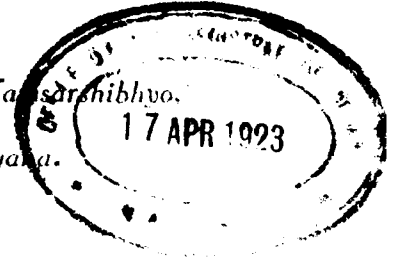


THE VEDIC WORLD

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TO DEFEND ITS ALL ROUND INTERESTS.

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Om namo Brahmadibhyo,
Brahmavidya-Sampradaya-Kartrubhyo, Vaisarshibhyo.
Namo Gurubhyo namo Mahadbhyo.



'Dharmo rakshati rakshitaha'

'Svadharme Nidhanam Sreyaha'

'Sarvam atmavasam Sukham'

'Nahi gnyanena sadrisam'

'Gnyanadevatu Kaivalyam'

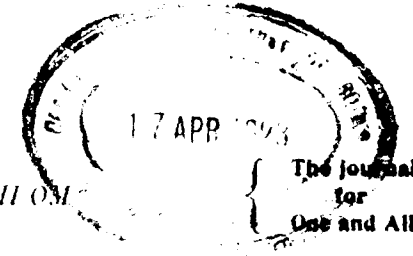
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EDITORIALS.

ACTION & RESPONSIBILITY.

The activity of men is more extensive than that of other animals. He acts in three ways—mentally, orally and physically, whereas animals only act physically, of course backed up with the other two faculties in very very latent form. Therefore man is more capable of doing good to himself and others if he maintains harmony between thought, word and deed and if he does not maintain such harmony he will become a source of trouble and ruin to others immediately and to himself later on. It is on the regulation of this three-fold activity that the order or peace of the world depends.

The mental action is more powerful and important than vocal and physical action. This is as far as the interests of one's own self is concerned. Because the very idea (*Sankalpa*) is enough to make anyone to do good or bad according to the nature of that idea, whether it is translated into speech or action (physical) or not. But this is different when the interests of others are concerned. Physical action plays more prominent part than speech and thought, because nobody would generally be affected by other's mental action (thought) or vocal action (speech) until it is translated into deed (physical action) of course with rare exceptions. Therefore the word action has been commonly used for physical action. This is the reason why we generally express and understand action in its physical sense, though the word connotes any one of its three aspects—mental, vocal and physical (thought, word and deed). When the question of individuals

and society at large is concerned the vocal action or speech plays a more prominent part than mental and physical action; because an average man cannot do good or bad to the society at large, either by his thought or deed. He can only do this in a very limited extent. But his speech or writings (records of thought and speech) can spread to a proportionately greater extent than it is possible for him by thought or deed.

One can manage to regulate this three-fold activity as far as he is concerned. But it is not possible for him to do so when others are concerned. One's vocal and physical actions can be regulated or controlled by others. One's mental activity cannot be so managed by others. It is sometimes possible for any one to think, that the mental action of man can also be regulated by others. It is not really so. Outsiders have simply to place things before any one. Man is always in the habit of taking to better things and ideals when he knows them as such. He takes them as he meets. This change of mental attitude is rather one's own selection than regulation from outside. Therefore the regulation or control of mental action rests with one's own self while the regulation of both vocal and physical action is in the hands of both oneself and others.

Therefore the speech of a man is to be regulated either by the society that guides him by advice or by a government that guides him by control. If the society is in proper order and condition it would itself put him into the right path; then there is no necessity for a government or any such power. Of course such a thing is only possible when the society maintains its purity in a maximum degree. There were no Kings and governments in the *Krutha Yuga*, when the society was so pure that man takes and treats all beings as objects of reverence and worship. When there is demand for a Government that is forced to increase its departments to maintain its function, it is a symptom of the impurity and disordered condition of the society. Therefore there is no simultaneous demand for the services of both society and government. The more the society serves its purpose the greater is the decline of the functions of the government. The more the functions of the Governments increase the greater is the failure of the services of the society. And of the two guides i.e. society and Government, man can easily accept (if it is good) or reject (if it is bad) the society as a guide at his will; but he cannot do so in the case of a government as its life or death depends on society at large. It is for this reason that the purity of Government or its

representatives is held as more necessary and important than that of anybody. In the vedic society of time immemorial, *Hastischandra*, the Chakravarthi, (The ruler of seven continents) is held up as the embodiment of truth. *Bali*, another Chakravarthi (the ruler of three worlds) is the embodiment of Charity. Therefore the purity of Government or its representatives is of vital importance to the interests of man.

We note frequently some of the representatives of modern governments living a very disagreeable life in the estimation of the society to which they belong and are placed to guide them by control; similarly they deliver speeches that are detrimental to the sacred traditions of that society for whose protection they are placed. Protection of a government has a wider meaning than it is generally understood as protection of life and property. The necessary education and qualification of man, that represents a government, does not merely lie in an elaborate study of voluminous books, that explain the methods of controlling the evil words and deeds of others, but it consists in keeping association with wise men (*Sadhus*) who know the art of self-control and in acquiring that art of self-control, a necessary qualification of lie, an official who represents a government. Might is admitted throughout as a means to correction; of course it is a might which works for right. What is government after all. It is an institution meant for the control of evil words and deeds of individuals whether rulers or ruled. This is the nature of a government. This has been admitted from all hands though the opinion differs about the origin of the governments.

But the majority of the officials that represent any of the modern governments, do not join it with the consciousness that they have to participate the responsibilities of government in discharging its duty to control men by might with a view of maintaining right and justice. They join the service for their living; and the minority who are aware of it try to control the evil actions of those over whom they happen to rule, while they themselves are subject to such things. Mr. Lloyd George, the premier of England, rightly estimated the state of modern governments. He said the other day 'the world is tired of every rule', but he did not note the causes that lead these governments to such a state. If the representatives of these governments do realise their responsibilities and try to guide the people with self-regulated speech and action the people are sure to keep well with them. We have stated above that it is the impure and disordered conditions of a society that gives rise to a government or its representa-

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tives. Hence there is no room for any-body to contend that the responsibility of electing proper representatives rests in the hands of the people. Therefore, the responsibility rests with the selected few of every government who are conscious of their function. They have a threefold duty before them. (1) Self-regulation of speech and action. (2) Regulation of their own co-workers who are merely hanging on government for the worship of their belly-gods (food). (3) Regulation of masses whose impurity and disorder and above all, ignorance give rise to their offices. If these men fail to do their trusted duty, they are responsible not only for their sinful actions but also for the sinful actions of others (ignorant masses and co-workers) over whom they are placed or by whom they are chosen to govern. They might escape here from the ignorant and powerless society for the failure of their duty but they cannot do so before the all knowing and all powerful Yama the Lord of Dharma.

CONTRIBUTIONS.

VEDA GURU AND SISHYA

BY BRAHMA SRI ARUNACHALA SASTRIYAR OF NAGAPATAM

First of all one puzzles himself as to what he should do and what he ought not to do, because every move brings to him some restless state or other, that will compell him to seek another state as he finds the present-state wanting in itself to satisfy his desire. Suppose he seeks Veda the eternal and all-comprehensive knowledge, as a guide. In what way will it make his lot easy? It is like a boundless Ocean of salt water that is not possible for any one to quench his thirst. It contains countless prescriptions of *Karmas* (ceremonies) and *upasanas* (worships) that induce him to desire for more and more, which would make him move from one restless state to another. Therefore what is the good that one derives from such a *veda*. How can it be a Guide or authority. Veda itself answers these doubts. Just as the saltish water of the ocean which when received through clouds in the form of rain water serves as drinking water and quenches thirst, so also, the *veda* when it is received through a proper *guru* (teacher) serves to lead one to a desireless state. Though Veda prescribes activity it is doing so, to lead one to *no-action-state*. It takes one from general activity (*Lowkika Karma*) to a specific activity (*Vidika Karma*) i.e., suitable to his stage by birth and worth. It puts into him a limited activity shift-

ing him from the vast and vague field of *Lowkika Karma* as to take him gradually to *no-action* or *no-desire-state*. Veda is not concluding with *karma* and *upasana*. Upanishads form the concluding portions of it, under the name of *Vedantha*. They are also known as *Veda-Sikha*. This *upanishad-portion* of Veda is devoted purely to the *Tatvam* or the nature of the Real or Eternal. They negate all the forms of relative-consciousness (*Bhedagnanam*) that is described in the previous portions and establishes absolute-consciousness. (*Abhedagnanam*.) If the major-portion treats of *Karma* and *Upasana* that recognises the relative-consciousness, why should we take the teachings of Upanishads that maintain absolute-consciousness as the aim of Veda? The aim is to be judged by the result (*Sadhyam*) and not by the means. (*Sadhanam*) When a man approaches anybody for some help he will not move the subject as soon as he meets him. He would first make some enquiries about his welfare and talk with him on several subjects that would be interesting to that party and finally opens to him the object of his visit on that occasion. In that case though the aim of the visit is to seek for some help, he would not put it in the early part of that conversation. He spends more words and time to the preliminary talk in enquiring of the welfare and other interesting topics and in a few words only he discloses his object of visit. Similarly though the aim of Veda is to impart the *Tathvam* through its Upanishad that maintains the absolute-conscious-state (*Abheastithi*), yet it has to approach the man with a number of *Karmas* and *Upasanas*, in which he is involved. Taking the relative-consciousness as the means to the *Tatvam*, that it is to impart in its concluding portions, Veda undertakes to teach him the various *Karmas* and *Upasanas* so as take him from vague activity (*Lowkika-Karma*) to discriminate and definite activity (*Vedika-Karma*). It adopts this course as a means to its object that is *tatvam* the subject matter of its concluding portions viz. Upanishads. Man cannot be without activity in nature. Therefore Veda prescribes specific activity in place of vague activity that would gradually lead him to *no-active-state*. There is some truth in the statement of the saging milk stimulates the growth of the hair. Here though the milk is not a direct stimulant or medicine for the growth of the hair yet it is, indirectly a means to the growth of the hair by giving strength to the constitution as a whole. Similarly there is some truth in the *Karmas* and *Upasanas* serving as road to *Tatvam*. The *bhedam* (diversity) that one observes and the *veda* proposes itself to teach the man on his own lines is of five kinds:—1. The difference that appears between *Isvara* (God) and *Jivas* (beings). 2. The difference between *Isvara* and *Jagat*

(Universe.) 3. The difference between *Jivas* and *Jagat*. 4. The difference among *Jivas* themselves. 5. The difference that appears in the *Jagat* itself. Now the question arises how could the usage of the names of these things come into existence if these things do not really exist? There are names of things that have only apparent reality such as lion and tiger that are made of Sugar. In the eye of the child the lion or tiger, that is made of sugar, appears to be real, though there is nothing but Sugar in the model of the lion and tiger, in the eye and view of an adult, who possesses proportionate powers of discrimination. Just like the elderly man uses the names lion and tiger for the sake of the child in spite of knowing them as of Sugar, Veda make use of these names such as *Jiva*, *Easwara* and *jagat* in view of the ignorant who understand the One-existent (*Satakam*) as such.

The five fold diversity that is stated above is common to every man, scripture as well as Vedas. Then, how can the Veda be said to be the sole authority? If the "Indications of an authority" (*Pramana-Lakshanam*) were to be taken into consideration nothing can stand as authority besides 'Veda'. If anything were to be called an authority it should maintain the following indications namely 1. Uncommonness. (*Apurupathu*) 2. Undoubtingness (*Asandhikdham*) 3. Non-perishability (*abadhitham*) 4. Fruitfulness (*Palavath*). These four things have been recognised as indications of an authority (*Pramanalakshanam*) by all schools of thought and logic in ancient India. (1) While every scripture teaches diversity (*Dwaitam*) Veda maintains absoluteness (*Advaitam*) that is opposite to diversity and uncommon and unusual with the spirit of these scriptures. It has been already stated above that whenever Veda speaks of diversity it does so for the purpose of taking man on his own lines from Relative-consciousness (*Bhedagnanam*) to the truth of *Advaita* that it commands. Therefore the vedic portions that contain the sense of diversity are not authoritative as they are merely employed as means in explaining the *Advaitic* texts or *Vedanta* the aim of Veda. (2) While every scripture teaches of fruits that could be attainable only in future time and worlds, Veda places before us fruits that could be realised presently without waiting for time and place. (3) While every goal that is advocated by these scriptures is perishable like a dream world (because they are similar to a world that one observes in a dream) the vedic goal is imperishable as it is distinct from any world or thing that are subject to perishability. (4) The goals, that are attainable by following the dictations of these scriptures are almost similar to this world, which has been admitted from all hands as the seat of misery. Hence they do not

yield any desirable fruit i.e. a state beyond misery. Whereas Vedic dictations lead one to no-world-state which yield the desirable fruit or result i.e. the state beyond-misery. Because the misery is only possible in the presence of a world wakeful (*Jagrath-prapancha*) or dreamy (*Swapna-prapancha*). The deep sleep (*Sushupthy*), that gives no possibility for any world, is a proof itself against misery. This is within the common experience with every-body. Therefore the no-world-state that the Veda offers is full of fruitfulness. Thus Veda alone can withstand the test of authority.

We have stated above that the Veda is a boundless ocean of salt water and it should be received through a proper guru. (Teacher.) The Veda itself formulates the methods to be adopted in the selection of a guru. It leaves no question without answer as it is the very fountain of knowledge. Anybody and everybody cannot be taken for a guru. (1) He should be well versed in the Vedas (*Srothriya*.) If the teaching or argument is not based on Veda and bases on his personality, it cannot be a permanent one. If the *Sishya* (pupil) takes a man for a guru, for his mere personality, not basing upon his store of logic and thought, he is sure to loose the confidence in his guru, when he meets a better personality or hears and observes any wanting in him, as is frequently the case with the present political leaders of India, and other similar countries. Therefore the guru should be a learned man of veda. (2) The guru should be a man who lives a life of what Veda prescribes to be the best and the highest (*Brhama-naishtika*) and what he praises consequently. It may be asked what does it matter for us if he does not observe what he says. Such a thing creates doubt in us. We will be led to think if what he says is really true why should he neglect and loose such a priceless profit. Therefore it is likely for the *sishya* to think that it may not be correct. So he should be one living up to his teachings. Then we shall see what the Veda formulates as the requirements in a student. (1) Having secured a guru as detailed above he should hear him every frequently. He should live an agreeable life and also serve his guru so as to gain the confidence and create a willingness in the guru so that he might put any necessary questions and elicit answers in different ways. (*Pari-prasnena-Sevaya*; *B.Gita*). (2) The student should meet several such great teachers as to get a confirmation of the ideas that he learns either from *Shastras* or from the learned. He should not stop with mere hearing. He should hear and contemplate of what he heard and carry out into practice practically of what he contemplated. (*Srothavya*, *Manthavya*; *Nidhidhyasithavya*; *Brihadaranyak Upanishad*.) When one's own experience meets the confirmation of the teachings of the guru and of the Veda:

there lies the possibility for the existence of truth eternal. Where there is lacking of any of the three requirements i.e. Siabya's experience, Teachings of the guru and the dictations of the Vedas there lacks the possibility of the existence of the Truth-eternal. And the one, who brings such truth into his own experience is known as the knower of the Self.

REVIEWS.

RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS OF WORSHIP.

Though ambition is common with both ancient and modern conquerors yet the ancient differ from the moderns in observing the principle of *let live for the sake of living*. This is the reason how in the old days the conquerors and the conquered lived peacefully, after the preliminary struggle was over. There are numerous examples for such state of things. The mogul empire was in a flourishing state as long as the Emperors were tolerating the existence and legitimate rights of the Rajput states and began to decline with the absence of such toleration. With the moderns the principle of *let not live for the sake of living* is becoming more and more predominant. This is the reason why the struggle between the conquerors and the conquered continue to exist directly or indirectly even after the process of conquering is over. When the British nation took up the political rights of India, it allowed the religious rights to Indians themselves to live as nations at least in that way. The principle *let live for the sake of living* was very predominant in the early days of British connection with India. Warren Hastings was tried for 7 years for the violation of this principle. Now-a-days there are not absent the type of Warren Hastings who are taken as able administrators by the British and considered as bureaucrats by Indians. They are not tried for even 7 hours by the British nation and their abuse of powers and opportunities are not considered. At any rate the Indian leaders complain now and then about the scarcity of the traditional *British Justice*. This is one way of viewing the situation. There is also a possibility of another view. Let us not take for granted that the English nation have adopted towards India the principle of *let not live for the sake of living*. Then the cause of the present interference would be different. It is usual for any one to think that by reason of his birth his culture and traditions are superior to others and try to encourage the same against

others. This tendency cannot but be more so with those who are utterly ignorant of the merits of the institutions of others. There is a section of Europeans (officials and non-officials) in India who do not satisfy themselves with their material opportunity. They always seek for the opportunity to introduce their culture and traditions. They do this always with the help of the very members of the society who are brought up in their line of living and who have no opportunity to acquire any appreciable acquaintance with their natural life. In most cases they initiate the change and in some cases they give their utmost support to the initiation introduced by these Indians who do such things either in ignorance or sometimes to meet their selfish ends. This is the position of the state of the members of the subject race.

In the remotest days, the so-called pre-historic days, as termed by modern historians, there were no governments. People were so good as to manage their affairs without the interference of any arbitrator. When that standard of life was fallen there arose a necessity for arbitration. The selected few formed themselves as institutions of Government. Therefore Government is an institution that is meant to correct the wrongs of the individuals in society. Later on the individuals of the Government began to commit similar mistakes. Then the society took up the action of correcting the wrongs of the individual members of the Government, in the name of limiting the monarchical or sovereign powers. At present both the Government and the society have powers to correct mutually whenever there is a necessity. The function of the Government is to protect and preserve the rights and privileges of the people and not to take them into its own hands. This is the case with a government in political matters. It is more so with religious matters and it is still more so with the Hindu religious institutions. The India Government which is composed of members of various faiths is not justified in interfering with the rights of Hindu religious institutions. The noble Queen Victoria and her royal successors explicitly admitted the right of Hindus to adjust their religious matters themselves. Therefore the Government of India as an institution of protection of the rights of its subjects has the right of giving protection to the Hindu public in their management of their religious matters against others. This is just the power of the Government of India with regard to Hindu religious institutions.

The Hon. Minister in charge of "The Madras Hindu Religious Endowment Bill, 1922", explains the departure from the religious neutrality of the Government in the following statement. "The main object of the present bill is to secure the efficient administration of

Hindu religious endowments in this Presidency, and if the principle of strict religious neutrality of the executive Government embodied in the Act of 1863 has been departed from, in some of the provisions of the present bill it has been done merely to secure this end." And he justifies this departure in the following statement. "The change in the character of the executive Government and the fact that religious endowments are a transferred subject responsible to the legislature justify this departure." The Minister again says that "This bill aims at the efficient control over all classes of Hindu public religious endowments, though certain special privileges have had to be accorded to endowments falling under section 4 of the Act of 1863." We have pointed above that the Government has only the right of protecting the controlling privilege of the Hindu public as against the non-privileged. When the Government itself has neither power of control over these endowments nor has the privilege of giving privileges—the privilege being in the nature of a birth-right to the Hindu public—we do not understand how could a Minister who is appointed and authorised by the Government to exercise its powers be empowered to do more. The Minister is only empowered to try and secure reliable protection for the Hindu public, against both internal and external enemies, in managing their religious endowments or institutions. If the Minister were to claim as a Hindu the right of participation in the interference and control over these endowments, he should then be responsible to a council of Hindus specially elected by the Hindu public, for the special purpose of representing their religious rights but not to the Madras Legislative Council which is composed of members of other religions. Even granting he would be responsible to a committee of the Hindus of the Legislative Council it would not serve the purpose, as these members are not chosen by the Hindu public to represent them in their religious matters as they are wanting in religious education.

In the statement of objects and reasons the Minister complains "that there is widespread disaffection with the management and control of religious institutions falling under sections 3 and 4 of the Government of India Act XX of 1863. In this Presidency opinion is unanimous that the inadequacy of the provisions of that Act to check the mal-administration of misuse of the trust properties is largely responsible for the present condition of these institutions." Before trying to put anything into a proper order, one should know the conditions under which it stands as the removal of the very conditions would set right the same. The people who are interested in these religious institutions are generally men of the local area and pilgrims from other parts, many of whom are poor and non-influential and fall out of

the choice of Government's nomination, as they generally fall out of the English-educated. A religious institution is meant for the devotees and followers of that religion. They have the right of selecting their representatives to manage their institutions. If they are allowed to have their own right they would naturally select men who possess knowledge of sastras, (Agamas, etc.) which is necessary to manage these institutions and who are really devoted and interested in them. The qualification of representing the public in religious matters need not be wealth or influence but deep religious knowledge and pious devotion. But most of the members of such committees are wanting in religious knowledge. The present condition of these institutions, is due to the power in the hands of unqualified men. It is not due to the inadequacy of the provisions of that Act. Therefore the increase of the powers of these committees, that is recommended in the present bill, would make the condition worse: and the present bill could not make conditions better but serving to transfer the rights of the people into the hands of a disqualified constitution (religiously disqualified.)

The following portion of the Bill shows clearly how it attempts to transfer, the ancient and sacred rights of Hindus, to a Government official (who need not be a Hindu always) that represents the Local Governments:—

"6. (1) A committee shall consist of such number of members as may be fixed by the Local Government, such number to be not less than six and not more than twelve.

(2) The Local Government may notify what proportion of the total number of members shall be elected:

I said above that the method of settling disputes by killing off opponents was barbaric; but it is not strong opposition only which will be killed off. Quite innocent people, who know nothing about the rights and wrongs of the dispute, will be slaughtered.

Dr. Bradner (Chief of the Chemical Research and Development Division of the United States Chemical Warfare Service) says that since the late War, a liquid has been produced, three drops of which, applied to a man's skin, will cause his death; and that this liquid can be manufactured at the rate of several thousand tons per day. I do not vouch for the truth of this; but it may have to be taken as an authoritative statement, and there seems nothing incredible in it. Think, then, what a fleet of aeroplanes dropping this poison over London could do.

And, as you know, some of these poisonous substances need not act immediately. They retain their deleterious properties, and lie in wait in an inodorous state, ready to destroy anything which thereafter comes into contact with them. The mustard gas, which caused so much torture to our troops, is only one of them and not the worst. The chlorine at first used, which entered into and destroyed the lungs, was abandoned ultimately because, though fearful in its activities at first, it was not sufficiently persistent, and could be guarded against by respirators provided with suitable opposition chemicals. But against some of the stuff employed later, ordinary methods of protection were useless. And I see no reason why, by secret preparation and sudden attack, a whole population might not be annihilated—men, women and children, animals and vegetation, too.

That such destruction would be of no advantage to the conquerors, cannot be held as a sufficient safeguard against its execution; for when mania seizes a people, and they are imbued with the spirit of hate, they will stop at nothing, even though it be damaging to themselves as well as to others. Foresight and caution are appropriate to people in a cool and collected frame of mind. Once loose the angry passions of war, and all such calculations go by the board. It is possible for a nation to think that the most extreme and violent and horrible methods are best for attaining their end, and that wholesale extermination and confused terror will be the means best adapted for securing their own desired domination.

And if domination is all that they want, the destruction of everyone else is a means of securing it. Among the Blind One-eyed is king; and amid a slaughtered world, any nation which survives might reign supreme. That such a victory would be absolutely worthless, is only a natural consequence of yielding to the temptation of the devil. That

is characteristic of diabolical procedure generally. You secure your end, and find that it has turned to ashes. It is impossible to make a good bargain by selling your soul. Once a nation enters upon the service of Satan it is doomed to destruction; but in its fall it may carry down the rest of humanity with it.

That there should still be sporadic warfare among uncivilised tribes is natural enough. Animals must fight among themselves. And until the conscience is enlightened, struggle for existence may be the means of bringing about a strong race of survivors. But when the human standard is fully reached, and the evil of our animal ancestry overcome, struggle of the destructive kind becomes preposterous. It should be superseded by emulation, and efforts in all the civilised arts. That kind of competition among the nations may be wholesome and energetic enough. Emulation in good work is a stimulus which the inertia of mankind seems to require. We have that wholesome emulation in games and sport; and we have it also, in less obvious degree, in Music and in Drama, in Art and in Science. But whatever is done in these directions, by whomsoever it is done becomes a valuable asset to humanity, and conduces to the good of the whole. All this is positive accomplishment, very far from the cultivation of the arts of destruction, and torture, and death.

Civilised warfare must cease. That is what should be written on the heart of humanity. By God's help, we have got beyond the stage at which civilised warfare is permissible. And if we employ the advances which we have been permitted to make—our knowledge of Nature and control of its magnificent forces—and employ them for bad and unworthy ends, we shall provoke most justly His wrath and indignation against us.

What, then, is the remedy? How can we take steps to prevent the recurrence of the horrors through which we have passed, and their renewal on an intensified scale? The League of Nations is one attempt. It can doubtless be criticised. It is unlikely to be perfect. It is in its infancy. The task set before it is not an easy one, but it is an attempt to deal with the problem: and until there is some better one to put in its place it should be supported, apart from all party feeling and individual doubts and hesitations.

It will be said, America is not in. No, not yet. And if you lived in the middle of that vast Continent, intent on your own affairs, it would not be surprising if you hesitated before taking on the burden of Europe. Selfishness would say: "Hold aloof." But selfishness is not going to govern that great country, which has the future of mankind so largely in its keeping. No, it is not selfishness which keeps it aloof. It is a perception of imperfection in the instrument, and a caution about taking up a task before it is ready to carry it out to the end. Hesitation is quite a good sign really. It is an indication that a nation like that does not enter lightly upon an engagement. It wants to look at the matter all round first, and when it does enter, to enter wholeheartedly and without misgivings.

Then, again, Germany is not in. It has not proved itself very worthy of trust: and its coming in will entail difficulties. But some day or other it must come in. A great nation like that cannot be permanently left out. If only it could get rid of Prussian domination—which in many respects it has long disliked—and if it could see the folly of the false philosophy which led it into the war, there is much

and *Moksha*.) Of those the first and last are not to be found in subsequent cultures. As these are not to be found in other cultures, they are not translatable. 'Dharma' can never be conveyed by any of the single terms such as good, righteousness, quality, etc. though they are all included in the word 'Dharmā'. That which holds is Dharma. It means the upholder or protector of everything (all-inclusive) that exists either visible or invisible. When one's action is in harmony with all beings (other worlds included) of all times, past, present and future, it is *Dharma*. If any one's action is not agreeable with all beings—living, dead, and yet to come—it falls out of *Dharma*, however good it may be to a particular time or group of men. For example the Muhammadan and Christian cultures are detrimental to the idol worship of Hindus. They only know and believe in the existence of their own faith and desire the spread of their creed only, whereas the vedic culture allow the existence of other cultures by its grand and exceptional principle of Non-Conversion. The vedic follower maintains the obligations of his forefathers and beings of other worlds by performing certain rituals (*Shradha* to *Pitrus* and *Yagna* to *Devas*) periodically. This in brief is the explanation of Dharma. The next peculiar feature of this vedic culture is *Moksha*. *Moksha* is one's state of being free from all dualism of self and not-self. It is a state attainable only by one who is above desire and want. This is the real meaning of the word *Moksha*. Here the freedom is boundless and conditionless. Yet there are certain schools among vedic followers themselves who understand and hold that *Moksha* is freedom from this world in preference to a specific higher world (*loka*) which they take to be devoid of misery. Though this is not freedom in toto yet they style it as *Moksha*. Almost the same is the case with all out-vedic religions. This is why we say that they are wanting in *Moksha* in its real sense. Then coming to the three states above described, independence, interdependence and dependence, the first two are peculiar to the *smartha* section of the vedic followers who take the full text of *Srutih*,—*Smrutih*,—*Puranas* i. e. *sastras*, into account and judge the conclusions therefrom. This is the most extensive section among vedic remnants. When one transcends the influence of *Karma* (action and its effects) which is only possible in his realising himself as one without a second (Real *Moksha* above described), he is said to be independent in its true sense. When one falls below this standard, takes *karma* as a means to this end, and seeks the help of higher beings as *Surya* (sun) and *Indra*, (Lord of *Devas*) he is said to belong to the state of interdependence, as he performs certain obligations to these Gods in the form of rituals and the

Gods oblige him regularly with the requirements of his life such as rain, crops. The other sections of vedic followers, who do not take the full text of *sastras* into account, depend upon a particular description of God whom they prefer and believe to be supreme above other Gods accepted by others. So they come under the last class (Dependence). The same is the case with other out-vedic creeds. And the vedic culture as a whole maintains fixed and guaranteed living or profession, as the maintenance of life is the most sacred part of any culture worth while its name. All professions are hereditary and are equally respectable and paying in their own turn when they are adopted and followed in the true spirit of Dharma *sastras*. Hence there could be no overcrowding in one profession which creates complex competition, no want of men in other professions requiring anxious recruitment and no unemployment a frequent feature of modern cultures. Even the specific or one's allotted living (*Artha*) is not to be earned in an indiscriminate way, as the *Artha* that is not based on *Dharma* is prohibited. Under this culture "maintaining the good life of those with whom one has dealings" is as important as one's seeking his living. He cannot have any dealings with those who fall out of the traditions of their forefathers and live a wrong life, for the sake of mere living (*Artha*). Aiming at the maintenance of Dharma a Brahmin would never give instructions to, nor accept alms from a person who disturbs the society, either by encroaching on or challenging the professions of others or misuses his profession by dealings with unworthy parties, for the sake of mere earning (*artha*) not caring for Dharma. Similarly a *Kshatriya* (Ruler or King) would neither collect taxes from such a man nor allow him to remain under his rule. A *kshatriya* Government would not allow merchants to make excess profits. Nor would it tax them on their excess profits, as the very proceedings goes against the traditions of a *kshatriya* Government. So a *vaisya* would have no dealings with such a person. So also is the case with a *Sudra* who would not lend his services to such a party. Thus under this culture every member of the society is to follow dharma and also see that others are maintaining *Dharma*, as his upkeep of Dharma depends on his surroundings. Woman contributes her silent (no lecturing) and noble services indirectly to the society by serving her father, husband, children and dependants. Food is not allowed to be sold either in its physical form as food or in its mental form as education; as both the two forms of food are necessary for a person, one to maintain his physical body and the other to make out his living. Under this culture every mem-

ber of the society is provided with these two important necessities of life, free of cost.

The out-vedic cultures consist only of *Artha* (earning) and *Kama* (enjoyment). They do not have any consideration for the past and future. They do not recognise or include the rights or choice of others. What is dharma? The principles that are admitted by Vedas come under *Dharma* and those that are rejected by vedas come under *Adharma*. Only those admitted principles of vedas can operate in such a way as to maintain the harmony, right and choice of all beings of all times. Thus having no consideration either for the principles or choice of beings in general, or for all the three times, the cultures of out-vedics remain within the ringfence of seeking the protection and extension of their own peculiar types and caring to the benefits and enjoyments of the present. These cultures are based on convenience. After all who are these out-vedics? They are the members of the original vedic society who separated themselves under social pressure as they could not follow the spirit of *Srutli-Smritli* or found it difficult to undergo the injunctions of Sastric discipline. These out-vedic cultures are nothing but creations by such batches of men at different times under varied climes and circumstances. As they practised such easy-going life, they began to experience in their own turn inconvenience from others. As a result of these circumstances these batches grew up as regular interplundering tribes, the admitted forefathers of these out-vedics. Thus they reached such a state that they could no longer get on with such convenient life. At this juncture some leaders of great personality rose up. These leaders reformed the culture and infused new light, so that these cultures could live on for some more time, by reviving some of the traditions of their forefathers which their descendants neglected and also by adding some new principles of their own making. These personalities are known in history as religious (out-vedic) founders.

Mass culture is predominant in the world of to-day. In plain terms it is the culture that is being developed by European nations and is being gradually and semi-consciously aped by other countries. The very origin of this culture indicates clearly the diminution of faith in the teachings of their respective religious founders. Yet they do not directly admit it as such as they want to preserve it among others so that they may come back to it in case if they fail in their new and ever-changing modes of living. The religious founders or the reformers of these out-vedic cultures, are men who are above selfish and are men of a highly moral character judged

according to their own traditions. But they introduced and sometimes forced on the society some principles they imagined to be truths. So they had some personality which they earned in their previous births to enable themselves to have power to introduce their own ideals in the world. But their successors had no such personality because they were born to satisfy their selfish ends. These successors became autocratic and immoral as to create a feeling among masses to interfere and control them according to their sense of righteousness. First some influential persons, backed up by the people, began to control these autocratic heads of religious and political institutions. After some time they themselves proved to be participators in the autocracy they first intended to remove. Again some others greater in number rose up and guaranteed to the public that they would manage in a right way, only to become autocrats in their turn. This course of events continued from time to time, each time the number of persons representing the public increasing. This is nothing but sheer misuse of the powers and trust vested in these representatives by the public. This process of the abuse of the power by the representatives and corresponding mistrust on the part of the masses is termed progress by the European nations. They call this process as extension of Franchise and giving power to the masses. In India also we can find such state of things in elections. Candidates for Municipal and Legislative Councils adopt a pious and humble representative attitude towards the electorate before election and after getting themselves elected reveal an unrepresentative and turn additional character. In short mistrust and misuse of representation is prevailing in every country as it is evident in the cry for increased franchise everywhere. The age of personal culture, is over with the religious founders. What remains is nothing but mass culture. Power now rests with the masses, and the present day so-called leaders are nothing but creatures of mass will. They could pretend as leaders only as long as they continue to follow the will of the masses and fall out of power when they begin to assert their own individuality. The absence of great personalities who can really lead and make the masses follow them, resulted in the gradual development of a convention that the will of the majority should prevail in all cases, as no individual commands any real weight in the society. European nations consider this state of things as 'progress.' It is true if we keep in view the development of these out-vedic cultures from the time they separated themselves from the original vedic society for reasons detailed above. Certainly rule by majority or *Kuta-neethi* is progress as against easy-going

life with its consequent troubles at the first stage after separation from vedic society, or abject submission to another's will (though not wholly bad) as in the second stage (Personal culture), or being subjects to autocrats as in third stage. But judged from the vedic standpoint of view this is not 'Progress.'

The main difference between vedic and outvedic cultures is while the former maintains absolute independence between man and man, the latter had to depend through all stages on others in some form or other. The so-called independants who did not like the idea of submitting to the dictates of vedas or sastras and separated themselves could not lead a really independent life. They had to submit to either personal, autocratic or mass rule and they can never be free from this sort of submission to others. On the other hand in the vedic culture no man is dependant or inferior to another at any stage. There could be no submission, as authority does not rest with individuals or group of individuals. All are to be guided by the impersonal sastraic injunctions. Dependence on individuals who are themselves dependant on others and subject to change can never be styled as 'Progress.' Again the body or individual who holds power of dictation in the out vedic cultures is either subject to change or open to correction. Dependence on such an unstable authority is no progress. Whereas in the vedic cultures, sastras are the supreme authorities. The vedic society is to follow the injunctions laid down therein. And the sastras are not open to change and correction. Those that do not accept this are those who do not understand the merit in them. The out-vedics are examples of persons who after rejecting the sastras had to become ever dependants of other persons who are themselves dependant. The modern Hindus (socials) who are appreciating and trying to copy the so-called 'Progress' of the out-vedics are subject to the same danger. As stated above no real 'progress' is possible in the outvedic cultures. Real 'Progress' is only possible in the vedic culture. The major portion of the world also misunderstands the present state of things as Progress and this misapprehension can only be removed if a section of the world can demonstrate this fallacy by showing that real progress rests in vedic culture. Until the superiority of the vedic culture is demonstrated, the out-vedics would be trying to destroy the vedic culture. The major portion of the Hindus who are to make this demonstration a success, have themselves joined the out-vedic, being brought up in that culture. Thus the vedic culture has now to withstand the attacks of out-vedics as well as social Hindus. It is customary for destroyers of any institution to do their work successfully

with the help of a member of that institution. Enemies within the fold are more dangerous than outsiders. In the present case social Hindus who pretend to belong to and are passed by others as members of vedic society are more dangerous enemies of vedic culture than the out-vedics. When a certain part of the body becomes diseased it should either be made whole or removed from the body. Similarly if the vedic culture is to continue to exist, the social Hindus should either be reclaimed to the sastraic life or be separated from the remnant vedic society.

We have stated above that the vedic culture is the only true and superior culture, we have said that mere statement without demonstration would be unconvincing and we have also explained the obstacles in the way of such demonstration. The remnant vedic society can make a successful demonstration under certain conditions. The king or the rulers have a duty to protect the traditions and principles of the religion of the ruled as from dangers within and without. Therefore the rulers of India should co-operate with the remnant vedics in their attempt to preserve and revive their culture, if they have any sense of moral responsibility. The duties of a King does not end with the protection of life and property but also involve all-round protection of the culture, religion, and traditions of the subjects. Here we are to note the noble utterances of the illustrious Burke who insisted that the British should rule Hindus according to their sastraic traditions and principles. Even in these degenerate days of exploitation direct and indirect we note that certain people are trying to seek the truth and eager about establishing a better state of things, for example, the organisers of the League of Nations and such other inter-national institutions. Seekers of truth should be above desire and birth prejudice because desire and attachment are the worst enemies of real progress. All sincere men who talk about the progress of the world should see that the vedic culture is revived as to have it as a comparative knowledge which is most essential to find out the truth. It is natural with anyone to have a special attachment to the culture or religion in which he is born and brought up and have prejudice against the rest. This is the reason why the oriental scholars of the west do not exactly understand the spirit of vedic culture and participate occasionally in the attempts of others to destroy the vedic culture. If it is to be said that the Hindus would be prejudiced against out-vedic cultures by reason of their birth and first acquaintance of their sastras, we can point out a remedy in the very traditions of Hindus. When *Nyaya-Sastra* and such other works were written in order to bring down the prestige and authority of vedas, the vedic followers did not neglect to study them. The Vedic teachers used

to teach *Tarkam* and *Vedanta* simultaneously so as to give an opportunity to the pupils to judge their relative merits. Therefore all sincere workers in the path of progress should see that simultaneous instruction in sastras and out-vedic sciences is encouraged among Hindus and others who wish to be benefitted by such instruction. It is more obligatory on the part of social Hindus to see that their children at least receive such type of instruction, and judge for themselves the relative merits, instead of demanding now and then a change in the society with their vague knowledge. It is only as a result of such process that the world can really understand the comparative merit of the two cultures. On the other hand if the enemies of the vedic culture take steps to kill the same for the upkeep of their own standards of life, they will fail in their attempts as vedic culture is truth itself which must survive all falsehood. Whosoever attempts to destroy Dharma or Vedic culture brings destruction on himself. So says the sastras and such is the tradition of Vedic culture.

CONTRIBUTIONS.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF SANSKRIT LITERATURE.

BY HIS HOLINESS SRI KALYANANDA BHARATI SWAMI, T.T. & T.V.D.

The Doctors of occidental renown have perfect confidence in the Bible as the history of the world ; but they laugh at the Puranic literature of India with an air of sarcasm and disdain, as myths worth nothing. What is the criterion upon which the judgment is based ? If it were to be the individual vagaries of the thinkers, then the vagaries of an orthodox Hindu, who thinks the Bible a production of some nonsensical brains and ignorant bores, and the Purana as the holiest literature of the world, should also be respected equally well. If undue respect were to be paid to the individual vagaries and eccentricities, an impartial critic who wishes to have the arrangement of events in a definite chronological order, capable of being dated approximately, though not exactly would in no way be benefitted. Happy to see that the occidental historians have come to so much understanding about the grandeur of pre-historic India, as they call it, that they revere the innumerable facts of modern research as having a scientific value concerning pre-historic India ; but sorry to hear at the same time that they have excluded them from the domain of the historian for the simple reason that

the phenomena cannot be dated whose vision cannot pass the line which separates the dated from the undated. Historians of occidental renown have proved in the light of scientific thought that the Bible is nothing but the production of gup and gossip of a few churchmen, who took pains enough to produce an authoritative work with which they could maintain the life of X'ndom. To be brief, the Bible is no complete narrative, nor a perfect whole, but something which has been undergoing many a modification and polish from time to time, from 458 B.C. to 19th May 1885. Even now the work is not complete, and the future will see much more. Whatever may be the nature of the various changes of the Bible with reference to the chapter and verse, yet the chronology is pursued with perfect care and confidence to convince mankind that the creation of the world and the first man took place actually on 1st Jan. 4004 B.C. and the crucifixion of Christ 1st Jan. 1 A.D. It excites no wonder to any student of History that the Era A.D. was the invention of a monk by name Dionysus Enignus about 532 A. D. and that it was introduced in Italy in the 6th century, and ordered to be used by bishops by the council of Chelsea in 816, but was not generally employed for several centuries. It was held that Christ was probably born in the year 4 or 5. If the birth and the crucifixion of Christ were to take place actually in the annals of the world, then A.D. must be corrected by subtracting nearly 32 years from the current number to arrive at a correct date ; thus this our current day should be 9th Jan. 1883 A.D. and not 1923 A.D. neglecting the number of days to be taken into consideration. Moreover the historians have realised the fact that the era of Constantinople began with 1st Sep. 5508; era of antioch with 1st Sep. 5492; Alexandrian era with 29th Aug. 5502, and lastly the Julian era with 13th Jan. 4713 B.C. Yet the Fathers of X'endom persist in maintaining 1st Jan. 4004 B.C. as the date of the creation of the world. To view it correctly, it should be $4004 + 30 = 4037$ B.C. The dogmatic superstition of the churchman has brought much confusion into the chronologies of the world, and this our observation can be better realised by a world-wide illustration. Every historian feels sure of the accuracy of the date of Alexander the Great who is said to have met with his death in the summer of 323 B.C.; which should be $323 + 32 = 355$ B.C. This is not much; one thing there is to be taken into serious consideration. The Doctors of Divinity have estimated the period between the creation of the first man and the crucifixion of Christ, to be 4004 years. According to the Alexandrian era, the period between the creation of the first man and the crucifixion of Christ appears to consist of 5502 years. Thus we see between the Alexandrian and X'ian eras

a difference of $5502 - 4004 = 1498$ years; which is not a trivial number to be neglected in chronologies. In the light of Alexandrian era the death of Alexander should have taken place in the summer of $323 + 1492 = 1821$ B.C. if the date of Adam be taken into consideration, and $323 - 32 = 291$ B.C. if we take the supposed day of crucifixion into consideration. Thus, strict observation in the light of scientific thought would make us think that the real date of Alexander's death should be removed to a distance of $1498 + 32 = 1530$ years from what is actually represented and believed to be. It should be really $323 + 1530 = 1853$ B. C. in the light of the X'ian era A.D. On the other hand, if the death of Alexander be taken as the criterion, as is the case with the orientalist in their reconstruction of Indian chronology, then the whole chronology of X'endom would be torn to pieces, and the so much approved chronology of the Bible would find no place whatsoever in the world; hence the laborious task of the occidental historians sees its fatal blow within a twinkling for the reason that it is based upon the loose unfounded Biblical chronology; which alone the occidental historians have taken as the standard and touchstone to paint the various chronologies of the world. Hence the dilemma, to take the date of Alexander as the criterion or the date of crucifixion or the date of the first man, in our reconstruction of Indian chronology or the chronology of Sanscrit Literature. It is all the more same to make confusion worse confounded if we take the one or the other; for there is no synchronism that can be relied upon as trustworthy, much hubub has been made by the orientalist with reference to the synchronisms; yet they are of a silly nature in the light of true criticism; the refutation of which is not the object of the topic on hand; so we leave it aside and come to the subject direct. So far with reference to the Biblical chronology. As to the contents of the Bible, it is a mystery. The very name signifies that it is a collection of papers stitched together and nothing more; an examination of which convinces everybody that it contains no connected thought whatever but contains some loose stray thoughts, the significance of which the X'endom alone is responsible to justify in the light of the same thought with which they try to criticise the texts of other nations and other religions. Strictly speaking, the Bible is nothing but the gup and gossip of the Church Fathers based upon no reliable material; hence the Bible is a myth which the historian can never be benefited by.

REVIEWS.

THE GAYA CONGRESS.

Mr. C. B. Dass, the great lawyer, took up first of all the subject of law and order under the heading "Real Issue." In explaining the same he referred to the English History to a large extent which culture is unsuitable to Indians and which goes contrary to his own statement that he made in the concluding portions of his address.

"It is on the youth of the country that the cause of Swaraj largely depends—and what chance is there for a nation which willingly, knowingly sends its boys, its young men to Schools and Colleges to be stamped with the stamp of slavery and foreign culture."

After giving the summary of some periods of English history Mr. Dass concludes in the following manner:—

"This, then, is the history of the freedom movement in England. Conclusion is irresistible that it is not by acquiescence in the doctrine of law and order that the English people have obtained the recognition of their fundamental rights. The manhood of England triumphantly resisted the pretensions of "Law and Order." If there is manhood in India to-day, India will successfully resist the same pretensions advanced by the Indian Bureaucracy."

Here he admits that the English people have obtained the recognition of their fundamental rights which he contradicts in another part of the same speech in the following sentences:—

In France and in England and in other European countries it is the middle class who fought the battle of freedom, and the result is that power is still in the hands of this class. Having usurped the power they are unwilling to part with it. If to-day the whole of Europe is engaged in a battle of real freedom it is because the nations of Europe are gathering their strength to wrest this power from the hands of the middle classes. I desire to avoid the repetition of that chapter of European history."

After giving the definition of nationality in a manner that would suit his purpose of giving a new colour to the old western principle to which his type of men are accustomed, Mr. Dass says:—

"Throughout the pages of Indian history, I find a great purpose unfolding itself. Movement after movement has swept over this vast country, apparently creating hostile forces,

but in reality stimulating the vitality and moulding the life of the people into one great nationality. If the Aryans and the non-Aryans met, it was for the purpose of making one people out of them. Brahmanism with its great culture succeeded in binding the whole of India and was indeed a mighty unifying force. Buddhism with its protests against Brahmanism served the same great historical purpose; and from Magadha to Taxila was one great Buddhistic empire which succeeded not only in broadening the basis of Indian unity, but in creating, what is perhaps not less important, the greater India beyond the Himalayas and beyond the seas, so much so that the sacred city where we have met may be regarded as a place of pilgrimage of millions and millions of people of Asiatic races. Then came the Mahomedans of divers races, but with one culture which was their common heritage. For a time it looked as if there was a disintegrating force, an enemy to the growth of Indian nationalism, but the Mahomedans made their home in India, and, while they brought a new outlook and a wonderful vitality to the Indian life, with infinite wisdom, they did as little as possible to disturb the growth of life in the villages where India really lives."

If the hostile forces are apparent, the unifying forces also should be apparent, because a real unity is only possible when there is real hostility. Therefore both the unity and hostility that are alternating in India should be either real or unreal and can never be possible for one to be real while the other is un-real, as they being relative to each other. Nobody who wants to disturb others would have the principle of disturbing a little. On the other hand one would always like to disturb as much as possible. Therefore the truth was that the Mahammedan conquerors *could not* disturb much of the life of the Indian village where India really lives.

Mr. B. C. Paul calls the speech as a curious confusion of thought:—

"Inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing"—this, I am afraid must be the verdict of every critical reader of the Presidential Speech at Gaya, who will read it with any intelligent appreciation of the present situation in the country. For one thing, it is very difficult for the ordinary reader to get at the meaning of Mr. Dass in many places. In the next places, throughout his address, Mr. Dass discusses airy abstractions more than the actualities of our present situation. Thirdly, he offers really no help to the solution of the most pressing problems before us. His statement on Nationalism and Swaraj is marked by a curious confusion of thought.

Nationalism, he says, is "a process" through which a nation expresses itself and finds itself not in isolation from other nations, not in opposition to other nations, but as part of a great scheme by which, in seeking its own expression and therefore its own identity, it materially assists the self-expression and self-realisation of other nations as well."

I frankly confess my inability to make out the meaning of this declaration. But my loyalty to the gospel of Indian Nationalism does not allow me to dismiss it either, in view of the position of the speaker, as an incoherent inconsequence. It is essential that we, who have been called upon to consecrate ourselves to present the service of the great freedom movement in India, must have a clear vision of the ideal, and must understand as clearly as we can what is it really which we are striving for in our present struggle."

K.V.S.

INTERNATIONAL AND CLASS NEWS AND VIEWS

KHILAFAT AND SWARAJ

(BY BEPIN CHANDRA PAL)

Of the many serious entanglements created during the last three years in Indian Nationalist politics by Mahatma Gandhi, the most serious is perhaps the association between the Khilafat and the Congress. It is notorious that the Mahatma secured control of the Congress organisation first with the help of his Khilafat allies. The Khilafat funds found the sinews of war to the new leadership in the Congress until the middle of 1921, when the Tilak-Swarajya Fund was started. From the very beginning of the Non-Co-Operation campaign, the reparation of the wrongs done to the Khilafat by the Treaty of Sevres was put as first the object of this campaign, the redress of the Punjab wrongs coming next after; while the attainment of Swaraj was tacked on to these by Pandit Motilal Nehru, evidently to draw the very large body of Indian Swarajists or Nationalists under the Gandhi flag. All throughout this campaign the attainment of Swaraj was never conceived or presented by the Mahatma as the main objective of his campaign. In fact, he went so far as to declare that "Swaraj is Khilafat and Khilafat is Swaraj". He made this curious pronouncement before a large gathering of Muhammadans in the town of Sylhet about March or April, 1921. And I think, if I remember aright, the same statement was repeated about the same time in this weekly organ *Young India*. Like many other sayings of the Mahatma, this one also was not easy to understand. But whatever might be his meaning, the fact is that from the beginning of his advent into the leadership of the Indian National Congress, the body increasingly became an appanage of the Khilafat. This process seems to have been completed at Gaya, where it was declared that as the Khilafat Conference had refused to leave the Council's boycott, the Congress could not accept any resolution favouring Council entry.

Personally, I had my premonitions about it from the very beginning. Immediately after the close of the special session of the Congress at Calcutta, I wrote to a prominent lieutenant of the Mahatma that one of the grounds of my opposition to his policy was my conviction that he was selling us to the Pan-Islamists. During the progress of the last European War I persuaded myself to believe that the Pan-Islamic movement was dead. But I clearly saw this resurrection in Calcutta. And the success of the Mahatma propaganda would, I feared, spell the final capture of Nationalists Indian politics by our Pan-Islamic friends. This dark premonition has been completely verified at Gaya. Mr. C. R. Das not only refused to go against the decisions of the Khilafat Conference upon the question of Council entry, but even threatened immediately to launch Mass Civil Disobedience in the event of outbreak of hostilities between the Angora Government and the European Allies.

This is a very serious matter. It has, however, not as yet received that serious attention from the general body of Indian Nationalists and Swarajists which it certainly deserves. In the first place, the Khilafat movement is essentially a religious movement. There is no doubt a very prominent political aspect of it. The Turkish Peace terms can be considered from two standpoints: one, the standpoint of the Muhammadan populations of India, the other, the standpoint of Asia's freedom and future. The annihilation of the Turkish Empire will mean the practical expansion of European Imperialism from the Atlantic to the borders of the Mongolian Empire in Eastern Asia. If Turkey goes to-day, Persia will go to-morrow; and Afghanistan will not have a long lease of life either as an independent sovereign State. With the subjection of Western Asia to Europe, and the extinction of the remnants of the independent Asiatic States in that region, the modern world will be threatened with fierce impact between Pan-Europeanism, on the one side, and Pan-Mongolianism, on the other. This will result in one of the most frightful catastrophes of modern history. This is the most powerful consideration in favor of the preservation of the integrity and independence of the Khilafat. Apart from this, there is also a more intimate reason why Indian Swarajists should feel sincerely interested in the Khilafat movement aiming to maintain the position of the Ottoman Empire as one of the great Powers of the modern world. This Empire cannot possibly be maintained under modern conditions in its old form and constitution. It is not a homogeneous Empire. There are important non-Muhammadan communities inside this Empire, though they form a minority of its present population. The presence of these important minorities has been a source of fatal weakness in the body politic of the Turkish Empire. Means must be found to remove this weakness. There are also distant territories of the Empire which have been found by no means easy to administer by the central authority at Constantinople. These great distances and these non-Muslim communities have constituted a most perplexing problem before Turkish statesmanship. This problem can never be satisfactorily solved except upon a basis of decentralisation of the Imperial authority and the reconstruction of the whole Empire upon a federal basis into a Commonwealth of Free States, some of which shall be Muhammadan and others non-Muslim, but all united by some common political objects under one Federal

Government presided over by the head of the Khilafat, not as an irresponsible autocrat but as a constitutional monarch. This must be the ultimate solution of the problem of reconstruction of the Turkish Empire. It is in this way and this way alone that the independence and the integrity of the Khilafat can and ought to be preserved. Unless Turkey accepts this solution of her present problem and willingly agrees to this reconstruction of her extensive Empire, she will have to go. Nothing, in that case, will be able to prevent her complete disruption and dismemberment. And if Turkey is reconstructed as a Commonwealth of Free States, the foundations of a new democracy will be laid in Western Asia which will be bound to lend invincible strength to the modern democratic movements in Persia and Afghanistan. The establishment of powerful democracies in the Muslim States of Western Asia, will be bound powerfully to influence the course of the evolution of democracy in India also. The democratic freedom of these Asiatic States in our neighbourhood will at once be a powerful inspiration and a great bulwark to the Swaraj movement in India. Reading the Indian situation in the light of current Asiatic politics, the Indian Swarajists cannot, therefore, help feeling profoundly interested in the preservation of independence and integrity of the Turkish Empire. This is, or ought to be, the only ground of our interest in and association with the Khilafat movement in India. The non-Muhammadans of India serving for the attainment of national freedom can support the Khilafat movement only as a political movement. They cannot have anything to do with the religious aspect of it. In fact, if they have any intelligent appreciation of the political situation in the country and clear grasp of the ideal Government which they desire to set up as Swaraj in India, they will be bound not only to dissociate themselves from the religious aspects of the Khilafat, but must in the interest of India's future Swaraj or National State, strongly discourage the religious and sectarian emphasis of this movement. This, however, neither Mr. Gandhi nor those who have for the last three years followed his lead have cared to consider or do.

From the very beginning, the emphasis of this Khilafat movement has been on its religious more than on its political aspect. In the earlier stages of it, the leaders of this movement, specially the Muslim divines who were induced to join it, openly repudiated its political motive, and tried to establish its purely religious character. This should have opened the eyes of Indian Nationalists to the very serious menace which his movement was becoming to the cause of Indian unity. But most people seem to have been moved by the vision of a Hindu-Muslim *entente* which the Gandhi movement with its alliance with the Khilafat was believed to be working out. They did not or could not realise the unreality of this so-called *entente*. They did not or would not see it that the leaders of the Khilafat were clearly exploiting the innocence of the Hindu leaders for their own ends. In fact, the whole of the Muhammadan movement in India, from the time of Sir Syed Ahmed and the birth of the Pan-Islamic propaganda with the arrival of Jalaluddin from Kabul in 1880 or 1881—to which reference has been in Mr. Blunt's book *India under Ripon*—has worked upon the exploitation of different political forces in this country. In the earlier years of this movement, the Muhammadan leaders exploited the sympathy of the British Govern-

ment to secure a position of special importance in the Indian body politic, which was out of all proportion to the numerical strength of their community or to its superior education or social status or wealth, the things that everywhere contribute to the political importance of any class of community in a nation. They claimed this importance, first, because they had been at one time the ruling race in India, and secondly, because of their communal association with the Muslim States outside India. The Government also readily fell in with this plea, and accepted it to set up a counter-movement to the great Nationalist movement represented by the Indian National Congress. The last Swadeshi and Boycott agitations saw the Muhammadans ranged against the Indian Nationalists striving to win Swaraj. But the very virility and strength of that movement which compelled the Government to repeal the Curzonian Partition of Bengal and introduce the Minto-Morley Reforms, convinced the Muhammadan politicians of the weakness of their alliance with the Government, who were unable to make good their promises to secure specially favored positions for their community in Bengal and elsewhere. First the Turko-Italian War and then the Balkan War also helped to rouse Muslim feelings against the Christian Powers of Europe, and it affected very materially the attitude of Indian Muslims towards the British Government. All these things prepared the ground for the present Khilafat agitation. But the Muhammadan leaders saw that this agitation, directed as it was against Great Britain and her Allies, would have no chance in India unless it was able to secure the support of the Hindu politicians. This is the true psychology of the Hindu-Muslim *entente* credited to Mahatma Gandhi.

But what is the basis of this *entente*? The Hindus can have no honest interest in the Khilafat as a religious movement. The only real motive behind the association of the Hindus with the Khilafat movement is, and can be, the desire to present a united front to the British Power in India. The representatives of this power had hitherto exploited the difference between the Hindu and the Muhammadan and the occasional outbursts of religious feuds between these two communities to maintain and strengthen their position. This has furnished so long one of the strongest apologies for the maintenance of England's irresponsible authority in India. The Khilafat movement offered an opportunity to remove the basis of this apology or argument. The unity of the two great communities of India would constitute, it was seen, a very serious threat to the continuance of the present foreign autocracy or bureaucracy. It is this which has tempted the Hindus to join the Khilafat movement. Mr. Gandhi publicly declared that he supported this movement, first, because of the injustice of the Turkish Peace terms, and, secondly, because he wanted "to buy the friendship of the Muhammadans". This second motive has been the more powerful in the view of the Mahatma's following. The great bulk of non-Muhammadan Non-Co-operators have taken up the Khilafat cause to buy the friendship of the Muhammadans. But they have not stopped to consider the very serious complications which this flirtation is bound to create before an honest Swaraj movement in India.

(New India)

"Lokaḥ Saṁasthah Sukhino Bhavantu" Om Santis-Santis-Santhiḥ.

The Message
of
Sruti-Smriti.

HARIHI OM

The Journal
for
One and All

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EDITORIALS.

RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS OF ADMINISTRATION.

Religion is the undying part of the society while its social and political aspects are subject to death and birth. The persistence of the life of the society depends upon its religious aspect. Religion is the unseen (*Paroksha*) part of the principles of a society while politics form its seen (*Aparoksha*) part. Social matters sometimes go with religion and sometimes with politics. If one is to have any clear idea of socialism, he should know both religion and politics. One can know a religion when he lives a life of that religion. A theoretical knowledge may help to a comparatively great extent in politics but it cannot help much in religious matters. In modern India the Hindus who engage in social reform are men who do not live a religious life. Generally when a man goes against the religious principles of a religion he justifies his action under the covering of social reform. There are certain men who twist a social matter that goes with a religion and give it a political importance either by ignorance or with motives. In the old days when the Hindu society was very strong, and when it had state support it used to excommunicate such men, from the society, so as to keep up the purity of the society. Now these rebels against their religious principles are not only escaping under the guise of social reform but are gaining influence day by day in the state. Though the state in India declared its neutrality in religious matters yet most of its representatives are allowing these men to have their sway in upsetting the religious principles which calculate a gradual extinction of the very society. The influence

that is gained by such men has become a temptation to others to follow such a course. Taking advantage of this influence these men are misleading masses, who are not expected to know the subtle principles of the society's life, to gain their selfish motives. Hitherto no proper attempt is made by the responsible Hindus to put a stop to these things. At present the orthodox Hindus, the followers of vedic principles, are of two kinds. There is a section who observe the outer frame of the religions of the Hindus for their selfish ends but do not follow the spirit of the order of their society of which their personal prospectus rests. The other section who know the spirit have neither the backing of their fellow-orthodox men nor the influence that their social Hindus have. Because they are mostly non-English-educated and the very few are not encouraged by the state representatives, who know that this encouragement would mean encouraging the very persistence of the Hindu society.

But is there no hope of recovery against these inroads against the existence of the society? Is there no way for the few responsible Hindus to put a stop to this mischief and mislead? Our forefathers who are the knowers of the three-times (*Thrikalagnanis*) and who are embodiments of sympathy did not leave us in suspense. They knew the dark ages through which we have to pass before we reach the dawn of *Kritha-Yuga*. They knew that we have to contract the disease 'struggle for existence' that would drive us into desperation for the time being from our old friends, (non-Hindu races) who would join us from long separation, having developed this constitutional disease 'struggle for existence' partly in their convenient life and partly through their indiscriminate life they led after their separation from us. And they know also that they have to make us survive all these obstacles to tell the story of truth to the modern world. Knowing all this they gave us methods which they themselves put into practice successfully. We see the tendency of the modern men to chaff off what they do not understand or find it difficult to adopt as unnecessary and to retain what they find convenient to adopt. But the nature of the vedas, the fountain of all faces of knowledge, is not such a one as to receive something of it and reject the rest at the will of men. To make us survive from this evil tendency Bhagwan Sri Vyasa divided the veda into parts and created sects among Brahmans so that each sect may successfully preserve a part of the veda. The preservation of Veda means preservation of all the sciences of the vedic society. Thus the Bhagwan goes under the name of Sir Veda Vyasa for this divine services he had rendered to the vedic lore. Bhagwan Vyasa mentioned in his series of worlds' three-

times history (Puranas) the difficulty that the vedic institutions have to undergo in the absence of Kshatriya rulers in *Kali-yuga*. When the life elements of the vedic society came to break down before the mighty organised influence of Buddhism, it was Bhagwan Sri Sankara's turn to save the Hindu society. The trouble at this time was due to the absence of the Kshatriya rulers who could alone know and have the interests of protecting the vedic institutions. It was the first time that the trouble came to the outer frame (Varnashrama and Samskaras) of the vedic society. Having taken into consideration the long absence of Kshatriya rule in *Kali-yuga*, he introduced a method into the society by which the public could manage their religious affairs by themselves. He established various *mutts*, headed by *sanyasi gurus* at different centres of India to administer the religions (*six in number*) of the country. Every village has a president (*sabhapathi*-learned Brahman) who represents the village matters to the *matt*, collects the religious revenue and executes the orders of the *mutt*. This divine system that the Bhagwan introduced into the society not only saved from Buddhism but also became immune to the subsequent Mahomedanism. The survival of our vedic society, while other ancient societies disappeared, is due to this preservation of the undying part of the society by the Bagwan. Because Bhagwan Sri Sankaracharya preserved the vedic world he goes under the name of *Jagat guru* (world's teacher.) A modern man generally doubts the proper application of the term *Jagat-guru*. This he does of course in ignorance. Because here *Jagat* (world) is taken for the important world, the ideal society of the societies or the origin of the human society. Such are the qualities of the vedic society that justifies the term *Jagat-guru* to the saviour of that world. When we call a great general like Napoleon the great as soldier we use the word soldier in the sense of a warrior. Similarly when we call the vedic society as a world we use it as *the world*.

The subsequent history of the vedic religions appear as if one religion was working hostile to another. But a careful observation would prove otherwise. The other acharyas such as Sri Ramanuja, Sai Madhva and Sri Nilkanta etc. who came afterwards to deal with religious affairs, had only their own difference of opinion about the *Tatva* aspect of the vedas. But all of them had the same zeal in driving out the non-vedic (Buddhistic elements) influence from the society. And they also established *mutts* on the above lines to give protection to Varnashrama and *samskaras* (the concrete form of the abstract principles of the vedic teachings.) Later on some *mutts* which are mostly connected to particular

temples and sets of devotees under the heads of *Sudra Sadhus*. These mutts do not interfere with Varnashrama etc. though their purpose is not to participate directly in the protection of these Vedic institutions (Varnashrama).

In these days a good deal of bogus mutts and societites have come into existence to exploit the sacred work of these mutts. Some of these mutts came into existence in such a false way, because they ignore the grand system that was laid down by Bhagwan Sri Sankaracharya. And the formation of some of these mutts, is purely for seeking a living having no consideration for the interests of the society. The following, that these imitation goods could command, is the English-educated class. They follow these mutts partly because they cannot follow the inner spirit of their religious principles—having no chance of direct touch with them—and partly because these bogus mutts give instructions in such a business-like way to suit the convenience of these men. These imitation goods form the first part of the trouble for us to overcome. The second part of the trouble lies with the followers or sympathisers of these bogus mutts and societies. The followers of these bogus institutions are not open social Hindus. They are generally under the disguise of orthodox Hindus. They generally become members or followers to these institutions to use them as their means of support in the religious matters that they undertake either to represent the government or to impress the public. There are also exceptions to this. There are some innocent men who fall easily into the trap of these organisations in utter ignorance of the real merits of the Shastras. A good deal of propaganda work is being carried by these men misrepresenting matters. But their followers are only after these men. They are either ignorant or selfish or innocent. They are comparatively insignificant alike their misleading agents when we take into consideration the wonderful nature of the Hindu society. Besides the general public are yet in a comparatively sound condition though they are not entirely free from the influence of these disturbing elements.

The responsibility of the revival of the vedic society rests with the representatives of the real mutts above described and with the general public who have not been disturbed and who stand unpolluted with the influence of these bogus mutts and societies. We are fully aware of the conditions of these mutts. Most of the mutts have almost left no traces of their existence, while others are in the transitory stage towards extinction, for want of encouragement from the general public, who are growing ignorant of their religious and social principles day by day partly under the influence of

foreign cultures and partly by the neglect of their own culture. And secondly the representatives of some of these real mutts are not sufficiently carrying on their sacred duty as if the influence of *Kali-Yuga* is not left even these divine organisations. Even now there are few mutts that are in sound state having a great following of the general public. It is not too late (yet lateness cannot affect a real thing) for the representatives of these mutts and that part of the unaffected public to overcome the above described obstacles if they undertake to educate the public the real nature of the affairs of their society. The first and the foremost thing is to reorganise the real mutt system throughout India, by saving much of the mutts that are decaying, and by instituting new mutts in centres where there were such institutions once and now extinguished for reasons referred to above. If this is done, surely the public will be awakened to the consciousness of the necessity of demanding the Government to receive the representation of these mutts into the Government institutions to safeguard their religious matters. This will put an end to all the misrepresentations that are being conducted in a well organised manner by the enemies of Hindu society both from within and without.

CONTRIBUTIONS.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF SANSKRIT LITERATURE. II.

BY HIS HOLINESS SRI KALYANANANDA BHARATI SWAMI, T.T. & D.V.D.

Now let us turn our attention to the Purana of the orthodox Hindu; what then, is the Purana? The term Purana strictly applies to that branch of Sanskrit Literature which proposes to treat of the history of the Universe from the time of creation to the closing of the Universe, to come at a distant future. From the approved definition of the term Purana, one can understand that the work proposes to treat of the five topics of Primary Creation, Secondary Creation, genealogies of Gods and patriarchs, reigns of various Manus and histories of the old dynasties of kings. The nature of the Purana is described thus :—

A purana should contain the descriptions of the following :—

Creation (1) and Deluge (2) of the worlds. The livings (3) of the beings according to their previous merits and deservation. The incarnations (4) who assume their earthly forms for the destruction of the Dushta (destroyers of Veda-Marga) and the protection of the Sishta (the protectors of Vaidika-Marga). The dynasty (5) of Manu (the origin of men). The solar and lunar dynasties (6) with their branches (7) that followed the Manu. Ordinary ends (8)

that intermit the routine and occasional events. The self (Jivatma) that is responsible to Maya (illusion) and the SELF (10) (Paramatma), the spectator of Maya.

A close examination of the contents of the works that go by the name Purana, convinces everybody that they contain in them such a valuable information that they can be reckoned as the scripture of the Universe at large. That is why the orthodox Hindu reveres them as the fifth Veda. The occidental scholars too, have realised to an extent the superiority of the Puranas in admitting that the outline of the history of the Maurya dynasty with a near approach to accuracy and the Radcliffe manuscript of the Matsya is equally trustworthy for Andhara dynasty. The Puranas, whatever may be the date of their composition, are handed down to the world from posterity to posterity in the same form without any polish or revision that would satisfy the idiosyncrasies of the people who deem them authoritative. Even if any such mischief be made by any rogue to satisfy one's cravings, the roguery can easily be detected, and the adulteration can be easily removed by the scholars of Purana. If an impartial critic compares the Bible with the Purana he will naturally consider the Purana as genuine history of the Universe and the Bible a mere gossip of some idle and hypocritic brains. Strictly speaking the Purana is real history whereas the Bible is a myth; but the occidental deems the reverse of it, and he is justified in doing so. It is but natural for each and every one to prize one's metal; but if the Doctors of Divinity were to use the same standards of judgment which they propose for the investigation of Indian chronology, in the scrutiny of the Bible, we are bold enough to assert to the whole world that the Bible occupies a very miserable position before the Purana of Aryavarta. Yet the Bible is holy and the Purana mythical, say the Doctors of Divinity, and the Hindu should believe it to achieve his salvation. Whatever may be the importance attached to the puranas by the occidental critic and historian, yet they are grand and sublime encyclopaedias of the Universe, they claim every superiority in this even, that they are conveying to the world what they intend conveying with every possible accuracy and precision from an ancient time which neither the name nor the form of the Bible had the fortune to see; yet the chronology of the Bible has become the touch stone of the various chronologies of the world, whereas the chronology of the Puranas has been subjected to the tortures of the conceited shortminded orientalists to suit their vain vagaries. If an orthodox Hindu reveres one's Purana so very authoritative, one should not find fault with it; for the orthodox Hindu has better claims to revere one's Purana, a brief description of which will not be out of place for the

reason that such discussion will be of much use in placing before the orientalists the real aspect of the Purana as the prominent factor in building up the chronology of India and her glorious Sanscrit Literature.

The first and foremost thing that startles the brains of the orientalists to realise the sanctity of the Purana is the grand lists of numbers that represent the puranic eras. The Churchmen are so impatient to hear of these eras even for the simple reason that they are not accustomed to count their eras beyond a number which can be represented with four digits. To cite an illustration, they reckon the era of creation as 4004 B.C. i.e. 4004 plus 1920 = 5924 years from this our current year, while the Puranic era is represented by 1,955,8850,22 years. Which of the two is correct? Each is correct in its own relative sphere, but if the two be brought near, and placed on the touchstone of common sense and scrutiny, we are sure the puranic era gains adoration. All that is advanced by the occidental in favour of the sanctity of his era, can be advanced equally well to prove the grandeur of the puranic era. Yet a good many other things there are which stand as *bona fide* authorities for the orthodox Hindu in favour of his era, which the occidental can never boast of. The superiority of the one or the other can be realised better from a critical study of the current date in the light of the two eras. The current date is represented by the X'ian thus:

5 April 1920.—What does this mean? This means that this day is the 700531 day after the crucifixion of Christ. This can be accurate if Christ were to be actually crucified on 1 Jan. 1 A. D. How the sanctity of the day has been preserved is a thing to be discussed in the light of modern criticism. Who recorded the day of crucifixion and why? If the Doctors of Divinity were to base their authority upon the Roman records, they would be sadly mortified to see that the Roman records deny the crucifixion of Christ plainly. If it were to be the X'ian church that is considered as the treasure of the epoch, then what X'ian church feels proud to have recorded the day of crucifixion. There was no X'ian Church before the day to record it; nor the Jewish Church which had nothing to do with Christ for the reason that Christ was no Churchman of the Jewish Church or any Church; nor Christ was a warrior like Mahommed or Napoleon to establish his fame in the annals of the world. Why so much trouble? Historians have decided altogether and we can rely upon their decision; that the A. D. is only a monkish gloss of the 6th century of the so-called epoch, concocted from the stories of the Popes of Rome from

St. Peter down to St. Marcellus (66-308 A.D). Even granting that the day has been carefully preserved by the Popes of Rome, we cannot deem it accurate taking into consideration the wonderful improvements made in the Roman calendar by Julius Caesar, Augustus Caesar and Gregory III. Whatever it may be, we have to depend entirely upon the tradition of a few clergymen for the accuracy of the date and nothing more.

REVIEWS

I. THE SITUATION OF THE CONGRESS

In the beginning, the Indian National Congress, the representative body of the Indian Nation, was composed of leaders of all temperaments, Moderates, Intermediates and Extremists. This is usual with any institution that represents a nation as every nation contains men of all these temperaments. Therefore the first principle of every real leader of a country should be the maintenance of his connection with the national institution to lead his countrymen, if he can command following or follow and work out the cause of the majority. This is the present situation of the political leaders everywhere. And this is the method that is being adopted by the leaders of all countries in the world. Let us note how far this principle is being practised by the Indian Leaders in the field of politics. We know that after the split of the Congress at Surat the congress leaders were divided openly into two distinct parties *viz.* Moderates and Extremists. And we know Mrs. Besant (now Dr. Besant) under the title of an adopted daughter of India suggested herself to bring about a compromise between the divided parties. Her intervention has made the gulf between the parties wider if it did not exactly create new parties in the country. The moderates separated themselves from the Congress and started a moderate conference. Now the congress has fallen in the hands of the extremists. Mrs. Besant became the leader of the extremists. But she started another organisation under the name of the "Indian Home Rule League" to have it as a spare institution to continue her political activities, in case of her being neglected, when her extremism gives way to moderatism, by the members of the Congress who are now extremists. When Mrs. Besant came to realise her predictions (*i.e.*, when she had to work independently of the National Congress under the auspices of the Home Rule

League) she claimed to her "Home Rule League" the same or equal prominence that the National Congress possesses in the country. She explained that all the leaders are aiming at the same ideal, *i.e.*, "Home Rule" though they work through different institutions. This gave room for other batches of leaders to form themselves into new leagues such as National Liberal League etc. This is the story of the moderates who separated themselves from the congress and formed into a number of political fragments. This is the situation of the outsiders of the Congress.

The extremists who remain within the Congress are left with very few leaders. Mr. M. K. Gandhi became the leader of the Congress as, if he is the best among the leaders that were left in the congress. He is the first leader who understood the value of a costly advertisement. For this purpose he started a fund under the name of Tilak-Swarajya Fund; he made the congress an earning institution for the first time, so as to attract the attention of the intermediaries who could work for the congress only when they are paid something at least in the name of allowances. Most of the Hindu leaders who command personality remained outside the congress. The Mahomedan leaders who began to join the congress in more numbers found in him an agent to advocate things and principles to their advantage (apparent). Thus he has none to oppose his plans practically. Thus having secured large number of workers, followers and funds Mr. Gandhi began to put forth his plans before the country. He took up seven items to begin with. Five different functions are necessary to work out these items successfully:—

- (1) The Creation of Hindu-Muslim Unity.
- (2) Protection of Khalifate.
- (3) Destruction of the so-called untouchability.
- (4) Defence of Khaddar and Anti-drink campaign.
- (5) Invention of non-co-operation and civil disobedience.

It appeared as if he had taken the functions of a Brahma, Vishnu and Maheswar (*the three-Murthis*) besides becoming an inventor and a defender which are within the possibilities of a mortal.

*Creation of Hindu-Muslim Unity:—*The Unity between the Hindus and Mahomedans cannot be a natural one so far as the masses are concerned. Individuals might develop such a possibility here and there. But it cannot be found applicable to masses at any time. Because what is an object of prayer (worship of cow) to one is the object of prey (slaughter) to another. And we are quite aware of the necessity of this Hindu-Muslim Unity for the political freedom of India. Is there no

unity existing between the Hindus and the Mussalmans now? Is there no possibility for a unity? There are no two things in the world which cannot be brought under unity. Only the forces that unite things are different. The nature of the unity, that has been in existence (though not much), and the unity that is now possible for development, is one that is based upon necessity, sympathy, and above all habit and good behaviour. An isolated Mussalman family among Hindus would not dare to act in such a way as to disturb the feelings of his fellow-Hindu residents nor would the Hindus who are unproportionately in a majority would neglect to show even an undue sympathy to that isolated family. So is the case with an isolated Hindu family among Mahomedans (habit and behaviour will be explained in another article). The Hindus who are in the habit of receiving batches of foreigners are more accustomed to this amicable method of life than that of any other race. And if a section of the Mahomedans are lacking to appreciate such a method, it is the duty of an Indian leader to convince them of the sheer necessity of such a method, for the real salvation of the country. Nobody can justify himself to introduce a wrong method if he cannot work out the right one. By attempting a religious sympathy between Hindus and Mussalmans Mr. Gandhi made matters worse and more complicated. The usual emotion of Mahomedans is repeated in Malabar (Moplah riots) and other places. Mr. Gandhi not only failed to create the Hindu-Muslim Unity in the new fashion he imagined but created occasions for the Mahomedans to exhibit their religious emotions which were long, long absent in the Indian History.

Protection of the Khalifate:—This is the most complicated and misleading of all the items of his programme. It is shaping its own fate under different circumstances independent of the wishes of Indian Mussalmans and Mr. Gandhi. He destroyed the spirit and meaning of the 'Indian Swaraj' in his attempt to advocate the cause of Khilafat whatever may be the so-called little help that he could do for that cause.

Destruction of the so-called Untouchability:—Just like Brahmo Samajists in attempting to remove the sects among the Hindus became a distinct sect, the Gandhi congressmen became untouchables to the other political parties in India while they could not do much with the institution of Untouchability among Hindus. The little change in untouchability that has been brought out in the big towns and among highly English-educated Hindus is due to the advent of Western civilization and other circumstances and not due to these congressmen as they seem to think and advertise frequently in the Gandhi-Press.

Drink Evil and Khaddar:—These are the only two items worth at-

tempting. They have done much towards them. If Mr. Gandhi and his followers would have paid more attention and spent much money on the propaganda of Khaddar without diverting much of their energy and money towards the other items that are disadvantageous (though appear to be advantageous for the time being) they would have done a more substantial service to the country. After long experience when Mr. Gandhi began to realise the spread of Khaddar as the only real, substantial and practicable among all his preachings, he is unfortunately removed from the society. Though he expressed this plainly at the time of his arrest, yet his followers do not seem to follow the meaning of his last message "*Khaddar*." If he is now free to act we believe he would have solely engaged himself in the advancement of Khaddar. Perhaps he would have maintained some sort of connection with the two items of Khilafat and Untouchability which he adopted for some policy or erred. Now if the followers of Mr. Gandhi were to concentrate all their energies and money they could command in the name of Swaraj fund towards Khaddar leaving all other items, they will be doing a real constructive work in India. The congress should take up one industry (hand) after another as far as the funds permit. In so doing it would uplift the Indians and India economically and will also teach a lesson to the other countries the possibility of substituting hand industry to that of machinery which will solve the problem of unemployment.

As the whole movement of Mr. Gandhi goes under the name of non-co-operation, we will deal with this subject in a separate article later on.

Lastly, at Gaya, the congress matters became more complicated. It has become divided into two parties (as they call and compromised among themselves later on) under the leadership of Mr. C. R. Das, the successor (though temporarily) of Mr. Gandhi. The difference between these two parties is one of imagination rather than a reality. Mr. Gandhi who introduced non-co-operation into the field of Indian Politics explained it in various ways at different times (sometimes metaphysically) though it is not a difficult term for a man of some considerable thinking to arrive to its proper meaning. Non-co-operation is the act of withdrawal of co-operation, association and participation from one's own opponents, whom he considers to be wrong, for the purpose of obstructing the plans of his opponents on one side and shaping of his own plans that he thinks to be right on the other. Renunciation of voluntary association such as seeking employment under Government is the first stage of non-co-operation while its maximum being the renunciation of involuntary association i.e. refusal of taxes. Until now Mr. Gandhi-

Congress is trying to practise these two extremities of non-co-operation. The principle of non-co-operation never excludes obstruction. The obstruction is of two kinds. 1. Bringing obstruction without keeping association with the opponents. Such as (a) Renunciation of voluntary association (that has been tried to a certain extent). (b) Renunciation of involuntary association (that has been under periodical postponements). 2. Bringing obstruction in keeping association with the opponents, such as 'apparent-co-operation for non-co-operation' (that has not yet been given a trial by the Congress). It is this aspect of non-co-operation that tempted Mr. Das to give a fair trial, though he calls it in his confusing way 'as co-operation for non-co-operation' that created so much confusion and doubt to his countrymen.

We quote here a portion of Mr. Dass' Presidential address wherein he justifies his position:—

"A great deal of discussion has taken place in the country as to whether the boycott of Councils in the sense in which I mean it, is within the principle of non-co-operation. I am emphatically of opinion that it does not offend against any principle of non-co-operation which has been adopted and applied by the Indian National Congress. I am not dealing with logical or philosophical abstractions. I am only dealing with that which the Congress has adopted and called non-co-operation. In the first place, may I point out that we have not up to now non-co-operated with the Bureaucracy? We have been merely preparing the people of this country to offer non-co-operation. Let me quote the Nagpur resolution on non-co-operation in support of my proposition. I am quoting only the portions which are relevant to this point:

"Whereas in the opinion of the Congress the existing Government of India has forfeited the confidence of the country, and, whereas the people of India are now determined to establish Swaraj * * * * now this Congress * * * * declares that the entire or any part or parts of the scheme of non-violent non-co-operation with the renunciation of voluntary association with the present Government at one end, and the refusal to pay taxes at the other, should be put into force at a time to be determined by either the Indian National Congress, or the All-India Congress Committee and that, "in the meanwhile to prepare the country for it, effective steps should continue to be taken in that behalf."

"In the second place, let us judge of the character of this principle, not by thinking of any logical idea or philosophical abstraction, but by gathering the principle from the work and the work which the Congress has done. When I survey that work, it is clear to my mind

that the Congress was engaged in a twofold activity. In everything that the Congress commanded there is an aspect of destruction as there is an aspect of creation. The boycott of lawyers and law courts means the destruction of existing legal institutions; and the formation of Panchayats means the creation of agencies through which justice may be administered. The boycott of schools and colleges means the destruction of the department of Education; and the establishment of National schools and colleges means the creation of educational institutions for the youths of India. The boycott of foreign goods followed as it was by the burning of foreign cloths means the destruction of the foreign goods already in the country and the preventing, in future, of foreign goods coming into the country. But on the other hand the spinning wheel and the loom means the creative activity in supplying the people with indigenous cloth. Judged by this principle, what is wrong about the desire either to convert the Councils into institutions which may lead us to Swaraj, or to destroy them altogether?"

From this it is clear that Mr. Dass' 'Non-co-operation in co-operation' as he puts it, is one aspect of destruction that is implied in the term non-co-operation. But why should a section of the Congressmen object to adopt this course? After the advent of this proposal, certain outsiders, who did not hold any connection whatsoever with the Congress, began to take advantage to get into the councils for their selfish ends in the guise of one of the party. Surely there is every chance of spoiling the programme of Mr. Das by these men. This might probably be the fear of the party who object to the so-called change. It is clear from this that Mr. Das is as just as his opposing party for the reasons detailed above.

Though the position of both the parties seem to be justifiable in a way, yet both the parties have obstacles before them which prevent them from proceeding further in a successful way. Such is the pinnacle of confusion these congressmen have arrived at. The cause of this confused state of affairs is deep hidden in the original dictations of Mr. Gandhi but not in the lead of others as some seem to think. This confusion lies in Mr. Gandhi's borrowing principles from western philosophers and modifying them to suit his own requirements in his own imaginary way and the people's following such a programme in their desperate moods animated with an over-hatred of their opponents on the one hand and over-desire for self-government on the other.

Then why should there be so much appreciation even from abroad? A section of them who are sincere in their appreciation do not find a better principle in their traditions; and yet another who are not sincere appreciate this principle with motives. Christians appreciate these

principles finding in them a destructive element that could put an end to the long cherished Hindu Institutions (removal of untouchability) for which they had laboured for a long time. Mussalman appreciate them finding in them an agency for their Pan-Islamism.

Evidently all the energies and money spent over this enthusiasm of Mr. Gandhi served to no real purpose of the country. And, on the other hand, it served to mislead the masses to a great extent. Such is the working order of the present Congress.

K. V. S.

II. SITUATION OF COUNCILS AND COURTS.

Though the horse is blind, yet it is not lacking in consuming food,—so goes the proverb in Telugu. This finds an example in the action of Hindu Members of the Indian Legislative Councils. We see how these members of the Councils are handicapped, to take steps to prevent bills such as salt tax, that bring abnormal financial strain to our country. If they cannot prevent such steps for which they were elected or secured themselves to get elected by the people, we do not know what purpose they serve in occupying these high sounding positions. But we note some purpose in their association with the Government. When the Government goes against public opinion they all walk out the councils in a batch and exhibit their extreme sympathy with the people. This is the "no-chance" position of these members. There is also a chance allowed to these gentlemen, to upset the social and religious orders of their respective communities, in the name of modifications to suit times and personal freedom. Here they are free to act though they are handicapped in respect of political and economical problems. There are innumerable instances that have been played by them ever since the right of admission into these councils was opened to them. At Bill). While the religious endowment bill tends to transfer present we have two such things, one in the Madras Council (Religious Endowments Bill) and the other in the Imperial Council (Civil Marriage Bill). While the religious rights of Hindus to the general public or government, the civil marriage bill tries to grant a false freedom to the Hindu youth (as going against the established laws of *Shastras* and traditional obedience to elders, is nothing but false freedom in the sense of Hindu *shastras*) enabling him to rebel against his family members in his moods of false notions. We note the persistence of such bills in spite of repeated obstacles in the councils. We note their persistence against overwhelming public opinion. Are such men not bureaucrats of the highest type? Mr. V. J. Patel, a bureaucrat of this type and the predecessor of Dr. Gour, recently transferred his services to the National Congress so as to introduce such methods in that institution. It is rather curious to understand the justification of these Indian bureaucrats (the destroyers of the very social and religious orders whose loss is irreparable) to find fault with European bureaucracy (the mismanaging agents of public money which is within the reach of repair.) Thus these council members empty the council seats and show sympathy towards people in political and economical matters or sit alone and pass laws that are detrimental to their religions taking responsibility on their heads.

Nobility and sympathy have their places even in actions that appear to be cruel. European bureaucracy serves a specimen of this type. They persisted in doubling the salt duty against the disregard of universal public opinion. This piece of legislation being their prey, they could not help forcing its way through the councils. But when the final motion of civil marriage bill was put to vote in the imperial council the Government benches were empty and Government members did not participate in the division. To what purpose does it serve? It serves for the European bureaucracy to pretend that they are in sympathy with the principles of religious neutrality and to satisfy their indirect help rendered to these social reformers in their attempt to reform their respective communities after their (western) culture. If this is not the case, why should the heads of Government allow these members (as the power of giving certification lies with them) to bring such a purely religious matter into these councils.

Besides this it is highly deplorable to note that even the judicial benches have now-a-days stooped to administer justice to the Hindus according to the whims of the anti-Hindus (the Hindu social reformers) on the pretence that times are changing and social reform ought to be encouraged in preference to caste system. Surely, times have so changed to embolden a Hindu judge to deliver a judgment of highly suicidal and conflicting nature with the *Dharma shastras* with the help of a few social reformers to satisfy their curiosity. And times have so changed to give room to the whims of the few hasty social Hindus, with their temporary influence in the Government, in preference to the vedic institutions that have been surviving a host of anti-Hindu cultures.

All this is due to the indifferent nature of the Hindus proper, towards their ignorant fellow-countrymen whose hasty actions, they think, cannot survive a long time. And if these Hindus awake to the necessity of putting a stop to such misrepresentations and adopt the hereditary course as formulated in the leading article of this issue, we think the times will be so changed as to handicap the misrepresentations and as to put an end to such misleading on the part of the Hindu social reformers, the internal enemies of the vedic society.

K. V. S.

INTERNATIONAL & CLASS NEWS & VIEWS.

ISLAM IN CHINA.

"In China there are millions of Muslims," writes a correspondent to the *Vakil* and the majority of whom live in Western China. Though they are the followers of Mohammad the Prophet yet there is not among them that spirit of Islam that so markedly characterises the movements of Indian and Near Eastern Muslims.

Since the rulers of the country are supporting the principles of Buddhism and Confucianism the Islamic element in spite of its numerical preponderance has been in a state of dormant condition. Thanks to the present victories of the Turks in the Near East and the formation of an Islamic Republic in Russian Turkistan which are at present acting as sparks for kindling a general awakening among the Muslims of China. As a result of this one finds to-day in China that the Gulf that kept them separate and aloof from the field of politics is being gradually narrowed and they are seriously beginning to realise their political conditions. The outward manifestation of this new awakening is that manifestoes are issued and broadly circulated calling upon the

people to unite together for improving the common lot of Muslims.

(Hindu)

IMAM YAHEA AND TURKEY.

The 'Khilafat' publishes an extract from an Arabic paper which says that a complete agreement has been come to between Imam Yahea and the Turks. This means that the Turkish influence has spread in Arabia to a sufficient extent. But it remains to be seen how long the Turks and the Arabs will remain firm on this agreement and whether the latter have forgotten the experience of the former in the past.

(Hindu)

MUSLIM VICTORIES IN SPAIN.

The "Vakil", Urdu daily, Arimitsar, publishes an extract which says that the most astonishing, wonderful and interesting piece of news from Spain is that 20,000 European forces well-trained and equipped with the up-to-date weapons of war were decimated by the forces of Gazi Amir Abdul Kareem. Amir Abdul Kareem is like Mustapha Kemal, the leader of the Muslim forces in Spain. He has under him a collection of sturdy wandering Arabs armed with the weapons obtained as spoils of war. The defeat of the Spaniards stimulated beyond measure the enthusiasm of the Arabs of Reef, who one after the other in quick succession stormed the various Spanish centres and succeeded in capturing 139 of them. General Nafara, a Spaniard, who came to the relief of General Selfther, had to seek his own relief by surrendering himself into the hands of the enemy as a prisoner. General Balkaso gives a list of those remarkable generals and famous military officers who after surrendering their strongholds sought refuge at a place called Malida. He has thrown the responsibility for the defeat on no less than 30 great generals. The condition of Reef, the paper says, is extremely delicate for the Spanish forces deprived of their generals are utterly helpless. This question will very soon come up for discussion before the Spanish House of Lords.

(Hindu)

SIGNS OF REVOLUTION IN TRIPOLI.

"Medina," Urdu paper, Bijnur, writes:—

From Arabic papers it is evident that in western Tripoli a great Revolutionary movement is developing. The Governor of Tripoli has left for Rome with a view to draw the attention of the Italian Government to the serious state of affairs in Tripoli. Syed Idris, a great revolutionary leader, has proclaimed that Tripoli was no more under the Italian Government and that he had become its ruler. In addition to this from other sources some papers learn that the Kemalists have a hand in the founding of the revolutionary movement, and it is alleged that they are trying to regain the same position as they were occupying before the War in the Balkans. It is also learnt that the Government of Italy is frightened and perplexed by this alarming news, and accordingly the Government had ordered to break the Sunnusi movement in Tripoli, with the aid of the military. From the trend of events in Tripoli, the papers infer that it is not only Italy that is much perplexed but the infection of fear has caught Great Britain also. For instance, "The Morning Post" in England has raised an alarmist cry saying that if the alliance of the Sunnusi with Tripolians against the Italians were to materialise, great dangerous results would be produced. From this the conclusion is obvious that in Tripoli a great Revolution is brewing.

(Hindu)

"Loka Samasthaha Sukhino Bhavantu" On Santis-Santis-Santhi.

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