furnish a compelling motive to the individual, a motive not of fear but of joy. I claim that religion is a necessary and appropriate force for effective and just regulation. It is only a spiritual faith and force that can make men work and enable them to find pleasure in working for the common weal. And this is the very doctrine of life that forms the kernel of Hindu religious thought and was preached so long ago in the Gita.

There is hardly anyone who now believes that the old scheme of life which gave prosperity to Europe in the 19th century has now any validity. Individual competition has to give place to regulated co-operative economy in varying degrees of pace in the several departments of life. This new economy not based on self interest but on something else almost the opposite of it, calls for a spiritual and cultural basis contra-distinguished from a material selfish basis. Communism may talk of a materialist dialectic and claim success. But it is forgotten that

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Notes

India and Forced Labour

OVER the years the world has learnt that the Soviet mental state is one of frenzied violence with occasional lucid intervals. The reaction of Mr. Saskin, the Soviet representative, to the report of the U.N. Committee on Forced Labour, was therefore not surprising. When communists are faced with facts they cannot answer, they resort to vituperation. But the Indian attitude at the debate on the report was, to say the least, deplorable.

The Committee consisted of eminent men presided over by Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar. It investigated the question of forced labour for eighteen months, going into all available evidence including Soviet text-books of law by Mr. Molotov and Mr. Vyshinsky, and found that forced labour, on a vast scale, was an integral political and economic part of the Soviet system.

Whereas, India, while protesting friendship, has never been hesitant to state the Western countries regarding conditions in some colonies, on this occasion Mr. Venkatraman tried to belittle the report and India abstained in the voting. Whatever may be the merits of this kind of 'neutrality', it is inexcusable that India, which always claims to act on the highest moral considerations alone, should have acted in this manner.

In the course of a vulgar personal attack on Sir Ramaswami, the Soviet delegate referred to this distinguished Indian as a traitor and a "servant of the imperialists." The Indian reaction to this was belated and its defence of our national was almost apologetic. A similar attack was made on the Norwegian member of the Committee and the vigorous reply of Norway's delegate was in sharp contrast to the Indian apologetics.

India's record in the debate on forced labour could scarcely be said to be creditable.

Students and Discipline

RECENT acts of violence and indiscipline by university students have evoked statements from such eminent men as Dr. Radhakrishnan and Cardinal Gracias. Even the executive of the Congress Party has been moved to pass a resolution on the subject. But it is doubtful whether homilies, however well-meant, can assuage the situation. The problem must be seen in a wider perspective if a remedy is to be found.

A general lowering of standards, in almost every department of life, is perhaps the most striking feature of contemporary India; and the resulting uncertainty and frustration have bred indiscipline. In the political field, there is the unedifying spectacle of petty politicians attempting to inflate their stature

by means of fasts and *satyagraha*. In the educational field, there is the evidence of various Public Service Commissions to show the appallingly low standards prevailing today. Time was when people went to university in order to better their prospects; now, it would seem, they do so in the absence of a better alternative.

The urgent necessity of thoroughly overhauling our system of education and providing more facilities for technical and post-graduate education is admitted by all; but action has, so far, been sadly lacking. The meagre remuneration of teachers, uncertainty over the language question, increasing bureaucratic control of universities and general economic distress, have all contributed towards producing a sense of insecurity; and university life, far from being a cloistered pursuit of learning, has become an immature pursuit of dubious political dogmas.

As would be expected, the communists have not been slow in seizing this opportunity of using students for their nefarious purposes. In this connection the attitude of Babu Sampurnanand, who said: "We know their (communist) technique and shall not allow them to stage their violent drama using the students as cannon fodder," is most welcome. It is to be hoped that general awareness of communist activities among students will spread, with resulting realism in dealing with them.

W. Somerset Maugham

THE world, with its coming and going of dictators, its world wars, its national and racial hatreds, its polemics, isms and wasms, has been too much with us. Events more important by their implications to humanity, are too often passed over without headlines. It is therefore with grateful and uplifted hearts we learn that on the 25th of this month, W. Somerset Maugham will complete four-score years.

We felicitate the great writer whom Cyril Connolly and Glenway Wescott have called the foremost living novelist, and thank him for showing to the world that it is possible to write short stories of the Bolshevik Revolution without referring once to barricades or Marx or proletarians; of Englishmen in colonies without reference to the White Man's Burden or colonial slavery; of empire builders without jingoism; of himself without fear and without reproach; of humanity as human beings and not as automaton mouthing political formulae or pointing morals.

Mislaid: 400,000 Souls

THOSE of us who have remarked the ill grace with which communist representatives have behaved at the meetings and conferences at Pan Mun Jon and elsewhere, on the issue of Korean prisoners of war, will hardly be surprised at the statements of the spokesmen of West Germany, Japan, Italy and other countries that nearly 400,000 of their countrymen are still in the hands of the Soviet Union and her satellites.

According to these official figures, there are 102,958 military and 133,000 civilian personnel from West Germany still in the Soviet Union; 7,968 West Germans in Poland and 6,565 in Czechoslovakia; 85,000 Japanese in the Soviet Union and China; 63,000 Italians who fought on the Eastern Front in the Soviet Union or somewhere else behind the Iron Curtain. Austria has also reported that thousands of its citizens were missing in Soviet territory, and that the Austrian Government's appeal to the U.S.S.R. for information has gone unanswered. No wonder that in their usual barefaced manner, instead of standing up to the charge as honest men would do, the representatives of the Soviet Union and Byelorussia, have attacked the inclusion of this problem on the U.N. agenda as "an attempt by the U.S. and other Western countries to stir up further hatred against Russia."

The humane, intelligent course for the communists would be either to release the prisoners, or to produce evidence that would stand before an international body such as the U.N. to prove that they had no prisoners left. If the communists have treated them well, as they claim to have done, and if the Soviet Union and her satellite regimes are the paradises that they are vaunted to be, then these released prisoners would be excellent torchbearers of the communist ideology. However, who but the simple-minded nowadays would expect humanity or intelligence from communists? The spokesmen of the complaining countries have been mild and mannerly in their recitals. They have reasoned, argued and pleaded. They should remember that dictatorships do not use the force of argument to come to power or retain it.

Bermuda to Berlin

THE communiqué issued after the Bermuda meeting of the "Big Three" contains both a reaffirmation of objectives and a cautious approach to immediate tasks. While stating that the danger of aggression is now less imminent, it rightly attributes this fact to "the mounting strength of the free world and the firmness of its policies." If the objective of liberating the non-Russian world, now under communist subjugation, is to be achieved peacefully, then it is vital that this policy of strength and firmness be resolutely pursued.

The immediate tasks set forth are, firstly, the convening of a political conference on Korea; and secondly, a meeting between the foreign ministers of the democratic powers and of the Soviet Union in order to achieve a reunification of Germany and to complete the Austrian peace treaty. About both these, there is very little to justify any optimism.

Since the end of the war, countless meetings have been held with Soviet representatives on these questions. The Austrian peace treaty still remains unsigned due solely to Soviet intransigence, and meetings on Germany have been quite fruitless. All of

them have been used by Soviet representatives for letting loose abusive propaganda tirades. There is no reason to suppose that the proposed meeting in Berlin will differ from its predecessors. On Korea, too, exorbitant communist demands are retarding progress at Pan Mun Jon.

The hard truth is that compromise with the communists is possible only on terms dictated by them. Fortunately, it is most unlikely that the free world will be in any mood to repeat the surrenders of Yalta and Potsdam. The Berlin conference will have been worth while if it only proves again that Soviet attitudes and objectives remain unchanged.

Art for 'ho's Sake?

TO be a theatrical producer in India these days all you need to say is, 'I am a producer.' To be a 'well-known' producer it is necessary to get this statement printed as many times as possible in the gossip columns. To be an 'established London producer' you have to have at least two film flops after your name and an arena production thrown in. To be a 'great' or 'famous' producer you have to produce a successful play. Late! we have been inflicted with one or more of these people who have casually announced that they are straight from a London theatre' and at the same time omitted to announce that the 'theatre' in question was a thriving 'barn' somewhere in King's Cross!

After spending a fortune on establishing themselves as 'famous London producers' these people are shattered when a still small voice cries out, 'Well don't just stand there—do something!' Immediately these producers develop a negative personality. They let it be known around town that they are appalled by the current trends in production. They go to great pains to point out specific scenes from productions which they have had nothing to do with and proceed to demonstrate how they would have directed the same scene. But above all they convince you that you are a potential patron and that one of the greatest evils in Bombay theatre is that you and your money will have nothing to do with it. They go to unlimited lengths to convince you that you must help them as 'part time' designer, playwright, programme seller, musician and actor—but only 'part time'!

Finally, they get down to the tedious business of producing a play. Every one fights to be cast. Everyone wants to be in this masterpiece. The 'famous London producer' spends sleepless nights telling himself that he alone is the one person who can save "Indian" theatre. After two weeks of rehearsals, sometimes with inner conviction, mostly not, the play is declared fit for public consumption. The doped public pours into the selected hall. Each and everyone is instilled with the motto, 'We cannot let him down; he must come through.'

The less said about the actual performance the better—because after all it's 'professional' and 'he is straight from London.'

A Postscript On Eugene O'Neill

WITH Sophocles, Æschylus, Shakespeare, we feel that there is a perfect adjustment between their desires and the stage for which they wrote. Not so does Eugene O'Neill impress us. All too often, we gather that he was impatient of the restrictions and that he attempted to shatter them or to wrest from within them something the theatre is incapable of yielding. Frantically, almost hysterically, he turned from style to style, from device to device. Realism, expressionism, impressionism—all these paths were tried; he experimented with the use of masks and of the chorus; he took the old theatrical convention of the aside and hoped to force from it new dramatic effect. Not content with the play of normal length, he penned a work which takes many hours to set upon the stage, and then proceeded farther towards the design of penning nine dramas as a kind of long-drawn-out cycle reminiscent of mediaeval amplitude.

This constant and restless movement in his career, this phrenetic seizing upon new devices, may be symptomatic of his unconscious recognition of the essential lack in him of what is the fundamental instrument of the great playwright. O'Neill was not a finished literary artist. No words of rich import and beauty wing themselves from his pages; we remember his scenes but not the language in which they are couched; again and again as we reach an emotional climax in one or another of his dramas a wave of disappointment comes flooding in upon us.

Where we had confidently expected to find lines of distinctive loveliness and majesty all we hear are sharp cries, broken phrases, the clichés rather than the originalities of expressive language. How far and how deep this defect in O'Neill's writings extends may be realized fully if we open any of his printed plays at an episode of intense emotion: like a school-girl sending an epistle to her friend and conscious that she has not the power to wield her words so as to wring from them the true record of sentiment or emotion, O'Neill fell back on the useless device of spattering his speeches with exclamation-marks. As a short-hand stage direction for the actor the use of such exclamation-marks may be justified but how can it function as a symbol of all that an author would have liked to say and could not?

A playwright can ask for no better background than to be born the son of an actor, and from James O'Neill, the future author of *Mourning Becomes Electra* inherited a great deal. His early work can best be characterised as strong, sometimes melodramatic, authentic studies in their delineation of rougher, though not necessarily darker, scenes of human life.

Beyond The Horizon was his first full-length play to be produced in 1920, a work clearly born out of his experimental essays. Then came the exciting *The Emperor Jones* in which the stagecraft rather than literary construction dominated the atmosphere: expressionism takes the place of realism in a drama

which is, in effect, one long dramatic soliloquy revealing the terror that enters a Negro's soul as, driven into jungle, he flies in terror from the beating of the drums. Already, in this play O'Neill was beginning to let his weakness take hold of him. In an interview he stated that, having read of Congo drums, he immediately asked himself: How would this sort of thing work on an audience in a theatre? The question is revealing, since it indicates the beginning of his search for theatrical means outside the use of words for the arousing of imaginative impression. Effective as is *The Emperor Jones*, its author was stepping out on a dangerous path.

Like Hauptmann, however, O'Neill was not prepared to move from one kind of endeavour to another in artistic progress. Although he had turned to the expressionistic style, he was by no means done with realism: within a short period, he produced *Diff'rent*, a very unsatisfactory piece of work, a rather crudely artificial study of sex-suppression that becomes either brutal or absurd.

Amid some other writings of lesser import, O'Neill turned back to expressionistic style in *The Hairy Ape* (1922) and, at least in parts, in *All God's Chillun Got Wings* (1924). The latter has the virtue that, while dealing with a question, miscegenation, that stirs human passions to white heat in America, O'Neill has with almost Olympian wisdom concentrated his attention, not on the social problem, but upon his chief characters.

In *Mourning Becomes Electra* (1931), however, he came as close to realization of his tragic purpose as in any of his works. Here he escapes from the rather jejune allegory of the machine; his modern characters are ennobled by their association with that story which, above all others, has seized on the imagination of successive dramatists from the majestic times of Æschylus to the not-so-majestic times of Sartre. Whether Shakespeare was conscious that in his *Hamlet* the shade of Orestes walked on the boards of the Globe Theatre we cannot tell, but we may not escape from believing that at least unconscious memories of the Agamemnon story were in his mind when he wrote of his Prince of Denmark. Concerning the deliberate endeavour of Eliot, O'Neill, Giraudoux, Sartre and Anouilh to re-frame some of these ancient dramatic themes there cannot be any doubt. The pathway to the temple of Thespis is liberally and graciously adorned with many statues raised in the images of Electra and of Oedipus.

In both, *Strange Interlude* and *Mourning Becomes Electra*, the intellectual framework is supplied by Freudian psychology. All that happens is capable of being interpreted in terms of "complexes," "repressions," and "fixations," but there could, nevertheless, be no error more fundamental than the error of assuming that the ultimate purpose of the plays is to illustrate the all-sufficient adequacy of any such interpretation. Of the two trilogies, *Strange Interlude* is

more discursive, brooding and "novelistic," the effect is to resemble to a remarkable extent the texture of the modern novel. On the other hand, *Mourning Becomes Electra* returns to a more conventional dramatic method and may be taken as a sign that the author forged a step beyond *Strange Interlude* in his effort to discover the modern equivalent for Shakespeare or Æschylus.

Because its thesis is taken for granted, it has no thesis. It is no more an exposition or defense of a modern psychological concept than Æschylus is an exposition or defense of the Greek religion, even though it does accept the one as Æschylus accepts the other. Indeed, *Mourning Becomes Electra* is both, good theatre and literature.

It was more than a decade ago that O'Neill let it be known that he was engaged in penning a great cycle of dramas depicting a section of American life. One wonders what O'Neill would have achieved had

he not been struck down by a palsy-like disease which caused his hands to shake so that he could not hold a pen. However, *The Iceman Cometh* (1946) and *The Moon For The Misbegotten* which although written in 1943 has not been staged so far and was published for the first time in 1953 (*Freedom First*, November 1953), are anything but satisfactory.

From *The Moon Of The Caribbees* (1918) to *The Moon For The Misbegotten* (1953), Eugene O'Neill travelled far and wide. He had genuine dramatic stature, yet the colossus did not by any means plant itself firmly upon the soil, nor did it lack in cracks and fissures. Richly endowed with genius, O'Neill presented himself as a man who, whatever his strength, was wanting in that one final element of power and balance out of which greatness is born. Not content to serve the stage merely with trivial domestic themes, more nearly than any author writing in English he approached the great entrance-hall to tragedy's temple.

Freedom Of Self-Expression

by T. V. Subba Rao

THE most potent force that has influenced the conduct of man both in his individual and social aspect is love of freedom. Since absolute freedom can only spell anarchy leading to its entire suppression, man has had to submit to restraint to preserve at least a fair measure of it. All the struggles of society are to be attributed to the disturbance of the balance of these forces. In their perfect harmonisation lies the maximum amount of liberty consistent with order and security. Unqualified freedom is unthinkable in practical life. When the spirit of radicalism grows over-strong there is always a reaction in favour of conservatism. Again, when in any sphere of human activity traditionalism is found to express the creative urge, the desire for self-expression bursts forth from the dead weight of oppressive incrustations and shines resplendent in all its glory. Thus does the Time-spirit fulfill itself in the progress towards a higher perfection.

The greatest masters of Religion and Art have been rebels against degenerate obscurantism. The teaching of the Buddha was a protest against rituals and ceremonies that were bereft of humanity. Shakespeare broke the conventions of his age to give the world the finest verse, dramatic form and characterisation which to this day remain unsurpassed. The great sculptors and painters of the west were equally heroic in the freedom of choice of form and colour which have stood the test of centuries. Kalidasa was a great romanticist who pleaded with his audiences not to reject a work merely because it was new. The enrichment of the world of culture has been more the contribution of the unbound spirit than of traditionalism.

In the realm of Carnatic music Tyagaraja stands as the supreme embodiment of the spirit of freedom and

self-expression. In his compositions are to be found the marvellous elements of beauty undreamt of in the preceding ages. The progressive development of his contribution is well based on the solid foundation of the great traditions which reach back to the Vedic ages. His art achieves the finest reconciliation between the forces of liberty and restraint. The Kirtana which is the only type of composition he handled—for he could not conceive of a composition not dedicated directly or indirectly to God—becomes so elastic in his hands that every type of composition like the Gita, Varna, Pada, Javali etc., is presented under the apparent form of Kirtana.

It was his genius that transformed the recitative music of compositions into *Manodharma Sangita* with all the freedom and beauty of improvisation. The infusion of Sangatis into the Kirtana was a revolution which though now familiar to us, was yet a phenomenon which took his contemporaries by storm. It was perhaps the greatest event in the history of Carnatic Sangita.

The freedom of his creative spirit finds most emphatic expression in the new modes and melodies of his invention. They possess ineffable charm and have served vastly to enrich our heritage.

Tyagaraja with the possible exception of Purandara-dasa is the only composer who has embodied in his songs every variety of human experience. Not content with praise and invocation of the Deity, he not only presents the essence of the great scriptures but exhorts mankind to live a life of truth and beauty, of love and goodness instead of losing the soul in doctrinarian disputation. Composer as he was, he yet played the heroic role of the poet, philosopher and prophet and employed his Kirtanas to convey the most healing message of love and music as easy

means of salvation. His spirit of reform was undaunted by conventions of snobbery. The aesthetic excellence in them is so well suffused with a high moral tone that to enjoy them is to derive inspiration for a noble life.

It is most remarkable, however, that Tyagaraja's love of free self-expression has its roots in hoary tradition. He pays the sincerest tribute of homage to the great Purvacharyas, divine, semi-divine or human. In the Arabhi Pancharatna one of the attributes he gives to Krishna is that he was "Sangita Sampradayakum." If the composer considered that even the Lord was not exempt from respect for tradition, although He was the fountain of all Knowledge, it may well be imagined how much greater was the need for men to revere the time-honoured usages. Numerous are his pieces which stress the benefit to be derived from the counsels of wise and sage-like men. Enduku Peddala, Buddhiradu, Guruleka and Vidulaku are some of the songs that voice his reverence for the elders. Tyagaraja's career is a shining example of the heroic spirit, of the creative urge sobered by the ripe experience of a rich tradition. In him was the perfect reconciliation of the opposite elements of liberty and restraint.

It is perhaps that great form of musical beauty which we call the Raga, exclusive creation of the genius of Indian Music that reveals the co-existence of vast liberty of improvisation by creating talent with numerous restraints that maintain the individuality, form and complexion of the melody. It affords

unlimited scope for self-expression. Yet, it is governed by the laws relative to the applications of scales, notes, tones, graces and traditional usages and rhythm that serve to maintain the unmistakable identity of the mode. The alap is the highest form of self-expression. To super-musicians the alap has attractions which compositions do not possess. In the Raga the freedom of creation reaches the utmost limit in art.

The spirit of freedom is apt to suffer restraints from sources alien to art itself. The interference may come from false notions of prudery and decency as well as from politics, race, community and language. Time was when the Padas of Kshetragna, Astapadis of Jayadeva and Javalis of certain composers were banned as tending to debase morals. Uninformed public opinion condemned Bharatanatya as obscene and voluptuous. Happily it has, thanks to the efforts and propaganda of institutions like the Music Academy, now veered round to a just appreciation of an art which is both drisya and sravya. Art is universal and appeals to the heart of man whatever his race, colour or tongue.

Censorship is a restraint upon free expression. If it is a necessary evil in any stage of society, the office must be held only by persons of high taste and discernment.

The worst enemy of freedom is, however, the lack of wholesome restraint which causes it to degenerate into licentiousness and chaos. Order is the first condition of liberty. On the stepping stone of our self-suppressed we rise to higher things.

(C. RAJAGOPALACHARI—Cont'd from p. 2)

revolution and misfortune and widespread trouble produce a state of mind which temporarily functions like spiritual faith. Where a new order of non-competitive economy has in any measure succeeded, it is due to the fact that what is equivalent to a spiritual upheaval resulted from widespread revolution, or war which enabled the ruling out of the motive of selfishness. This was a good enough temporary substitute for religion. But it cannot last for all time.

Anti-Religion—Suicidal

The prosperity that undoubtedly resulted in Europe from the economy of private enterprise and competition necessarily carried with it inequality of distribution. The very power of that economy was derived from difference as power is derived from a fall of water. Some people had to live in squalor, may be in the same country or may be elsewhere—the latter was easier wherever it was possible—in order that prosperity might be built up at a visible point. But now squalor is considered disgraceful, whether it be among certain sections of people in the same country or elsewhere, and it is considered criminal to be found building up one's wealth on other people's poverty. It is now the accepted doctrine of economic conduct that wealth should be produced without producing unhappiness anywhere. Inequality or unhappiness is no longer considered as inevitable or tolerable. Economic competition,

obvious or concealed, is now considered to be only another edition of the law of the jungle.

It is not considered decent to leave the devil to take the hindmost. It is no longer considered right to look upon individual effort and individual life as a private and sacred enclosure into which no trespass is allowed. In the interest of society as a whole these trespasses into private affairs are now deemed not only permissible but obligatory.

Unfortunately, however, those who happened by the accidents of history to lead movements for the demolition of old economic ideas and for the establishment of the all-prevailing dominance of the public weal and for the re-organisation of society on a non-competitive economy, were tempted by an immediate strategic advantage. They saw that discontent must be produced in order to help a violent revolution and religion fostered contentment. They worked therefore for the demolition of religion, treating it as an opiate and as a part of the old economy. The protagonists of equality thus demolished or sought to demolish—let us hope unsuccessfully—the spiritual basis for human conduct, the very thing required to make conduct unselfish and directed towards the public weal rather than to one's own individual advantage. Religion acted as a consolation and helped men and women to bear misfortunes; it helped men in particular to tolerate inequality; and since inequalities must go, they said we must remove everything that helps men to bear with it.

They therefore concluded that religion must go, if not by force then by other subtle pressures.

Thus what could support the new economy of unselfishness, indeed what alone could support and furnish power to the new idea of unselfish production of wealth, it was decided to destroy. This was suicidal and an unnecessary addition to the programme of economic revolution, and though for the moment its adverse effect was concealed by the prevailing spiritual power of a revolutionary upheaval, the substitute could not last for all time. It was not the intention, nor was it possible for men and women to live for ever in a state of war and on the emotional ecstasy of antagonism. So, the new economy of production of wealth had in course of time to be supported by all sorts of makeshift compromise to give some sense of personal advantage.

What obviously supported the old economy of work, viz., the profit-motive, came to be re-permitted in concealed ways. The law of selfishness cannot altogether be substituted by force nor can unselfishness be maintained by the mere vigilance of the State. The supervising power has a tendency to deteriorate and get less and less powerful, and compromises by way of concealed personal advantage have to be provided in place of the old frank acceptance of the rule of personal profit. But these makeshifts cannot serve the purpose so well immediately, or be self-sustaining for long-term purposes.

A Driving Force

The truth is that society, though the concept is grammatically singular in number, is physically and psychologically plural in reality. It is not one living organism. It is made up of many individuals, who can never get rid of individuality and what flows from it. We may develop altruism by several means, but we can never wholly do away with the individual. If this is accepted as correct, how then shall we keep the individual fully alive, in spirit and in action and yet make individual activity truly subservient to the general interest? The claim I put forward is that the Gita code of conduct which is originally connected with the philosophy of the Upanishads gives the answer. The secret lies in the substitution of the compulsion and vigilance of the State by a religion that develops an inner law more vigilant than the eye of spies and more effective than the arm of external law.

Now I come to a feature of Hinduism that is unique among all the religions of the world, viz., its specific and positive doctrine of catholicity. The Hindu tradition prescribes that it is not open to any Hindu, whatever the name and mental image of the Supreme Being he may use for his own devotional exercises, to deny the Gods that others worship. He can praise the name and raise the image of his choice to the highest but he cannot deny the divinity or the truth of the God of other denominations. This unshaken tradition of Hinduism makes it possible for pious fervour to operate on conscience and spirit without disturbing the peace of community life, in a composite world. It makes Hindu religious thought as modern in suitability as it is ancient in conception

and development. This unique and all-important aspect of Hinduism is emphasized in several important and oft-quoted verses in Chapters IV, VII and IX of the Gita. Forms of worship may differ, but all lead to God.

In whatsoever way men approach God, the Gita emphatically lays down that God blesses them. Whatever the path that men may take in worship, it assures us, they reach God. The Gita teaching of course referred to the unity of goal of all forms of worship that were prevalent at the time. But the doctrine is stated in such wide terms and so broad-based on essential principle as to be applicable to every variety of religion.

When one contemplates how the Hindu seers so clearly and so long ago saw the truth that justifies this catholicity, one cannot but be lost in wonderment and reverent admiration. This, what I may call, the brightest jewel in our inheritance is a teaching of the highest value for peace and progress and for the world's happiness and spiritual advancement.

Renunciation

All this may be accepted, but the sceptic may ask, "what about renunciation? What about Karma? How can Hinduism which preaches Sanyas and Fatalism be suitable for an age wherein hard work and the due performance of civic duties are so essential?" I shall seek to deal with these queries. First let me state definitely that it is not the teaching of Vedanta that men should renounce activities and become anchorites. Vedanta demands renunciation, but the renunciation is different from what is referred to in the argument against the suitability of Hinduism for the modern citizen. It is renunciation of false values, renunciation of attachment that the Vedanta wants in its votaries.

What is preached in the Vedanta is enlightenment and true evaluation of essentials and a spirit of detachment, and this is explained and reiterated in the Gita quite as if this very query raised now had specifically been put to Sri Krishna. Buddhi and asanga are insisted on, not sanyas. Indeed, *the performance of tasks with detachment is the lesson* that is dinned into the reader in every chapter of the Bhagavat Gita. It is not necessary to quote passages. There is no room whatsoever for doubt on this head. The Upanishads and the Gita want men to get rid of the impediment to true social co-operation, viz., the desire for pleasure and pleasurable sensations. It is this desire that leads to error, anger, confusion of mind and pain and grief.

The ideal citizen should perform his tasks and duties with detachment. His activities should be in the general interest, not for selfish gain. This is the great teaching of the Gita that has justly made it as famous in modern times as it is classic in the Vedantic tradition. Out of the Upanishad teaching and its doctrine of the ultimate reality, the modern citizen can derive a fearlessness of spirit which, added to the detachment and rigorous execution of duties preached by the Gita, could make of every citizen, a veritable giant in the service of society.

The resolution and fearlessness that characterised Mahatma Gandhi's long, strenuous and dedicated life were inspired by this philosophy and this religion. This single illustration from recent history is perhaps more convincing than hours of argument.

Coming to Karma, the doctrine that makes Hinduism what it is, it is nothing but the great law of cause and effect in things spiritual. You cannot in the material or the psychological world get rid of the effects of what you do. And as the body is not the whole of the matter, but there is an immortal Spirit dwelling in and making the human being what he is, death does not end the chain of sequence. The working agent, the spirit in the body, does not and cannot die with the body. He shapes himself moment by moment in his activities, mental or physical. At death, he does not disappear into nothing but enters a new tenement which he has built for himself by his life-activities. This is Hinduism. You may accept it or reject it and search for other theories. But if accepted, the Hindu theory of Karma has the highest sense of responsibility to the citizen.

No explanation or theory in regard to the ultimate nature and cause of things can be made against all logical difficulties. Our knowledge is necessarily finite and we cannot discover and resolve the mysteries of infinity. On the assumption of the soul as the basis of personality, it can be claimed that no theory can be formulated more in harmony with known laws of nature than the Hindu doctrine of Karma. It is the application in the moral sphere of the law of conservation of energy as established by the physicists. Indeed both the physicist's law and the doctrine of Karma may be looked upon as parts of the same universal law.

Fatalism

It is wrong to think of Karma in terms of what may be facetiously called its western half-brother, Fatalism. Destiny as taught in Vedanta does not involve an unscientific attitude towards natural laws or a loss of faith in human effort, which is Fatalism. Karma is just the unalterable law of effect following upon cause. Newton put it in clear terms with respect to physical momentum. The Vedanta puts it down for the motions of the soul. Is it possible to do a thing and escape its consequences? One cannot expect something to happen for which something else appropriate to produce that result must have been done. Given a certain thought or act, the natural result cannot be escaped.

This is Karma. Is it not well for citizens to see this truth, to accept it as binding doctrine and perform their tasks and duties and avoid the prohibitions, not in fear of the Magistrate, but remembering this inescapable law?

The law of Karma does not do away with free will and the value of the initiative or endeavour. On the contrary, it is the truest charter of freedom and initiative. The thoughts you entertain, the words you choose to speak, the acts you do, the restraints you exercise on yourself, all these produce their full fruit,

no effort goes for naught. If no one can be robbed of the fruits of his labour, is it not true freedom?

There cannot be any better freedom in the world for man than that his future is entirely in his hands. The very meaning of the word "Karma" is work. It is the law of work that is laid down in Vedanta, not a doctrine of negation of human effort. Vidhi is law, not blind Fate.

Need I say anything more to demonstrate that the doctrine of Karma is as far from Fatalism as poles are asunder. Man evolves himself according to his thoughts and actions and even death does not terminate the opportunity for remedy and progress. This is Hinduism. Pious Christians and Vaishnavites may here feel a doubt. If Karma is inescapable and sin must go through what it has unfortunately earned, is there no room then for Grace in Hinduism? Yes, there is. Grace comes through penitence and penitence is human effort and victorious effort, Grace is not the caprice of the Lord. When penitence has been truly achieved by the soul, it so completely changes the heart of the penitent that he attributes it to the caprice of the Lord. But that is only one of the beauties of the joy of penitence. It does not alter the law of Karma.

Penitence is an act that has its full reward like any other act. Penitence is the victory of the soul in its battle against evil and the conquering soul feels the victory contemporaneously with the battle itself. It is a rapturous combination of the pain of battle and the joy of victory. Sin is worked out in Karma through true sorrow and suffering undergone by the sinner. There is no contradiction between the doctrines of Grace and of Karma.

A question may be asked here. Supposing one accepts the doctrine of rebirth, what good is it, however, to be told that something will be fruitful in a future birth wherein we shall have no memories of the past? How can it foster or further individual initiative or endeavour? Why should I labour or renounce or retrench my present joy for one who will come to exist in another birth with whom you identify me, but which is not felt by me now or will be felt then? Thus may the pleasure-seeker pose his difficulty. The answer is this.

Joy of Right Conduct

Friend, do you not derive a joy in doing the right thing apart from its effects or your own advantage? The joy of right conduct is inherent in human nature. All recorded and unrecorded experience confirms this for every one, big and small. Members of a family or of a village intuitively work for one another and derive pleasure therefrom. Though they may obtain no personal advantage from it, they are immensely happy when they do it.

People are not indifferent to the good of their village or their country. The joy of right conduct and of mutual helpfulness is as real as the universal force of attraction that the men of science call by the name of gravitation. The Great and Universal One has become many and the many seek to become one again and are attracted to one another. The original unity re-

Review

India Without Illusions

By 'Vivek' (New Book Co. Ltd., Bombay 1953, Rs. 4/4, pp. 216)

Refusal to face reality is indeed common; but when present in the minds of those whose task it is to fashion the destiny of an entire nation, its results may be disastrous. A pragmatic approach to political reality is often most difficult; to some because they will not part with the fond memories of their youth when the sex chronicles of Kraft-Ebbing and the "progressivism" of the Boer War were all the rage; to others, because they still hold fast to the "United Front" of the thirties. But today, when the world is faced with the challenge of aggressive communism and when the totalitarianism of Nazi Germany has paled into insignificance before the mightier one of the Soviet Union, such an attitude can only be described as narcissism with Nira.

By and large, in the politics of contemporary India and in its approach to international problems, it can be said that the intellectual climate of the nineteen thirties predominates. Ideas long since discarded by the British Labour Party are still put before us as original thought and a sort of "Left-over Book Club" flourishes in this corner of Asia.

Now and again, someone looks at our country impartially, weighs its achievements against its short-

comings and points out the "inconvenient" reality of advancing communism. Until recently we had the pleasure of reading *Vivek's* articles in the *Times of India*. His *India Without Illusions* is a collection of articles that appeared in that newspaper. Individually, they were excellent, collectively they present a balanced picture of India after independence, with communist China on its doorstep making forays into Nepal and Burma. Realism is the keynote of *Vivek's* approach.

Neutrality is one of the cherished concepts of our foreign policy. No one, least of all *Vivek*, would deprecate the prospect of staying out of a world conflict—were such a course possible. As *Vivek* points out, neutrality has to be recognised by both sides in a conflict and he quotes Mao Tse Tung on the subject: "Neutrality is a facade and a third way does not exist." That alone or combined with the basic communist belief that no country is free unless conquered by them, should be enough to convince anyone of the communist view of India or its respect for "neutrality." Of India's attitude to war and communism *Vivek* rightly says: "Modern war is undoubtedly dreadful but the contemplation of its horrors does not necessarily deprive us of all sense of proportion. It does not render us blind to our own real interests."

The second part of the book which deals with the internal political and economic problems of the country, covers a wide ground, from over-population and

(C. RAJAGOPALACHARI—Cont'd from p. 9)

asserts itself in the shape of the several forces that attract things and beings to one another. Men sacrifice themselves for the good of the State, for the safety of future citizens and for their happiness in the coming generations. In all this, men and women derive a joy which is instinctive and not argued from hopes or expectations of present or future rewards for such conduct. We do not know who will enjoy the shade of the trees we plant on the road-side. Still we do plant them. In regulating our conduct for re-birth, we follow a similar process that contributes to peopling the future world with good men and women. Posterity is "ourselves" according to Hinduism. Let us do what we can to raise a good race. Let us be good and where we have sinned, let us repent. Let us plant our souls in the good earth and be born again as good men, be it even without memories which if we had we could not bear the painful weight thereof.

Let us be re-born, purified and better than we are. If we all try thus, the world will ultimately be a world full of good men. This is the plan of Vedanta, the eugenics of souls, a scientific plan to bring into existence a better breed of men. Have we not laboured to improve the breed of poultry and cattle? Have we not succeeded wonderfully therein? Let us improve the breed of men, bodies as well as souls. The hens do not remember their previous state. What does it matter? The cows do not recognise the progress that animal husbandry has brought to the race of cows. What does it matter if we shall not be able to remember who we were? Indeed, it is better we do not remember.

Co-operation

The object of right-living is to Vedanta two-fold one's own true happiness is attained thereby and one also contributes to a better world through re-birth. From simple rural co-operation to patriotism and from patriotism to Vedanta, it is an integrated whole in widening circles. Co-operation improves the village. Patriotism produces a better countrywide state of things. Vedanta will bring into being a better world.

Summarising what I have attempted to explain, religions that contradict the conclusion of science cannot but degenerate into formalism and hypocrisy and Hindu philosophy can claim to be peculiarly in harmony with the latest knowledge. Secondly, human happiness and progress depend on doing away with selfishness and have to be based on a new economy of social co-operation, Hindu philosophy furnishes a faith and a culture which are peculiarly fitted for such reorganisation and which can support and strengthen the compulsory law of a democratic State. Thirdly, Hindu philosophy has raised catholicity and tolerance to the level of positive and cardinal religious duty. Hindu philosophy has thus potentialities to make the greatest possible contribution to civilisation. It has no quarrel whatsoever with the physicist or the geologist and yet it offers a firm spiritual foundation for a new co-operative and catholic policy for the governance of the world. It is not an opiate but can be a powerful driving force and automatic regulator.

(Russel Memorial Lecture delivered at Patna College)

poverty to corruption and prohibition. One may not quite agree with the author's estimate of Sardar Patel or his faith in economic planning but it must be admitted that his arguments are forceful and knowledgeable. No one, however, can disagree with his strong plea that we must face reality on all fronts or we too might, like Louis XVI, say: "I have seen all this coming for the last ten years. How was it possible that I never wanted to believe it?"

India Without Illusions is a forthright and serious thought to inject realism into contemporary political thought in this country. One can only hope that it will succeed—it certainly deserves to.

FAIZ NOORANI.

Window on China

By Raja Hutheesing (Casement Publications Limited, 1953, Rs 2/4.)

TRUE to its name, *Window on China* provides a detached and revealing view of Mao's China, a refreshing change from the versions of that country by others who would have us believe that Red China was the only answer to the appalling problems of India. The author first visited China in 1951 on behalf of the India-China Friendship Association whence he came back confused and bewildered by what he saw and learned. From his second visit he came back a sadly disillusioned but wiser man.

Says the author in his typically hard hitting, outspoken manner: "I have tried to put down what I have seen only because international communism seeks to disrupt the freedom of the Asian countries by painting false pictures of China and thus rousing men, hungry for food and shelter, against their own people. Most members of the Indian Cultural Delegation were silent from considerations of courtesy."

For all his disappointment, however, the author has not lost his journalistic detachment. He does not grudge praise where praise is due, and his book shares with Frank Moraes' *Report on Mao's China* (*Freedom First*, November 1953) the distinction of being one of the most objective accounts of the Delegation's visit.

Window on China is divided into three parts. In the first part the author reports on his "Journey to the Walled City," the capital of China. "Peking was grim, sullen and silent," writes Hutheesing, "but in it live all the men who matter. They may alter the destiny of Asia and even to catch a fleeting glimpse or to hear a few words from them may throw a revealing light on the sword which hangs over us all. We cannot know them well but we can ignore them only at our peril."

Part two of the book entitled "Produce or Perish" deals with Chinese economy. The author believes that land reform, which was essentially a political measure, is likely to yield diminishing returns and spell under-employment unless accompanied by rapid industrialisation which, in its turn, is severely limited by lack of capital equipment and technical skill.

In part three, the author comments on "Chinese

Democracy" with its utter contempt for individual liberty and its insistence on regimentation of thought through indoctrination, brain-washing and slave-labour. Conceding that the peasant's bowl of rice is not so empty after all and that the women have found their emancipation and with it a new dignity, the author poses the question: "But how long will this satisfy the people, when hunger remains only partially satisfied and life becomes a constant slavery in the service of a dictatorship?" He forgets, however, that no communist dictatorship, once firmly clamped down, has ever been broken up from within. Ironically enough, only a war or something equally cataclysmic can offer any hope of liberation to the enslaved millions.

AZIZ MADNI.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

EXISTENTIAL Psychoanalysis, a part of Jean-Paul Sartre's magnum opus *On Being And Nothingness*, in which the French thinker criticizes traditional psychoanalytical schools and attempts to justify a method that interprets the human personality in terms of a fundamental choice of being, is the latest offering of Philosophical Library.

"It is not the historian who confers immortality," Andre Malraux points out, "it is the artist with his power over men's dreams," in his study of man and his art, *The Voices of Silence*, issued late last month by Doubleday.

Published by Harcourt Brace, Maria Bellonci's *Lucrezia Borgia*, translated into English by Bernard Wall, asserts that Lucrezia had little in common with the myth that picture her as a vixen renowned "merely" for her skill in poisoning her contemporaries.

Unlike George Meredith, Walter de la Mare has never ceased to be part of the music he hears, and his gift of communicating it to others has never abated, though his latest volume of shorter poems *O Lovely England* is not a very satisfying experience.

Offering a provocative challenge to many accepted theories and fashionable shibboleths, Mr. E. H. Ramsden's *Sculpture: Theme And Variations* is a survey of the sculptural achievement of the past fifty years. Enlivened by a racy and mordant wit, the work contains 103 plates illustrating over 150 works.

Seeing And Knowing by Bernard Berenson, published early last month by Chapman and Hall, is an essay on the figurative arts, from the frescoes of Altamira to the Impressionists, in which the author discusses the function of "seeing" and "knowing" in artistic creation and in the judgement of works of art, and prophesies a renaissance of sculpture and painting as arts based on the human form.

R. H.

C. C. F. NEWS

The Ceylon Committee for Cultural Freedom was inaugurated in Colombo on November 17, 1953 by the Hon'ble Mr. J. R. Jayawardene, Minister for Food and Agriculture.

Mr. Jayawardene is the President of the Committee and Mr. M. A. de Silva, of the *Ceylon Times* is the Honorary Secretary.

With Many Voices

Moans round with many voices. Come, my friends,
'Tis not too late to seek a newer world."

—Tennyson.

The fact that the post-Stalin Russian attitude to the non-communist world is not much different from the attitude adopted under the implacable direction of Stalin himself is being readily grasped in the West.

—*The Spectator*, November 20, 1953.

"Even Sir Winston Churchill has won almost universal acclaim by making the speech this year that I made in 1951."

—Mr. Aneurin Bevan, in *Free Press Bulletin*, November 30, 1953.

"Personally I prefer the calm indifference of London to the near-hysteria of America, though I realise that the future is dark with gloomy possibilities and the American pessimism probably has a sounder basis."

—L. Marsland Gardner, in *Illustrated Weekly of India*, November 29, 1953.

"If he (Mr. Vyshinsky) does represent the people of his country, if he, in truth, was seeking to express the peace-loving purposes of his country, God help the cause of peace!"

—Sir Percy Spender, in *Times of India*, December 3, 1953.

"It was basic Marxist philosophy that all non-Marxist governments were motivated by wrong motives."

—Sir Gladwyn Jebb, in *Times of India*, December 4, 1953.

"Olo Bellia hab bad heart.

Catchee one piece coffin die-lo.

Olo Bellia he say: 'The more we get togetha the Bellia we shall be'.

Massa Malenkov he cookee Olo

Bellia's piecee goose."

—"Rubbing It In" By "Evove", *Punch*, October 28, 1953.

INDIAN COMMITTEE FOR CULTURAL FREEDOM

127, Mahatma Gandhi Road,
BOMBAY 1.

Please enrol me as a member of the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom. I remit the annual membership fee of Rs. 3/- by.....

Name :

Address :

Date : Signature

The 'Weeping Madonna' had hung above the bed of a Sicilian communist's pregnant wife. She said she saw it weep and felt the tears splash on her forehead.

—*Indian Express*, December 14, 1953.

To many observers here the reiteration of the anti-communist theme was jarring. India does not fear communism as does the U.S.

—*Times of India*, December 10, 1953.

"It is not our practice to refer to Governments by their political creeds."

—Mr. A. K. Chanda, (Deputy Minister for External Affairs) in *Indian Express*, December 15, 1953.

"Our side considers New Delhi very suitable for holding the political conference. Your side should not oppose this proposal under any pretext."

—Communist delegate Huang Hua, in *Times of India*, December 4, 1953.

Mr. A. K. Gopalan, leader of the communist group in Parliament, declared here last night that his party would fight to the last if India's hard-earned freedom was threatened by any outside force.

—*Indian Express*, December 15, 1953.

Mr. Harry Pollit, General Secretary of the British Communist Party, in Bombay on Monday denied that he had come to give instructions to the Indian Communist Party.

—*Indian Express*, December 15, 1953.

Instances might be multiplied to argue a case that bad feeling, whether actual or potential, between the countries of Asia is today a political factor so potent that any sense of Asianism can be no more than a pious aspiration, if indeed the whole conception does not begin and end in the lively imagination of Mr. Nehru.

—*The Times* (London), December 2, 1953.

"I would tolerate any number of opposition parties except the Communist Party which I abhor as it is different from other parties. It will not have roots in Ceylon nor do its members have any love for Ceylon."

—Sir John Kotelawala, Prime Minister of Ceylon, in *Indian Express*, December 14, 1953.

She said she believed in the Jewish faith and that the doctrine of Karl Marx was the same as found in her religion and in the teachings of Mr. Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi.

—Mrs. Janet Jagan, in *Evening News of India*, December 19, 1953.