

lisme et de la démocratie dans les conditions nationales et internationales. En considérant ce problème crucial, nous semble-t-il, de la politique mondiale d'aujourd'hui, Togliatti a toujours tenté de démontrer que, au moins dans les pays européens développés, l'un n'existe pas et ne saurait exister sans l'autre. Une raison de plus, pour les staliniens chinois (et les autres) de prendre ses thèses pour cible dans leurs attaques forcenées.

Partant de cette thèse générale, Togliatti a posé et résolu les questions de pratique les plus quotidiennes, et montré la possibilité d'une «voie italienne vers le socialisme». La menace de la catastrophe atomique n'était pas la seule raison qu'il avait de lutter pour la paix mondiale, mais il estimait que certains changements dans la structure de l'économie et de la politique mondiale exigent absolument une certaine modification et même une «modernisation» de la notion même de révolution. Il a rénové le communisme italien, en esquissant le programme d'une stratégie et d'une tactique nouvelles du parti, dans les conditions modernes d'une société industrielle fortement développée. Il avait une conception libre de la lutte pour le socialisme, à la manière de Gramsci, et il pouvait se permettre même la «nouveau» d'envisager une pluralité de partis politiques différents, ayant des conceptions diverses et même opposées sur l'avenir de leur pays. Il a posé ce pluralisme comme plate-forme nationale du parti communiste italien, et ne l'a imposé à personne d'autre; cependant, cette nouvelle conception du «socialisme italien» n'attire-t-elle pas de plus en plus l'attention même en dehors de l'Italie, et ne prend-elle pas une importance internationale?

Une telle position politique, Togliatti l'étayait toujours d'arguments solides, lui donnant intelligemment une base philosophique. Son humanisme révolutionnaire, il ne le devait à personne d'autre qu'au jeune Marx, qu'il connaissait bien, et sur lequel il a beaucoup écrit. A l'époque où régnait la mode stalinienne de rejeter le jeune Marx comme «idéaliste hégélien», et «contrebande bourgeoise», Togliatti fut l'unique dirigeant communiste à prendre fermement son parti, et il a réaffirmé cet humanisme révolutionnaire sur le plan théorique:

«Marx» - écrit-il en 1955 - «n'a jamais accepté sans contradiction la philosophie de Hegel, même dans les oeuvres qui sont considérés comme les plus précoces» (Pour une compréhension juste des conceptions d'Antonio Labriola.)

Le théoricien Togliatti savait bien d'où jaillissait la source humaniste de son inspiration révolutionnaire, et c'est pour cela qu'il n'a pas permis qu'on falsifie Marx d'une façon pragmatique.

Ce que nous citons ici, au moment de sa mort, ce ne sont que quelques moments - mais les plus décisifs - d'un grand homme politique marxiste, qui n'a jamais cessé d'être en même temps un théoricien. Une longue tâche attend ceux qui entreprendront de valoriser son oeuvre dans son ensemble, et de l'approfondir dans ses détails. L'histoire sur cet homme rendra son verdict infaillible.

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INDIAN PHILOSOPHICAL CONGRESS

From 27–30 December 1964, the 38th meeting of the Indian Philosophical Congress took place in Madras. The Congress is an organisation of Indian Philosophers which meets once a year in various Indian cities. The first president of the executive committee was S. Radhakrishnan (1925–1937). The present president Humayan Kabir (ex-minister of education) was elected in 1956. The first meeting of the Congress was held in Calcutta in 1925 and it was presided over by Rabin-dranatha Tagore.

The president of the Congress, Kabir, and the president of the meeting in Madras, Mir Valiuddin, an expert of long standing in the Islamic mystic sufiism-philosophy at the Osmanlia University in Hayderabad, were prevented from taking part at the meeting for reasons of bad health. Professor Valiuddin, however, sent his presidential address »The Problem of Fear and Anxiety from the Sufiistic Point of View« which was read at the opening session. From the point of view of man's eternal existential problems Professor Valiuddin tries to interpret the imminent irrationality of existential situations and the trans-rationalism of philosophical effort towards their solution in the spirit of confidence in dogma, in the sense that the deserted human mind be left to ultimate subjective emotion rooted in religious experience. Sufiism is nothing other than the cultivation of elevated feelings.

The presidential address was the only contribution from the standpoint of Islamic philosophy. The number of contributions on Hindu philosophy at various section meetings was much larger: in the section for the history of philosophy the ratio was 13 : 5, and they were also prevalent in the sections for psychology, ethics, and social philosophy. The papers on Hindu philosophy concerning logic and metaphysics were delivered mainly at the historical section meetings because in the section for logic and metaphysics the followers of Ayer and Ryle dominated.

Among those opposing this latter tendency which is prevalent in Indian academic philosophy (of course anachronistic papers on Hume and Bentham did not fail to appear) was a small group of young philosophers followers of Husserlean phenomenological philosophy. One of the most distinguished philosophers of the post-war generation, perhaps the most distinguished, is J. H. Mohanti, whose book on Husserl's transcendental logic was recently published in the series *Husserl Archiv*. He studied at Göttingen and wrote his doctoral dissertation on N. Hartmann and Whitehead. His academic success in India is partly due to the fact that he strictly limits his work to problems of logic.

The second in chronological order is Debabrata Sinha, a student of Landgrebe's, who has recently started a direct attack on critical points of logical positivism from the phenomenological point of view in a number of short articles. The third is Ram Adha Mall who has come back from Cologne and has oriented his work towards existentialist problems. At the meeting in Madras he read an interesting paper entitled: »Existentialism against Philosophical Anthropology«. Two more papers on existentialism were read but of inferior quality: »Kierkegaard's Approach to Ethics« (Basant Kumar Lal) and »Existential Truth« (G. N. Joshi). In the near future an increase in output of inadequate and negative articles about existentialism is to be expected as the subject has been included in the official curricula and the demand for teachers of the subject has increased.

One of the weaker points in teaching at the faculties of philosophy in India is the shortage of chairs of psychology. The faculties where psychology is being gradually separated from philosophy are rare. Chairs of psychology exist within the departments of philosophy but the atmosphere of semanticism is in most cases unfavourable to them. This was particularly treated in a paper by A. V. Vasavada, Head of the Department of Philosophy in the University of Jodhpur. The movement towards the independence of psychological studies in India has developed parallel with the tendency for specialization in traditional Indian psy-

chology. This problem was dominant in Vasavada's paper (which is quite natural when the present situation in India is taken into account) entitled »The Place of Psychology in Philosophy«. He gave a witty comparison of Jung's deep psychology from the Indian point of view and his *tertium comparationis* was concentrated on the symbolic interpretation of alchemy.

The success of logical positivism in India is much more complex from the point of view of autochthonic Indian problems of a logical and semantic nature. In connection with this the meeting has shown up a specific difficulty in Indian spiritual life i. e. the shortage of theological faculties and of compulsory standards of theological education for the Hindu clergy for which reason the Brahmin clergy and its intellectual elite is directed towards pure philosophy. The spread of crude formalism in logic and linguistic hair-splitting is favoured by its remarkable affinity to the orthodox scholastic logical school of nyaya. Nyaya's formalistic position became very strong in the reactionary mediaeval struggle against the dialectical and transcendental standpoints of Buddhist logic whose representatives were definitely thrown out of India in the 11th century in which the Islamic invasion helped.

It is clear, however, that the symbiosis of clerical orthodoxy and logical positivism of British origin cannot have deep roots. This can be seen in the ultimate clash in the field of metaphysics. Logic and metaphysics under Western influence are becoming incompatible in India.

In the metaphysical field idealist absolutism *vedante* has succeeded in resisting Anglo-Saxon positivism, mostly owing to theological backing and the Neo-Hinduist revival of religious thought on a rather high philosophical and emotional basis of spiritual culture. Among the Neo-Hinduist trends (whose fundamental approach to the problems of religious experience is not theistic, and this is being constantly emphasized) the high level of Aurobind's integralist conception (which was compared by Mohati in an earlier essay to Scheler's anthropological philosophy) and in connection with it his conception of Yogi as a philosophy of the practical mind. Unfortunately, even here the standpoint of scholastically oriented Brahmins, who consider the faculties of philosophy substitutes for theological schools, is far more conservative and immobile than the dynamic forces of revival in Neo-Hinduist religious missions which are much more liberal in their intellectual protestantism. One of the internationally best known representatives of Ramakrishnin's and Vivekanad's missionary order swami Ranganathananda in his recent popular commentaries upon the *Bhagavad - Gite* emphasized once more that religion is nothing else but a definite form of inner experience and its cultivation, and that therefore all religions are equally valuable and ought to be equally tolerant. At philosophical meetings, on the other hand, one can notice that for scholasticists of academic Brahmanism who are philosophically and technologically educated, a decadent belief in gods and ritual semantics are more important than for the Neo-Hinduist missionaries.

Apart from the meetings of specialized sections two symposia were held at the convention: »The Knowledge of Other Minds« and »The Place of Religion in Education«. A one-day seminar was added to the convention and was entitled »Tradition and Progress«. Discussion at the first symposium was mainly about semanticism. At the second symposium there was sharp disagreement due to the complexity of the problem in India. As was mentioned above in the Hindu religion there is no official education of the clergy. Priests are born and obtain »secret initiation« from their fathers or mystic teachers (*guru*). The institution of religious teachers is not discussed. Teachers of various humanist and science subjects are supposed to give freedom in prescribing curricula but the legal system of the Republic of India founded on principles of religious secularism, does not foresee any specific forms of religious education and forbids the strengthening of religious communalism (under which term aggressive, fanatical antagonism equally strong on the Hindu and Muslim side is to be noted).

At the seminar on tradition and progress the papers tended towards a compromise but mostly favoured tradition and its »revival« where it is doomed. At this seminar the author of the present report spoke about »Existentialism and the Philosophy of Culture«. S. S. Barlinge, ex-lecturer of the Faculty of Philosophy of Zagreb read his paper »Language and World« in the section for logic and metaphysics. In the course of the discussion Ram Adha Mall made some critical remarks from the point of view of the phenomenological theory of intentional relations.

Čedomil VELJAČIĆ

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