

Manthan

INSIDE

The Message of Yesterday's India to Today's World

Problems of the Hindu Minority in Malaysia

Bertrand Russell - Catalyst of a New Satya Yuga

Indian Youth : The Need for Ideological Commitment

etc., etc.



Quarterly Journal of Deendayal Research Institute
Vol. 3 No. 1

JUNE 1980

Manthan

QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF DEENDAYAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE, NEW DELHI
Vol. 3 No. 1 June 1980

निर्मगध्वमतन्त्रिता: (श्रीमद्भागवत 8-6-23)

Churn on Diligently.

IN THIS ISSUE

- 5 THE MESSAGE OF YESTERDAY'S INDIA TO TODAY'S WORLD
Raimundo Panikkar
- 15 PROBLEMS OF THE HINDU MINORITY IN MALAYSIA
V. Suryanarayan & Smt. Indira Ramanathan
- 25 BERTRAND RUSSELL—CATALYST OF A NEW SATYA YUGA
Justice V.R. Krishna Iyer
- 41 WHAT NEXT IN HIGHER EDUCATION?
HIGHER EDUCATION: THE NEXT TEN YEARS
K.R. Srinivasa Iyengar
- 51 FROM INERT MATTER TO DIVINITY
P. Ramachandran
- 55 INDIAN YOUTH: THE NEED FOR IDEOLOGICAL COMMITMENT
Harsh Narain
- 63 QUARTERLY REVIEW
S.C. Gangal
- 68 INSTITUTE ACTIVITIES
- 71 BOOK REVIEW
- 75 DIALOGUE

EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD

Prof. V.M. Dandekar
Dr R.R. Diwakar
Dr L.M. Singhvi
Dr V.P. Varma
Dr T.M.P. Mahadevan
Dr Sisirkumar Ghose
Shri Jainendra Kumar
Prof. G.C. Pande
Dr Atma Ram
Prof. Khaliq Ahmad Nizami
Dr D.P. Singhal
Shri D.B. Thengdi
Prof. K.R. Srinivasa Iyengar
Dr S. Bhagavantam

EDITORIAL

P. Parameswaran
Dr Harischandra Barthwal

Editor
Joint Editor

EDITORIAL AND BUSINESS OFFICE

Deendayal Research Institute
7-E, Swami Ramtirth Nagar
NEW DELHI-110055

Subscription

Single Copy	Rs. 5.00
Annual (India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh & Burma)	Rs. 20.00
Annual (Asia, Africa & Europe) By Air Mail	£7.00
Annual (USA, Canada & Latin America) By Air Mail	\$13.00

"When a group of persons lives with a goal, an ideal, a mission, and looks upon a particular piece of land as motherland, it constitutes a nation. If either of the two—an ideal and a motherland—is not there, then there is no nation.

"A 'NATION' requires four things. The first is land or people, whom we call a country. The second is a collective will for a corporate life. The third is a system which we can call a constitution but which can far more appropriately be called *Dharma*. And the fourth is an ideal of life. The synthesis of all these four is called Nation. As an individual is made up of body, mind, intelligence and soul, a nation is made up of country, will, *Dharma* and ideal.

"THE nation is a permanent truth. The state is created to fulfill the needs of the nation. Two reasons have been given for the origin of the state. It is said that the state becomes necessary in two circumstances. The first is when some distortion enters the people of the nation. The state is established to control the problems that arise in such a situation. For example, one does not see the police when there is no quarrel. But if there is a fight the police are immediately called. The second need is when some complexity appears in society and it becomes necessary to bring order in corporate life.

"The state is created so that the powerful, prosperous and resourceful class of society should not exploit the weak, the helpless and the poor, and everyone should remain within the bounds of justice. It is only these two reasons that give rise to the state. To regulate the distortion that may have entered into society, to establish peace by punishing wrong-doers and to solve the complexity within a society so that life of every individual becomes just, honourable and easy—these have been considered the functions of the state.

"A third function is an important aspect of the fulfilment of these two functions. It is to establish relations with other states. Hence security from external aggression is also a function of the state.

"The name Bharat denotes a nation, while the names of such provinces as Uttar Pradesh and Bengal do not denote it. Hence we must be quite clear in our minds that although a definite territory is a must and the first essential of a nation, a territory by itself does not become a nation. The existence of a nation depends upon an element which though invisible is felt with the greatest intensity. A nation has a personality just as an individual has a personality. It is this national personality that keeps a nation alive. When it grows weak, the nation becomes weak, and when it is forgotten or destroyed the entire nation heads for ruination. This is why many nations of the past have now become mere memories. Their territories are there and their people are still alive and yet ancient Persia, Greece, Egypt—all have faded. In other words they lost their basic national personality. It is in this personality that the nation resides."

Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya

Raimur

The
Yester
India
World

n, and looks upon a
either of the two—an

ple, whom we call a
third is a system which
ely be called *Dharma*.
ur is called Nation. As
a nation is made up

ulfill the needs of the
te. It is said that the
some distortion enters
e problems that arise in
n there is no quarrel.
second need is when
y to bring order in

resourceful class of
, and everyone should
asons that give rise to
nto society, to establish
within a society so that
se have been considered

these two functions. It is
ternal aggression is also a

such provinces as Uttar
quite clear in our minds
essential of a nation, a
ce of a nation depends
test intensity. A nation
is this national personal-
ion becomes weak, and
r ruin. This is why
Their territories are there
ce, Egypt—all have faded.
is in this personality that

Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya

Raimundo Panikkar

The Message of Yesterday's India to Today's World*

PERHAPS it seems pretentious to entitle this *The Message of Yesterday's India to Today's World*, but I hoped it would open the way for me to make some useful observations in a form that is neither dry philosophical speculation nor technical theology: observations on that which India—yesterday's India which is now perhaps dying and perhaps never to have another chance to repeat what it has asserted in the course of thirty or forty centuries of history, the India that finds itself in a critical and difficult moment of that history—has yet to say to us.

We may recall a similar moment in pre-Columbian civilization, and speculate on the final meditation of Montezuma. In the museum of Lima, where the remnants of Aztec and Inca culture are gathered, there is a sign that reads, "Here lie the living remains of a civilization that was unable to utter its last words before it was snuffed out." I believe India to be at a similar crisis; before it disappears, before 'civilization' overtakes it, it would be well to collect some of its perceptions, to learn or to ignore, to discard or assimilate, as you will.

A message to the world as it is—already this is quintessentially Indian, for it speaks not to tomorrow or the day after, but to the world of this moment, without moral or proscription. Only when the *Present* has sloughed off its own provincialism will the message of India's *Past* assume validity.

To summarize in these few pages forty or fifty centuries of civilization, to condense all the wisdom of traditional India into a single discussion is a folly which I will undertake with more *esprit de finesse* than Cartesian or geometric rationality.

Three fundamental concepts will serve to

symbolize what ancient India may yet say to us. This is not to pass judgement, but merely to transmit the ideas that are central to India's conception of reality. The compatibility of these notions with those of the world today is for this world to decide.

Time

The first of these fundamental concepts is *Time*. I will be oversimplifying, for as scholars and experts well know, there are exceptions, many exceptions. But I believe I will be at the heart of the understanding of many centuries by saying that for India time is not a succession of moments, but an unqualifiable something that no physics can penetrate. It is no succession of events and hence—and here is where it begins to elude the comprehension of Western man—it has no relationship to history. Time and history have nothing to do with each other.

We are all familiar with the modern Occidental tendency to see all things in an historical context: thought, being, etc. This is valid considering Western conceptions of historical process, but not for India, where time is not a succession of moments or events of varying velocity, where time has nothing to do with incident or speed, and cannot be accelerated or slowed down. One of my professors, coming to the last minutes of the class period, continued his lecture, but much more rapidly. He could speed up, but time could not. Time cannot be accelerated: speed is in things and not in time; time cannot even be measured (by the motion that occurs in it). The *Proteron Kai hysteron*, Aristotle's 'before and after', is foreign to India. It does not express what the India of yesterday meant by time. But if time is not a succession, not quantity, not velocity, not acceleration, not measurable, what is it?

It is three things. First, it is rhythm, a species of cosmic rhythm. Time is the rhythm by which things are and with which they move. Time is unalterable because it simply *is*. If I keep silent, if I try not to speak a single word, time continues to pass. In the course of this silence, time manifests itself without my assistance.

To discover time is to discover the rhythm of things, to discover the metrical advancing of the world; it is to know not to take a step of our own, to enter without disturbing the equilibrium of things, to keep in step. The more we are conscious of time the less we live it, for our consciousness throws us out of step.

Perhaps we have all experienced this. We find it somewhat in modern dance, but to a much greater degree in the dances of India and Africa. True dancing begins after at least twenty minutes, when we no longer count nor think nor perceive. Then we enter the rhythm and feel nothing else. We are conscious only of doing, and not of the time it takes to do. If we become conscious of the timing, then we fall out of step. But to be that rhythm wholly, that is wisdom, harmony and health.

Being rhythm before all, time is heterogeneous. To think that from five to six is the same as from three to four is to the Indian mentality a bit—forgive me—primitive. If time is thought to be homogeneous, then it is possible to subtract, say, an hour of conversation from it. But whether that hour comes before sunrise or near evening makes a great difference. Therefore it is meaningless to say simply "an hour": "an hour" is an abstraction. Time is heterogeneous; each hour has its own colour, its own message, its own life. Each day differs in quality from the next. Each year is a distinct entity. One is free to interpret all

this with an
nomy would s
To perceive no
hours is to
which physics
merely a conc
to miss the n
and to see only

It is obvious
could have uns
might find me
view that time
be altered by
this is off my
self in the min
that time is r
ogeneous. To
consider Ravel
we may begin
If it is merely
be endured on
danced, only if
its rhythm,
that.

I have learned
possible, to p
three. So, to
time is not
rhythm that p

Life, which v
is not an il
straight line,
ding to the
Purana—time
a circle, but
Life is not a
solid and un
mination and
of itself. It i
those who pla
who do not,
the rules, for
like innocen

First, it is rhythm, a rhythm. Time is the rhythm and with which things are and with which things are unalterable because it is silent, if I try not to time continues to pass. Silence, time manifests itself.

To discover the rhythm of the metrical advancing and to know not to take a step without disturbing things, to keep in step, conscious of time the consciousness throws

experienced this. We modern dance, but to agree in the dances of True dancing begins minutes, when we no think nor perceive. Then and feel nothing else. Only of doing, and not of do. If we become conscious, then we fall out of rhythm wholly, that and health.

re all, time is heterogeneous that from five to six is three to four is to the bit—forgive me—primarily thought to be homogeneous to subtract, say, an from it. But whether before sunrise or near great difference. There is to say simply "an is an abstraction. Time is hour has its own colour, its own life. Each day in the next. Each year is free to interpret all

this with an astrological bent, but astrology would support my point just as well. To perceive no difference among days and hours is to ignore the fact that time—which physics discusses as though it were merely a conception—is an *actuality*. It is to miss the message and radiance of time and to see only its alternating velocities.

It is obvious that this conception of time could have unsettling consequences. Industry might find more than one difficulty in the view that time cannot be hurried, cannot be altered by what is accomplished in it. But, this is off my subject. I will contain myself in the mind of India, where it is known that time is rhythm and therefore heterogeneous. To take a non-Indian example, consider Ravel's *Bolero*. From this example we may begin to see what rhythm means. If it is merely heard it is maddening; it can be endured only if it is not *listened to*, but *danced*, only if one enters and moves with its rhythm. All the music of India is like that.

I have learned in the West to be as clear as possible, to proceed from one to two to three. So, to summarize, I have said what time is not for India, and what it is: a rhythm that purely is.

Life, which we all agree exists within time, is not an illusion nor a finality, not a straight line, but rather a circle. Or, according to the *Purana*—and more than one *Purana*—time is still more like a spiral than a circle, but no straight line in any case. Life is not a dream, but neither is it anything solid and uniform. It has no end or culmination and thus no meaning, no finality of itself. It is simply a game, diverting for those who play it well and boring for those who do not, for those who would change the rules, for those who have traded child-like innocence for the tedious reflectiveness

of adulthood (who, since they have not understood the game abandon it for the theoretical ennui they call 'philosophy' or perhaps 'civilization'). When life is not sufficiently diverting we fabricate diversions, or seek to escape life altogether. India, however, finds the game itself sufficient and hence has no need to invent distractions. Life is a game which, so long as it is played according to the rules, does not need transcendental attachments. India did not turn to metaphysics for what was already its own in simple, living physicality.

Being play, life is not only diverting, but beautiful as well. It embodies no final tragedy; if we lose, we begin again and, thanks to the bit of experience we acquired, play the game a little better. It is not that life can be played with, but that life itself is the game. We have no need of theological thought to pierce the crust of things and open the core to us. Life itself is core and secret.

Life is thus simply a gift, something bestowed on us like air and water, and the country we were born to and the language we speak and the culture which first nurtured us. All these are gifts. All these are part of the game that is the gift. For traditional India life is a gift to be received with both hands, not to exploit or manipulate, but to enjoy. It is gratuitous, gracious and—if you'll allow me to play the philologist—gratifying.

In discussing the third characteristic of time I will pay tribute to Hellenic culture—and avoid the less widely comprehensible Sanskrit—by coining a little Greek word: *mesocosm*. Man is neither cosmos nor microcosm; he is mesocosm. He is neither creator nor the whole creation, not spectacle nor spectator (as the entire Western tradition from Plato onward

would have us believe). Rather, he is an intermediary, something provisional and constitutionally itinerant. This is the definition of his place in the universe. Indian philosophers express this concept well with the phrase *sad asad anirvacaniyam*: not being, nor not-being, nor the denial of the two, nor the synthesis of the two, but their constant passage through experience—in Hebrew, *pascha*—the everlasting transit, the silence between two crescendos of one symphony. The Brahmasutra seeks to guide its students to the recognition of nothingness between temporal points, the intemporal reality between two points which we apprehend as real.

This is in essence the meaning of the meditation of Yoga: not to achieve a concentration which then explodes and provokes more trauma and psychosis, but to strip away the discrimination that separates one thing from another, to unite things indiscriminately, to attain awareness of that moment of silence and transition. For a moment the yogi may fly between one moment of existence and another, and in that flight discover that reality is no still point of the earth but the passage among them. The symbol of Hindu experience could be a NO PARKING sign. The only permanence is the lack of permanence. You cannot park even in thought, for by nature you yourself are intermediary, a mesocosm, a moving thing.

This discourse should not be equated with Heraclitean becoming or Parmenidian non-being, which are both linked to the concept of time. In Indian thought there is no becoming and nothing which becomes; there is only transition, mesocosm.

As I suggested at the first, India's conception of time as rhythm and as transition is subject to criticism by the West. What

is it good for? Can civilization be built upon it? Can it set railroads into motion or institute systems of taxation? Though now they fade away, it is well to note that these conceptions served India for many centuries.

Space

The second great symbol of Indian civilization, which in varying forms is a universal conception, is space. For India, space is neither to pass through nor to remain in, neither is it something that can be conquered or mastered—as we say we reach the moon by 'conquering' space. Since it is neither a place we pass through nor the place we pause at, space is not an external barrier which man must surmount or break or even acknowledge. Space is *Dasein* or *Existenz*, to seek a rough equivalent, even while recognizing that translation is treacherous.

Space is not 'outside'—not that which separates us from the moon or some other place. Nor is it 'inside', an internal and immanent location. In a sense, I am space. Where I am, space is. Without a cue from Gabriel Marcel, India can say, "as I am body I am soul". If I am soul, then surely I am body. I do not *have* body or soul, but *am* body and soul. If I say that I *have* hands but that I *am* soul, I divide soul from body and body from soul. India has never made this separation, nor accepted it when made by others. I am soul and body and not disparate components.

To divide body from soul is reflection. Reflection for India is a loss of innocence, a second-rate, second-hand understanding. To assume that reflection, a method of returning to knowledge in Western conception, is equivalent to departing from knowledge, seems contrary to the law that

declares that India has never contemplate space is that the *Dasein*, not outside, understand that we may words will n

It is not quite deifying *Logos* between its the Word and Satapathabrah

One day t
Prajapati
which was
The Word
because
powerless
poor and
I reveal y
press wha
self. Wit
force, no
nothing t
mightier

Spirit an
who are
into yo
you bab
fill you v

It is one of
when Praja
favour of Sp
West aligne
Logos. The
is perhaps
India. When
Spirit, then
Consequently
intuition, the

Can civilization be built
set railroads into motion or
of taxation? Though now
it is well to note that these
ed India for many cen-

eat symbol of Indian
h in varying forms is a
ion, is space. For India,
to pass through nor to
is it something that can
mastered—as we say we
by 'conquering' space.
a place we pass through
pause at, space is not an
which man must surmount
to acknowledge. Space is
to seek a rough equivalent,
recognizing that trans-

outside!—not that which
the moon or some other
'inside', an internal and
In a sense, I am space.
is. Without a cue from
India can say, "as I am
If I am soul, then surely
not have body or soul,
soul. If I say that I have
I am soul, I divide
body from soul. India
is separation, nor accep-
by others. I am soul
disparate components.

from soul is reflection.
India is a loss of innocence,
one-hand understanding.
reflection, a method of
edge in Western concep-
to departing from know-
contrary to the law that

declares returns are not departures. But India has never believed that the soul need contemplate its solitary self. For India, space is that of which we are constituted, the *Dasein*, the *being there-ness* which is not outside, not inside, a concept which I understand by transcending. It is true that we may speak reflectively of it, but our words will never get to the root of it.

It is not quite fair to accuse the West of deifying *Logos*, but we may see the difference between its conceptions of the primacy of the Word and India's by referring to the Satapathabrahmans :

One day the Word and the Spirit went to Prajapati because they were arguing over which was greater and more powerful. The Word began, "I am by far greater because you, Spirit, you, Mind are powerless to manifest yourself. You are poor and powerless and impotent unless I reveal you, unless I, *Logos*, I *Vac*, express what you are thinking inside yourself. Without manifestation there is no force, no concreteness, no epiphany, nothing tangible at all. Therefore I am mightier than you."

Spirit answered, "No, it is actually you who are the tool. If I do not breathe into you and tell you what to say you babble meaninglessly. From within I fill you with speech."

It is one of the Orient's crucial moments when Prajapati, Father of Gods, decides in favour of Spirit. All the greatness of the West aligned itself in favour of the Word, *Logos*. The preeminence of Spirit over Word is perhaps the cornerstone of traditional India. When Prajapati decided in favour of Spirit, then *Vac*, the Word, was angered. Consequently, though India has had great intuition, the Word deserted her and she

has not always been able to express herself adequately. India has had keen joy of spirit, but her people died at thirtythree. The fable continues :

Vac, with an angry countenance, said, "Since you give me second place, I will no longer be your instrument at all, Prajapati." Thus, when the supplicant makes an offering to Prajapati he does not speak aloud, but in a whisper.

Logos refused to serve Prajapati because he was subordinated to Spirit.

The theology of *Logos* has been the subject of many books in many a library. But the very concept 'theology', the Word of the Spirit, is a contradiction in terms. It is impossible to study or analyze Spirit by means of the Word, for Spirit is clearly the obverse of *Logos*, its complement and not its subject.

We have already seen that space is equivalent to existence, the *Dasein*, the *akaca*, that which I am : neither within, nor without, but am. Space is all-pervading, and that which is, is space. Literature and philosophical texts will say that we are enfolded and covered by space, that it is what clothes, limits and manifests us. Without space we would not be what we are, but isolated, absolutely excommunicated. When the man of India came out of the cave where he had first taken refuge, he did not wrap reason about him as another cave, another integument to separate him from the animals that he might dominate them, from angels that he might scoff at them, from God that he might rationalize Him. Because of his basic conception of space, the Indian lives in communion with angels and demons, earth and elements, animal and herb, God and gods, in community with all.

There is no tradition in yesterday's India

that the individual is a self-sufficing or autonomous unit that occasionally interacts with other such isolated units. The smallest unit it would recognize is the extended family, and beyond that, the unit of caste. The law of *karma* is precisely this cosmic solidarity among all existing things. Man is no exception. He is never alone. There are even the angels, or if modern man prefers, the *virus*. But *virus* or angel, they are always with us. Man need never feel isolated, for there are angels and beasts, wife, children, family, community. Privacy and exclusive intimacy are egoistical aberrations seen in those who believe they must isolate themselves in a sort of spiritual air-conditioner for the sake of self-realization. Instead, it is *karma* upon which achievement is based, for it is all-pervading, necessary, real and as material as it is spiritual.

Space is not place, not an exterior reality through which one passes. It is existence. It is the verticality of existence, referring not to the distance between one thing and another, but to the manner in which these things are manifest. Whereas horizontal space may be measured in 1-2-3 uniform kilometers, vertical space is unique and non-repeatable. When a mother embraces her child or a lover his lover, the act is precious in part because it cannot be acted again. Truly human activities are those which are unique and non-replicable. They cannot be interchanged nor compared either absolutely or in relation to anything else. They are self-justifying, and we are delighted to have undertaken them even when their consequences are hard and immediate. One says, "It is worthwhile to have lived five, ten, twenty years to attain this moment, this encounter, this glance, this experience." Authentic human life is always unique, and so involved with the essence of the man who lives it as to be atemporal, incomparable unrecordable.

If ordinary temporality can be abstracted from an experience, then that experience cannot be called long or short, past or potential. Non-authentic life is datable and, belonging to the horizontal of experience, replicable, temporal and historic.

What can be seen constantly in the reactions of the Indian people even today, is that there is no existential anguish about discovering the meaning of life. Already somewhat affected by the perturbations of the West, I ask myself whether life has meaning and what that meaning might be. But for the Indian, if life has meaning, it has meaning if not, not. My awareness of that meaning is purely extraneous. If I base my reception of life on my understanding of life then I may discover many bizarre and various things, but the true heart of existence will elude me because it has nothing to do with my understanding of it. If meaning is there, then it is there. If it is not there, it is not there. Hence my effort to disclose the secrets of existence is at best a pastime which is either very beautiful or very perilous. But it cannot find the profundities I seek. It will not enlighten me that repose relies on coming to understand a thing which is, in the ordinary sense, unlearnable.

Obviously this leads to a non-economic, even anti-economic organization of society, for it is not repeating, improving, magnifying which count, but the doing of a thing that cannot be planned or replicated. If you go to Delhi you will see that most of the difficulties faced by the Planning Commission exist because it calculates in paradigms and patterns which do not correspond to the sensibilities of traditional India.

Man

Third concern : Man. What is the

JUNE

identit
being
Greek
theand
God.
is thin
and w
so grea
man i
experie
God.

Man is
immedi
ther tau
Purus
he thou
he thou

Let me
India's
there an
mental
civilizati
word 'p
understat
something
it is rich
twenty-fi
menides
in the W
ness. Full
of clothin
of the s
intermedi
vestments
Pope, thr
authority,
symbolism
of perfecti

But the c
comes clos
It is not
dimension
Brahmanic

n be abstracted
that experience
short, past or
is datable and,
of experience,
oric.

in the reactions
today, is that
anguish about
f life. Already
erturbations of
ether life has
ning might be.
has meaning, it
ly awareness of
traneous If I
on my under-
discover many
but the true
e me because it
understanding
en it is there. If
ere. Hence my
of existence is
is either very
ut it cannot find
ill not enlighten
oming to under-
n the ordinary

non-economic,
ation of society,
oving, magnify-
doing of a thing
licated. If you
that most of the
ing Commission
paradigms and
respond to the
dia.

What is the

identity of man? What is the experience of being human? It is *Purusa*, sacrifice. A Greek equivalent for this word would be *theandrim*: more than man, less than God. When India uses the word "man" it is thinking of something greater than men, and when it uses 'God', of something not so great as God, Man is this middle ground; man is the encounter of the empirical experience of his own being with the idea of God.

Man is God precisely because one must add immediately that God is man. This is neither tautology nor pantheism. It is *Purusa*. *Purusa* is sacrifice, and by sacrificing what he thought he was, man becomes more than he thought he could be.

Let me explain. A prime contributor to India's ruin—an elegant ruin, at least; there are many ways to die—is the fundamental conception of classical Brahman civilization, 'simplicity as perfection'. The word 'perfection' is treacherous for our understanding. 'Perfect' is *per-factum*—something is perfect when it is full, when it is rich, when it holds all it can hold. For twenty-five centuries the sphere of Parmenides has been the symbol of perfection in the Western world. *Per-factum*. Roundness. Fullness. More. As Saint Paul speaks of clothing oneself with Christ, the function of the symbology of liturgy is to clothe the intermediary one in ever more glorifying vestments. A bishop wears two crowns; the Pope, three. The more crowns the more authority, power and richness. This kind of symbolism dictates our Western conception of perfection.

But the concept India would call perfection comes closer to our concept of 'simplicity'. It is not the Parmenidian sphere, but the dimensionless point. In fact, the ideal Brahmanic education would peel from a

man as from an onion all that is accidental—*neti, neti*: not this, not that—and leave him in a state of absolute freedom. Not sphere, but point.

This leads us to the consideration of Indian asceticism. Western asceticism seems to say, with Aesop's fox: "This fruit is good and desirable, but I am an ascetic and may not have it; therefore I renounce it. There is positive value in this, yet I renounce it." India sees immediately that this is 'sour grapes' and says, "You are convinced that the fruit is bitter. You try, but don't reach, so you say it is green."

To India asceticism is leaving the fruit only when truly convinced of its bitterness. Asceticism is the renunciation of that which has no value, that which causes no hardship to lose. It is a discipline whereby one is not enslaved by that which is no longer useful. It is not costly, and he who renounces does not envy those who have. I renounce the bitter fruit in the hope of higher things.

Renunciation of the less for the great leads us again to theandrim, because mankind's great sickness is his desire to preserve his own distinct existence, which, if he is truly more than he seems to be, should be a delight to forfeit rather than a calamity. To sacrifice what he seems to be, should be for man a sweet dissolution into what he truly is. Religion has a particular meaning for India. Though the etymology of the word points to *religare*, in India it signifies not the binding, but the unbinding by which one offers oneself, causes to be, escaping one's own individuality. This is sacrifice. Living life means losing what it appears to be. He who would save the little core he calls 'self' has little faith in God, or whatever you conceive to move the universe.

When a drop falls in the ocean, we think it

disappears—as though its whole existence were the surface tension that made it a separate thing. If personality consists of the barriers that separate me from you, then obviously all is lost when the drop is in the Ocean. But if the essence of the drop is the water itself and not the film of surface tension, then the drop is not lost but transformed into the whole ocean. India has never confused the film with the water, and considers that human condition best which ends soonest. Man is *Purusa*, the sacrifice, and *is* in as much as he loses himself, in as much as he abandons the desire to be what he thinks he is. Man *is* to the degree that he unmakes himself—reversing Prajapati's sacrifice, Prajapati who dismembered himself in the act of creation. The enlightened man sacrifices himself so as to restore that broken divine body.

Life, like a fire, is lived by burning and consuming. Sacrifice is the fundamental law, the primary experience of a man as a theandric being, whose perfection is simplicity even unto dissolution. Here I must speak of sacred eschatology; that is, the ends, of man are his own ending. It is then that rejuvenation occurs, then that one gains new life, or if you will: rebirth, salvation, liberation. This eschatology is not a thing dependent on time. It is not merely the end of a sequence of events. Only if it were, only if it were a sort of cosmic climax would the discussion of modern theologians as to the futility of Christ's sacrifice be understandable. This end, this eschatology cannot be anticipated. It does not come, it does not arrive; it has been a thousand years and it has not come. Liberation will not come from that direction. We shall not be saved by an historical event. To wait is not to hope.

Within the realm of eschatology, as I have called it, of salvation, liberation, of

culmination, it has been my experience that death is not in front of me, but behind me. The West, on the other hand, from Plato to Heidegger, has conceived philosophy as a preparation for death: in Heidegger's phrase, "being-unto-death." This is a conceptual dead end to the great speculation on death. Considering this inclination of Western thought, it seems common sense to see death before us, to view our lives as a preparation for a good death. We are so used to thinking our lives a *Sein zum Tod* that we have become comfortable with the fear of it.

The experience of the large mass of the Hindu (and later the Buddhist) world is quite otherwise. Let us say parenthetically that much might have been different in Vietnam if America had understood that the Buddhist attitude toward death is not that of an American soldier. One cannot count on a Buddhist's fear of death. Philosophy at times can take to itself great magical potency.

The Indian sense of death is this: I am in as much as I begin at death and gather more life unto myself. I do not move toward death, I move away from it, and the further away death recedes, the more authentic life becomes. The more present and immediate life becomes, the further it moves from death, which is a phenomenon of the past. I live not toward my end, but successively away from it.

I have tried to relate a tradition that an Indian philosopher would have explained in the simplicity of experience, speaking of the law of *karma*, of the nature of *samsara*. I have spoken of immanence, the immanence of time, space, of man himself in the non-time we would call eternity, in the non-being which we would call nothingness, in the non-human we would call God.

I speak
melancholy
endured
have been
things
destined
and West
be impar

* From
given

has been my experience
at in front of me, but
West, on the other hand,
Heidegger, has conceived
preparation for death :
rase, "being-unto-death."
al dead end to the great
death. Considering this
estern thought, it seems
o see death before us, to
as a preparation for a good
used to thinking our lives
that we have become com-
fear of it.

of the large mass of the
r the Buddhist) world is
Let us say parenthetically
nt have been different in
erica had understood that
titude toward death is not
rican soldier. One cannot
uddhist's fear of death.
nes can take to itself great

se of death is this : I am
I begin at death and gather
myself. I do not move
move away from it, and the
death recedes, the more
comes. The more present
fe becomes, the further it
h, which is a phenomenon
ve not toward my end, but
y from it.

o relate a tradition that an
her would have explained
of experience, speaking of
a, of the nature of *samsara*.
en of immanence, the
me, space, of man himself
e we would call eternity, in
hich we would call nothing-
human we would call God.

I speak as a true Indian without
melancholy for the passing of what has
endured for centuries, out of which men
have built a civilization and a life. For all
things are destined—not condemned, but
destined—to pass, and perhaps both East
and West know that only by death can life
be imparted anew.

Translated by Lea Daley
styled and edited by David Hopes
(courtesy PUNTO)

(Dr Raimundo Panikkar is an ordained
Catholic priest. Taught in many Universities,
Madrid, Roma, Cambridge (Mass) and
Montreal, at present he is working as a
Professor of Religious Studies at the
University of California in South Barbara,
USA.)

* From a transcript of Raimundo Panikkar's *Il Messaggio dell'India d'Ieri al Mondo di Oggi*
given at the Biblioteca Filosofica di Torino, January 13, 1970.

Modern Physics and Shiva's Dance

"For the modern physicists, then, Shiva's dance is the dance of subatomic matter. As in Hindu mythology, it is a continual dance of creation and destruction involving the whole cosmos; the basis of all existence and of all natural phenomena. Hundreds of years ago, Indian artists created visual images of dancing Shivas in a beautiful series of bronzes. In our time, physicists have used the most advanced technology to portray the patterns of the cosmic dance. The bubble-chamber photographs of interacting particles, which bear testimony to the continual rhythm of creation and destruction in the universe, are visual images of the dance of Shiva equalling those of the Indian artists in beauty and profound significance. The metaphor of the cosmic dance thus unifies ancient mythology, religious art, and modern physics. It is indeed, as Coomaraswamy has said, 'poetry, but none the less science.'"

The Tao of Physics

—Fritjof Capra

V. Surv
&
Smt. In

Proble
Hindu
in Ma

THE "Indians Overseas" represent a complex and difficult problem. From Guyana to Fiji and from Mauritius to Canada many countries have an Indian element in their population. To quote Tagore's picturesque phrase, like the "banyan tree" the Indians have branched out and spread themselves, often far away from their homeland.¹ The Indians constitute 67 per cent of the population of Mauritius, 50 per cent of Fiji, 50 per cent of Guyana, 37 per cent of Trinidad, 12 per cent of Sri Lanka, 10.6 per cent of Malaysia and 8 per cent of Singapore. The problems that these people face are not identical and it would be simplistic to arrive at general conclusions without taking into consideration the political and economic realities of different countries. In some countries as in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, they are subjected to worst forms of apartheid; in some others, like Mauritius, they form the major chunk of the independent country, but continue to be economically exploited; and from countries like Uganda and Burma they have been edged out unceremoniously.

In contrast, Indians in Malaysia are relatively better off. In this paper, we have attempted to trace the background and identify the causes of one major concern of Hindu religious minority in contemporary Malaysia. During 1978-79, number of Hindu temples were targets of attack by fanatical Moslems who, defying the warnings of the Malaysian government, wantonly desecrated the places of worship and chopped off the limbs of Hindu deities. The Hindus naturally felt very insecure and viewed these events as an assault on their way of life.

The two tables given below show the breakdown (in percentage) of various religious groups in Malaysia and also within the Indian community. It must be pointed out

V. Suryanarayan
&
Smt. Indira Ramanathan

Problems of the Hindu Minority in Malaysia

that the Malaysian government still continues the British colonial practice and the term Indians include Pakistanis and Ceylonese also.²

TABLE I

Percentage of Various Religious Groups
in Malaysia³

Religion	% to Total Population
1. Islam	46.9
2. Buddhism/Confucianism/ Taoism	32.1
3. Hinduism	8.8
4. Animism	4.5
5. Christianity	3.9
6. Sikhism	0.2
7. Others	0.2
8. Unknown	3.4

TABLE 2

Religious Groups within the Indian
Community⁴

Religion	Number	Percentage
1. Hindus	757,795	81.2
2. Christians	77,939	8.4
3. Moslems	62,778	6.7
4. Buddhists	4,389	0.5
5. No religion	1,369	0.1
6. Others (mainly Sikhs)	28,980	3.1

The Hindus, as the table given above shows, number 757,795 or 81.2 per cent of the total Indian population of 933,250 in West Malaysia which works out to 8.8 per cent of the Malaysian population. These people, the overwhelming majority of whom are Malaysia-born, are the descen-

dants of the Indian immigrants, who under the protective umbrella of the British government, went to Malaya to provide labour for economic development, mainly in rubber plantations, railways, public works department etc.⁵ As far as their caste affiliations are concerned, they are mainly drawn from the lower castes like Adi Dravidas, Vannan, Maruttuvar, Natar, Vanniyar etc. In the 20th century, number of educated people also went to Malaya to become white-collar workers and professionals; they came from both the upper castes and lower castes of Hindu religion.⁶

The virtual isolation of rubber plantations, combined with the cultural exclusiveness which characterised the plural society in Malaya, helped the Indians to retain their Indian way of life, especially in the field of religion. The employers deducted a small part of the salary for the upkeep of the temples in the plantations. The Hindus constructed a large number of temples as part of their attempts to establish for themselves a home away from their home. There are nearly 1500 temples in Malaysia today, scattered throughout peninsular Malaysia, some of them in isolated plantations.⁷ Keen to uphold their way of life, they try to practise Hindu forms and rituals as closely as possible to that of India. Thai Poosam, Navarathri, Deepavali—all are occasions of religious worship and social get-together. In the midst of the fast changing life styles in Malaysia, these temples and religious functions are, for many, the only visible attachment to Indian traditions and they cling to them tenaciously.

The strong attachment that the Hindus have towards their religion should be seen in the overall religious milieu of Malaysia. Malaysia is a multi-racial society, characterised by serious communal cleavages. Race and religion are inextricably interlinked. The

definition adherence religion a ble state communa closely lin religion.

Position o

When the peninsula predominan cal system Sultanate which was century, t principles Buddhist basis of the maintained of the S that the Su "Malay reli position of by the Brit in later ye nationalism affected by freely pursu follow their fore, was troversy bef

The immed the unprec the Malay of the Mal of the Mal unity that t Malays' Na had far-re political evo did it comp withdraw th

Indian immigrants, who under the umbrella of the British went to Malaya to provide economic development, mainly plantations, railways, public transport etc.⁵ As far as their concerns are concerned, they are from the lower castes like Vannan, Maruttuvar, Natar. In the 20th century, number of people also went to Malaya to work as e-collar workers and proxy came from both the upper and lower castes of Hindu religion.⁶

Establishment of rubber plantations, which the cultural exclusiveness characterised the plural society in and the Indians to retain their life, especially in the field of employment deducted a small salary for the upkeep of the rubber plantations. The Hindus had a large number of temples as they attempted to establish for themselves a home away from their home. Nearly 1500 temples in Malaysia existed throughout peninsula. Some of them in isolated plantations to uphold their way of life, practice Hindu forms and rituals were possible to that of India. Thai, Varathri, Deepavali—all are religious worship and social functions in the midst of the fast changes in Malaysia, these temples and functions are, for many, the attachment to Indian traditions and to them tenaciously.

Attachment that the Hindus to their religion should be seen in all religious milieu of Malaysia, a multi-racial society, characterised by communal cleavages. Race are inextricably interlinked. The

definition of a Malay is tied to his adherence to Islam. Islam is the state religion and naturally it receives considerable state support and patronage. Inter-communal religious harmony, therefore, is closely linked with state policies towards religion.

Position of Islam

When the British intervened in the Malay peninsula in the 19th century, Malaya was predominantly a Malay country. The political system was characterised by the Sultanate system. The Sultans used Islam, which was introduced in Malaya in the 15th century, to legitimise their rule. Islamic principles were added to the earlier Hindu-Buddhist traditions and provided the basis of their political systems. The British maintained the fiction of the sovereignty of the Sultans. The treaties stipulated that the Sultans were solely responsible for "Malay religion and customs." This special position of Islam, recognised and upheld by the British, provided the rallying point in later years to Malay unity and Malay nationalism. The non-Malays were not affected by this arrangement: they could freely pursue their economic activities and follow their cultural traditions. Islam, therefore, was not a subject matter of controversy before the Second World War.

The immediate post-war years witnessed the unprecedented political awakening of the Malay community. The resurgence of the Malays following the introduction of the Malayan Union proposals and the unity that they forged under the United Malays' National Organisation (UMNO) had far-reaching repercussions in the political evolution of Malaya. Not only did it compel the British government to withdraw the Malayan Union proposals

and introduce the Federation of Malaya arrangement, it also clearly revealed that the Malays will never surrender their pre-eminent position in the political life of the country. While, in later years, the UMNO leaders did cooperate with the leaders of the Malayan Chinese Association (MCA) and the Malayan Indian Congress (MIC) in the larger interests of Malaya as a whole, the dynamic leadership of Malayan nationalism has always remained in the hands of the Malays.

Dato Onn and the UMNO leaders, in the beginning, were circumspect in using Islam as a vehicle for mobilising the Malays. However they became sensitive to the religious issue during the Maria Hertogh case, which agitated the Malays and triggered off communal riots in Singapore in 1950. Members of the UMNO were in the forefront in protest demonstrations; henceforward they realized the importance of religion as an instrument of communal mobilisation. The post-war constitutional reforms further facilitated this process. Under the Federation of Malaya Agreement, religion was a state subject. Taking full advantage of this provision, the Departments of Religious Affairs began to expand their activities to promote Islam in all possible ways. The religious elite developed a vested interest in government support to Islam and became a powerful lobby on behalf of the Islamic religion. With the introduction of elections in 1955 and competition between the UMNO and the Partai Islam (PAS) for mobilising Malay support, Malay politics began to take a religious dimension. The non-Malays did not question this patronage to Islam because they were not adversely affected. Thus religion did not become a bone of contention until the attainment of independence.

Islam became a subject of controversy on the eve of independence. The Malay leaders felt that provision must be made in the Constitution upholding the special position of Islam; it was a symbolic reaffirmation that Malaya, even after independence, would remain a Malay country and retain Malay characteristics. The Alliance memorandum to the Constitutional Commission stated: "The religion (of Malaya) shall be Islam. The observance of this principle shall not impose any disability on non-Muslim nationals professing and practising their own religions and shall not imply that the state is not a secular state."⁹ The Constitutional Commission was not unanimous in its recommendation. Justice Abdul Hamid (Pakistan) the lone dissenter, gave whole-hearted support to the Alliance demand that Islam should be made the official religion of the Federation.¹⁰ The majority felt that there should be no such stipulation.

The Constitution, as it finally emerged, represented a victory to the Alliance.¹¹ Article 3, Clause 1 states: "Islam is the religion of the Federation; but other religions may be practised in peace and harmony in any part of the Federation." The Constitution had clear provisions providing safeguards to religious minorities. Article 11 stated: "(1) Every person has the right to profess and practise his religion and subject to clause (4) to propagate it. (2) No person shall be compelled to pay any tax the proceeds of which are specially allocated in whole or in part for the purpose of a religion other than his own (3) Every religious group has the right—(a) to manage its own religious affairs (b) to establish and maintain institutions for religious and charitable purposes; and (c) to acquire and own property and hold and administer it in accordance with law (4)

state law may control or restrict the propagation of any religious doctrine or belief among persons professing Muslim religion.

Making use of constitutional provision, the state governments have introduced many legislations to enforce the prescriptions of the Koran and the Hadith for the Malays.¹² *Zakat* (a tax imposed on property) and *Firah* (tax collected at the end of the fasting month of Ramadhan) are levied on the Malays and the revenues are used for the upkeep of the mosques and financial support to Islamic schools. The states have also made use of the legislative powers to enforce a code of moral and spiritual conduct for the Faithful. Penalties are provided for failing to attend Friday prayers; consumption of intoxicating liquor; consumption and sale of food during day time in the fasting month of Ramadhan; teaching false doctrines etc. It must also be pointed out in this context, that while the laws of the state provide for conversion to Islam, it makes no provision for conversion out of Islam. Conversion to Islam regularly takes place; the convert gets the privileges associated with being a Moslem and becomes liable for obligations of the Islamic law. The state and the central governments also spend large sums of money for the construction of mosques and prayer houses. The most important among these is the majestic National Mosque at Kuala Lumpur, estimated to cost about 10 million Malaysian dollars. Subsidies are given by the government and leave sanctioned to those Malays who want to undertake the Haj pilgrimage. Koran reading competitions are organised at regular intervals and prizes distributed. Malaysia also plays host to international Islamic conferences regularly. In its foreign policy, Malaysia also lays emphasis on cooperation among the Islamic countries.

Political Aspects of

While discussing the role of Islam in religion, it must be noted that the correlation between Islam and politics applies to Malays and Muslims. The Malays are concerned with Islam as a religion for political purposes. They feel that their religious freedom is in jeopardy if the Moslems are not restrained.

The moderates, with the leadership of the UMNO, have taken a prudent stewardship since they have secured state support to Islam at the expense of other communities. Tunku Rahman and Datu Sir Gopal Rao, Moslems; but, at the same time, deeply sensitive to the needs of the minorities. Late Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew, expressed similar views. They have also condemned the attempts of the extremists to impose the Islamic system for the whole of Malaysia. A Moslem member of the Legislative Council, Tan Sri Abdul Rahman, has made it clear that Islam is the official religion of the Federation. He has merely provided a framework for the official religion of the Federation. On the occasion, the Tunku has many races and religions, and to drown every non-Islamic thought in an Islamic sea.

The extremist sects maintain that the Moslems should maintain the Islamic system as the state religion. They want the administration to be based on Islamic principles. They come only from the Malay community. Their political strategy is to mobilise the UMNO and mobilise

or restrict the previous doctrine or belief in Muslim religion.

ditional provision, the have introduced many the prescriptions of lith for the Malays.¹² d on property) and the end of the fasting are levied on the es are used for the s and financial sup- ls. The states have legislative powers to al and spiritual con- . Penalties are pro- end Friday prayers; cating liquor; con- ded during day time t Ramadan; teaching must also be pointed at while the laws of onversion to Islam, it for conversion out n to Islam regularly t gets the privileges g a Moslem and be- tations of the Islamic the central govern- rge sums of money mosques and prayer portant among these al Mosque at Kuala cost about 10 million bsides are given by leave sanctioned nt to undertake the reading competitions r intervals and prizes also plays host to conferences regularly. Malaysia also lays on among the Islamic

Political Aspects of Islam

While discussing the political aspects of religion, it must be remembered that the correlation between religion and politics applies to Malays alone. As far as the non-Malays are concerned, they do not use religion for political mobilisation; but they feel that their religious liberties will be in jeopardy if the Moslem fanatics are not restrained.

The moderates, who constitute the leadership of the UMNO and provided the political stewardship since independence, feel that state support to Islam should not be at the expense of other communities. Tunku Abdul Rahman and Datuk Hussein Onn are devout Moslems; but, at the same time, they are deeply sensitive to the feelings of religious minorities. Late Tun Abdul Razak held similar views. They restrained and condemned the attempts of the Malay extremists to impose the Islamic type of political system for the whole country. When a Moslem member introduced a bill in the Legislative Council to prohibit serving of alcoholic drinks at government functions, Tunku Abdul Rahman said: "I would like to make it clear that the country is not an Islamic state as it is generally understood, we merely provide that Islam shall be the official religion of the state."¹³ On another occasion, the Tunku said, "Our country has many races and unless we are prepared to drown every non-Malay, we can never think of an Islamic administration."¹⁴

The extremist section among the Malays maintain that the mere declaration as Islam as the state religion is not sufficient; they want the administration to conform strictly to Islamic principles. Since their support comes only from the Malay community, their political strategy is to discredit the UMNO and mobilise the Malays to their

own way of thinking. The most important among the Malay extremist group is Partai Islam Se Malaysia (PAS), also known as the Pan-Malayan Islamic Party, an Islamic religious and communal party.¹⁵ The party was developed into an effective political instrument during the 1950s by Haji Asri Muda.¹⁶ Asri and his colleagues appealed to the Malays on the basis of two sensitive issues—Moslem orthodoxy and Malay nationalism. In the Kampongs they propagated, with certain amount of success, that for the Moslems there is no separation between the spiritual and the secular realm. They therefore, advocated the establishment of a theocratic state based on the principles of Koran. In his presidential address to the Party Conference in September 1979, Haji Asri Muda said that the PAS wanted to create a "truly Islamic nation practising Islamic democracy and administration."¹⁷ The PAS accused the UMNO leaders guilty of the deadly sin of secularism; what was worse, the UMNO government abetted and tolerated the expansion of Kafir religion. The PAS proclaimed that "Malaya belongs to the Malays"; its basic principles were enshrined in its slogan Bangsa (race), Ugama (religion) and Tanah Melayu (Land of the Malays).¹⁸

The election manifesto of the PAS in the 1978 election was a true reflection of its ideology.¹⁹ It was entitled "a safe and prosperous religion, race and nation". It is interesting to note that unlike other political parties the PAS published its manifesto only in the Malay language. The Party statement said that if a voter "does not understand Bhasa Malaysia, he has no right to claim citizenship and, therefore, has no right to vote." The PAS was opposed to all political parties "whose ideology was not based on Islam or which paid lip-service to Islam." Datuk Asri claimed that "only through the application of Islamic principles in toto would the Malaysian people achieve justice,

peace and harmony."

Despite the extremist postures and conservative ideology, the PAS is still popular with large sections of the Malay population. Though it won only 5 seats in the 1978 elections, it received 43.1 per cent of votes in Kelantan; 38.6 per cent votes in Kedah; 32.1 per cent votes in Perlis and 28.1 per cent votes in Trengganu.

Another organisation which is spearheading Islamic resurgence in Malaysia is the Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia or ABIM (Moslem Youth Movement of Malaysia).⁴⁰ Formally launched in 1972 as a forum for the university students to keep up their religious activities after graduation, ABIM has a membership of nearly 35,000. Its leader is Anwar Ibrahim, who earned the wrath of the Malaysian government in 1974 for championing the cause of the poor peasants in Kedah and was detained for two years. The objective of ABIM is to generate an Islamic movement "as the path of Islamic revival in Malaysia". Islam, according to Anwar Ibrahim, is not a set of rituals but a *deen* or a way of life. The ABIM, therefore, seeks to raise the level of consciousness about Islam among the Moslems (and the non-Moslems also) through an educative process. Though Anwar Ibrahim claims that ABIM is not attached to any political party, many of its members were active on the side of the PAS in the 1978 election. Anwar also projects a radical image by decrying communal politics and criticising the Barisan approach of analysing the problems of rural poverty from a racial point of view. The UMNO leaders, therefore, view ABIM with considerable amount of suspicion.

More alarming from the point of view of religious minorities had been the activities of the extremist sections in the Dakwah movement.⁴¹ The Dakwah movement was

initiated to get converts to Islam and naturally it was welcomed by the government. The government extended generous support and patronage to the movement. But some of the missionaries, in their fanatical zeal and frenzy, began to take an intolerant attitude towards other religious groups. Dakwah strictly translated, means "claim rights" but in the Malaysian context it implies awareness of rights and obligations and acceptance and strict enforcement of Islamic law. Ulemas and religious teachers, who provided the backbone of the Dakwah movement, appealed to the Malays to discard aspects of western materialism and return to purely Islamic standards. In Malaysia, where aspects of western culture are generally associated with Chinese and Indians, the propagation of such an ideology tend to exacerbate communal fears and tensions. The Dakwah is divided into two groups—the original group known as the Green Dakwah and the breakaway group known as the White Dakwah. The White Dakwah wear white flowing robes, symbolising their separate character. They are more fanatical than the Green Dakwah. The White Dakwah has been able to build up some support among the faculty and students in a few universities. They display their extreme views by boycotting non-Moslem shops; avoid hotels and food prepared by non-Moslems; they also do not go for movies or watch televisions. It was reported that their leaders preached that the destruction of one hundred idols is a sure guarantee to their place in heaven. The White Dakwah is considered to be the brain behind the desecration of Hindu temples. It must also be pointed out that most of the desecrations took place in the fasting month of Ramadhan.

This revivalism in Malaysia should be viewed in the context of Islamic upsurge which is sweeping across the entire Islamic

world stretching Southern Philippines everywhere rediscovering the Islam in the face of the movement with Western divided on the one as to whether it and bring about in Islamic society to its conservative debate within the not, as it is general the Western education reform and the turning for revival. universities which have advocating fundamental students, educated front of Islamic a return to the In Malaysia, some scenes of Islamic seen in the universities and students. They from the mullahs in Indonesia who visit preach the militant Islam.

Desecration of Temples

Increasing religious evident in early past held in Alor Star, advocated caning a like Khalwat (p (adultery).⁴² The was extremely critical approach. In an *Eastern Economic* declared: ⁴⁴

The problem is a lot of them teaching these

erts to Islam and natur-
ed by the government,
ended generous support
e movement. But some
in their fanatical zeal
take an intolerant atti-
ligious groups. Dakwah
means "claim rights"
lan context it implies
and obligations and
enforcement of Islamic
religious teachers, who
one of the Dakwah
to the Malays to dis-
stern materialism and
Islamic standards. In
ects of western culture
ated with Chinese and
ation of such an ide-
ate communal fears and
ah is divided into two
group known as the
the breakaway group
Dakwah. The White
flowing robes, symbo-
character. They are
the Green Dakwah.
has been able to build
ng the faculty and stu-
sities. They display their
pycotting non-Moslem
and food prepared by
also do not go, for
isions. It was report-
preached that the des-
dred idols is a sure
place in heaven. The
sidered to be the brain
on of Hindu temples.
nted out that most of
k place in the fasting

Malaysia should be
at of Islamic upsurge
ross the entire Islamic

world stretching from North Africa to Southern Philippines. Islam is reasserting itself everywhere and the Faithful are rediscovering the glory and greatness of Islam in the face of increasing disenchantment with Western values. Observers are divided on the consequences of this upsurge as to whether it would take Islam forward and bring about the much needed changes in Islamic society or take Islam backward to its conservative fundamentalist era. The debate within the Islamic intelligentsia is not, as it is generally understood, between the Western educated elite standing for reform and the rural orthodox elite standing for revival. In fact, it is the universities which have become the centres advocating fundamentalist doctrines. Many students, educated abroad, are in the forefront of Islamic revivalism; they champion a return to the early days of Islam. In Malaysia, some of the strongest advocates of Islamic revivalism are to be seen in the universities among the faculty and students. They also receive inspiration from the mullahs from Pakistan, India and Indonesia who visit Malaysia frequently and preach the militant brand of fundamentalist Islam.

Desecration of Temples

Increasing religious intolerance was clearly evident in early part of 1978. In a seminar held in Alor Star few orthodox Moslems advocated caning and whipping for offences like Khalwat (promiscuity) and Zinah (adultery).²³ The Malaysian Prime Minister was extremely critical of such an extremist approach. In an interview with the *Far Eastern Economic Review* Hussein Onn declared:²⁴

The problem is the extremists. You get a lot of them coming from Pakistan teaching these very orthodox views.

They insist on women going round with a lot of curtains around them. We do not practise that here. They want us to do what the Prophet did. The Prophet did not ride in cars. He rode a camel. But these people will not use a camel. They think that a good Moslem must wear green. Of course, the Prophet used green in the desert because it stood out clearly and was pleasant. You wear green here and you may not be seen, with all the green here.

Dealing with their intolerance Hussein Onn said:

So you get these fanatics. They are very intolerant of other religions. . . . These people are cranks, dangerous cranks: They say, for example, in Pakistan people are caned in public and that is the Islamic way. We cane criminals too, but inside the jail, not in public. They want to stone the adulterers in public too.....

The first disturbing indication of religious intolerance took place in early 1978, when under the influence of Moslem orthodoxy, some Indian Moslem leaders organised the Malaysian Moslem Indian Congress "to promote and safeguard the interests of Indian Moslems".²⁵ The Party wanted to join the ruling Barisan Nasional (National Front) as a constituent unit, but could not make any progress in that direction. The Indians also felt extremely unhappy about the Moslem religious broadcasts over Radio-Television Malaysia.²⁶ Some of the Islamic programmes in Tamil contained disparaging remarks about Hinduism and idol worship. Letters in Tamil newspapers appeared in protest. The Malaysian Indian Congress (MIC), which represent the Indian community in the government, also lodged a protest with the Radio-Television Malaysia.

Later broadcasts reverted to their original content of explaining Islamic principles without any criticism of other religions. An organised campaign against the MIC was also launched during the 1978 election accusing it of being anti-Moslem and anti-Malay. Tendentious and out of context extracts from Tamil newspapers were compiled into leaflets and distributed widely among the Moslems.

The first sacrilege against Hindu temples took place in December 1977. The Malaysian government understandably adopted a cautious approach. Hoping to nab the criminals soon, the government threw a veil of secrecy over the whole affair. More and more incidents followed; it was apparent that behind the desecrations was a well-organised tightly-knit group. Their *modus operandi* was to select the target carefully, ensure that it was not guarded properly, attack it in the night, smash the idols with Parangs (Malay swords) and hammers and make their escape in a car. Desecrations were reported in quick succession from the states of Perak, Kedah and Selangor. The government was compelled to revise its earlier stand and appealed to the Hindu leaders to take immediate steps for making their temples safe against intruders.

Malaysian newspapers have given a detailed account of the desecration that took place in the temple of Lord Subramania in Kerling, 35 miles north Kuala Lumpur on August 19, 1978.²⁷ The Hindus of the locality had made arrangements to guard their sacred place of worship. In the early hours of the morning, a car drove up to the temple compound. The watchman spotted five strangers in the car and immediately reported the matter to the priest and other companions keeping vigil. Three people got down from the

car, entered the side temple and smashed nine idols with iron bars. As they approached the main temple, they were joined by two other companions. Fighting broke out between the guards and the intruders. By the time police arrived on the scene, one of the intruders was killed and other four seriously injured; three of them later died in the hospital. The dead included a teacher from a leading Secondary School in Kuala Lumpur and two undergraduates from a Malaysian University. The lone survivor was a young medical student, Zubir Ismail, who was on vacation from the Flinders University, Australia. He was immediately arrested and prosecuted for his role in defiling the temples. The guards were also detained and charged with culpable homicide not amounting to murder. The law has taken its course and the guilty have been punished.

When the incident hit newspaper headlines it caused anguish and dismay among the Indians. Prime Minister Hussein Onn and his Cabinet colleagues acted swiftly to assuage the fears and misgivings of the Hindu minority. Addressing a Koran reading competition, the day after the Kerling episode, Hussein Onn underlined the significance of religious tolerance and the necessity for greater understanding between Moslems and non-Moslems.²⁸ Dr Mahathir, the Deputy Prime Minister, appealed to the Malays to shun the fanatical group who "try to find an easy way to heaven through criminal activities."²⁹ The Malaysian Indian Congress also appealed to various racial groups to preserve peace, harmony and understanding.³⁰

There were no incidents for a few months after the massacre at Kerling and many believed that the gang has been arrested

and desecration. Unfortunately, violence and fanaticism continued in May-June 1979. The government had to have appealed to the public to take measures to prevent vandalism against temples. The Director General of Police declared that the police would not hesitate to detain fanatics who incite to bigotry.³¹ Hussein Onn stated in his Friday Khutbah that all Muslims should be vigilant against the subject of temple desecration and urged the government to promote tolerance among various religious groups. The Malaysian government expressed anxiety that the government was also a National Day celebration in 1978. Speaking at the Merdeka Day ceremony, Onn urged the Malays to be vigilant against Islamic principles and the use of force in winning

The Malaysian government's dilemma over Malay leadership, dilemma. The p

1. Letter from Tago to the Prime Minister, *Banyan Tree* (London), 1978, p. 10.
2. In East Malaysia, the situation is different (thousand).
3. Gordon P. Meade, *The Malay Peninsula*, Fall 1978, pp. 384-385.
4. R. Rajoo "Communalism: A research paper" (Singapore), 1978.
5. For an excellent study of the Malay, *Immigrant and the Malay*, (Singapore), 1978.
6. S. Arasaratnam, *The Malay*, (Singapore), 1978.
7. *Times of India*, 1978.
8. C.D. Cowan, *Nigeria*, p. 188.
9. *Report of the Federal Government*, 1978.
10. *Ibid*, p. 100.
11. L.A. Sheridan, *The*

temple and smashed
ars. As they approa-
e, they were joined by
ions. Fighting broke
ards and the intruders.
arrived on the scene,
was killed and other
ed; three of them later
l. The dead included
ding Secondary School
r and two under-
Malaysian University.
was a young medical
il, who was on vaca-
Flinders University,
immediately arrested
his role in defiling the
s were also detained
culpable homicide not
r. The law has taken
e guilty have been

hit newspaper head-
sh and dismay among
ne Minister Hussein
binet colleagues acted
the fears and mis-
minority. Addressing
competition, the day
episode, Hussein Onn
significance of religious
necessity for greater
ween Moslems and non-
Mahathir, the Deputy
ppealed to the Malays
ical group who "try to
ity to heaven through
s."²⁹ The Malaysian
also appealed to various
reserve peace, harmony
s.³⁰

dents for a few months
e at Kerling and many
gang has been arrested

and desecrations will not recur again. Unfortunately there was resumption of violence and four temples were attacked in May-June 1979.³¹ The Indian leaders have appealed to the Malaysian government to take firm steps to prevent vandalism against the temples. The Inspector General of Police, Tan Sri Hanif, declared that the government will not hesitate to detain without trial Moslem fanatics who indulged in acts of religious bigotry.³² Hussein Onn also gave instructions that all mosques should include in their Friday Khutbah (sermon) the subject of temple desecration and the necessity to promote tolerance and understanding among various religious groups. The Malaysian government's concern and anxiety was also evident when it launched a National Dakwah month in November 1978. Speaking on the occasion, Hussein Onn urged the Moslems to adhere strictly to Islamic principles and to avoid the use of force in winning converts³³.

The Malaysian government, especially the Malay leadership, is faced with a serious dilemma. The policies of the govern-

ment have been double-edged. On the one hand, it is committed to the promotion of Islamic faith in all possible ways. Such a policy is also necessary to mobilise the Malays under the UMNO banner; otherwise, the Malays will look to the PAS for leadership and inspiration. At the same time, the realities of Malaysia and the needs of modernisation dictate that the government must encourage a less exclusivist and fundamentalist approach within Islam. Will the government succeed in its attempts to reconcile, what apparently looks like, the irreconcilable? The responsible sections in Malaysia are determined to take corrective steps; for, if the present drift is allowed to continue, religion could easily provide the basis for ethnic conflict, which, if begun, could tear the country apart.

(Dr V. Suryanarayan is Professor in the Centre for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Madras. Smt. Indira Ramathan is Research Scholar in the Centre for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Madras, Madras.)

FOOTNOTES

1. Letter from Tagore to C.F.Andrews on the eve of his visit to Java, Quoted in Hugh Tinker, *The Banyan Tree* (London, 1977), P. 111.
2. In East Malaysia, consisting of Sabah and Sarawak, Indians are very few in number (less than one thousand).
3. Gordon P. Means, "Public Policy toward religion in Malaysia", *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 51, No. 3, Fall 1978, pp 384-405.
4. R. Rajoo "Communalism and factionalism among Indians in peninsular Malaysia" (Unpublished research paper)
5. For an excellent study of Indian immigration to Malaya refer Kernail Singh Sandhu, *Indians in Malaya, Immigration and Settlement, 1786-1957* (London, 1969).
6. S. Arasaratnam, *Indians in Malaysia and Singapore* (Kuala Lumpur, 1970). pp 49-111.
7. *Times of India* August 23, 1978,
8. C.D. Cowan, *Nineteenth Century Malaya: The Origins of British Political Control* (London, 1961) p. 188.
9. *Report of the Federation of Malaya Constitutional Commission* (Kuala Lumpur, 1957), p. 73.
10. *Ibid*, p. 100
11. L.A. Sheridan, *The Federation of Malaya Constitution* (Singapore, 1961). p. 4.

12. Means, n. 3.
13. *Legislative Council Debates*, May 1, 1958, Cols, 4671-2.
14. *Straits Times*, May 1, 1959.
15. Alias Mohamad, "The Pan-Malayan Islamic Party: A Critical Observation", *Southeast Asian Affairs*, 1978 (Singapore, 1978), pp. 151-162.
16. The PAS was voted to power in the States of Kelantan and Trengganu in 1959. It lost Trengganu two years later, but continued its way in Kelantan till the March 1978 election. The PAS joined the Barisan Nasional in the "new order" which emerged after May 13, 1969. The PAS, however, left the Barisan at the end of 1977 due to differences with the UMNO leaders.
17. "New Hopes for the PMIP" *Asiaweek*, September 21, 1979, p 15.
18. R.S. Milne and Diane K. Mauzy, *Politics and Government in Malaysia* (Singapore, 1978), p. 143.
19. For an analysis of the 1978 Parliamentary elections refer V. Suryanarayan, *1978 Parliamentary Elections in Malaysia* (Monograph No. 1. Centre for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Madras, 1979.)
20. "Islam's rising cry", *Asiaweek*, August 24, 1979, pp 21-37.
21. Rodney Tasker, "The explosive mix of Mohamed and Modernity" *Far Eastern Economic Review*, February 9, 1978, pp 22-27 and Gordon P. Mean*, n. 3.
22. K. Das, "Extremism raises its head", *Far Eastern Economic Review*, September 1, 1978, pp 12-13.
23. Dilip Mukherjee "New factors in Malaysian poll, role of the Islamic Party", *Times of India*, 28th June, 1978.
24. Rodney Tasker, n. 21.
25. K. Das, n. 22.
26. *Asian Almanac*, Vol. 17, No. 9, March 3, 1979, p. 9294.
27. *New Straits Times*, the prominent newspaper published from Kuala Lumpur, covered the news in detail. See also "Religion poses new security threat in Malaysia", *Asia Research Bulletin* September 30, 1978, pp. 488-90.
28. *New Straits Times*, August 24, 1978.
29. *Hindustan Times*, May 31, 1979.
30. *Times of India*, August 23, 1978.
31. *Ibid*, June 3, 1979.
32. *Ibid*
33. Rodney Tasker, n. 21.

MANTHAN

ervation", *Southeast Asian*

in 1959. It lost Trengganu
election. The PAS joined
3, 1969. The PAS, however,
leaders.

(Singapore, 1978), p. 143.
narayan, 1978 *Parliamentary*
East Asian Studies, University

ar *Eastern Economic Review*,

September 1, 1978, pp 12-13.
Party", *Times of India*, 28th

Lumpur, covered the news in
ia", *Asia Research Bulletin*

Justice V.R. Krishna Iyer

Bertrand Russell— Catalyst of a New Satya Yuga*

GENERATIONS to come will scarce
believe that such a one as this ever in
flesh and blood walked upon this earth.

This glowing tribute was paid by Einstein
to Gandhi but these sublime words apply
appropriately to another towering figure
who liberally blended in himself a portion
of the total devotion to Truth and Peace of
Gandhi and the cosmic vision of Science
and Progress of Einstein, and enlivened,
with his brilliant reason, passionate
scepticism and humanist commitment, the
wavering wisdom of mankind at a time
when our tragic century is poised between
the power and promise of universal
happiness and the gloom and doom of
Annihilation's ashes! Bertrand Russell was
that poignant mentor whose mortal span
nearly touched a long century and now
belongs to the immortal galaxy of guiding
spirits from the other side. He stood for a
higher law of human relations and for a
world order where the family of man may
live in peace and joy. That brings me to
him in memory as a votary.

Three Passions

After a tempestuous tenure of sheer dedica-
tion to educating his fellow-billions on the
sombre prospects for the human planet and
on why enlightenment tantalises our power-
crazy and peace-hungry world, he has
merged with the other greats beyond the
temporal curtain* to continue perennially
his task of transmuting dangerous little
knowledge into desirable large wisdom. To
tell the world the know-how, the know-why
and the know-what of good government
and good life was his life's mission. The
manifesto of this marvellous man was
his 3-volume autobiography and the consti-
tuency of this candidate for *shanti* was
humanity. He wrote in the first page of the
first volume of his story what he lived to
the last breath of his long life: 1

Three passions, simple but overwhelmingly strong, have governed my life: the longing for love, the search for knowledge, and unbearable pity for the suffering of mankind. These passions, like great winds, have blown me hither and thither, in a wayward course, over a deep ocean of anguish, reaching to the very verge of despair.

I have sought love, first, because it brings ecstasy—ecstasy so great that I would often have sacrificed all the rest of life for a few hours of this joy. I have sought it, next, because it relieves loneliness—that terrible loneliness in which one shivering consciousness looks over the rim of the world into the cold unfathomable lifeless abyss. I have sought it, finally, because in the union of love I have seen, in a mystic miniature, the prefiguring vision of the heaven that saints and poets have imagined. This is what I sought, and though it might seem too good for human life, this is what—at last—I have found.

With equal passion I have sought knowledge. I have wished to understand the hearts of men. I have wished to know why the stars shine. And I have tried to apprehend the Pythagorean power by which number holds sway above the flux. A little of this, but not much, I have achieved.

Love and knowledge, so far as they were possible, led upward toward the heavens. But always pity brought me back to earth. Echoes of cries of pain reverberate in my heart. Children in famine, victims tortured by oppressors, helpless old people, a hated burden to their sons, and the whole world of loneliness, poverty, and pain make a mockery of

what human life should be. I long to alleviate the evil, but I cannot, and I too suffer.

This has been my life. I have found it worth living, and would gladly live it again if the chance were offered me.

This living creed is the art of excellence and the heart of education. Here is a sublime sage and *satyagrahi*. Here is an encyclopaedic personality who taught the ABC of atoms and the ABC of Relativity, who broadcast through the BBC his warning on the Human Peril, who criticized the democracy of politics for its denial of the democracy of economics and denounced economic democracy for negating political pluralism, who taught humankind the power of Reason and told the joint tenants of this good earth the need for compassion.

He analysed Matter and Mind and earned, while being a great mathematician, the Nobel prize for literature. He wrote against communism and Christianity, and engaged himself in unpopular essays and polemics for people's sake, even courted prison at an advanced age for the larger cause of human survival. He was a swordsman for sanity in human affairs and crusader for the essence of religion and against the bigotry of creeds in social behaviour. He became 'the leading questioner of our times' who challenged orthodoxies on 'philosophy, religion, marriage, morals, education and Marxism. But behind this brilliant enemy of unreason was the insatiable humanist, who dared to speak. He said—how I wish we had but one with this motto here in India—be isolated, be ignored, be attacked, be in doubt, be frightened, but not be silenced.² His deepest concern was the future of civilization, freedom and peace and so he appointed himself as the one-man task force to

defend *homo sapiens* from insanity, inhuman leaders and fol- cal, in government and person had guns and gov- 'dressed in a li- 'unarmed victor was, perhaps, influence he w of it all was h with the sublin restructuring so Will Durant ca born out of th logic.' In a let 1912 Rabindran the core of Ru the quintessence

I read your Religion in Journal with reminded me shad which r

यतो वाचो नि-
शानन्दं ब्रह्मणो

'From Him, back baffled, of Brahman all fear.'

Through kn- prehend him life of the I within the great joy pleasures an and so you a

This joy itse- of Brahman authority im realization o

should be. I long to
il, but I cannot, and I

my life, I have found it
and would gladly live it
nce were offered me.

the art of excellence and
ation. Here is a sublime
vi. Here is an encyclo-
who taught the ABC of
BC of Relativity, who
the BBC his warning on
l, who criticized the
itics for its denial of the
nomics and denounced
acy for negating political
taught humankind the
and told the joint tenants
the need for compassion.

ter and Mind and earned,
great mathematician, the
literature. He wrote
m and Christianity, and
in unpopular essays and
ple's sake, even courted
anced age for the larger
survival. He was a sword-
in human affairs and
essence of religion and
try of creeds in social
became 'the leading
r times' who challenged
philosophy, religion, mar-
cation and Marxism. But
nt enemy of unreason was
humanist, who dared to
—how I wish we had but
to here in India—be isola-
be attacked, be in doubt,
ut not be silenced.³ His
was the future of civiliza-
d peace and so he appoint-
the one-man task force to

defend *homo sapiens* from the invasion of
insanity, inhumanity and ignorance of
leaders and followers; economic and politi-
cal, in government and society. His one pen
and person had more power than the many
guns and governments of proud dwarfs
'dressed in a little brief authority', and his
'unarmed victory' of sense over savagery
was, perhaps, proof of the world-wide
influence he wielded at ninety. At the root
of it all was his consuming preoccupation
with the sublime within Man and with
restructuring society on fundamental values.
Will Durant calls him a 'mystic communist
born out of the ashes of mathematical
logic.' In a letter to Bertrand Russell in
1912 Rabindranath Tagore wrote what is
the core of Russell's *weltanschauung* and
the quintessence of all religions:³

I read your article on the Essence of
Religion in the last issue of the *Hibbert
Journal* with very great interest. It
reminded me of a verse in the Upani-
shad which runs thus :

यतो वाचो निर्वर्तन्ते अक्षरं मनसा सह ।
अनन्दं ब्रह्मणो विद्वान न विभेति कुतश्चन ॥

'From Him, words as well as mind, come
back baffled. Yet he who knows the joy
of Brahman (the Infinite) is free from
all fear.'

Through knowledge you cannot ap-
prehend him; yet when you live the
life of the Infinite and are not bound
within the finite self you realize that
great joy which is above all the
pleasures and pains of our selfish life
and so you are free from all fear.

This joy itself is the positive perception
of Brahman. It is not a creed which
authority imposes on us but an absolute
realization of the Infinite which we can

only attain by breaking through the
bonds of the narrow self and setting our
will and love free.

Unique Personality

The unique personality and strange paradox
of Bertrand Russell is a fascinating study.
This profound philosopher and political
activist was at once a cold rationalist and
warm humanist, became progressively less
respectable with established authority and
more endearing to the youth and the left. In
the later chapter of his life he focussed on
Authority and the Individual, on 'Has Man
a Future', and on Man's Peril in the nuclear
age. The macabre fate of this warring world
wheeling towards cosmic collapse agonised
him in his old age but he fought against
war and tension as in the Cuban crisis and
the China-India conflict. 'In addressing
himself directly to Kennedy, Krushchev,
Nehru, and Chou En-Lai, Bertrand Russell
valiantly interposed the small voice of
reason during those frightening weeks when
we awoke every morning to the prospect of
universal annihilation'. A great thinker thus
transformed himself into a potent statesman
making mankind sanguine that the voice of
one sincere soul may be heeded in the
callous chancellaries !

He was a global Gandhian in one dimen-
sion and militantly campaigned as a paci-
fist in World War I and against atomic
tests all through his later life. The famous
campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, the
notable Russell-Einstein statement a protest
by Nobel scientists and the Committee of
Hundred for mass civil disobedience found
Bertrand Russell a cosmic hero. He did
satyagraha and was sentenced to imprison-
ment for two months by the little law! Well
past ninety but strong of purpose, Russell
attacked US policies in Vietnam and, in
collaboration with Jean-Paul Sartre and

others, organised the International War Crimes Tribunal!

The greatest guarantee of peace is not the balance of terror organised by lunatics in power; the surest insurance for democracy is not the cynical glitter of the demagoguery of Authority or the iron irony of attractive 'isms' but the resistless conscience and unflagging spirit of unalloyed lovers of Man Everywhere. Bertrand Russell was such a one, and he is the true Foundation, more than the Foundation in his name, of Tomorrow!

A dozen Russells will change our savage century into civilized safety, reduce the threat of an Orwellian 1984 and produce a system of living together in freedom, joy and creative fulfilment. Power geared to justice is possible only if the holders of power are educated in human excellence. But how do we enlighten 'education' itself to become functional and invest power with ethics and tame its instincts, without *karma yogis* like Bertrand Russell? There is much to dissent from in this champion of humanitarian ideals and freedom of thought because of his cold logic, cynical scepticism, mordant criticism and style of life, and perhaps, his unwitting obsessions with exaggerations and individualistic anathemas. A few passages from the Presentation Address by the Chief of the Swedish Academy when Russell was awarded the Nobel prize give us an insight into this great man's strengths and weaknesses.⁴

Much in Russell's writings excites protest. Unlike many other philosophers, he regards this as one of the natural and urgent tasks of an author. Of course, his rationalism does not solve all troublesome problems and cannot be used as a panacea, even if the philosopher willingly writes out the prescription.

Unfortunately, there are—and obviously always will be—obscure forces which evade intellectual analysis and refuse to submit to control. Thus, even if Russell's work has, from a purely practical point of view, met with but little success in an age which has seen two world wars—even if it may look as if, in the main, his ideas have been bitterly repudiated—we must nevertheless admire the unwavering valour of this rebellious teller of the truth and that sort of dry, fiery strength and gay buoyancy with which he presents his convictions, which are never dictated by opportunism but are often directly unpopular.

Catalyst of The New World Order

Bertrand Russell was surely a philosopher but also a mighty catalyst of the new world order which the Hindus may call *Satya Yuga*. An undying optimism characterised Bertrand Russell. He wrote with warm emotion and sparkling clarity on his convictions.⁵

The everyday world presses in upon the philosopher and his ivory tower begins to crumble. The future of mankind more and more absorbs my thoughts. I grew up in the full flood of Victorian optimism, and although the easy cheerfulness of that time is no longer possible, something remains with me of the hopefulness that then was easy. It is now no longer easy. It demands a certain fortitude and a certain capacity to look beyond the moment to a more distant future. But I remain convinced, whatever dark times may lie before us, that mankind will emerge, that the habit of mutual forbearances, which now seems lost, will be recovered, and that the reign of brutal violence will not last forever. Mankind

has to learn which the of skill will Moral and inextricably make men truth, and for evil pa emerge, it and kindly neither will most disaster I hope that teach wise arduous ro the new w world requi or later, and history lies past.

He argued and change for the expressed in the Soviet system h

"The philosopher the world: ou it."

This is the chal education in the end pursued is ensures a world of human pers enjoyment of be and warm fratern The advances in Power and slump a crisis for humi language of Bertra

"In former da to the Devil to Nowadays the from science,

are—and obviously secure forces which analysis and refuse to. Thus, even if Rus- m a purely practical with but little success seen two world wars k as if, in the main, bitterly repudiated— less admire the un- this rebellious teller of t sort of dry, fiery buoyancy with which convictions, which are opportunism but are popular.

World Order

s surely a philosopher catalyst of the new the Hindus may call being optimism charac- Russell. He wrote with parking clarity on his

ld presses in upon the his ivory tower begins to ture of mankind more s my thoughts. I grew ood of Victorian opti- gh the easy cheerful- is no longer possible, ns with me of the hope- hen was easy. It is easy. It demands a e and a certain capa- yond the moment to a ure. But I remain con- rk dark times may lie be- ankind will emerge, that mutual forbearances, seems lost, will be that the reign of brutal ot last forever. Mankind

has to learn some new lessons of which the necessity is due to increase of skill without increase of wisdom. Moral and intellectual requirements are inextricably intertwined. Evil passions make men incapable of seeing the truth, and false beliefs afford excuses for evil passions. If the world is to emerge, it requires both clear thinking and kindly feeling. It may be that neither will be learned except through utmost disaster. I hope this is not the case. I hope that something less painful can teach wisdom. But by whatever arduous road, I am convinced that the new wisdom which the new world requires will be learned sooner or later, and that the best part of human history lies in the future, not in the past.

He argued and acted because his goal was change for the better. His belief is best expressed in the words of Lenin whose Soviet system he hardly relished.

"The philosophers have only interpreted the world : our business is to change it."

This is the challenge. The means to it is education in the widest connotation, the end pursued is excellence in life which ensures a world order where the worth of human person, individual dignity, enjoyment of beauty, love of knowledge and warm fraternity are inalienable values. The advances in science, concentration of Power and slump in goodness have created a crisis for human survival. In the grim language of Bertrand Russell :⁶

"In former days, man sold themselves to the Devil to acquire magical powers. Nowadays they acquire these powers from science, and find themselves

compelled to become devils. There is no hope for the world unless power can be tamed, and brought into the service, not of this or that group of fanatical tyrants, but of the whole human race, white and yellow and black, fascist and communist and democrat; for science has made it inevitable that all must live or all must die."

Today, cold war and brinkmanship have heightened this global danger but myopic men, unable to see beyond their nose, lose themselves on little things in our country and its tribal, medieval complexes calling everything politics. The menace of the Midas touch of seeking and making gold out of everything by politicising, is the curse of India to-day. Let us look at the larger forces and fortunes, not the local littleness of politicking if I may speak *sotto voce*.

My insistent thesis is that it is imperative for the universal survival of people as evolving towards a more perfect union and personhood, not as members of a trans-continental animal farm, to impart, in widest diffusion, education, more than erudition, wisdom, more than knowledge, excellence, more than prowess, higher consciousness, more than material advances. That is the testament of Russell; that is the theme of my own humble life's brief evening.

From Mundane Pleasures to Human Joys

Society must endeavour to shift the focus from mundane pleasures to humane joys. Humanity everywhere must strive to sensitize collective awareness to the deeper purposes of our inner being. A new mating of science and spirituality, a blended adventure of human ascent and divine descent, a self conscious plan of universal

education for human excellence—that is the 'consummation devoutly to be wished' and, remember, as things now escalate, 'to be or not to be—that is the question'. The conquest of happiness is possible, not through constitutions and courts nor through poll processes organized by hypocritical assassins of public morals nor, indeed, through the characterless campuses of proliferating universities managed by merchants of education and mercenaries of student managements and *never* through the nightmare of Cold War and Corrupt Power divorced from humanism, doping the governed across the earth with seductive propaganda and populist hortations and tightening the nylon noose of physical dependence, mental slavery and moral surrender on crypto-colonial nations. Please beware of the advocates of political *bhakti marg* and personality cult! The Future of Man is hanging in the balance—and we, one-fifth of whole mankind—are vitally concerned. Our ancients taught what I might crudely call 'soul technology' so that this 'one world' may be fundamentally different from a biped zoo of global dimensions. We must retrieve our soul and our sense, caught in the cross-fire of power blocs.

The urgency of the realization comes to us because our nation—with the noblest heritage of the wisest sages, with the longest Constitution and its sublimest Preamble, with social reformers, spiritual seers, political architects and charismatic leaders—has passed through experience which have made 650 million descendants of ancient *Rishis* colonially crawl before Authority, live and die on the pavements and pig-sty slums and butcher each other chanting God's name, cheating God's children or inhaling ideology—what shame that the basic issue, as we enter the eighties, is: where is

man? Where is justice? Where is truth? Human history is avenging itself on the present century for poisoning Socrates, crucifying Christ, assassinating Gandhi and, together with them, the countless sufferers and seekers all over the continents. Let us avenge current history and the counterfeit society it leaves as a cultural legacy by countering the systematic sabotage of courage and virtue by the systematic campaign for a new uprising of the human spirit and fulfilment of our tryst with destiny. This good earth is genuflecting before the mafia. We must reverse the trend. The pervasive lunacy and obduracy of Power, at every level, make one pessimistic but, maybe, there is still a remedy through the synthesis of materialism and spiritualism acting in concert to resist evil and invite good, through upgrading the goodness of the individual and eventually, the collective consciousness of society.

But what is good? The inquiring rationalist and the convinced *satwic*, the dialectical critic and the scientist with 'mystic illumination', will agree that the human spirit is more precious than the human carcas and whatever promotes the harmony between body and spirit brings out our true being and tunes it to that invisible order which sustains the cosmos. So, all that subserves the enduring and ultimate in Man is good and all that imprisons the soul subtly or grossly is bad. Such is the Art of Living and Science of Being. This is the touchstone and, indeed, whet-stone, for a brave new world.

I talk to you today on education for excellence. The definition of excellence can be derived from the personality of Bertrand Russell himself and his versatile genius. Amazing efficiency, remark-

able memory, great aristocratic independence, humanitarian feeling, authoritarianism—the spring of his action, of his excellence and Progress.

The realities of today, tomorrow and the future and the agues of the community, in the proportion, opportunity for every personality, compels us no longer to play the game of the Establishment but to live the lives of a worthy citizen. The Stakes are high, the capabilities of the human mind will be what we need for universal excellence.

धर्मो रक्षति रक्षितः
तमसो मा

(Lead us from unconsciousness to light)

This backdrop makes for a deeper understanding of the human condition for human excellence. We have poverty and poverty remains a constant. The first commandment is that the first commandment is fellow-feeling. Sa- than brute. Says his ringing voice: 'I

First, feel for the fellow-feel? Do you see millions of the world of sages have laboured to brute millions are starved have been star-

ce? Where is truth? avenging itself on or poisoning Socrates, assassinating Gandhi them, the countless all over the continents. ent history and the it leaves as a cultural ering the systematic e and virtue by the n for a new uprising spirit and fulfilment destiny. This good g before the mafia. We trend. The pervasive ey of Power, at every pessimistic but, maybe, remedy through the rialism and spiritualism o resist evil and invite upgrading the goodness of ad eventually, the collec- of society.

od? The inquiring ratio- nvinced *satwic*, the dialect- the scientist with 'mystic ill agree that the human precious than the human whatever promotes the har- body and spirit brings eing and tunes it to that which sustains the cosmos. observes the enduring and n is good and all that ul subly or grossly is bad. rt of Living and Science s is the touchstone and, estone, for a brave new

today on education for the definition of excellence d from the personality of ssell himself and his ver- Amazing efficiency, remark-

able memory, great intellect, wide interests, aristocratic independence, deep humanitarian feeling and hearty hatred of authoritarianism—these were the main-spring of his actions and the components of his excellence yoked to Man, Peace and Progress.

The realities of today, the shock that awaits tomorrow and the panacea for the aches and agues of the indivisible world community, in the profound perspective of opportunity for every individual to unfold his personality, compel creative thinkers no longer to play the intellectual call-girls of the Establishment but the meaningful mid-wives of a worthy world plan of enlightenment. The Stakes are great, the time is short, the capabilities for retrieval are there, the will is what we need—the will for equal, universal excellence.

श्रमसो मा सद्गमय
तमसो मा ज्योतिर्गमय

(Lead us from untruth to truth; from darkness to light)

This backdrop makes for perspicacity of understanding of the essentials of education for human excellence in the conditions as they are. We have so much suffering, privation and poverty in the world that equality remains a constitutional myth. So it is that the first component of excellence is fellow-feeling. Sans sympathy, man is less than brute. Says Swami Vivekananda, in his ringing voice :?

First, feel from the heart. . . . Do you feel? Do you feel that millions and millions of the descendants of gods and of sages have become nextdoor neighbours to brutes? Do you feel that millions are starving today, and millions have been starving for ages? Do you

feel that ignorance has come over the land as a dark cloud? Does it make you restless? Does it make you sleepless? Has it gone into your blood, coursing through your veins, becoming constant with your heart-beats? Has it made you almost mad? Are you seized with that one idea of the misery of ruin, and have you forgotten all about your name, your fame, your wives, your children, your property, even your own bodies? Have you done that?

Education begins with the heart, with human sympathy without which dignity, equality and fraternity—those vital values which make life and liberty worthwhile make no sense. Intellect is amoral, absent the culture of the heart, Fritjof Capra quotes Carlos Castaneda to the same effect :⁸

Any path is only a path, and there is no affront to oneself or to others, in dropping it if that is what your heart tells you..... Look at every path closely and deliberately. Try it as many times as you think necessary. Then ask yourself, and yourself alone, one question . . . Does this path have a heart? If it does, the path is good; if it doesn't it is of no use.

What is Excellence?

The point is that excellence is not intellectual elitism or attainment but skill in action guided by humanism. The best man is he who has a heart and a head, not a head without a heart. The latter is a dangerous beast and we have many in the city forests! The yawning gap between the haves and the havenots of various dimensions is due to the spiritual penury of the materialist haves. To wipe every tear from every eye makes a *mahatma*. This implies

fellow-feeling, charity and Good Samaritan responses.

Likewise, pursuit of excellence means possession of character. Education has for its object formation of character. If character makes the man—and it does—we need its basic components. They are courage, honesty, compassion, perspective of perfection. Courage is the seat of all virtues and cowardice is the graveyard of all good traits. That is why Vivekananda exalted *abhaya*, as the great need of man. Gandhi was like granite. Though frail in figure, he was strong in determination. So was Socrates, Christ, Prahlada, Meera—why, Bertrand Russell himself who tenanted British prisons twice for the cause of peace. Fear of physical infliction or pain or prison never deters the man of character. But the worms among men—and they are many in our political country, even superworms—know only to crawl. These pusillanimous souls are perfect artists of genuflexion, bend like rubber before corrupt Power and behave as ventriloquists of these in authority at any time. Such people are spiritually dead but we have such biological bipeds in numbers in our country as elsewhere who prove Bernard Shaw's wise witticism that Darwin taught *not* that all men were monkeys once but that some monkeys have no tails now! We find them in governments, in public life and in private life. Such spineless disasters are not educated in excellence, whatever their academic distinctions, high offices or other attainments.

Courage goes with honesty and truthfulness, both indispensable for excellence. An honest man is the noblest work of God and, of course, an honest God is the noblest work of man! But the tragedy of our Watergate world is that dishonest criminals in high places have made

discovery of excellence difficult. Curiously, the more dishonest a public figure the more hortative is his moral exercise. Suspect every preacher of public morals for he is often a private crook. Our country has the brood aplenty, not only in politics, as is often thought, but also among the noble professions and even among the *gurus* and godmen. The Executive has no monopoly of dubiety. Even the judiciary may honestly claim a share, let alone the businessmen whose business with politics and administration is business. Corruption is a way of life although it serves a purpose in static societies, as Gunnar Myrdal comforts us in his *Asian Drama*. Where nothing moves, at least bribery sets files—and sometimes judicial commissions—in motion, although the wrong way.

If excellence is perfection, bigotry is its antithesis. For, truth which is perfection never unfolds unless all sides of it are seen. Intolerance is thus the enemy of the whole truth and the ally of desired falsehood. Democracy will perish where intolerance is practised and tyranny will flourish where dissent is frowned upon. Manufacture of minds begins, conformist flattery of Authority becomes a paying game. Hitler practised it: mini-Hitlers have attempted it. Many nations have paid dearly for it. To give instances at home is easy but improper, especially when many parties which claim to be innocent seem to be guilty.

Bertrand Russell, a sworn adversary of obscurantist obduracy, outspokenly exposed such dogmatic mentality.⁹

If you think that your belief is based upon reason, you will support it by argument, rather than by persecution, and will abandon it if the argument goes against you. But if your belief is based on faith, you will realise that argument

is useless, force either by stunting the young

Again, he fo words :¹⁰

In the wo one of the truthfulness of basing and infer much div mental b beings. . . acquired sophical whole sp ducing, of fanatic of sympa

My plea is t rance baffles integrity is e compassion that democri visa. In the democracy y to speak of freedom is st mafia and v with proof. shriek shrill make them opportunity.

Education i ssertion and fact in favo education ideas comp tance, and t is darkness, is why, as E

ce difficult. Curiously, at a public figure is his moral exercise. of public morals for crook. Our country not only in politics, but also among the even among the *gurus* executive has no monon- the judiciary may re, let along the busi- ness with politics and ness. Corruption is a it serves a purpose in innar Myrdal comforts *yama*. Where nothing y sets files—and some- missions—in motion, way.

fection, bigotry is its th which is perfection all sides of it are seen. the enemy of the whole of desired falsehood. h where intolerance is y will flourish where upon. Manufacture of rmist flattery of Autho- g game. Hitler practis- have attempted it. paid dearly for it. To e is easy but improper, y parties which claim to be guilty.

a sworn adversary of cy, outspokenly exposed ality.⁹

that your belief is based you will support it by r than by persecution, n it if the argument goes ut if your belief is based ll realise that argument

is useless, and will therefore resort to force either in the form of persecution or by stunting and distorting the minds of the young in what is called "education".

Again, he fought fanaticism in convincing words:¹⁰

In the welter of conflicting fanaticism, one of the few unifying forces is scientific truthfulness, by which I mean the habit of basing our beliefs upon observations and inferences as impersonal, and as much divested of local and temperamental bias as is possible for human beings. . . . The habit of careful veracity acquired in the practice of this philosophical method can be extended to the whole sphere of human activity, producing, wherever it exists, a lessening of fanaticism with an increasing capacity of sympathy and mutual understanding.

My plea is that fads are follies, that intolerance baffles excellence, that diamond-hard integrity is essential in public life, that sans compassion social justice is gibberish and that democracy survives only if dissent has visa. In the greatest democracy, the largest democracy and the oldest democracy, not to speak of the other brands of democracy, freedom is stifled by clever strategy or coarse mafia and we, in India, are not unfamiliar with proof. Only one rider. Those who shriek shrill for liberty and probity also make them a casualty when they get the opportunity.

Education is the negation of dogmatic assertion and is subversive of suppression of fact in favour of fabricated 'truth'. When education overpowers propaganda open ideas compete in the free market for acceptance, and then evolves the truth. Falsehood is darkness, and leads to catastrophe. That is why, as H.G. Wells puts it, human history

becomes more and more a race between education and catastrophe. And, yet, we have no scheme of education of the right kind, only a plan to abolish illiteracy. And, paradoxically, our pattern of institutional education increases our illiteracy in many matters. When people in towers of power close their minds with walls of ignorance and force followers to worship the cult of prescribed 'truth', catastrophe will overtake the nation. The motivation for false 'truths' being sold out maybe religion, politics, economics or authoritarianism. The result is the same, even if we inscribe '*satyameva jayathe*' everywhere. For educated people rarely digest personality cult, and charisma, in so far as it dopes minds and dulls independent judgements, is undesirable.

Russell rudely exposed the danger of blind faith:¹¹

Autocracy, in its modern forms, is always combined with a creed; that of Hitler, that of Mussolini, or that of Stalin. Whenever there is autocracy, a set of beliefs is instilled into the minds of the young before they are capable of thinking, and these beliefs are taught so constantly and so persistently that it is hoped the pupils will never afterwards be able to escape from the hypnotic effect of their early lessons. The beliefs are instilled, not by giving any reason for supposing them true, but by parrot-like repetition, by mass hysteria and mass suggestion. When two opposite creeds have been taught in this fashion, they produce two armies which clash, not two parties that can discuss. Each hypnotised automaton feels that everything most sacred is bound up with the victory of his side, everything most horrible is exemplified by the other side. Such fanatical factions cannot meet in Parlia-

ment and say 'let us see which side has the majority'; that would be altogether too pedestrian since each side stands for a sacred cause. This sort of dogmatism must be prevented if dictatorship are to be avoided, and measures for preventing it ought to form an essential part of education.

Excellence is perfection. And so, it is that Swami Vivekananda, with matchless simplicity, says: Education is the manifestation of the perfection already in man. But 'perfection' belongs to everyone, the humblest and the highest. The difference is that creativity that dwells in everybody lies dormant in most. Why? because man's full potential on the physical, mental and spiritual planes of life is not unfolded but inhibited. His consciousness is warped, and so, his mind functionally fails.

How then can man attain perfection or excellence? Here I depart from the materialist's thought and, perhaps, from Bertrand Russell's semi-atheism. I prefer the scientifically tested theory of Maharshi Mahesh Yogi that the use of one's full potential would enable a man to think, speak and act in such a manner that every thought, word and action would not only accomplish the maximum in material life but would also become a means of his remaining in tune with cosmic consciousness which is the source of strength of all creativity. In such a state, the full potential of man is on the level of the Unlimited Potential of Universal Being.

We must view education from this angle of maximisation of creativity in each person. Here, again, I quote Maharshi Mahesh Yogi:²

The purpose of education is to culture the minds of a man so that he can ac-

complish all his aims in life. Education, to justify itself, should enable a man to use the full potential of his body, mind and spirit. It should also develop in him the ability to make the best use of his personality, surroundings and circumstances so that he may accomplish the maximum in life for himself and for others. There are tremendous latent possibilities which are never unfolded by young people during their student life, the most precious time for laying the foundations of their careers.

Relevant Thoughts

The impact of the broad submissions I have made on our current educational systems is obvious. I have not spun out abstractions from Bertrand Russell's life and work, but presented some of his thoughts which have burning relevance to our country and contemporary system. The poignant absence from our educational process of the vital values Bertrand Russell represented is emphatically brought out by the long distance between human excellence and our educational obsolescence. To a large extent, our diehard colonial culture and feudal heritage are responsible for this pathetic pass. But 30 years have given enough time for the nation to wake up to its responsibilities in shaping an authentic system without wallowing in educational polemics, imitative courses and busy manufacture of degrees through commercial adventures of collegiate institutions heavily subsidised by the state. We continue to impart Western educational junk alienated from the scientific scepticism, radical humanism and basic integrity which are the hallmark of an educated man and refuse to develop an Indian identity and orientation, a creativity and ethos tuned to the critical needs of our hopeful millions in this free half-century. When India became

free and framed a Constitution, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar told the members of the Constituent Assembly:

By independence we have freed ourselves of blaming the British for our wrong. If hereafter we will have no more excuses for ourselves.

Thus, bereft of a verbal debate and a negative attitude, we are exposed to a generation of mediocre, uneducated literates, muses and charlatans through a system of Americanisation of a decrepit system which has robbed a society of justice, dignity, integrity, the people and, above all, the spirit of free pursuit of knowledge (*sundaram*).

These generalisations are lengthy critique by and out of place, the very foundation of the profession which, in essence, is a conspiracy to confine myself to observations touching on sciences and basic sciences—in our presence.

We are so utterly every branch of a system—if I may say so, a narrowness and perversity with the system, the audacity and arrogant policy on higher education. The universities on government funds enjoy paper-authority.

all his aims in life. Education, itself, should enable a man to realise the full potential of his body, mind and spirit. It should also develop his ability to make the best use of his personality, surroundings and resources so that he may accomplish his aim in life for himself and for his country. There are tremendous latent talents which are never unfolded by the system during their student life, and this precious time for laying the foundations of their careers.

...ghs
...of the broad submissions I received from our current educational system. I have not spun out of Bertrand Russell's life but presented some of his ideas which have burning relevance to the Indian and contemporary system. The absence from our educational system of the vital values Bertrand Russell has emphasized is emphatically brought out by the widening distance between human values and our educational obsolescence. The system, our diehard colonial heritage are responsible for this. But 30 years have passed. It is time for the nation to wake up and take responsibilities in shaping an education without wallowing in education, imitative courses and degrees through commerce of colleges through commerce of the state. We continue to have Western educational junk, the scientific scepticism, and basic integrity which is the mark of an educated man and not an Indian identity and creativity and ethos tuned to the needs of our hopeful millions in the future. When India became

free and framed a Constitution, Dr Ambedkar told the members of the Assembly :

By independence we have lost the excuse of blaming the British for anything going wrong. If hereafter things go wrong, we will have nobody to blame except ourselves.

Thus, bereft of alibis, lost in babels of verbal debate and injecting informational negativity and amoral, anarchical philistinism we are expensively processing a restless generation of minimal modernisation, uneducated literates, degree-holding ignoramus and characterless invertebrates through a system fashioned by second-hand Americanisation and preservation of a decrepit system which is a distant neighbour of a societal order charged with justice, dignity, integrity, commitment to the people and, above all, gold-tipped by a spirit of free pursuit of *satyam, sivam, sundaram*.

These generalisations are not enough, but a lengthy critique by a lay outsider in inept and out of place, for that is a challenge to the very foundation of the educational profession which, like all bourgeois professions is a conspiracy against the laity. I shall confine myself to a few fundamental observations touching the genetic deficiencies and basic structure—some of them—in our present system.

We are so utterly government-oriented in every branch of activity that the 'baboonism'—if I may so describe the backwardness and proclivity to monkeying with the system, equipped with ignorant audacity and arrogant authority—of state policy on higher education is an inevitability. The universities are wholly dependent on government funds and moods. They enjoy paper-autonomy because political

governments use their power-patronage to politicise vice-chancellorships, infiltrate into the staff and student community on a party basis, tamper with admissions, examinations and even conferment of doctorates, shake or shape policies and projects so frequently that the mental-moral level of our houses of culture are made to the measure of the politicians in power. And, alas : when that species is saturated with 'blackguardly blockheads and blockheadly blackguard' collegiate enlightenment suffers a sentence of transportation for life. Our universities should cease to be the kept educational mistresses of the Establishment. We must have education enough to appreciate this danger. I use exaggerated language because the plight is desperate.

Kindly consider whether today, we do justice, in the critical educational field, to the preambular prescriptions of Liberty of Thought and Expression, Equality of Status and of Opportunity, the Dignity of the Individual and the Unity and Integrity of the Nation. From admissions to examinations, through curricula and extra-curricular activities onto evaluation and choice of career there is anti-justice to the constitutional value.

Story of Resistance

Bertrand Russell's biography is the story of resistance to unquestioning creed, packaged information, dauntless inquiry into Truth and battle against falsehood even to the point of courting prison sentence as a martyr for the cause of human survival. Man is more than biological biped and must possess those virtues which our Constitution sets out. And yet our colleges hardly humanize in this vital sense. You get information, metal-boxed in England in the Victorian age; you get virtual inhibition of creative search, passionate scepticism and scientific experiments through a system of

examinations where the measure of merit is the ability to regurgitate; you get vintage instruction from teachers who are busy agitating and musty in their subjects and need to be taught through on going education; you get dated dogmas, superstitious science and irrational reason as class lessons and guarantee of meticulous reproduction through the marks system; you get frustration if you are a Bertrand Russell and chance of making a daring 'patriot' if you drop out in time. You pick cowardice and check, opium of sex and originality of agitation because there is nothing else to do. You acquire anarchical tendencies and negative growth because creative thinking and striking new paths are anathema. You become dishonest since it pays and perfect the arts of corruption and subservience or the alternatives of bullying and politicking because the whole atmosphere is geared to ends dictating the means and the ends are degrees and high marks however secured. You get estranged from the masses for their development and social justice are educational irrelevancies except ritualistically. Peace, humanity, dignity, truthfulness, challenge of high ranking untruth hiding behind authority, egalitarian fraternity and basic integrity are not only redundancies but hindrances because university education is regarded religiously as a monopolistic route to a profit-making career by hook or crook. Small wonder, the Indian Revolution, with the midnight tryst, remains illiterately asleep. The first five revolutionary words of our Constitution—We, the People of India—I often feel, will, one day take revenge on our 'educated' strategists when they discover the conspiracy. A rediscovery of India is round the corner.

If I continue in this strain the large profession which thrives on this inert system may be antagonised and your patience will be

exhausted and I would have misused my opportunity. But the dynamics and mechanics of education, if human excellence—not human waste—is the end, must radically change. I cite a recent, moderate witness, Dr A.D. Pandey.^{1a}

A serious aspirant for higher education has to reap only frustration when he discovers that his craving for a relevantly refurbished higher education remains unsatiated at the college level.

Higher education suffered most in the process of blind expansion. The charm of a varsity degree infused in most of our students a false sense of social prestige and this caused an irreparable dent on the public exchequer. Society spends Rs. 5,000 on a single graduate. The return is disappointingly low. The contrast works at both the ends. The quality of higher education is so poor that the bubbling urge of a young aspirant remains unsatisfied. It is stereotyped and replete with irrelevancies. On the other hand the quantitative growth of higher education has audaciously overlooked the very need of sound academic standards.

The fact is that the triple *talak* has been uttered between the huge warehouses of student numbers and the exercise known as higher education. And reunion is possible only when 'campds turbulence and educational entropy end through a deeper awareness and holistic understanding of the soul of education for excellence.

My concluding point is the culmination of the teaching of the Indian sages that the Science of Being and Art of Living can be perfected through the practical wisdom of integrated life handed down by the *Vedic* *rishis* and adapted by scientific experiments of the Western world.

If we agree
Bertrand
we share
H.G. Wells
we may v
next chap
take the v

Life b
gether
man, t
unified
secret
knowle
Life, fo
for ever
stand u
and str
stars.

In our time
sarvic and
tic. It is f
strength o
struggle sug
we have
to harmon
and outer
manner th
not merely i
obstreperou
but in effect
potential.
man is born
for fulfilmen
ment, new
yugadharma
life which al
auspic forces
cellence throu

Warning

Bertrand Ru
us against Fu
breakdown an

... have misused my
the dynamics and
on, if human excel-
-ste—is the end, must
ite a recent, moderate
ey.¹³

... for higher education
frustration when he
aving for a relevant-
er education remains
ollege level.

... suffered most in the
ansion. The charm of
used in most of our
se of social prestige
n irreparable dent on
er Society spends Rs.
aduate. The return is
t. The contrast works
The quality of higher
oor that the bubbling
g aspirant remains
ereotyped and replete
On the other hand
wth of higher educa-
overlooked the very
emic standards.

... triple *talak* has been
huge warehouses of
he exercise known as
d reunion is possible
urbulence and educa-
ough a deeper aware-
understanding of the soul
ence.

... the culmination of
dian sages that the
Art of Living can be
practical wisdom of
down by the *Vedic*
scientific experiments.

If we agree on the optimistic note struck by Bertrand Russell in his Autobiography, if we share the future outlook for mankind H.G. Wells project in his *Outline of History*, we may well venture to prophesy that the next chapters to be written by history will take the world order forward:¹⁴

Life begins perpetually. Gathered together at last under the leadership of man, the student-teacher of the universe, unified, disciplined, armed with the secret powers of the atom, and with knowledge as yet beyond dreaming, Life, for every dying to be born afresh, for ever young and eager, will presently stand upon earth as upon a footstool, and stretch out its realm amidst the stars.

In our times many things are happening, *sauvic* and *satanic*, tyrannical and democratic. It is foolish to be complacent on the strength of cultural heritage when life's struggle suggests contrary trends. Even so, we have persistently to press forward to harmonise inner spiritual content and outer material attainment in such manner that democracy becomes safe not merely in the formal poll process and obstreperous parliamentary proceedings, but in effectually unveiling the whole human potential. 'Generation after generation man is born anew and pursues new quests for fulfilment, new aspiration for attainment, new standards for action.' Our *yugadharma* compels us to battle for good life which also means to battle against the *ausuric* forces. That is the gateway to excellence through education.

Warning

Bertrand Russell, the invisible sage, warns us against Future Shock and adaptational breakdown and demands of us to abjure

the neurotic compulsions of a nuclear society through a new culture-nature relationship. His message, if grasped before the rush of events makes human existence an extinguished lamb, will promote interiorization of consciousness as against the exteriorization of societal sickness. This change of heart, mind and spirit, this marriage of culture with nature and science with religion, this hopeful adventure which will express the secular sacredness of the good earth and the living divinity of its human inhabitants, is education for excellence. The adult is more in need of it than the adolescent; the methodology of informal yet creative cultural courses are far more meaningful than the formal yet negative informational drills. Global educationists, not class-room pedagogues, are the desideratum. Bertrand Russell, by that standard, is a wide-eyed Socrates and among the best. After all, education makes man human and involved in society.

Any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in mankind; and therefore seem to know for whom the bell tolls, it tolls for thee.

John Donne

How deeply I wish I could pray for revolutionary excellence for all my countrymen and make them chant in unison as a nation those great lines which are most definitional of true education.¹⁵

Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high;
Where knowledge is free;
Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls;
Where words come out from the depth of truth;
Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection;

Where the clear stream of reason has
not lost its way into the dreary desert
sand of dead habit;

Where the mind is led forward by the
into ever-widening thought and action—
Into that heaven of freedom, my Father,
let my country awake.

Since those in power—political and economic—are apt to forget that we live in an indivisible world and that so long as intense inequality and arrogant injustice persist, the voice of revolution will rise, Herbert Spencer may be oddly cited for this universality principle:¹⁶

No one can be perfectly free till all
are free;
No one can be perfectly moral till all
are moral;
No one can be perfectly happy till all
are happy.

Even revolution, remember, is eventually indivisible.

My simple submission is that without a dynamic value vision, at once human and divine, he chase for excellence—why excellence, for sheer survival of *homo sapiens*—is fatuous.

Bertrand Russell's life has a moral for us. He found the world suspended equally between hope and fear. Right now, the world—and India too—hangs between hope and fear more grimly than before. The prefatory words of Bertrand Russell in his last autobiographical volume read prophetic and valid:

It is likely that I shall die before the issue

is decided—I do not know whether my last words should be:

The bright day is done
And we are for the dark,

or, as I sometimes allow myself to hope,

The world's great age begins anew,
The golden years return.....
Heaven smiles, and faiths and empires
gleam,
Like wrecks of a dissolving dream.

I have done what I could to add my small weight in an attempt to tip the balance on the side of hope, but it has been a puny effort against vast forces.

May others succeed where my generation failed.

A poetic quote may be an appropriate omega and so I conclude with a prayer of St. Francis of Assisi with the humble request that you turn in your minds to search how many, if any, of those custodians of the destiny of nations can fill the bill:

Lord, make me an instrument of thy peace.
Where there is hatred, let me sow love;
Where there is injury, pardon;
Where there is doubt, faith;
Where there is despair, hope;
Where there is darkness, light;
Where there is sadness, joy.

(Judge; Supreme Court of India, New Delhi)

1. *The Autobiography of*
2. Barry Feinberg and
Ltd., 1969, p. 17.
3. *The Autobiography of*
4. Bertrand Russell, P.
5. Bertrand Russell, A.
6. Bertrand Russell—J
7. *Socio-political Views*
8. *The Tao of Physics*
9. *Human Society in*
(Best p. 66)
10. *Human Society in Et*
11. *Power—A New Soci*
12. *The Science of Bein*
13. Dr A.D. Pandey—a
14. *The Outline of Histo*
15. *Gitanjali*, Macmillan
16. Herbert Spencer, S

* From the keynote Lecture presented at the Bertrand Russell Study Forum, Madras on February 17, 1980.

I—I do not know whether my last
could be:

bright day is done
we are for the dark,

ometimes allow myself to hope,

world's great age begins anew,
olden years return.....

en smiles, and faiths and empires
gleam,
wrecks of a dissolving dream.

me what I could to add my small
an attempt to tip the balance on
of hope, but it has been a puny
inst vast forces.

rs succeed where my generation

quote may be an appropriate
d so I conclude with a prayer of
cies of Assisi with the humble
hat you turn in your minds to
w many, if any, of those custo-
the destiny of nations can fill the

make me an instrument of thy

there is hatred, let me sow love;
there is injury, pardon;
there is doubt, faith;
there is despair, hope;
there is darkness, light;
there is sadness, joy.

Supreme Court of India, New Delhi)

ell Study Forum, Madras on February

REFERENCES

1. *The Autobiography of Bertrand Russell*, Vol. 1, Prologue.
2. Barry Feinberg and Ronald Kasrils (ed) *Dear Bertrand Russell* London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1969, p. 17.
3. *The Autobiography of Bertrand Russell*, Vol. 1, p. 221.
4. Bertrand Russell, Presentation Address, p. 256-57.
5. Bertrand Russell, Adaptation, An Autobiographical Epitome p. 265.
6. Bertrand Russell—Power, p. 24.
7. *Socio-political Views of Vivekananda* by B.K. Roy. pp. 54-55.
8. *The Tao of Physics* by Fritjof Capra, p. 15.
9. *Human Society in Ethics and Politics* (Simon & Schuster) pp. 220-221 (Also Bertrand Russell's Best p. 66)
10. *Human Society in Ethics and Politics* p. 836 and Bertrand Russell's Best p. 77.
11. *Power—A New Social Analysis*, Bertrand Russell, p. 203-204.
12. *The Science of Being and Art of Living* by H.H. Mahesh Yogi, p. 210.
13. Dr A.D. Pandey—article on Research on Higher Education Published in *The Hindu* on Feb 5, 1980.
14. *The Outline of History* by H.G. Wells, p. 1170.
15. *Gitanjali*, Macmillan Pocket Tagore Edn, 1973, p. 20.
16. Herbert Spencer, *Social Statics IV*, 30. 16.

Don't Count; Look and Watch

"It was during the war and I was a farm labourer and my task was before breakfast to go to yonder hill and to a field there and count the cattle. I went and I counted the cattle—there were always thirty-two—and then I went back to the bailiff, touched my cap, and said, "Thirty-two, sir," and went and had my breakfast. One day when I arrived at the field an old farmer was standing at the gate, and he said, "Young man, what do you do here every morning?" I said, "Nothing much. I just count the cattle." He shook his head and said, "If you count them every day they won't flourish." I went back, I reported thirty-two, and on the way back I thought, Well, after all, I am a professional statistician, this is only a country yokel, how stupid can he get. One day I went back, I counted and counted again, there were only thirty-one. Well, I didn't want to spend all day there so I went back and reported thirty-one. The bailiff was very angry. He said, "Have your breakfast and then we'll go up there together." And we went together and we searched the place and indeed, under a bush, was a dead beast. I thought to myself, Why have I been counting them all the time? I haven't prevented this beast dying. Perhaps that's what the farmer meant. They won't flourish if you don't look and watch the quality of each individual beast. Look him in the eye. Study the sheen on his coat. Then I might have gone back and said, "Well, I don't know how many I saw but one looks mimsey." Then they would have saved the life of this beast.

"There I learned something. I then also found that in all human traditions there has been a very great antagonism against all this counting business."

Good Work

—E. F. Schumacher

K. R. S.

What

High

Higher

The N

any task was before
at the cattle. I went
then I went back to
I went and had my
was standing at the
y morning?" I said,
d and said, "If you
orted thirty-two, and
nal statistician, this
ent back, I counted
t want to spend all
iliff was very angry.
together." And we
a bush, was a dead
ll the time? I haven't
meant. They won't
ch individual beast.
night have gone back
ooks mimsey." Then

man traditions there
business."

ood Work
F. Schumacher

EVEN to the most casual observer, there does seem to be something seriously wrong with the present state of 'Higher Education' in India. What is it exactly? And how can it be set right? "Why bother?" one might ask; "Why not leave it to the UGC?" If only they were equal to the task! But they don't seem to be.

One reads almost everyday of simmering discontent and 'charters of demands': of strikes and dharnas and round-the-clock gheraos: of barricades going up and attempts to set fire to university or public property: of pitched battles and Kurukshetras: of police action and politicisation, of rustications and resignations: of call-attention questions and no-confidence motions: of preponement of vacations and postponement of examinations. Campus violence, of course, is nothing altogether new. As early as 1354, outsiders pillaged the Oxford University and belaboured the clerics. But nowadays it is usually an exercise in self-destruction, which is far more alarming.

Unrest and politics and violence in the campus! What's the relevance of all this to Saraswati's Sanctuary or the Groves of Academe? How 'high' is this 'Higher Education'? For that matter, is it 'education' at all?

Restore Credibility

You may call it a 'crisis of confidence', or rather a 'crisis of credibility'. Our first concern, then, should be the restoration of credibility to our Higher Education. With the current understandable transfer of emphasis from 'Higher' to primary, secondary and adult education, it would be necessary to devise means of maximising results in college and university education but with limited funds. And in any case there is the need for a new look at our ends and for a fresh formulation of our means.

K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar

What Next in Higher Education?

Higher Education :
The Next Ten Years

Our first three universities were incorporated in 1857, and for ninety years 'Higher Education' in India was a half-headed imitation of London University with its stress on 'affiliation' of colleges and comprehensive external examinations. Since independence, however, higher education has, as it were absent-mindedly, achieved phenomenal explosion in numbers, but also suffered disastrous implosion or dilution in standards. There has been a steady devaluation of designations and degrees, of research and publications, and a heavy erosion of the credibility, character and quality of our 'Higher Education'. In the words of Prof. M.H. Gopal :

"... compared to the leading British, American and continental universities, Indian universities, by and large, are below par—intellectually, morally and otherwise academically; this is due primarily to the wrong selection of persons from the top administrator to the juniormost academic; this is especially true of the faculty, the real backbone of the university...."

Although a few gifted and dedicated individuals—alas, for a country of India's size, too few!—manage to gain well-deserved recognition in spite of everything, our 'university system' itself does not command the respect of the outside World of Learning. And it is this poverty but expensive 'system' that is being sustained by a population more than 50 per cent of whom live below the poverty line and an even higher percentage are illiterate themselves. It is tragic that the privileged beneficiaries should take for granted such sacrifices on the part of the dump majority. But this cannot continue for long. It is therefore upto the universities—singly or in groups—to do some self-introspection and try to regain their

lost credibility.

Since independence, a lot of money—mainly the Indian tax-payers', but now and then in the shape of foreign 'aid' also—has been pumped into the 'system' under pressure of 'planning', and we have now 120 universities and about 5000 colleges; and outer facts like the piles of buildings, faculty strength and student enrolment are doubtless stunningly impressive. And yet these thirty years have been a period of "planned drift", as a shrewd and knowledgeable educationist has pointed out. At one time—say sixty years ago—sundry individual colleges (for example, the Presidency and Madras Christian Colleges, the Serampore College, St. Stephen's at Delhi, Elphinstone, Wilson and St. Xavier's at Bombay, and Deccan and Fergusson at Poona) set a fairly high standard of 'higher education', the universities themselves being only regulating and examining bodies. When the older universities assumed direct teaching and research responsibilities and the new unitary universities came into being, there was a shift in emphasis which promised much, and there were also significant achievements in the short run (notably in Calcutta in the 1920s when Ashutosh collected around him a critical mass of superlative talent), but soon—and especially after independence—teaching and affiliating universities have only vied with one another to enact anarchy and bring down standards. Thirty years, and so many commissions and committees, so many working groups and task forces; so many study teams looking for inspiration in the states; so many foreign experts and advisers; so many gallant enunciations of policy, so many experiments in imitation! But our old problems remain with us still, and seem to be no nearer solution than they were

thirty years

The Seven

Notable a
or brazen

We have
and fruit
multiplying
university
have-nots
education

We have
healthy p
and stude
stress on
the mere
pushing
far more
by, high
the count

We have
hearted fi
and semi
humanise
comes at
a 'Do or

We have
viable 'm
nation' p
Two? On
of both
an option
age? As
ficting vo

We have
between t
its 'resp
escalating
and chro

thirty years ago.

The Seven Issues

Notable among the issues adroitly skirted or brazenly shirked are these seven:

We have failed to work out an intelligent and fruitful relationship between the multiplying 'affiliated' colleges and the university and its own Departments: the have-nots and haves in our tertiary educational landscape.

We have failed to evolve and implement healthy policies regarding faculty-selection and student-enrolment placing the cardinal stress on capacity and character, so that the merely influential, prosperous or pushing don't thrust aside those who are far more likely to impart, or to benefit by, higher education and deserve well of the country.

We have failed—notwithstanding the faint-hearted fiddling with compartmentalisation and semesterisation—to rationalise and humanise the 'external' examination that comes at the end of the year or course with a 'Do or Die' snap of finality.

We have failed to evolve a nationally viable 'medium of instruction and examination' policy. Three-language formula? Two? One? None! English as medium of both instruction and examination? As an optional medium? As 'library' language? As tool-language? All the conflicting voices are heard at once!

We have failed to strike a proper balance between the university's 'autonomy' and its 'responsibility' in the context of escalating costs, acute financial constraints and chronic political pressures.

We have failed to take serious note of the phenomenon of 'brain drain': in other words, the non-system that seems to be geared, at prohibitive cost to ourselves, to the higher man-power requirements, not of India, but of the affluent countries (USA, UK, Canada, Australia West Germany). This is increasingly like a haemorrhage of the life-blood of the nation, and nobody seems to care.

We have failed, above all, to make 'Higher Education' an instrument for forging a truly national consciousness transcending the pulls of region, religion, language, caste and class. Actually, regionalism, communalism, linguism, casteism and nepotism are more rampant today than in pre-independent India.

For thirty years, then, we have talked about and about, and circled round and round, these issues, but the old confusion is only getting more and more confounded with the heavy tread of the years. And what's the position today? Everywhere there is almost a precipitate flight from quality, and a craven fear of democratic values. The idea of elections frightens the educational Establishment, and the tendency is for vice-chancellors, senators and syndics to be just hand-picked for personal reasons or on some national principle of 'rotation'. On the other hand, the student body refuses to be so manipulated. In the result, caught between an imposed hierarchic administration and a populist student body, the university's collective health steadily declines and is usually at the mercy of the unpredictable. Discussion has little meaning in this context, and wise policies have seldom a chance of arising out of informed and free discussions. Spasmodic decision at the top is followed by somnambulist acceptance by the faculty, but when the

affected students move from sullen resentment to open confrontation, well, the classic campus drama is repeated once again: a demonstration by students, disciplinary action by the university, a further and more vociferous or aggressive demonstration against this action, and so on, till it is time for a temporary closure of the university.

Role of University

At this point, it is worth asking the old question once more: What is 'higher education' for? What should be the role of the university in our national life and in the world's intellectual life?

Commenting on Karl Jaspers's view that the aim of a university should be to create "an intellectual aristocracy", Felix Gilbert makes the necessary qualifications:

"It (Higher Education) contains an elitist element, a professional element, and a philosophical element."³

The immediate aim of a university is to cherish, preserve, communicate and advance knowledge, and the main responsibility for this falls upon the faculty. Aside from attending to their own study and research, the body of teachers have also to select year after year successive groups of young people and make them informed, lively, enlightened, inquiring and critical minds, ready to join the pool of the nation's prized 'intellectual aristocracy'. This is the 'elitist' element in higher education, but this should not mean an exercise in isolation and alienation, or the eruption of yet another super-caste cornering all power and privilege in a society already riddled with a bewildering plurality of castes. On the contrary, talent should

be located in all sections of our population and attracted to higher education, thereby promoting the process of integration of the whole community. In the words of Prof. Morton W. Bloomfield:

"The elitism of the humanities is not the elitism of Fascism or Communism, nor the Kafkaesque elitism of bureaucrats and technologists, but the elitism of the human for the enrichment of mankind, even if not everyone reaches that goal."³

There is a 'professional' element too in higher education, for our complex technological civilization calls for increasing specialisation, and every sort of degree becomes a passport to one or another kind of job. This makes higher education, in Jacques Barzun's phrase, "a mandarin system". But it should be possible in India to delink many kinds of jobs—whether government or private—from university degrees and diplomas, and such drastic pruning might decrease the pressure on the universities. The 'professional element', then, should not be allowed to make higher education stratify into an arbitrary, artificial and expensive 'mandarin' system. The university curriculum should not be a supermarket to cater to the needs of every conceivable profession or pseudo-profession, but become rather a launching-pad for adventure, for service, for progressive self-realisation. Even the professional courses need to be humanised (and spiritualised), for otherwise—as in Wole Soyinka's play *Madmen and Specialists*—we shall ultimately be turning out only machinists and maniacs. Engineering, medicine, agriculture, commerce, business administration and the rest of the professional courses, while being as up-to-date in the Indian context as possible, need specially to be imbued, in

Martin Mey
of the recog
the analytic
ideal of th
other words
narrow acad
opt for the
relates speci
ground of th
historic exper

This leads u
even the
education.
mean any
revivalism.
make descri
of conduct
values relati
and the tru
choices—to
lience for
guided sche
tion to che
of fresh c
and more
above the
place—to e
forge its ide
in short, to
live a philos
might lead
this too sh
'Higher Edu
to *Para Vi*
penetrates th
seizes Realit
ing gold res
knowledge,
'technologies
valueless pa
of *avidya*.

The Teacher

On the nega

ur popula-
education,
f integra-
In the
nfield :

ities is not
mmunism,
bureaucrats
ism of the
mankind,
aches that

ent too in
complex tech-
increasing
of degree
or another
education,
a mandarin
possible in
of jobs—
private—from
s, and such
e the pres-
professional
e allowed to
ify into an
nitive 'man-
curriculum
to cater to
e profession
ome rather a
for service,
a. Even the
be humani-
otherwise— as
Madmen and
y be turning
anics. Engi-
commerce,
t the rest of
ile being as
text as pos-
e imbued, in

JUNE 1980

Martin Meyerson's words, "with more of the recognition of the humane and of the analytic method that has been the ideal of the arts and sciences."¹⁴ In other words, the call is to transcend narrow academic and curricular goals and opt for the larger intellectual mode that relates specialist training to the background of theory and current pressures to historic experience and future possibilities.

This leads us to the philosophical, moral, even the spiritual element in higher education. This should not, of course, mean any credal adhesion or mere revivalism. To be able to think—to make discriminations relating to problems of conduct—to develop judgement and values relating to the good, the beautiful and the true—to make the right moral choices—to acquire the thirst and resilience for a self-motivated and self-guided scheme of continuing self-education to change willingly in the light of fresh experience—to grow more and more in consciousness—to rise above the hucksterings of the marketplace—to explore the infinity within and forge its identity with the infinity without: in short, to be able to work out and live a philosophy of life and action that might lead to inner and outer fulfilment, this too should be part of the agenda of 'Higher Education', thereby getting close to *Para Vidya* or the knowledge that penetrates the play of phenomena and seizes Reality itself. without this sustaining gold reserve of *Para Vidya*, all mere knowledge, all our arts and sciences and technologies—*Apara Vidya* all—will be valueless paper currency or the mockery of *avidya*.

The Teacher

On the negative side, the maladies and

dangers that now beset 'Higher Education' have to be more identified and contained, if not wholly eliminated. Today the campus only too often veers between the normalcy of boredom and apathy and the aberration of noise and violence. Neither curriculum nor teacher inspires the student, and the frustration arising out of such long doses of scheduled compulsory boredom is apt to find an outlet in riot and disorder on some pretext or other. Students no doubt look for learning in their teacher, the ability to 'deliver the goods'; but they want him also to set an example of intellectual eminence, unfailing humaneness and spiritual humility. This means more than learning and teaching ability, for in Harry J. Carman's words :

"The able teacher is a person of intellectual and spiritual stature who has studied with imaginative comprehension the basic elements of our own culture in the context, so far as possible, of other cultures . . . He must be able to see his own subject so steadily in the context of reality, truth, and human values that he will never forget its significance for them (his students) as unique persons and for human beings everywhere"¹⁵.

But there are not enough such teachers, and perhaps the number is decreasing more and more; and, in consequence, this inability of the 'system' to engage the higher instincts and faculties of the students drives the less discriminating ones to fall a ready prey to schemers and political activists, and there is the speedy generation of resentment and anger often times culminating in destruction of property, the assault on values and the wreck of human relations. There is a further queering of the pitch when teachers them-

selves—some openly, some from a discreet distance—throw their lot with the incendiary students, and at such a time one has the impression that the campus community is fatefully succumbing to the desire for self-destruction.

In our colleges and universities, faculty and the student body are ordinarily drawn from diverse castes and religious and social groups. Now the question is what holds them all together as an academic 'community'? Not religion, as of old. Not law and authority anymore, for by a strange quirk of misapplication *satyagraha* and disobedience have become a part of life. Not tradition, for our universities are not all that old to have evolved any significantly binding codes of behaviour. Not adhesion to a political party, for politics in India are peculiarly devoid of principle and sharply divide, rather than unite, people. Not the new sapless secularism. Not the so-called scientific attitude, for with us science and secularism can co-exist with the worst obscurantisms and superstitions. What is left, then? The individual student oscillates between his home religion (if any) and the narrow new materialism of 'success' at any cost or by any means. What Robert N. Bellah says about the situation in USA is equally relevant in the Indian context:

"Modern secularism, while releasing human beings from one kind of human tyranny, often imposed a new, more terrible tyranny, however—the tyranny of the pragmatic world of every day. . . . It has resulted in the rise of the bureaucratic, technological, and manipulative man, who rejects all transcendences, who has what Blake called 'single vision'. There is something deeply demonic in the single vision of the modern secular consciousness with the

vast range of human the experience that it tends to shut out"⁶

Mere success-hunting is *not* enough; but, then, what else is there in our secularist rat-race? Indian society is maddeningly hierarchic and pluralistic, and even as liberal (and social) democracy is the means by which the old hierarchies are being slowly—very, very slowly indeed, almost with an imperceptible slowness—changed into an egalitarian society, in the campus too there is the need to foster some values, the acceptance of which will quintessentially raise 'higher education' into a new living faith may transcend in some measure the pulls of the no-holds-barred marketplace.

But for this to happen—even to have a reasonable chance of happening—many correctives have to be applied to current rigidities of opinion. We should not fight shy of democratic procedures. There should be a gradual uncongealing of the ruling administrative power structures, and the nexus of professorial and other power-elites. It is possible that student representative on deliberative and decision-making bodies may prove more enlightened and helpful than some of the present ill-educated and factiously over-assertive senators and syndics. Again, while specialisation cannot be avoided in the modern world, there can be an avoidance of exclusive or excessive specialisation. The recent explosion of specialisation is indicated by the 100,000 research journals in USA alone which are said to be mostly indigestible and a little worth digesting. In the name of 'relevance' and 'utility', the curriculum cannot be made obsessively trivial and vulgar and self-defeating. Something may be learnt while one is actually on the job and there is indeed no limit to the human capacity for improvisation and self-improvement.

In a c is as much to versal and the and the insta field of one's a language or and of world h and culture, an destiny of ma specialist exper ier perspective, at 'inter-discipl exercises, for e enough. It is f or integrate c pline or segmen each felly to th

Seedbed of H

In the bewildered or university sh of a life-giving of humane culture spirit, is an ins future health o West, the mor Oxford, Camb Harvard—are cultural traditi Leavis words, modern civilis that should ch drive onward development, quences".⁷ Sin pace of technol increased, and still further sub the careering ele thirty-five years that the Unive boldly face the p specialists that r specialists "wh humane centre"

selves—some openly, some from a discreet distance—throw their lot with the incendiary students, and at such a time one has the impression that the campus community is fatefully succumbing to the desire for self-destruction.

In our colleges and universities, faculty and the student body are ordinarily drawn from diverse castes and religious and social groups. Now the question is what holds them all together as an academic 'community'? Not religion, as of old. Not law and authority anymore, for by a strange quirk of misapplication *satyagraha* and disobedience have become a part of life. Not tradition, for our universities are not all that old to have evolved any significantly binding codes of behaviour. Not adhesion to a political party, for politics in India are peculiarly devoid of principle and sharply divide, rather than unite, people. Not the new sapless secularism. Not the so-called scientific attitude, for with us science and secularism can co-exist with the worst obscurantisms and superstitions. What is left, then? The individual student oscillates between his home religion (if any) and the narrow new materialism of 'success' at any cost or by any means. What Robert N. Bellah says about the situation in USA is equally relevant in the Indian context:

"Modern secularism, while releasing human beings from one kind of human tyranny, often imposed a new, more terrible tyranny, however—the tyranny of the pragmatic world of every day. . . . It has resulted in the rise of the bureaucratic, technological, and manipulative man, who rejects all transcendences, who has what Blake called 'single vision'. There is something deeply demonic in the single vision of the modern secular consciousness with the

vast range of human the experience that it tends to shut out"⁸

Mere success-hunting is *not* enough; but, then, what else is there in our secularist rat-race? Indian society is maddeningly hierarchic and pluralistic, and even as liberal (and social) democracy is the means by which the old hierarchies are being slowly—very, very slowly indeed, almost with an imperceptible slowness—changed into an egalitarian society, in the campus too there is the need to foster some values, the acceptance of which will quintessentially raise 'higher education' into a new living faith may transcend in some measure the pulls of the no-holds-barred marketplace.

But for this to happen—even to have a reasonable chance of happening—many correctives have to be applied to current rigidities of opinion. We should not fight shy of democratic procedures. There should be a gradual uncongealing of the ruling administrative power structures, and the nexus of professorial and other power-elites. It is possible that student representatives on deliberative and decision-making bodies may prove more enlightened and helpful than some of the present ill-educated and factiously over-assertive senators and syndics. Again, while specialisation cannot be avoided in the modern world, there can be an avoidance of exclusive or excessive specialisation. The recent explosion of specialisation is indicated by the 100,000 research journals in USA alone which are said to be mostly indigestible and also little worth digesting. In the name of 'relevance' and 'utility', the curriculum need not be made obsessively trivial and vulgar and self-defeating. Something may be left to be learnt while one is actually on a job, and there is indeed no limit to the human capacity for improvisation and self-improvement.

ment. In a is as much versal and th and the im field of one a language and of worl and culture, destiny of specialist ex pier perspect at 'inter-dis exercises, f enough. It or integrat pline or seg each felly t

Seeded of

In the bew or univers of a life-gi humane c spirit, is a future hea West, the Oxford, t Harvard— cultural tr Leavis w modern ci that shou drive onv developm quences". pace of t increased, still furth the career thirty-five that the boldly fac specialists specialists humane

the experience that

not enough; but, in our secularist is maddeningly ic, and even as cracy is the means rachies are being ly indeed, almost slowness—changed ty, in the campus foster some values, h will quintessen- ation" into a new d in some measure ds-barred market-

even to have a rea- nning—many correc- to current rigidities not fight shy of There should be ment of the ruling tructures, and the other power-elites. ent representatives sion-making bodies ttened and helpful ill-educated and e senators and e specialisation cannot n world, there can lusive or excessive cent explosion of ed by the 100,000 SA alone which are digestible and also In the name of the curriculum need y trivial and vulgar hting may be left is actually on a job, limit to the human on and self-improve-

ment. In a college or university, the need is as much to acquire a sense of the universal and the perennial as of the particular and the instantaneous. And whatever the field of one's specialisation, a mastery of a language or two, a sense of our national and of world history, a feeling for literature and culture, and a concern for the future destiny of man will help to place one's specialist expertise in a broader and healthier perspective. It is not enough to play at 'inter-disciplinary' or 'multi-disciplinary' exercises, for even these may not go far enough. It is far more necessary to relate or integrate each discipline or sub-discipline or segment of knowledge to a Centre, each felly to the hub.

Seedbed of Humane Culture

In the bewildering modern world, a college or university should be ideally the seedbed of a life-giving life-preserving life-renewing humane culture that, being centred in the spirit, is an insurance for the present and future health of the community. In the West, the more famous universities—say, Oxford, Cambridge, Paris, Heidelberg, Harvard—are repositories of a living cultural tradition representing, in Dr F.R. Leavis words, "a wisdom older than modern civilisation and having an authority that should check and control the blind drive onward of material and mechanical development, with its human consequences".⁷ Since this was written, the pace of technological development has but increased, and humane values are getting still further submerged under the flood of the careering electronic civilisation. Writing thirty-five years ago, Dr. Leavis pleaded that the Universities themselves should boldly face the problem of producing the specialists that modern society needs, but specialists "who are in touch with a humane centre".⁸ A university offering

1000 courses, each by a narrow expert, but under the conditions of a promiscuous elective system, will be an intellectual slum rather than a House of knowledge. Jacques Barzun has given as epigraph to his book, *The American University* (1969), these seminal words of Cardinal Newman the great evangelist of university education.

"In the nature of things, greatness and unity go together; excellence implies a centre".

Our present-day universities (in India even more than elsewhere), lacking such a centre, are devoid of excellence, and only eat up scarce resources and spew out futility or worse. Leavis's recipe for Cambridge was the reorganisation of the English School as "a real humane focus in a university". But in India the problem is rather more difficult and more complex. Our universities have, to start with, no such national tradition as may be claimed by Oxford and Cambridge in Britain or Harvard and Yale in the States. Our universities were plainly importations, if not impositions, in the first instance; and although English may be important for us, it is not quite our language or literature, and cannot therefore provide for us "the most intimate kind of study, that is, of a concrete tradition". How are we, then, to charge the Indian university with a native tradition, an ethos, a living cohesion, as also a modernity and a purposive sense of direction? We have Departments, 'Schools', disciplines, courses, students, teachers, examiners, academic administrators; but knowledge is splintered, and information and skills fail to be exceeded by wisdom and illumination. Is the university no more than a crowded railway waiting room or airport departure lounge? Should not it be rather a cherished common hearth, almost a temple where a living tradition is fostered and kept alive,

a sanctuary that inspires generation after generation?

Nay more: it is not enough that a university man (whatever his field of specialisation) is "in touch with a humane centre". I would go further and say that he should be in touch with a "spiritual" centre, for nothing less than that could meet the extraordinary challenges of our multi-racial pluralistic society. The process of learning should aspire ultimately to the fullness of realisation. A way should be found for enabling university students—or as many of them as possible—to restore their lost links with what is *sanatana* or perennial in Indian culture and also with the imperishable soul within. A programme of guided study, discussion, silence, music, meditation and work as service or *sadhana* may open up possibilities, and all teaching and learning will then partake of the character of a sacerdocy. As the Mother of Sri Aurobindo Ashram once said :

"Education is a sacerdocy, teaching is a sacerdocy, and to be at the head of a state is a sacerdocy".⁹

To be the head of a university is a sacerdocy too! It is only on this principle of commitment and dedication and consecration that life in the university can be given a drive towards new horizons.

Act in Groups

While current discontents and criticisms are no doubt related to the immediate facts of the situation, it is no less true that the ability and the willingness to see the signs of decay are themselves half a promise that the decay can be arrested and new life injected into the system. Re-thinking and drastic and manifold reform are needed, and there is not much time to lose. The failure of the university is also

the failure of society, for the former is but the mind and heart of the latter. In large matters and small, cooperative action can do much. It is true that all the 110 universities in India today cannot be expected to agree all at once to a common programme of reform. When they agree, it can only be on an innocuous GCM basis, leaving things more or less as before. On the other hand, a single university too may find itself too weak to launch upon an adventurous course of necessary reform. "If the university is to save itself by making the changes that it is already eager and able to make", says Jacques Barzun in the American context (and this applies to the Indian also), "it must act not singly but in groups".¹⁰ The universities in a particular state, for example, or the technological or agricultural universities alone, could decide upon the more pressing changes needed, and hope that the example of a region or of a group may have a salutary effect elsewhere or everywhere. Aside from drastic (or revolutionary) reform, there are several areas where, through consultation and cooperation, a waste of current limited resources may be avoided and yet the desired results ensured. Even in the far more affluent UK, a university coordination conference held in September 1967 in Nottingham felt the need to identify four 'grades' (or levels) and six 'areas' of co-operative action. The four 'grades' are consultation; exchange and collation of information; formulation of policy; and executive coordination; but all this will be possible only if individual universities accept a self-denying limitation on their prized autonomy. Once the principle is accepted, it may be made operative in these and collateral 'areas':

- (i) Purchase and location of expensive books and research journals to be used regionally (or nationally);

JUN

(ii)

(iii)

(iv)

(v)

(vi)

Where

the sa

guidanc

ment r

regional

political

rational

ruled o

men to

tion and

mote th

1. Scie

2. Dae

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ann

6. Dae

7. Educ

8. Ibid.

9. Quest

10. The

11. Univ

ety, for the former is but
rt of the latter. In large
cooperative action can
ue that all the 110 uni-
today cannot be expected
once to a common pro-

When they agree, it can
innocuous GCM basis,
re or less as before. On
single university too may
eak to launch upon an
e of necessary reform.
s to save itself by making
it is already eager and
ys Jacques Barzun in the
(and this applies to the
ust act not singly but in
universities in a particular
or the technological or
ities alone, could decide
ressing changes needed,
example of a region or
ave a salutary effect else-
re. Aside from drastic
reform, there are several
ough consultation and
ite of current limited
avoided and yet the
ured. Even in the far
university coordination
a September 1967 in
need to identify four
and six 'areas' of co-
The four 'grades' are
inge and collation of
aluation of policy; and
ion: but all this will
individual universities
ing limitation on their
Once the principle is
e made operative in
'areas':

- (ii) the sharing of very expensive equip-
ment;
- (iii) cooperation in teaching and research
guidance;
- (iv) the starting of new courses, especially
those that require heavy expenditure
and sophisticated equipment;
- (v) principles of student-selection;
- (vi) planned cooperation and coordina-
tion.¹¹

Where all the universities are financed by
the same state government, seasoned
guidance and control from the govern-
ment may be helpful, but on account of
regional pulls within the state and the
politicians' susceptibility to these, such
rationalisation and regulation has to be
ruled out. It is therefore for the university
men to submit themselves to self-examina-
tion and reach conclusions that may pro-
mote the good of all.

As for the seven major issues listed earlier
(the 'affiliated' colleges vis-a-vis the uni-
versity; faculty-selection and student enrol-
ment; external examinations; medium of
instruction and examination; university
autonomy; brain drain; and the role of the
university in national integration), an all-
India consensus is both needed and difficult
to reach and implement. A beginning may
perhaps be made on a regional basis, espe-
cially with regard to student-enrolment, but
for anything like a real change in the cli-
mate of 'Higher Education' all these issues
should be squarely faced at the national
level. Here of course a good deal must
depend upon the imaginative and resolute
lead given by the Union Government and
the UGC, and the response of the state
governments and the universities under
them; and of this alas: there has been little
evidence so far.

(Former Vice-chancellor of Andhra Uni-
versity and a noted author of many works,
especially on Sri Aurobindo, Madras)

FOOTNOTES

1. *Science, Universities and Research in India* (1976), p. 72.
2. *Daedalus*, Fall 1974, pp. 12-3.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 136.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 176.
5. *Annals of the American Academy*, September 1955, pp. 49-50.
6. *Daedalus*, Fall 1974, p. 113.
7. *Education and the University* (1948), p. 16.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
9. *Questions and Answers: 1950-1951* (1972), p. 82.
10. *The American University* (1969), p. 243.
11. *Universities Quarterly*, June 1968.

location of expensive
research journals to be
(or nationally);

Special Mirrors

"I once read a story of a man who died and went into the next world where he met a number of people some of whom he knew and liked and some he knew and disliked. But there was one person there whom he did not know and he could not bear him. Everything he said infuriated him and disgusted him—his manner, his habits, his laziness, his insincere way of speaking, his facial expressions—and it seemed to him also that he could see into this man's thoughts and his feelings and all his secrets and, in fact, into all his life. He asked the others who this impossible man was. They answered: 'Up here we have very special mirrors which are quite different from those in your world. This man is yourself.' Let us suppose, then, that you have to live with a person who is you. Perhaps this is what the other person has to do. Of course, if you have no self-observation you may actually imagine this would be charming and that if everyone were just like you, the world would indeed be a happy place. There are no limits to vanity and self-conceit. Now in putting yourself into another person's position you are also putting yourself into his point of view, into *how* he sees you, and hears you, and experiences you in your daily behaviour. You are seeing yourself through his eyes."

A Guide to the Perplexed

—E. F. Schumacher

"NO matter, never mind", said a wit disillusioned with the raging philosophical controversy regarding whether matter or mind is primary or more important. But this has been a controversy which has exercised the best brains of both the East and the West. One should be wary of entering into it as the problem is a very complicated one. A very important factor which has contributed to the complication is the vague and imprecise way in which the word, 'mind' has been used by the Western philosophical schools. Thus it has come to have many meanings from 'spirit' to the 'apprehensive faculty' of man. With reference to the Western philosophies, the present writer uses this word in a loose way as to cover all these meanings. He is afraid to tamper with it. In Sri Aurobindo's works the word 'Mind' carries a precise meaning. It means a limited faculty (in certain living creatures) seeking for knowledge and functioning by a process of fragmentation and division. 'Spirit' or 'Self' in Sri Aurobindo is *purusha* or the spark of Divinity Itself in its relation to nature.

P. Ramachandran

From Inert Matter To Divinity

Going back to the question regarding matter and mind, the traditional Christian point of view as represented by Descartes and St. Augustine is one of dualism. Descartes, for example, thought of a homogeneous 'substance' underlying all forms of matter, and another homogeneous 'substance' underlying all forms of mind (or spirit). According to him the two 'substances' are coeval. This dualism is opposed on the one hand by Idealists who find in the objective world nothing but a manifestation of mind (or spirit) and on the other hand by Materialists who consider that mind (or spirit) is the result of physical and chemical changes occurring automatically in the nervous system.

The Sankhya school of India is dualistic. It holds the view that *Prakriti* and *Purusha* (matter and spirit) are co-extensive. The Vaiseshika school considers that God is the creator of the world, but not of its material constituents whose origin is still remoter. According to Sri Sankara the material world is only an appearance based on the existence of the Brahman. So matter is only partially real.

Matter—the Instrument of the Spirit

Sri Aurobindo, however, could not reconcile himself to the idea that matter should be an opposing principle to spirit. Matter is not a contemptible thing. It is a fit instrument for the Divine Spirit as the latter chooses the former as its dwelling place. Matter is as much divine as spirit. It is the loss of an ancient piece of wisdom, in the sophistry that followed, that has led us to the half-truth that everything *except* matter is Brahman. Nothing exists other than Brahman, says Sri Aurobindo.

Sri Aurobindo comes to this conclusion from the unorthodox meaning he gives to the Taittiriya Upanishad text : '*annam Brahma*'. While Sri Sankara takes the word '*annam*' to mean 'food', Sri Aurobindo takes it in its suggestive sense of 'matter', (Incidentally, Dr Radhakrishnan, who goes mainly by what Sri Sankara says, adopts Sri Aurobindo's meaning, in his *Principal Upanishads*). Thus the Upanishad reads : "He (a student) energised conscious force (in the austerity of thought) and came to the knowledge that Matter is Brahman. For from Matter all existences are born; born by Matter they increase and enter into Matter in their passing hence". The same student learns later on that Energy, Mind and Spirit also are Brahman. In other words it is the same ultimate reality which converts itself into matter, mind

and spirit. One may be tempted to think that it is all sheer lunacy. But in the light of the latest findings in the field of physics, 'spiritualized matter' is not a difficult thing to imagine.

Let us try to know further how it is that matter is Brahman. Here a brief introduction to Sri Aurobindo's ideas on involution and evolution is necessary. By involution Sri Aurobindo means the process described in the Taittiriya Upanishad of the Brahman becoming many through self-limitation. "The Divine descends from pure existence through the play of conscious—Force and Bliss and the creative medium of Supermind into Cosmic Being; we ascend from matter through a developing life, soul and mind and the illuminating medium of the Supermind towards the divine being" (Chapter XXVII of *Life Divine* Volume I). Here in short is a summary of the twin-processes of involution and evolution. Thus *Sat-Chiti-Ananda* (Truth-knowledge-Bliss) is the being aspect and creation the becoming aspect of the Supreme Spirit. The All-consciousness, from its *Nirguna* state (the state without attributes) descends to the *Saguna* state (with attributes) and through different stages like Supermind, Overmind, Mind, Life etc., limits its consciousness until it becomes the seemingly inert Matter. Mandukya Upanishad says that Brahman is four-footed, and its four principles are Brahman, Isvara, Hiranya-Garbhya and Viraj. The two principles of Isvara and Hiranya-Garbhya may broadly be stated to have some correspondence to the Supermind and Overmind states. Thus, according to Sri Aurobindo, matter is not opposed either to mind or spirit.

Matter is generally considered to be inert and inconscient. But, for Sri Aurobindo, the inconscience of matter is only involved consciousness. It is in the light of this

MANTHAN

JUNE 1

involved
out of its
tion, life
not so fa
But the
beings, p
flashes o
future ev
mined pla
evolution
our consci
According

Integral Y

Sri Auro
Yoga as
Yoga like
Bhakti Y
total effort,
of the *Sac*
life divine.
thing to be
to the exclu
is something
earth. Hence
ascend and
sciousness o
God-head a
come down
having four
upon the uni
the power f
ascend the
Aurobindo).
repetition of
where the en
accomplish
example, the
result of the
mind involve
supermind as i
in the course
or involution.
is brought ab
on the part of

be tempted to think
hazy. But in the light
in the field of physics,
is not a difficult thing

further how it is that
here a brief introduc-
tion's ideas on involution
necessary. By involution
the process described
in the Upanishad of the Brahman
rough self-limitation.
is from pure existence
conscious—Force and
the medium of Super-
Being; we ascend from
developing life, soul and
animating medium of the
the divine being”
(*Life Divine* Volume I).
summary of the twin-
on and evolution. Thus
truth-knowledge-Bliss) is
and creation the becoming
eternal Spirit. The All-
its *Nirguna* state (the
attributes) descends to the
attributes) and through
the Supermind, Overmind,
limits its consciousness
the seemingly inert Mat-
Upanishad says that
grounded, and its four
man, Isvara, Hiranya-
The two principles of
Sya-Garbha may broadly
some correspondence to
Overmind states. Thus,
Aurobindo, matter is not
mind or spirit.

considered to be inert
But, for Sri Aurobindo,
matter is only involved
is in the light of this

involved consciousness that matter develops
out of itself, through the process of evolu-
tion, life, mind, etc. Evolution, thus, has
not so far been a fully conscious process.
But the stage has reached when we, human
beings, possessed with mind and gifted with
flashes of intuition, can chalk out our
future evolution according to a predeter-
mined plan. This is a point on which all
evolutionists agree. What is the way for
our conscious participation in evolution?
According to Sri Aurobindo it is Yoga.

Integral Yoga

Sri Aurobindo's Yoga is called Integral
Yoga as it integrates many systems of
Yoga like Jnana Yoga, Karma Yoga,
Bhakti Yoga, etc. The Integral Yoga is a
total effort, making use of all the resources
of the *Sadhaka*, to reach the goal of the
life divine. But the life divine is not some-
thing to be enjoyed by a solitary aspirant
to the exclusion of all others. Life Divine
is something to be brought down to the
earth. Hence the Integral Yoga aims at an
ascend and a descend. It helps the con-
sciousness of the *Sadhaka* to rise towards
God-head and causes the divine grace to
come down to us. "Yoga is that which,
having found the Transcendent, can return
upon the universe and possess it, retaining
the power freely to descend as well as
ascend the great stair of existence" (Sri
Aurobindo). This final stage is only a
repetition of the earlier stages of evolution
where the emergence of a new grade is
accomplished under a double stress. For
example, the supramental stage emerge as a
result of the interaction between the super-
mind involved in mental forms and the
supermind as it is formed on its own plane
in the course of the descending evolution
or involution. Thus every stage of evolution
is brought about by an upward aspiration
on the part of the individual and a down-

ward flow of the divine grace. It is not
unusual for the practitioner of this Yoga
to feel the descending flow of a current or
force through his body, resistance (in the
initial stages) to which produces a false
headache.

Since the Supermind is Truth-consciousness
itself the Integral Yoga attaches great
significance to it. Sri Aurobindo feels that
the ancient *Rishis* did not do the right
thing in neglecting to use the Supermind
for the benefit of the world. "The *Rishis*
knew the Supermind, attained it and
passed on to the Divine, but did not think
in terms of utilizing it for the life on earth,
for humanity". The great attention which
this Yoga gives for the Supermind has
earned for it the appellation 'Supramental
Yoga'.

Before proceeding, it is necessary to know
the broad distinctions between Mind, Over-
mind and Supermind. Mind is a faculty
which works by division as a wholesome
view is not possible for it. Overmind is a
plane beyond the individual mind. But it
is still divisive in its function. Supermind
is Truth-consciousness which is aware of
the central unity of things. It does not look
at things from the outside but from the
truth of their centre. Once we tap the re-
sources of the Truth-consciousness we can
enlarge and vivify our individual lives on
earth and open up communication
with the Bivinity itself. We get a higher
spiritual light, power, knowledge and bliss
here on earth. With the descend of the
Superconscience, not only man, but even
the world of ignorance and inconscience
might discover its own submerged secret
and begin to realize in each lower degree
its divine significance.

In other words a lack of self-knowledge is
the greatest obstruction to the life divine

on earth. It goes without saying that the world at present is full of imperfections. And they are the result of ignorance. No useful purpose is achieved by wishing them away as unreal or *Maya*. They have a persistent reality at the present stage of evolutionary achievement which may be called the mental stage. But there is a deeper truth which may be reached by slowly removing the veil of ignorance. So ignorance (which is the result of divine self-limitation) is the problem, not illusion or *Maya*. Once the true knowledge is established in the world through Superconscience there will be a new order here. There is no need to fear that the new order based on the descend of divine grace, consequent upon our attempt to ascend, may be a dull one as the austere world of the Ancients in Shaw's *Back to Methuselah*. There will be infinite diversity in the manifestation of the Superconscience. The race of Superconscious beings will be a spiritual race and totally different from H.G. Wells "men like Gods" who are "Athletic chemists and mathematical physicists who go about naked and make free love in a rational manner between experiments". Enjoyments, arts

and crafts will have a great place in the future world of Sri Aurobindo. But they shall not be for any inferior mental or vital amusement but for expressing the truth of spirit and the beauty and delight of existence. Everywhere there will be harmony and truth of order. Bergson's idea of the conquest of death is not irrelevant here as all living beings may realize for themselves the truth that they are the sons of immortality and that they are different manifestations of the same reality.

I contain the whole world in my soul's
embrace :

In me Arcturus and Belphegor burn

To whatsoever living form I turn

I see my body with another face.

(Sri Aurobindo in the sonnet

"The Indwelling Universal")

(Department of English,
S.K.V. College, Trichur, Kerala).

Harsh

Indian

The

Ideol

Comm

MANTHAN

ave a great place in the
Sri Aurobindo. But
for any inferior mental
t but for expressing the
the beauty and delight
rywhere there will be
n of order. Bergson's
uest of death is not
all living beings may
ves the truth that they
mortality and that they
festations of the same

ple world in my soul's

and Belphegor burn

iving form I turn

with another face.

in the sonnet

elling Universal")

t of English,
ge, Trichur, Kerala).

Harsh Narain

Indian Youth : The Need For Ideological Commitment

The Concept of Indian Youth

VATSYAYANA defines youth as the age-group between 16 and 70 years. But it is a very special definition, designed to interpret youth as the capacity of sexual enjoyment. Today, youth is, generally speaking, assigned to the age-group between 13 and 30 years. Now, whoever comes within this age-group is a youth. Thus, not only males but also females, not only students but also non-students, not only the educated or the literate but also the uneducated or the illiterate, not only city-dwellers but also rustics, not only those here but also those abroad, have to be taken into account while dealing with the youth problem. However, the bulk of the youth population consists of the student community, which will, therefore, claim the lion's share of our attention in this modest paper.

The Concept of Ideology

The currency of the term 'ideology' dates back to the French Revolution. It was used by Marx and Engels in special senses. It is used by Karl Mannheim and other sociologists too, in special senses. Generally speaking, ideology means any system of organically related ideas fructifying or promising to fructify into social action. Marx and Engels use the terms 'ideology' and 'mythology' in the *German Ideology* as varieties of illusion or false consciousness, as a distorted interpretation or abstraction. According to them, 'in all ideology men and their circumstances appear upside down as in a *camera obscura*'. In their view, morality, religion, metaphysics, law are all covered by 'ideology'. Later, Engels came to use the term ideology in substantially the same sense as of Freud's 'rationalization'. Rationalization is finding (unconsciously, of course)

of bad reasons for our personal instincts and interests, whereas ideology is finding of bad reasons for our class interests. A third sense of the term 'ideology' is, as Moral Rearmament would have it, philosophy plus passion plus plan. In this sense ideology may be contrasted with academics. An academic is one interested in the objective study of one's subject matter, in an ostensibly disinterested spirit. His knowledge is 'useless' knowledge (to use Bertrand Russell's expression), except for some use to which it may have the chance of being put indirectly and even unconsciously in course of time. The academic may come to formulate a philosophy of his own, but he does not bother about translating it, or showing the way of translating it, into practice. Russell, a highly technical philosopher, though, had to sustain some loss of reputation as such for his active interests in socio-political affairs of his times as well as of all times, i.e. for being ideologically motivated. An ideologist on the other hand, is one who does have a philosophy of his own, but who does not leave it at that and has, in addition, a passion to practise it or see it practised, and a plan of action. Thus, an ideologist has a philosophy animated by passion as well as a fairly well-defined highway and the goal. Academics is, in effect, purely a personal affair, whereas ideology is socially oriented, is social. Academics is a product of the mind, whereas ideology involves the whole of one's personality—mind, emotion and will. An ideologist is a committed intellectual, committed to society in a serious way, whereas an academic shuns all talk of commitment on his part. The academic is objective in his approach. To the ideologist, objectivity is not enough, even where it is a value; objective thinking must be tempered with responsible think-

ing. The standpoint of the ideologist finds a remarkable echo in the following Persian couplets:

*Gurizad az saf-i ma har ki mard-i ghawgha nist
Kas-i ki kushah na shud az qabilah-i ma nist*

(One who is not a man of tumult flees from our row. One who has not been killed does not belong to our tribe.)

The Rationale of Commitment

Commitment, it is sometimes contended, involves, dogmatism, indoctrination, regimentation which are incongruous with a liberal social order. But, be whatever else it may, commitment means loyalty to an ideology, praxiology, cause. Conception of value is one thing: commitment to them is another: and without commitment conception is lame. Dreading commitment is tantamount to dreading responsibility. Blessed are the responsibility-taking, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven and earth, and not for the responsibility-shirking. Non-committal objectivity of the philosophic puritan may be pleasing to contemplate but far from conducive to the realization of human ends.

End of Ideology

Ideology has its extremes, and all extremes tend to defeat their ends. On this ground, people have begun to talk of the 'end of ideology'. Their contention is that, in the long run, ideology becomes as good or as bad as religious dogma or theology, a mere justification, conscious or unconscious, for a certain programme, or for powers that be. There is force in this contention. Ideology as a counterpart of theology is an anachronism. Within legitimate limits, however, ideology is a boon. Without ideology, human action is blind, disoriented, wayward. Indeed, if personal action

demands insi-
tion for its
why social ac-
ideology, an
the attainment
ning for eco-
construction
utter neglect
ful of the p
is born of ne
of secondary
ideas and bi
of themselves

*Jahan-i tu
munud*

*Ki sang-
paida*

The Author

Ours is an
our ancient
accorded to
general, i
They divid
stages of
(brahmach
thy),
renunciatio
last is th
is looked
and guid
very cons
age is e
of his de
was the
charge o
the form
In fact, e
vada, lit
age is
honour
can be

point of the ideologist finds
who in the following Persian

ma har ki mard-i ghawgha nist
na shud az qabilah-i ma nist

a man of tumult flees from
who has not been killed does
our tribe.)

Commitment

is sometimes contended,
tism, indoctrination, regi-
h are incongruous with a
der. But, be whatever else
ment means loyalty to an
ology, cause. Conception
thing: commitment to them
without commitment con-

Dreading commitment is
dreading responsibility.
responsibility-taking, for
dom of heaven and earth,
e responsibility-shirking.
objectivity of the philoso-
y be pleasing to contem-
conducive to the realiza-
ds.

extremes, and all extremes
ends. On this ground,
in to talk of the 'end of
contention is that, in
ology becomes as good
ous dogma or theology, a
conscious or unconscious,
gramme, or for powers
force in this contention.
interpart of theology is
Within legitimate limits,
y is a boon. Without
action is blind, disorien-
eed, if personal action

demands insight as a necessary precondition for its fruitfulness, there is no reason why social action should not demand an ideology, an outlook. We have, ever since the attainment of independence, been planning for economic growth through the construction of gigantic dams etc., to the utter neglect of ideological growth, unmindful of the patent fact that a new world is born of new ideas. Brick and mortar are of secondary importance. Take care of ideas and brick and mortar will take care of themselves. Says Iqbal :

*Jahan-i tazah ki afkar-i tazah se hai
numud*

*Ki sang-o khisht se hote nahin jahan
palda*

The Authority of Age in Indian Tradition

Ours is an age-respecting tradition. In our ancient scriptures, age has been accorded the highest place of honour in general, in almost all serious matters. They divide the individual's life into four stages called *Ashramas*: studentship (*brahmacharya*), householdership (*garhasthya*), retirement (*vanaprastha*), and renunciation (*sanyasa*). Of these, the last is the crown of all. A *sanyasin* is looked upon as the friend, philosopher, and guide of mankind in general, the very conscience of society. In Buddhism, age is equally respected. On the eve of his death, the Buddha ruled that it was the eldest *Bhiksu* who should be in charge of the *Dhamma* and *Sangha* after the former's departure from this world. In fact, early Buddhism is termed *Sihavivada*, literally old-ageism, precisely because age is accorded the highest place of honour in that tradition. Indeed, there can be no disputing the fact that all

Indian religio-cultural tradition in general are at one in veneration of the age. This tendency is not unique, however; it is shared by other traditions as well, to some extent or other.

Not only this. The general atmosphere prevailing in India down the ages has been in favour of training youth to be conformist. Manu rules that the child should go the way of his fathers and forefathers. An ideological conflict between age and youth is largely conspicuous by its absence in the whole gamut of Indian tradition. If a youth could ever think of striking a new path, he would have of necessity to impress upon his audience that the path has at bottom the sanction of the tradition. In fact he had a chance of success only when he could attract old men to his path.

It does not mean, however, that youth was allowed to be stunted under the thrall of age. Age did enjoy greater honour than youth, but it does not mean that all aged persons commanded greater honour than all youths. While placing age above youth, Indian culture did not mean to place every old person over every youth. There are clear indications in our ancient texts that, where a young man possessed superior talent, he was rated higher than elders. Accordingly, Angiras, a young seer, was held justified in addressing his uncles as sons, while teaching them the Vedas, on the ground that it was not age but wisdom that matters, that commands respect. In the *Yogavasishta* also, wise sayings of even a chap are rated worthier of respect than unwise of even a god. In the *Taittiriya Upanishad*, the teacher exhorts his pupil to emulate only his unimpeachable conduct, to the entire exclusion of the opposite conduct.

Instances of ideological conflict between age

and youth are also not wholly absent here. Dhruva, a mere chap, struck a new religious path for himself throwing his father's religion to the winds. He was subjected to all sorts of torture on that account but, ultimately he had his way and his father was killed into the bargain.

There was not much scope, however, for generational conflict in ancient India. For one thing, there was no unemployment problem for the classes, which alone mattered, the masses being no better than dumb driven cattle. For another, there was no ideological regimentation. Teacher and the taught belonged not only to one fraternity but in an important way to one family, in the non-neurotic ancient Indian society.

Emergence of Youth as a Socio-political Force in Renaissance India

Indian youth has all along been waiting for emergence as a distinct force to reckon with, till the inception of a veritable renaissance on the Indian soil, consequent upon the conquest of our land by the West. Thenceforth, Indian youth began to make a virtual declaration of independence from the thrall of the elders and try to develop an identity of its own, drawing fully as he did upon the capital of ancient wisdom. This awakening on the part of the youth came largely in the wake of the introduction of universal liberal education by the British with the strong support of Raja Ram Mohun Roy and the much-maligned Macaulay. In this behalf, credit also goes to Sir Syed Ahmed Khan so far as his own community is concerned. Our youth's newly-won love for independence found an outlet in religio-social reform movements, nationalism and patriotism, which were strong enough, inculcated in him by the British dispensation itself, albeit indirectly.

Winds of newer and newer ideologies began to blow on the Indian soil, thanks to the realization by youth of its own identity and importance.

From the West our youth borrowed ideas and ideals of individualism and nationalism, democracy and secularism, socialism and communism. Vivekananda was the first to use the term 'socialism', and approvingly, on this soil, about two decades in advance of the October Revolution. In the India of yore, tradition was too much of a dead weight on the youth to allow him to claim any individuality for himself. In the new atmosphere born of his contact with the West, direct as well as indirect, and all that it implies, he began to breathe the wholesome air of individual liberty. An awareness of democratic values on his part made him conscious of the individual's being an end in himself. This being the case, he also came to realize his responsibility for society and the nation. This all led to the birth of an atmosphere awakening our youth to the need for ideological commitment as well. If we look at the portrayals of the youths of Renaissance India that we have been able to preserve, we shall find almost each of them ideologically committed in one way or another. Take any examples—of Dayananda, Vivekananda, Har Dayal, Shyamji Krishna Varma, Aurobindo Ghose, Nehru, Subhash Chandra Bose. They felt the need for ideological commitment, and some of them developed an ideology of their own, in the prime of their youth.

The Negative Ideology of Indian Nationalism and its Anti-intellectual Temper

When Indian nationalism came into full swing, it somehow began to lose its salt and slowly but surely to drift towards a kind of negativism vis-a-vis ideology. Mere

patriotism was *summun bonum*. Commitment of some front rank, the shelve all issues things to come a independence. B been the only ex to found an ide the insights of Das he drafted for Free India and the Congress move was for motto was 'The to see; one st body was out to the least conc happened after power was th from active pol to the sweet who, it was see eye to eye shaping India ideals to the should have be and struggled gone to the wi so much so th over the thwa of his own vic

Gandhi must triumph of a intellectualism directly or in education, an inculcating Academic ta conduced to as a cult of of our youth, thinking bec sloganeering 'constructive

new ideologies began
in soil, thanks to the
its own identity and

with borrowed ideas
ism and nationalism,
ism, socialism and
da was the first to
'and approving-
two decades in
Revolution. In the
a was too much
the youth to
individuality for
osphere born of
st, direct as well
implies, he began
air of individual
democratic values
conscious of the
in himself. This
to realize his
and the nation.
an atmosphere
the need for
well. If we look
this of Renais-
able to pre-
each of them
one way or
es—of Daya-
ayal, Shyamji
those, Nehru,
felt the need
and some of
f their own,

an National-
aper

into full
its salt and
ards a kind
y. Mere

patriotism was thought enough, the very
summum bonum. Despite ideological com-
mitment of some of its leaders even of the
front rank, the Gandhian Congress tried to
shelve all issues concerning the shape of
things to come after our victory in the war of
independence. Bhagavan Das seems to have
been the only exception to this rule. He tried
to found an ideology of his own based on
the insights of our ancient sages. With C.R.
Das he drafted *An Outline Scheme of Swaraj*
for Free India and submitted it to Gandhi
and the Congress for consideration. His
move was foiled summarily. Gandhi's
motto was 'The distant goal I do not care
to see; one step enough for me.' Every-
body was out to oust the British, without
the least concern for the morrow. What
happened after the historic transfer of
power was that Gandhi withdrew himself
from active politics and entrusted our fate
to the sweet will of a single individual,
who, it was well-known to him, did not
see eye to eye with him in the matter of
shaping Indian society, throwing all his
ideals to the winds. The result was as it
should have been. Whatever Gandhi stood
and struggled for throughout his life was
gone to the winds soon after his retirement,
so much so that he began to weep in public
over the thwarting of his ideals at the hands
of his own viceregents.

Gandhi must be held responsible for the
triumph of an unfortunate climate of anti-
intellectualism in the country. He always,
directly or indirectly, discouraged higher
education, as well as intellectual values,
inculcating blind faith in his stewardship.
Academic talent was at a discount. This
conduced to what may be described
as a cult of irresponsibility on the part
of our youth, on whose part constructive
thinking became a thing of the past. Mere
sloganeering and wasting time over useless
'constructive programmes' became the

order of the day. On the attainment of
independence, therefore, our country had
no ideas and ideals of its own to lean on
and had to import these bodily from the
other hemisphere along with bread and
butter. The youth had nothing left to
inspire him. He was rendered ideologically
unemployed, where he could not afford to
be an ideological mimic.

The Pastless and Futureless Youth of Today

Culture is tradition and tradition is
memory, says Radhakrishnan. Being ideo-
logically idle, our youth was soon cut off
from tradition; and the future was rendered
too opaque for his probe. Only one deeply
steeped in the past and robust imagination
of the future is competent to handle the
present. During the stewardship of Gandhi
and the freedom struggle, the law of con-
servatism of cultural energy was buried
within the folds of oblivion and nation-
building was entrusted at several levels to
mere sloganeers and demagogues.

A sure sign of a renaissance nation is its con-
cern for discovery and even recovery of the
past with a view to determining the future.
But here it was never to come off during the
post-independence era and the question of
ideological commitment on the part of our
youth was seldom considered by our men-
tors. Every nation has to discover its part
for itself, rather than take the discoveries
thereof by strangers for granted. There is
a peculiar difference between the appro-
aches of those who own responsibility for
the past and those who are mere critics.
The former are interested in salvaging the
past; the later, in merely understanding it.
The approach of the former is constructive,
while that of the latter is critical; and life
of a nation cannot be sustained on mere
criticism. The question of constructively

exploiting the past acquires a greater significance in the context of Indian culture, which has the credit of being one of the richest and longest lived cultures of the world. Indian society has all along been an open society in an important sense of the term, keeping its doors wide open to new elements. The past is the root and the present the fruit bearing the seeds of the future. All fundamental values worth the name are timeless. We dig the past in pursuance of their discovery and rediscovery.

The Moorless Mimic

This lack on their part has rendered contemporary Indian youth, as also contemporary Indian leadership, dangerously unauthentic, self-alienated, rootless. The moorless mimic of today, called Indian youth, has lost himself in the glamour of the West to such an extent that he has forgotten everything Indian and that it is by the West itself that he is reminded of the glory that was India :

*Gum kar diya hai did ne yun sar ba-sar
mujhe
Milti hai ab unhn se kuchh apni khabar
mujhe*

(I am lost by his/her glamour completely, with the result that it is from him/her that I get some information about myself!)

It is indeed the West which finds out for us that Yoga is important, and then even our universities begin to open Yoga centres; that *Navya Nyaya* is important; and we begin to set much store by it, and so on.

A Handle to Hollowness

Mimicking the West has been the highest ambition of Indian youth today, so much so that it is proving a handle to hollowness on his part. 'We have to think nothing, all

thinking has been done by the West on behalf of the whole of humanity, present as well as future.' This is the general attitude characterizing even our mentors, with the result that shallowness and hollow-ness are becoming the order of the day in this country. Nobody seems to feel called upon to strike a new path. Why not hark back to the following message of Iqbal.

*Tarash az teshah-i khud jadah-i khesht
Ba-rah-i digaran raftan azab ast
Gar az dast-i tu kar-i nadir ayad
Gunah-i ham agar bashad sawab ast*

(Carve out your own path your own spade, for it is a torment to travel along the path of others. If something novel comes by your own hand, it is a virtue even though it be a sin.)

This means living dangerously. It is all-too easy to live by the breath of others, fill one's cup with the wine of others, see things with the eyes of others. But a really free people will court the hazards of authentic existence at all costs rather than borrow their existence from others.

Ideology-less Leadership

Our leadership, both political and academic, has absolutely no ideology to inspire our youth with. This is the reason why, despite our long army of professors and the enormous interest taken in the student community by our political parties, there is a pathetic ideological vacuum in the universities from the level of professors to that of students, incoming and outgoing. We are satisfied with formal democracy, formal secularism and formal socialism, without the least concern for their meaning in the Indian context. A sizable section of Western youths feel completely disillusioned by the social order which is paradise for us, and are

groping for a sense of direction, some are turning their backs in search of a panacea. But we need a steady light on modernity.

The Net Result

The net result of contemporary leadership is self-alienated, ideologically bankrupt.

Nakasan, munk...

That is, they are full of themselves. But this, too, is a sin. The few among them comprises delinquents and absentee administrators.

A Clarification

Above we have referred to the West as well as mentors. We mean to say that we are frustrated to meet beyond our youth a leadership that we are familiar with. Indian tradition, the strides taken, far from it. We hope that we should in the Indian context we hope to create of the West. Utility of our own enriching it with a sane person near and dear trying to love others. We can

by the West on humanity, present is the general even our mentors, ownness and hollow-order of the day in seems to feel called th. Why not hark message of Iqbal.

ud jadahi khash
aftan azab ast
tar-i nadir ayad
ashad sawab ast

th your own spade,
avel along the path
novel comes by your
even though it be

gerously. It is all-too
eath of others, fill
vine of others, see
others. But a really
rt the hazards of
all costs rather than
from others.

ip
political and academic,
eology to inspire our
e reason why, despite
e professors and the
aken in the student
political parties, there
ical vacuum in the
level of professors to
ing and outgoing. We
ing democracy, formal
al socialism, without
their meaning in the In-
le section of Western
disillusioned by the
paradise for us, and are

groping for a saner life order. To this end, some are turning to Indian spiritualism in search of a panacea for the evils of modernity. But we never look within for any steady light on the problems arising out of modernity.

The Net Result

The net result of our deliberations is that contemporary Indian youth is a completely self-alienated mass characterized by ideological absenteeism. Iqbal would call them.

Nakasan, munkir 'z-i khud, momin ba-ghair

That is, they are mere nobodies distrustful of themselves and trustful of others. But this, too, is true of only the enlightened few among the youths. The bulk of them comprises anarchic elements and even delinquents thriving on our practically absentee administration.

A Clarification

Above we have criticized the blind devotion to the West on the part of our youths as well as mentors. This should not be construed to mean that we are against looking beyond our nose, that we want to insulate our youth against modernity entire, or that we are for incapsulating them into the Indian tradition to the utter neglect of the strides taken by humanity elsewhere. Far from it. What we mean to suggest is that we should first try to be deeply steeped in the Indian tradition, for only then can we hope to creatively exploit the experience of the West. Unless we have an individuality of our own, we have no chance of enriching it with the harvest of others. No sane person would agree to forget his near and dear ones with the object of trying to love, or currying favour with others. We can duly love others only when

we have learnt to love ourselves. So, a balanced attitude would be to love the West without bartering self-love. In fact, we do need the West for our self-fulfilment. Those for whom everything Western is a taboo, cannot hope to be worthy Indians. Unless our national culture joins the stream of world-culture, which is fast coming into existence, we shall be relegated to the backwaters of history and have to lose all hope of even survival. One who shuts one's eyes to the achievements of the West is a simpleton, and one who considers the West one's goal is a fool :

*Wah bhi nadan hai jo khizr ka talib na hua
Wah bhi nafahm hai jo khizr ko manzil
samjha*

Finding or Founding an Ideology

The question is, Is the youth expected to found an ideology of his own or find one already in existence ? To expect the first is to expect the impossible. As regards the second, Where is the ideology for him to follow? Instead of a consuming ideology, we have hooliganistic slogans which nobody understands. Our Planning Commission was supposed to fill the gap, but it too has failed to deliver the goods. And it is now common knowledge that our Constitution is an eclectic one, without any underlying philosophy worth the name.

Vinoba had made a good beginning in this behalf, but somehow his energies soon began to be frittered away one way or another. Jayaprakash Narayan's call for total revolution could not assume the proportions of a campaign. Perhaps it needed more robust, constructive imagination, vigour and dynamism on the part of its leadership.

We are inclined to believe that, till a really

charismatic personality appears on the scene with an appropriate ideology, our political leaders would do well to put their heads together and give to our youth an inspiring programme. Some such beginning, howsoever modest, was made by Sanjay Gandhi through his anti-dowry campaign, which promised to take our youth by storm.

Our youth is being fed today on careeristic opportunism, the cult of violence and disruption, fraud in examinations and callous disregard for all healthy scruples. He is becoming more and more impervious to reason, ideals, and values. Political

parties are directly and indirectly fanning the fire of the anarchic tendencies of the youth. They should evolve an agreed code of conduct and desist from politicalizing the academics (universities and colleges). The youth does not need political leadership of the kind provided to him by the political parties today. He is suffering from the famine of ideological leadership, which it is our paramount duty to try to provide.

*[Reader in philosophy,
North-Eastern Hill University,
Mayurbhanj Palace,
Shillong (Meghalaya)]*

MANTHAN

indirectly fanning
tendencies of the
live an agreed code
from politicalizing
ies and colleges).
political leadership
him by the politi-
suffering from the
dership, which it
try to provide.

philosophy,
Hill University,
Palace,
ghalaya)]

S. C. Gangal

India and the World—A Quarterly Review

INDIA

INSIDE INDIA, the period under review opened with the Presidential Ordinance on the dissolution of nine State Assemblies, namely, Bihar, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa, Punjab, Rajasthan, Tamilnadu and Uttar Pradesh. These assemblies were elected in 1977. As such they were barely half-way through their five-year term. And popular governments were in office in these States, so that there was no sign of the breakdown of constitutional governments. The Union Government led by Mrs. Indira Gandhi, sought to justify this apparently arbitrary action on the plea that the mid-term Parliamentary Poll had revealed a pro-Congress (I) swing in these States. Hence, by implication, the popular mandate of the assemblies and the nine State Governments stood superseded or forfeited! The action was also justified on the ground of the 1977 precedent when the Janata Government at the Centre, following its massive victory in the Lok Sabha poll, had dissolved the assemblies in the northern States. But it was a gross misrepresentation of the 1977 dissolutions for the following reasons: First, the Janata Party's mandate in 1977 was so sweeping that in the entire northern region, its rival—the Congress—was completely washed out. Hence there was strong reason to believe that the Congress-led governments in the northern States had ceased to be representative or popular. Secondly, the State Assemblies dissolved in 1977 had already run more than their normal 5-year term, so that their dissolution was due in any case. Hence the 1977 Assembly dissolutions were steps towards the fulfilment of constitutional norms—and not their violation like in the present case. The latter move was also vitiated by Mrs. Gandhi's all too apparent motive behind it, namely, to

acquire a clear majority in the Rajya Sabha.

For the opposition parties in India, these dissolutions and the May-end Assembly polls have come as a bolt from the blue or worse. They were hardly ready—in terms of preparedness and resources—to face the State Assembly elections so soon after their defeat and discomfiture in the Lok Sabha poll. Moreover, unfortunately, the opposition has recently been splintered beyond easy or early repair. As we know the Janata Party—whose formation and rise to power (in 1977) was seen by so many in the country as the symbol of India's 'second liberation'—was split into two about this time last year, thanks to Mr. Charan Singh's obsession with Prime Ministerial office. As of now, in addition to Mr. Charan Singh's Lok Dal (an issue of the original Janata), there were as many as three Janata Parties—Mr Chandra Shekhar's Janata, Mr. Raj Narain's Janata (S) and the Bharatiya Janata Party led by Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee. Another Janata faction, led by Jagjivan Ram, has merged itself with the Congress (U). This situation not only facilitates Mrs. Gandhi's accession to power in the States, but it also creates many a temptation for her, especially the following: First, she may well rest on her laurels and do nothing to fulfil her election promises—chiefly the rhetorical promise to give the country a government that 'works'. Secondly, it may tempt or motivate Mrs. Gandhi towards authoritarianism of the Emergency vintage. Indeed, already she seems to be slowly but unmistakably moving in these directions.

In her election manifesto, and during the campaign for the Lok Sabha poll in December-January, Mrs. Gandhi had asked for popular support on the ground that she

would give the country a government that 'works'—a government which would function effectively and efficiently. But what is her record? Let alone the far-flung places in the provinces, even in the national Capital, New Delhi, the only time (during the past five months) that power was 'effectively' used was when a silent, non-violent procession of the blind was lathi-charged on the streets of New Delhi! There has been a spate of murders in the city, including the gruesome murder of young engineering student Jaisinghani and the assassination of Nirankari leader, Baba Gurbachan Singh. There was also an abortive attempt on the Prime Minister's life. But the police have so far failed to unravel these murders or murderous designs. On the economic front, the prices have risen as never before—with sugar selling at the unprecedented price of seven rupees for a kilogram. Over a dozen States are stricken with drought and a woeful scarcity of drinking water. And far from taking early, effective measures to relieve their suffering, the people are being asked to face the unpleasant music of a whirlwind election campaign at the height of the summer season. Mrs. Gandhi must have a surfeit of power (in Delhi as well as in the States) no matter if the poor people are starving for food and water.

Apart from these instances or intended failures and the lack of concern they signify, there is the crisis in Assam and in other parts of the North-east region. The immediate issue in Assam has arisen from the large influx, into Assam, of people of non-Indian or non-Assamese origin: Assam's economic resources and culture are in danger of being swamped by those numerous 'foreigners'. And the All-Assam Students' Union (AASU) and Gana Sangram Parishad—spearheading the

current movement to ouster or register opposition to Gandhi's leadership. Apparently around the positions, deeper implications, deceptive and the Union who has a crisis is with little back the major history, and psychology, been repeatedly mentioned the or naked herself is 'delusion' slogans evade the Assam has in by M ances and to be stand up the circum should tr and due and se The follo victio to a measur

- i. Ha a m tacti tion
- ii. An tim sol
- iii. To

acquire a clear majority in the Rajya Sabha.

For the opposition parties in India, these dissolutions and the May-end Assembly polls have come as a bolt from the blue or worse. They were hardly ready—in terms of preparedness and resources—to face the State Assembly elections so soon after their defeat and discomfiture in the Lok Sabha poll. Moreover, unfortunately, the opposition has recently been splintered beyond easy or early repair. As we know the Janata Party—whose formation and rise to power (in 1977) was seen by so many in the country as the symbol of India's 'second liberation'—was split into two about this time last year, thanks to Mr. Charan Singh's obsession with Prime Ministerial office. As of now, in addition to Mr. Charan Singh's Lok Dal (an issue of the original Janata), there were as many as three Janata Parties—Mr. Chandra Shekhar's Janata, Mr. Raj Narain's Janata (S) and the Bharatiya Janata Party led by Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee. Another Janata faction, led by Jagjivan Ram, has merged itself with the Congress (U). This situation not only facilitates Mrs. Gandhi's accession to power in the States, but it also creates many a temptation for her, especially the following: First, she may well rest on her laurels and do nothing to fulfil her election promises—chiefly the rhetorical promise to give the country a government that 'works'. Secondly, it may tempt or motivate Mrs. Gandhi towards authoritarianism of the Emergency vintage. Indeed, already she seems to be slowly but unmistakably moving in these directions.

In her election manifesto, and during the campaign for the Lok Sabha poll in December-January, Mrs. Gandhi had asked for popular support on the ground that she

would give the country a government that 'works'—a government which would function effectively and efficiently. But what is her record? Let alone the far-flung places in the provinces, even in the national Capital, New Delhi, the only time (during the past five months) that power was 'effectively' used was when a silent, non-violent procession of the blind was lathi-charged on the streets of New Delhi! There has been a spate of murders in the city, including the gruesome murder of young engineering student Jaisinghani and the assassination of Nirankari leader, Baba Gurbachan Singh. There was also an abortive attempt on the Prime Minister's life. But the police have so far failed to unravel these murders or murderous designs. On the economic front, the prices have risen as never before—with sugar selling at the unprecedented price of seven rupees for a kilogram. Over a dozen States are stricken with drought and a woeful scarcity of drinking water. And far from taking early, effective measures to relieve their suffering, the people are being asked to face the unpleasant music of a whirlwind election campaign at the height of the summer season. Mrs. Gandhi must have a surfeit of power (in Delhi as well as in the States) no matter if the poor people are starving for food and water.

Apart from these instances or intended failures and the lack of concern they signify, there is the crisis in Assam and in other parts of the North-east region. The immediate issue in Assam has arisen from the large influx, into Assam, of people of non-Indian or non-Assamese origin: Assam's economic resources and culture are in danger of being swamped by those numerous 'foreigners'. And the All-Assam Students' Union (AASU) and Gana Sangram Parishad—spearheading the

current movement to ouster or register opposition to Gandhi's rule. Apparently around the positions, deeper implications, deceptive tactics, the Union who has a crisis is with little back the major history, and psychology, been repeatedly, mend the or naked herself is 'delusion slogans evade the Assam has in by M ances and to be stand up the circum should tr and due and so. The followi tion to a measur

- i. Ha
a m
tac
tion
- ii. An
tim
sol
- iii. To

a government that
ment which would
and efficiently. But
et alone the far-flung
s, even in the national
the only time (during
that power was 'effec-
a silent, non-violent
and was lathi-charged
ew Delhi! There has
rs in the city, includ-
der of young engineer-
ni and the assassina-
er, Baba Gurbachan
an abortive attempt
's life. But the police
naveil these murders
s. On the economic
risen as never before
of the unprecedented
a kilogram. Over
ricken with drought
r of drinking water.
early, effective mea-
suffering, the people
face the unpleasant
election campaign at
summer season. Mrs.
ve a surfeit of
ell as in the States)
people are starving

stances or intended
f concern they signi-
is in Assam and in
orth-east region. The
am has arisen from
Assam, of people of
Assamese origin;
ources and culture are
swamped by those
And the All-Assam
ASU) and Gana
spearheading the

current movement—are asking for their
ouster on the basis of the 1951 national
register or the 1952 electoral rolls. Mrs.
Gandhi wants 1971 to be the base year.
Apparently the main problem centres
around this 20-year gap between the two
positions. But, indeed, the problem has
deeper implications and calls for very per-
ceptive and sensitive handling. However
the Union Home Minister, Mr. Zail Singh,
who has been chiefly handling the Assam
crisis is widely believed to be a person with
little background or training in any of
the major variables of the problem, namely,
history, geography, economics, culture
and psychology. On the other hand he has
been reported, more than once, to com-
mend the use of *Danda* (literally a baton,
or naked force) in politics. Mrs. Gandhi
herself is an expert in what may be called
'delusion diplomacy': to coin rhetorical
slogans and make vague promises but
evade the real issues. But the people of
Assam have suffered too long to be taken
in by Mrs. Gandhi's occasional perform-
ances and vague promises. And they seem
to be sufficiently organised and united to
stand up to force and blackmail. Under
the circumstances, the Union Government
should try to resolve the problem with tact
and due consideration for the difficulties
and sensitivities of the people of Assam.
The following steps may help to carry con-
viction to the people concerned and ensure
a measure of success in the matter:

- i. Handing over the Home portfolio to
a more experienced leader known for
tact, understanding and imagina-
tion.
- ii. Announcement of a firm, clear and
time-bound programme for the re-
solution of the problem.
- iii. To the above end, either a panel for

investigating and recommending a
solution (to be constituted with the
concurrence of all parties concerned)
be set and asked to submit its recom-
mendations urgently, say in 2-4
weeks. Or, the matter be entrusted to
mutually agreed arbitrators. Mean-
while the Prime Minister should per-
suade all opposition leaders to join
her in issuing an appeal for the
suspension of the movement in
Assam. In order to be able to do so,
Mrs. Gandhi will have to give up her
favourite—and rather cheap—tech-
nique of blaming all the national
and international problems on the
short-lived Janata and Lok Dal
Governments.

The crisis in Assam is tending to get out
of control and already the contamination
has spread far and wide in Manipur. And
there is at best an uneasy calm—like the
proverbial lull before the storm—in
Mizoram and Nagaland. Whatever may be
Mrs. Gandhi's political designs and ambi-
tions—and ever consequent preoccupation
with power-politics—she owes it to the
Indian people (as their chosen Prime Min-
ister) to find time to concentrate on the
crisis in Assam and related problems of the
North-east region which, if neglected too
long, might threaten the long-term stability
and integrity of India. Her overriding
obligation is to work for the people—
people in the farms and factories and in the
ordinary walks of life—and earn their
gratitude and admiration, and not that of
servile defectors, erring judges (Justice
Bhagwati included) or self-seeking elites
and bureaucrats.

The World

On the international or world scene, the
most notable (and notable includes

notorious) developments during the quarter under review were: i) The freedom of Zimbabwe; (ii) the abortive US military action to free American hostages in Iran; (iii) the death of President Tito of Yugoslavia and its possible repercussions for the non-aligned movement and; (iv) President Carter's decision to allow shipment of enriched uranium for the Tarapur nuclear plant in India.

Zimbabwe (formerly known as Southern Rhodesia or Zimbabwe Rhodesia) had been a British colony till the 3 per cent Rhodesian 'Whites', under the leadership of Ian Smith, assumed power through Unilateral Declaration of Independence (popularly called UDI) in November 1965. This brought the white minority regime in confrontation with all black African peoples. After the failure of peaceful negotiations under Commonwealth and other auspices, the Zimbabwe people, with the assistance of neighbouring African students, launched a guerilla or bush war. This dragged on for seven years and it shook the white citadel to its very foundations. The white regime asked for peace. With the help of the Commonwealth and the British Government, an independence settlement was reached early this year, and elections (under Commonwealth observance) were held late in February. Robert Mugabe's pro-Marxist Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) captured as many as 57 seats out of a total of 80 in the National Assembly. Free Zimbabwe, under Mugabe's leadership, joined the comity of nations on April 18. Zimbabwe's independence is a significant milestone in the long-drawn process of decolonisation in Africa. But, in addition, it is important as a face-setter or pointer. It is hoped that with the end of white racist rule in Zimbabwe, the death-knell of racist rule in South Africa and Namibia has been

sounded. With a little more perseverance and determination, the offensive against the South African regime could be intensified. As Shelley would put it the whites are 'few' and 'blacks' are many—this is the lesson of Zimbabwe's freedom struggle. Soon, therefore, the breeze of freedom may be sweeping across the whole continent of African the racist regime in Pretoria tends to crack and collapse.

In Iran, 50 Americans have been kept as hostages since November last year. The United States Administration had tried to seek the release of the hostages through negotiations and other peaceful means—including through the good offices of the UN Secretary-General, Kurt Waldheim. When nothing availed, the United States broke off diplomatic relations with Teheran early in April and gave warnings that the use of force to free innocent American hostages could not be ruled out. As it happened, the American plan of action was put into operation on April 25, when two rescue helicopters and other aircrafts landed secretly in a remote part of Iran. But the rescue helicopters collided on the ground, following refuelling operation, culminating in the death of eight American crew-members and the cancellation of the rescue operation by President Carter. Surely the Iranian detention of American hostages is an international outrage and deserves to be regretted. It must also be conceded that until the abortive military operation (on April 25) the United States had acted with commendable restraint and patience in the matter. But by undertaking the military adventure, President Carter exposed himself to the charge of throwing international proprieties to the winds. The erstwhile US Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, who resigned on the issue, described it as 'irresponsible' and unjustified. Several American newspapers used stronger

language of indiscretion, right to depose should concern compared to intervention in Iran and Vietnam. The need, then, to practice and reform.

President Jimmy Carter was a town was not Yugoslavia (Nasser) a movement, hundred in Caribbean fully stood pressure, away, there measure of close to also marks Guard in Fulsome tri memory of aligned world would be i able to kee after him nations—an India—shou non-alignme

Periodic sh the Tarapur ed under a b for over th had been c exigencies in the Uni has been th cannot be u

JUNE 1980

language to criticise the President's indiscretion. However while it could be right to deplore the American action, we should concede that it was a small matter compared to grosser instances of military intervention (by great powers) in Afghanistan and Vietnam during the past one year. The need, therefore is to attack the doctrine and practice of intervention in any place or form.

President Josef Broz Tito of Yugoslavia was a towering world personality. He was not only the architect of modern Yugoslavia but also (with Nehru and Nasser) a co-founder of the non-aligned movement, which now embraces about a hundred nations of Asia, Africa, the Caribbean and Europe. He had successfully stood up against Soviet interventionist pressure, against his country. His passing away, therefore, has not only created a measure of anxiety in his country, situated close to the mighty Soviet State, but it also marks the end of the era of the Old Guard in the non-aligned movement. Fulsome tributes have been paid to the memory of the late President in the non-aligned world. But the best tribute to him would be if the non-aligned movement is able to keep its unity and cohesiveness after him. To this end, all non-aligned nations—and certainly founder-member India—should follow a policy of 'genuine non-alignment.'

Periodic shipments of enriched uranium to the Tarapur Atomic power plant are required under a bilateral Indo-US agreement. But for over three years now, these shipments had been delayed or denied owing to the exigencies of a recent domestic legislation in the United States. India's argument has been that solemn bilateral agreements cannot be unilaterally repudiated, no matter

how the domestic requirements change from time to time. In the last week of May, President Carter recommended the shipment of enriched uranium for Tarapur against pending Indian applications. He has thus removed the only nagging irritant in Indo-American relations. Nevertheless the past few years problems with the United States should leave for us the lesson that in crucial matters self-reliance is the best policy. Hence India should continue with research and efforts to find alternative fuels for our atomic power plants.

Last, but not least, mention should be made about an important event in neighbouring Nepal. In a national referendum, the people of Nepal have opted (by a 54.80 per cent vote) for the continuance of the partyless Panchayat System put in operation by the King over a decade ago. Even as the people were going to the polls, the advocates of the multi-party democracy (like Mr. B.P. Koirala) were predicting a 95 per cent vote in their favour. The result of the referendum has therefore come as an unpleasant surprise to them. It is a shot in the arm for King Birendra, who is the father of the Panchayat System. Nevertheless the King cannot ignore the fact that nearly half the voters have signified their preference for a multi-party democracy. Hence the present system should be suitably reformed so as to incorporate into it the healthy ingredients of the multi-party democracy. This is the only way to keep the cohesion and internal unity of the kingdom. India's interest lies in a stable, united Nepal. How Nepal achieves these ends is the concern of the people and Government of Nepal!

(School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.)

Institute Activities

Lecture Series on the Vedic Concept of Rashtra

A SERIES of four lectures delivered by an outstanding scholar of the Vedas Dr G.T. Deshpande of Nagpur became an occasion of delightful acquaintance with the 'Concept of Nation in the Vedas' for the Nationalist intelligentsia of Delhi. The lecture series took place from April 17 to April 20, 1980 at the Institute, to motivate the nationalist thinkers towards evolving an adequate ideology and line of action for national reconstruction and cultural renaissance.

Dr Deshpande divided the entire course of lectures into four parts and discussed one part in each lecture. Starting with the 'Life perspective in the Vedas', he subsequently discussed 'Making of the Nation, its Governance and Objective' in the second lecture; 'Upkeeping of Nation by the Life of Yajna' in the third, and the 'Immortality of Nation's Life' in the fourth and final lecture.

Dr Deshpande described the basic principle of *Rashtra* (The Nation) as '*Bandhutva*', a bond of brotherhood, like the one among the members of a family living under the same roof. Describing three forms of *Rashtra* he stated that the *Adhibhautik* (material) *Rashtra* occurs at the meeting point of *Adhidaivik* (divine) *Rashtra* and *Adhyatmik* (self) *Rashtra*. Actually all the three are mutually cooperative and cannot exist without one another. A life of *Yajna* i.e. sacrifice for one another upkeeps the *Rashtra*, and non-attachment of the

people for material world makes it immortal. He quoted extensively from the Vedic *Rashree-Sukta* revealed by the Lady Rishi Vak, the exploration of the same in the *Nirukta* by Yaskacharya and his interpreter Durg. The logical and philosophical treatise was brought to an extremely delicious close with the invocation to the Divine Motherland, expressed in the enchanting *Mantras* of Prithvi Sukta from the *Atharva Veda*.

The audience comprised academicians, from Delhi University and Jawaharlal Nehru University, Journalists, lawyers, doctors, political Leaders, Government servants, social workers etc., showed living interest in the lectures throughout the four continuous days and found them immensely enlightening as well as relevant to the present-day's problems, although Dr Deshpande himself did not claim establishing any such relevance. His submission was that he was putting just the plane facts about the concept of Nationhood in the Vedas and whether it had any relevance or not for the present times was left to the audience to decide.

Deendayal Research Institute
starts a dialogue on "*An Ideology
for National Reconstruction*"

May 19, 1980

IN THE sequence of discussions organised by Deendayal Research Institute on '*An Ideology for National Reconstruction*', a talk by, the famous trade union leader

JUNE 1

and em
Thengdi,
question
the Insti
number o
participa

Shri The
word Nat
we are al
one in the
construct
But here
founding
assembled
was no his
nearer to
who were
was to be
structure
their resp
on a differ
has always
of two p
laws which
by our see
unchange
our society
the changi
different S
and regula
total revol

For the l
engaged in
foreign agre
of stagnatio
sions and co
No doubt
ional struct
revered Gur
should be lik
it progresses
leaves or bra
off or we ch
time we ar

and eminent thinker Shri Dattopant Thengdi, followed by a discussion-cum-question answer session, was arranged in the Institute on May 21, 1980. A large number of intellectuals and social workers participated.

Shri Thengdi pointed out that the very word National reconstruction suggests that we are already a nation; our nation is not one in the making; there is already some construction which is to be restructured. But here we are not as free as were the founding fathers of United State who had assembled to write on a clean slate. There was no history, no tradition. Neither are we nearer to French or Russian revolutionaries who were convinced that a drastic change was to be introduced not only in the superstructure but in the very foundation of their respective societies. We are standing on a different footing. Our foundation has always been the *Dharma*, which insists of two parts—number one, the universal laws which were not made but visualised by our seers, and two, in the light of these unchangeable universal laws we restructured our society from time to time according to the changing needs and circumstances. So in different *Smritis* we find different rules and regulations, but we cannot afford a total revolution.

For the last twelve centuries we were engaged in a life-and-death struggle against foreign aggressors which accounts for a sort of stagnation giving rise to various perversions and corruptions in the social order. No doubt the obsolete parts of the national structure are to be dropped. Our revered Gurujī has said that our progress should be like that of a tree. Tree advances, it progresses and in course of time if some leaves or branches become dry, they drop off or we chop them off. But at the same time we are particular that the life sap

must be continued. And with that we may change what are to be changed when change becomes necessary, keeping *Dharma* as the basis.

In ancient days, our society was dynamic and *Dharma* was a living force. For example in case of political life at different times we have tried different forms of government in different regions. So also in the field of economics. There were basic broad principles, but on their basis the *Smritis* have given rules and regulations also about economic life and they differ from one *Smriti* to another. For the last twelve centuries *Dharma* had no scope to operate and play its role, but now we are free. It should be possible for us to consider the spirit of the letter *Dharma* and reorganise different departments of national life on its basis. That is why, I think, when Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya drafted the first manifesto of Bharatiya Jana Sangh, one of the articles of faith was *Dharma Rajya*. Because it was a manifesto of a political party, the word *Rajya* was used there. He was realist, a man of firm convictions and therefore instead of using bombastic and romantic word, he used the term *Dharma Rajya* as one of articles of faith. That should be a guide to our thinking also, Shri Thengdiji concluded.

These introductory remarks were followed by an illuminating discussion in which a large number from the audience participated with great interest.

Welcoming the gathering P. Parmeswaran, Director of the Institute said that this was the first in a chain of programmes intended to carry on a dialogue on this all important topic.

Sri Nanaji Deshmukh, Chairman of the Institute who presided proposed vote of thanks.

world makes it
nsively from the
aled by the Lady
n of the same in
harya and his
ical and philoso-
t to an extremely
nvocation to the
pressed in the
hi Sukta from

academicians,
and Jawaharlal
alists, lawyers,
s, Government
e, showed living
es throughout
ed found them
well as relevant
s, although Dr
claim establish-
his submission
just the plane
Nationhood in
had any relev-
times was left

Institute
An Ideology
tion"

May 19, 1980

ssions organis-
Institute on
econstruction",
union leader

Philosophy in East and West

"Where the Indian mind differs most from the average mind of Modern Europe is in its views of the value of philosophy. In Europe and America the study of philosophy is regarded as an end in itself, and as such it seems of but little importance to the ordinary man. In India, on the contrary, philosophy is not regarded primarily as a mental gymnastic, but rather with deep religious conviction, as our salvation from the ignorance which forever hides from our eyes the vision of reality. Philosophy is the key to the map of life, by which are set forth the meaning of life and the means of attaining its end. It is no wonder, then, that the Indians have pursued the study of philosophy with enthusiasm, for these are matters which concern all. The challenge of the East is very precise : To what end is your life? Without an answer to this question there may indeed be change, but progress is impossible; for without a sense of direction, who knows if we do not return upon our footsteps in everlasting circles?"

Anand K. Coomaraswamy



Life is Larger Than Bath Tub

"I am against the concept of raising the standard of living endlessly. There will never be a possibility of contentment. Life is larger than bath tubs, radios and refrigerators. I am afraid the higher the standard of living the lower the culture. Why, more than fifty per cent of Americans have never bought a book in their life time, and the Americans have the highest standard of living in the world. Literacy is not education and education is not culture."

Anand K. Coomaraswamy

Book Review

Power in Temples by *Srikanth*; Published by Integral Books; 144, Big Street, Triplicane, Madras-600005; Price Rs 4/-, U.S. \$ 1; pages 48

PROGRESS of physical sciences and technology has placed human race at such wonderful heights that now within minutes it can turn this beautiful earth into a meaningless heap of ashes with the help of its graceful hundred megaton nuclear bomb stocks. Humanity today is frightened of itself and filled with a sense of guilt. It is in a genuine need of inner solace and India *i.e.* Bharat can provide that. The outside world is so frightening because Man does not know his inner power, the power arising out of his all pervading divine consciousness. Indian seers had long back observed this inner truth of Man and the main proposition of the author of *Power in Temples* is that they had devised a technology to store the creative divine energy in idols, temples etc., which activates the latent inner powers of the worshippers or temple goers. In this connection he has collected scientific evidences to prove that such storage of an yet unidentified 'unknown energy' is quite possible in some alloys and certain peculiar shapes. The experiments of a Czechoslovakian engineer Karel Drbal with pyramidal shapes and the experiments of another Czech investigator Robert Pavlita with some alloys and then the scrutiny of his findings in the physics department of Hradeo Kralove University are particularly interesting.

Thus no doubt, the author by collecting

enough background material has tried to proceed in the right direction, but as regards his target, he could not bring an uncommitted reader to any convincing points as the mysterious doors of the temple of 'unknown creative energy' remain throughout closed and the reader is left without having a *darshana* of a *swaroop* (form) or the mechanics of the creativity of the 'divine power', which the author claims to be present in the temples. Some indicative parapsychological examples are there, but they are not enough to provide a firm base to his case, as parapsychology had a late beginning, it is yet in a developing stage and most of its investigations are yet to seek recognition from other developed sciences. What to say of parapsychology, Western psychology itself is badly lagging behind the natural sciences.

Much has been said of the charismatic shape of pyramids in the book, but no light has been thrown on the shapes of the temples and the relation between their shapes and effectivity.

But still, the book is a serious attempt in a right direction and the real seekers of truth, for whom science is not limited within the barriers of physical matter, should go through it and themselves think over these unsolved riddles.

—Harishchandra Barthwal

I Versus We by *Vishwanath Limaye*; Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan; Bombay, 1979, (pp.i-xvii; 1-166) Rs 12/-

Individual and Society

Shri Vishwanath Limaye deserves our heart-felt gratitude for drawing our attention to a very serious problem of our age through his profound book *I Versus WE*. He in his characteristic humble way disowns any originality for the thoughts expressed here. But even a casual reader could see in this book the commitment and dedication of the author to a great cause.

He discusses an age-old problem, the problem of balance between individual's aspiration and the societal restraint put on his individualistic self. In other words the question that man faces today is two-fold; how far should an individual's individuality be allowed to flourish and how far should the society prevail upon individual members. Extreme individualism and naked socialism are the two poles within which the contemporary man, more than his earlier counterpart, finds himself rolling. In so-called free societies man, in the name of the freedom of the person, does not hesitate undermining the very value-foundation of the entire social structure should it come in conflict with his own individualistic image of himself. Likewise in so-called socialistic societies there being no respect for the individual his personality is reduced to naught. There is a very wide gap between these two extremes and the modern man is busy in trying to find a locus for himself which could suit his temperament and circumstances created by historical forces and the process of life. It would not be an exaggeration to say that since man's total attention is engaged in finding a

suitable location for himself he is not able to think of what is really valuable, true and good for him. Real, authentic and permanent values of life cannot be even properly visualized, what to talk of their realization, in the midst of even shifting of grounds and the state of perpetual tension generated by his anxiety about his own survival. Visualization and realization of values demand serene mind, capable of concentrating on his own self and the self of others. Today man has no time and thus he cannot afford this luxury. But one may ask: Why this is so? The answer to this question would presuppose (1) an initial awareness of valuelessness of shifting of grounds and (2) the mental equipment of looking at the entire human situation in a detached manner. The first pre-supposition is in fact a feeling of dissatisfaction and disillusionment with the present, the prevailing situation. No change is possible as long as one clings to a given situation, making adjustments, shifting of grounds, in the fond hope of finding what one wants. Thus when either a man comes to the conclusion that what he wants is just not available or he realizes that what he has been wanting was actually not worth his efforts, he starts a new journey. The man of today has not come to this stage as yet as did Buddha or Sankara or Gandhi and their followers. The second presupposition mentioned above follows from the first where change in the psychological framework of man, a new outlook towards life, in accordance with dissatisfaction with the prevailing situation is in demand. Anxiety is the child born of the marriage of frustration with hope. In a given situation if man's efforts to get what he wants is not met with success but he still hopes that he will be able to get it, he begins to feel anxious for himself—anxious because due to his failure he is not very sure regarding achieving his objective.

Man's too present is the model of his thinks of his society. Soc two differ the former either too s it a source hope surren surrender sentiment re once he find to realize what he v tactical and ing time to ism, on th open and against so shades of p mic system *Versus We*, thus the res as an indep

In the Ind we find a di to the soc one against tion of the of manifes Limaye in h out this po of fact an bringing for nation" (p the term relation y avoid the c and the soc principle impart a c not sufficien society can

is not able to be able, true and able, and per-
 be even pro-
 talk of their
 en shifting of
 etual tension
 out his own
 realization of
 d, capable of
 self and the self
 no time and
 xury. But one
 The answer to
 ppose (1) an
 ness of shifting
 ntal equipment
 an situation in
 at pre-supposi-
 dissatisfaction
 he present, the
 ange is possible
 given situation,
 ng of grounds,
 ding what one
 man comes to
 he wants is just
 es that what he
 ally not worth
 w journey. The
 come to this
 dhya or Sankara
 ers. The second
 above follows
 e in the psycho-
 a new outlook to-
 th dissatisfaction
 n is in demand.
 of the marriage
 In a given situa-
 et what he wants
 ut he still hopes
 t it, he begins to
 —anxious because
 not very sure re-
 ective.

Man's too much preoccupation with the present is the result of his having only one model of his relation with the society. He thinks of himself as an entity placed against society. Socialism and individualism are only two different versions of this one model. In the former an individual finding the society either too strong to oppose it or seeing in it a source of fulfilment of his desire and hope surrenders himself to it. But in this surrender there is a dormant sense of resentment ready to raise its head in defiance once he finds a weak spot there in or comes to realize that he has not been getting what he wanted from it. Surrender is tactical and in general it is a way of gaining time to plan a revenge. In individualism, on the other hand, the defiance is open and the assertion of individuality against society is explicit. All different shades of political institutions and economic systems based on this model of *I Versus We*, individual against society, is thus the result of man's viewing the society as an independent entity.

In the Indian tradition of long standing we find a different model of man's relation to the society. Here is not the relation of one against the other but rather the relation of the individual to the society as that of manifestation and manifested. Shri Limaye in his book has brilliantly brought out this point when he says: "As a matter of fact an individual is an instrument in bringing forth the soul or the *Chiti* of the nation" (p. 42). Though he does not use the term 'manifestation' to describe this relation yet one can very well see that to avoid the conflict between the individual and the society we have to look for some principle which would pervade both and impart a deeper unity among them. It is not sufficient to say that individuals and society can exist together and cooperate

while retaining their respective ontological status. In that case the apparent unity would be a matter of convenience and can be broken easily. My contention therefore differs in emphasis though in spirit the same as that of the author.

The model of manifestation which to my mind can be employed to understand the Indian viewpoint takes into account the unity of individual and the society at the level of deeper existence. As I see it an individual is viewed here as a necessary manifestation of the society representing in miniature all that the society has. Similarly the society is a magnified, enlarged version, the *Chiti*, of individual. Thus viewed the individual cannot remain in isolation because every bit of what he has, including his own essence and existence, belongs to the society. In words of Mahatma Gandhi he is, as it were, a 'trustee' a keeper for everything that the society has. As long as the individual does not recognise this fact and thinks of himself as some entity over against the society he cannot overcome frustration and conflict. In the same way society in itself is an abstract entity getting its concrete shape as individuals expand and bring out what they have in themselves. It is like the Brahman creating the universe out of his self. When an individual is in a position to own everything that there is in the universe, when he is in a position to assert "I am the whole universe" he is liberated from the narrow confines of his fragmented personality. This can be achieved not by mere recognition or contemplation but by actually participating in every aspect of the society, the universe. Identification with the universe is achieved through practice, service and not through withdrawal from it.

Shri Limaye has brought out political,

social and economic implications of this approach to the problem of relation between individual and society. These implications are very interesting and have been visualized by great men of our time to whom the author has made ample reference in his book. I have no doubt in my mind regarding the basic principle—the principle of unity—but this principle need practical

application through social, political and economic programmes. The book of Shri Limaye will go a long way in inspiring people to act according to the principle. I pay my gratitude to the author Shri Vishwanath Limaye for showing us the correct path.

—R. C. Pandeya

Dialog

Dear Reader

Through the trying to rations, with who come a considered purpose is *Manthan*, s constructive, li up in that plank for cipate in th your learn

Do we reconstr

"One c commi underr in na though nology school solve t was f econo donec But i life a rema truth in no Thes philo fully ful, philo

MANTHAN

social, political and
nes. The book of Shri
long way in inspiring
ding to the principle. I
the author Shri Vishwa-
nowing us the correct

—R. C. Pandeya

Dialogue

For Your Critical Evaluation And Considered Opinion

Dear Reader,

Through these columns, *MANTHAN* is trying to raise certain fundamental questions, with the hope that thinking people who come across them will contribute their considered views on those questions. The purpose is to initiate a debate, a *Vichar Manthan*, so that certain valuable, constructive, life-giving ideas may be thrown up in that process, which may provide a plank for action. We invite you to participate in this national debate, by sending your learned opinion on the points raised.

Do we need an ideology for national reconstruction ?

"One of the mistakes that Indian leaders committed after Independence was to underrate the importance of ideology in national reconstruction. It was thought that importing Western technology and building dams, factories, schools and hospitals alone would solve the problems of the country. It was for this reason that Gandhian economics and wa of life were abandoned. Socialism was for a time tried. But in the absence of a basic view of life and reality, this word has only remained as a nebulous slogan. The truth is, there is a philosophical vacuum in non-communist developing countries. These countries have evolved no philosophy of life capable of successfully competing with the powerful, integrated socio-political-economic philosophy of Marxism. This is one of

the reasons why in many Islamic countries Muslim fundamentalists are trying to reinstate the *Sharia*.

"What India now needs is a socio-economic philosophy of life which is based on the Vedantic doctrines of freedom and potential divinity of the soul and the spiritual oneness of the world, and which at the same time abolishes all forms of social inequality, exploitation and immortality, harmonizes the diverse creeds and dogmas of mankind, accommodates science and technology, gives strength and courage to people in facing the challenges of life, and induces people to seek individual and collective prosperity and spiritual fulfilment through service, love and knowledge. Such a comprehensive philosophy alone can make democracy meaningful."

The above passage is from the March 1980, issue of *Prabuddha Bharata*, the reputed monthly journal of the Sri Ramkrishna Mission, founded by Swami Vivekananda. I am sure, this is a thought-provoking idea, which deserves serious consideration.

A philosophy is necessary for the following reasons :—

1. It gives a sense of direction for those engaged in the task of national reconstruction.
2. It provides a framework of reference for the socio-economic and political policies and programmes.

3. By emphasising the right and cherished values, it helps to generate the collective will of the nation as well as individual initiative, which alone can bring into fruition the efforts at national regeneration.

In the absence of clear ideological commitment, politics becomes sheer manipulation and politicians degenerate into self-seekers.

All mighty social transformations in history have had at their root clear ideological perceptions. The challenge that communism poses is basically an ideological one. The fundamentalism that sweeps across the Islamic countries at present has the motive of bringing about a socio-economic transformation based on the Islamic philosophy. Its dynamic impact is clearly discernible in countries like Iran.

In India, Congress which was the major political party, had no clear, well-defined ideology of its own. It had only tentative policies and programmes. It sought to inspire by slogans and not by ideas. It comprised people of all shades from extreme left to extreme right. The method of its functioning was through compromise and not through principles. Naturally, there is a mess in every field.

Communists on the other hand had an ideological commitment, and a philosophical framework. But it was fundamentally opposed to the nation's ethos and cherished values. Hence it could not win the allegiance of the people, beyond a narrow limit and the communist's dream of capturing India remains as illusory as ever.

Bharateeya Jana Sangh had realized the need for a philosophy on the basis of which the nation could reconstruct itself. 'Integral Humanism' was the result of this realiza-

tion. It was a restatement of our eternal values to suit modern conditions. It was an attempt to provide a Bharateeya answer to both communist and capitalist philosophy. Before it could receive wider acceptance, Jana Sangh ceased to exist as a separate body.

JP's Total Revolution has added a new dimension to this search for an ideology. Janata Party once again focussed the nation's attention on the relevance of Gandhian values.

Taking all these developments into account and also the crucial need for a philosophy for national regeneration, the time has come to evolve such a philosophy as described in the above quoted passages.

Kindly pen down your considered views on the points stated above to the Editor, *MANTHAN*, 7-E, Swami Ramirth Nagar, New Delhi-110055.

Yours sincerely,

Parameswaran

(P. Parameswaran)

Note :—One point may be made clear what is meant here is not the invention of any new philosophy of life. India never lacked in it. Our *Rishis* have evolved a philosophy of life, based on eternal and unchanging truths of man, the universe and the ultimate reality. The same had been stated and restated to suit diverse needs and the dynamism of social changes, keeping the fundamentals always in tact. What is called for today is again a reassertion of the basic values in terms of modern economic, social and political requirements. In short what we need is an application of our

MANTHAN

JUNE 1980

philosophy
mic, social
should try t
basic featur
in the vario

Another p
we are no
for any po
can single-
national rec

★ RESE

★ PUBL

★ SOCI

MANTHAN

of our eternal
ans. It was an
aya answer to
t philosophy.
er acceptance,
as a separate

added a new
an ideology.
focussed the
relevance of

into account
a philosophy
he time has
philosophy as
passages.

sidered views
to the Editor,
ntirth Nagar,

urs sincerely,
r
(Prameswaran)

ade clear what
ention of any
never lacked
a philosophy
d unchanging
erse and the
d been stated
needs and the
s, keeping the
What is called
ertion of the
ern economic,
nts. In short
ation of our

philosophy of life to the present-day economic, social and political conditions. We should try to spell out in broad outlines the basic features of our national reconstruction in the various fields.

Another point to be remembered is that we are not trying to provide a manifesto for any political party. No political party can single-handedly accomplish the job of national reconstruction. Whatever may be

the political party, it must take into account the national ethos, if it is to have any solid base in the country. The emphasis of different parties may differ, as far as the details are concerned but the basic philosophy and values of life have to be more or less similar if they are to be genuinely national and wish to serve the national cause. The philosophy which we wish to evolve will serve as the common substratum for all those who wish to work for the cause of national reconstruction.

JOIN US IN OUR ACTIVITIES

★ RESEARCH

- * To organise intensive and extensive research in all aspects of national and international life.
- * To provide research facilities to scholars.
- * To maintain research and reference library.

★ PUBLICATIONS

- * To publish and circulate *Manthan*, quarterly journal, in English and in Hindi.
- * To publish books and study papers in English and in Hindi

★ SOCIAL WORK

- * Integrated Rural Reconstruction—developing model districts
- * Flood and Cyclone Relief Work
- * Medical Mission and Medicine Bank
- * Integrated Child Development Project

FOR FURTHER DETAILS CONTACT :

Deendayal Research Institute

7E, SWAMI RAMTIRTH NAGAR,
NEW DELHI-110055.

Phones : 526735; 526792

"There is a vast mass of men who are more depressed than the so-called depressed classes who constitute the real India—half-starved skeletons, living corpses. If India could revive them by putting life and food into them, India would help the world. Today India is a curse."

—Mahatma Gandhi

"The measure of our economic progress and of the success of economic planning is provided, not by the man at the higher rungs of society, but by one who is at the bottom."

—Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya

"... the small farmer is impoverished, that his tools are crude, his productivity is low, he is voiceless and together with his family lives a life truncated by disease, lack of education and limited hope. Yet this frail man is the only one who can produce food for tomorrow. We must rally to the support of this man..."

Dr Sacuma, Director General, FAO

Deendayal Research Institute
announces the
RURAL DEVELOPMENT SPECIAL ISSUE
of
Manthan (quarterly journal)

English Edition

September 1980

Hindi Edition

October 1980

★ HIGHLIGHTS

1. Concept of Integrated Rural Development
2. Critical evaluation of rural development programmes in post-independent era
3. Harnessing youth power for rural reconstruction
4. Role of Agricultural Universities in rural development
5. Voluntary Agencies on their experiences in rural development
6. An ideal village

Plus

- Colourful and lucid illustrations of rural India
- All articles written by eminent specialists and leading social workers
- Avail of the SPECIAL PRICE for annual subscribers. Become a subscriber today.
- Issue is a Special Venture launched by NANAJI DESHMUKH, Chairman, Deendayal Research Institute
- For further details, immediately contact :

Publication Division,
Deendayal Research Institute,
7E, Swami Ramtirth Nagar,
New Delhi-110055.

Edited and Published by P. Parameswaran, Director, Deendayal Research Institute, for Deendayal Research Institute, New Delhi-110055, and Printed by him at Saraswati Press, Desh Bandhu Gupta Road, New Delhi-110055.