

FRIVENT

Journal of the Indiana

Renaissance

Vol. 2 No. 7 & 8

Jan-Feb 1940

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V2 m N28
N40.12.288
Z7972

TRIVENI

JOURNAL OF INDIAN RENAISSANCE



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NEW SERIES

VOL. XII, Nos. 7 & 8

JAN. & FEB. 1940

Annual Subscription
Rs. 7-8, 15sh., or \$4

Single Copy
As. 12, 1sh. 6d., or c. 40

Office: 16, SEMBUDOSS ST., G.T., MADRAS (INDIA)

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'Triveni' is devoted to Art, Literature, and History. Its main function is to interpret the Indian Renaissance in its manifold aspects.

'Triveni' seeks to draw together cultured men and women in all lands and establish a fellowship of the spirit. All movements that make for Idealism, in India as well as elsewhere, receive particular attention in these columns. We count upon the willing and joyous co-operation of all lovers of the Beautiful and the True.

May this votive offering prove acceptable to Him who is the source of the 'Triveni'—the Triple Stream of Love, Wisdom and Power!

... he that laboureth right for love of Me
Shall finally attain! But, if in this
Thy faint heart fails, bring Me thy failure!

—THE SONG CELESTIAL

'The Triple Stream'

BY K. RAMAKOTISWARA RAU¹

THIS TANGLED WEB

As the weeks pass and the plot thickens, one gets the feeling that the Indian scene is like a tangled web; the more we seek to unravel it, the greater seems the confusion. Starting with a straight question from the Working Committee of the Congress to the British Government regarding their war-and-peace aims in relation to India, the debate about the future constitutional position of this country took on bewildering shapes till, today, men apparently sane are proclaiming that every religious or communal group in India is a nation by itself, and some of these "nations" propose to send deputations to England to establish their claims at the bar of British public opinion! Before this distressing position was reached, every conceivable combination of forces was attempted, to spite the Congress and belittle its importance as India's leading political organisation. Once it was the Muslims and the Princes; then, the Muslims, the Scheduled Castes, and the Non-Brahmin 'Dravidians' of the far South. At one stage, the Forward Bloc within the Congress questioned the right of the Congress Executive to negotiate a settlement with the British Government; they now threaten to organise a Congress of their own in case such a settlement

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is reached. To them, Mr. Subhas Bose is the De Valera of an Indian Free State while Gandhiji is a mere Cosgrave.

While struggling valiantly against external and internal forces of varying grades of importance, the Congress under Gandhiji's leadership retains the allegiance of an overwhelming majority of politically-minded Indians. There has never been any doubt about its objective, nor about the choice of methods for winning that objective. The Congress, on behalf of the entire Indian nation, upholds the principle of self-determination, and, as its natural corollary, the right of Indians to frame their country's future constitution without outside interference. Here the emphasis is on self-determination even more than on Independence or Dominion Status, for, if the nation is convinced that Dominion Status, in terms of the Statute of Westminster, does not militate against its true interests, the tyranny of phrases need not prevent the acceptance of that status. Again, once the right to frame a constitution is conceded, it is not necessary to plunge the country into an interminable fight. Gandhiji has repeatedly proclaimed his preference for the way of peace, provided a settlement honourable to both sides could be achieved. In spite of temporary set-backs, he will continue to strive for an understanding with the Viceroy, and, through him, with the British Government. If, at the end of it all, a fight becomes inevitable, he will not flinch. Only, he will choose the time and the manner of that fight; he will not be hustled into it. The position of the Congress is thus well-defined. It considers a Constituent Assembly, elected on the basis of universal adult franchise, as the best solvent of the many problems now confronting the country. But even here, it is the idea behind a Constituent Assembly, rather than the details connected with its election and functioning, that must be considered important. If the will of the nation can be expressed in some speedier and more effective manner, the Congress will not swear by its original formula of a Constituent Assembly. Gandhiji, in a statement issued after his recent interview with the Viceroy, makes it clear that an "equivalent" of a Constituent Assembly would satisfy him. Sardar Patel believes that a meeting of all the legislators of India would serve the purpose. All possible adjustments on minor points will be made readily; the fundamental issue of freedom cannot, however, admit of a compromise.

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Of the forces arrayed against the Congress, the Muslim League is certainly the most formidable. With a tenacity and vigour worthy of a better cause, Mr. Jinnah and his henchmen claim the right to block all constitutional progress. It is not the protection and the safeguarding of the rights of an important minority that is in issue; the Congress has never objected to such safeguards. The League virtually seeks to overrule the majority community at every stage; and, for this purpose, all accepted canons of democracy, cabinet responsibility, and of national solidarity must be thrown to the winds. This attitude has had its reactions, and, as a counterblast, the Hindu Mahasabha has put forward its own theory that Hindustan is essentially the land of the Hindus, and that the rest can exist only on sufferance. In the matter of the misreading of Indian history, the League and the Sabha have vied with one another.

The Sikhs and the Indian Christians have adopted an eminently reasonable attitude. They are prepared to take their share in shaping and working a constitution. In their view, even separate electorates are not sacrosanct. This is the first welcome sign of the dawn of real nationhood, the first flash of light from the encircling gloom. Religion is primarily a matter of individual conviction. While its social aspect cannot be ignored, it is outrageous to permit religious feuds to cast their blighting shadow over the political sphere. Every Indian is a citizen first and last. His claim to civic rights and to representation on public bodies accrues to him by reason of his birth or domicile in India. It is time that this view asserted itself, and a clean sweep made of the crying evil of separate electorates based on religious faith. Once joint electorates are formed, and men realise the implications of their common nationhood by acting in public affairs as political and not as communal groups, it is of trivial importance as to how many seats are reserved for one community or another. It is joint action for common ends that brings the different communities closer. And joint electorates all round will speed up this development so that, ultimately, in public life, men are divided according to their political or economic beliefs, and religion comes to occupy its proper place as the inspirer of love, and not the breeder of hatred, between man and man.

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The mischief started by Lord Minto more than thirty years ago, has grown to ugly proportions. People with any genuine religious feeling must protest against this exploitation of religion for secular purposes. How can anyone claiming to love God nurse hatred against his fellowmen who happen to worship God differently? And yet, it is this hatred that is being fostered day in and day out, by political opportunists masquerading as men of religion. The simultaneous liquidation of the League, the Sabha and all similar religious-cum-political bodies will hasten the day of deliverance, and enable political parties to emerge, which will not only win democracy for India, but administer it in the right spirit.

A BIRTH-DAY GIFT TO GANDHIJI

The movement for Indian freedom is but an episode in the larger struggle for the enthronement of truth and non-violence as the prime objects of human endeavour. Gandhiji's personal example and his gospel of Ahimsa are deemed of incalculable value in the affairs of men during this era of strife and distrust. That this is so is evidenced by the many warm tributes collected by Sir S. Radhakrishnan in the septuagenary gift-book, "Mahatma Gandhi."¹ Erstwhile political opponents like General Smuts and Lord Halifax, fellow-workers like Rajendra Prasad and Pattabhi Sitaramayya, the men of culture and of religion, devotees and admirers from many lands, join in honouring one to whom Truth is God, and love the only way of life. Sir S. Radhakrishnan, India's leading savant and cultural ambassador, contributes an Introduction which is the crowning piece of this work of rare beauty. According to him, "Gandhi is the prophet of a liberated life, wielding power over millions of human beings by virtue of his exceptional holiness and heroism." From the point of view of the philosophy and technique of Satyagraha, Srimati Sophia Wadia's "The Path of Satyagraha" is specially noteworthy.

Not since the great renunciation of Prince Siddhartha has India witnessed a spectacle so moving as Gandhiji's utter dedication to a life of righteousness. He has been like a living flame illumining the dark corners of a nation's soul. From afar, he has led men and women of many faiths, and taught them

¹ George Allen and Unwin Ltd.

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to value the things of the spirit. Recent Indian history is full of examples of the way in which Gandhiji has transformed the lives of the tallest among Indians and made them willing instruments for the achievement of great ends.

But this hero and saint, this spiritual alchemist, is also the humblest of men. Intensely human, he has the gift of understanding which makes him loving and tolerant to those that are said to be "lost." And he is happiest in the company of children. This human side of him has not been adequately emphasised in this volume. How he puts his visitors at their ease; how he makes kindly enquiries about people whom he had met just once or twice, long years ago; how astounding is his memory for names and faces. . . . all this needs to be told. His saving sense of humour, his capacity for laughter, his manner of cracking jokes, have endeared him to everyone who has come into touch with him.

As one ponders over the miracle that is Gandhi, the thought that is uppermost is, "When comes such another?"

AN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND LETTERS

A young friend, whose capacity for writing letters makes me envious, has been trying to interest me and other Indian editors in a scheme for the inauguration of an Academy of Arts and Letters. The main object is to coordinate the cultural movements in different parts of India and recognise and reward those who are languishing in obscure corners. The idea originated several years ago with Dr. James H. Cousins, but had to be given up because of the inadequate response it evoked. Subsequently, 'Triveni' was started with similar aims, and achieved some slight success as a messenger of inter-provincial culture. Its finances, however, have never been satisfactory; the establishment of personal contacts between the leading writers all over India, through periodical meetings, has remained a vague dream. Five or six years ago, Dr. Guha-Thakurta initiated a discussion, "Why not an Indian Academy?" in the pages of 'Triveni'. I welcomed the proposal in an editorial note and invited further correspondence. A few more letters appeared, and then nothing happened. I am afraid that the present attempt to revive the scheme is not likely to prove more fruitful. The requisite atmosphere is lacking, and

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there are not enough people amongst us with the leisure and the funds needed for frequent all-India tours.

In the P. E. N. India Centre at Bombay, we have the nucleus of a cultural organisation. With the co-operation of litterateurs and artists in different provinces, this body can function as an Indian Academy. It is infinitely better to utilise existing organisations than to start new ones with insufficient means and inadequate personnel. At the head of the P. E. N. Centre are men and women of outstanding eminence. For any new Academy, are we likely to secure the services of more exalted individuals than Shri Rabindranath Tagore, Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Srimati Sarojini Naidu, Shri Ramananda Chatterjee and Srimati Sophia Wadia? The all-India Linguistic Committee of the P. E. N. consists of leading poets and critics in the different provinces. Srimati Wadia has already enlisted the support of the more prominent writers amongst the younger generation.

I hope I shall not be accused of lack of enthusiasm for an all-India cultural enterprise. In fact, it has been my one prime passion in life. But I am all for strengthening the Indian P. E. N.

A FESTIVE WEEK

It was a happy thought that prompted the Principal, lecturers and students of the Pithapur Rajah's college, Cocanada, to celebrate a festival of art and literature, history and politics, science and social service, and to invite distinguished individuals to deliver lectures on diverse topics. While the useful was not neglected, the dominant note was that of beauty. The atmosphere, for an entire festive week, was surcharged with poetry and music. The arrangements were on an elaborate scale, reminiscent of great national gatherings. The decorations were in perfect taste, and an exhibition of paintings by modern artists added to the charm of the function.

While every day of the week had its distinctive features, the climax was reached on February 3, when Prof. Rayaprolu Subba Rao of the Osmania University spoke about the appreciation of literature and chanted his verses and sang his songs with full-throated ease. As the originator of the new movement in Telugu poetry, and as the inspirer of some of our leading poets, Prof.

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Subba Rao holds a unique place in the affections of the Andhras. That evening, by a fortunate chance, Subba Rao's own Guru, Venkatakavi, was present. There were, too, Subba Rao's compeers, Krishna Sastri and Ramakrishna Rao, and some younger poets still at College. It was like the linking of three generations of poets, which proved that the literary life of Andhra is a continuous stream, gathering new strength and finding new ways of expression.

In the background of all this upsurge of culture lay the thought which found repeated expression throughout the week, that an Andhra Province is the natural fulfilment of this renaissance, and its outward visible embodiment. Those who watched the bright faces of the students and noted their determination were filled with hope for the future, for there was that combination of great enthusiasm with great organising ability which betokens success.

Indian Materialism

BY DR. K. B. KRISHNA, M.A., PH.D. (Harvard)¹

Why did not the Indian scholars take to the study of Indian materialism?

The subject of Indian Materialism has not attracted the attention of Indian scholars save one.² The few books that we have on this subject are due to European initiative. It was in the year 1828 that Wilson for the first time spoke of Indian materialists almost in a casual manner.³ He calls Charvakas advocates of materialism or atheism. In the year 1837, Colebrook dealt with the subject of Hindu Materialism. On that occasion he wrote that, for want of an opportunity of consulting an original treatise on this branch of philosophy or any connected summary furnished even by an adversary of opinions professed by Lokayats, he was unable to give any sufficient account of their doctrines.⁴ After this, 'Sarvadarsana Samgraha,' an opposition work of the 14th century A.D., was discovered.⁵ This work gives an account of the Lokayata System⁶ from the point of view of the writer, a Vedantist. Cowell translated somewhat roughly this work in the year 1862 and published it in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.⁷ Since his writing,⁸ Muir wrote an article on Hindu Materialists. He gave large extracts from a few later texts illustrating materialistic tenets.⁹ In 1873 Cowell

¹ This is the introductory chapter of the author's forthcoming book, 'History of Materialist Thought in India.'

² Dakshinananjan Shastri: "Charvaka System" (Indian Materialism), Calcutta, with a Foreword by B. K. Shastri.

³ H. H. Wilson: "A Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus" (in Collected Works, 1862, Vol. I, p. 22.) Originally published in Asiatic Researches, Vol. XVI, Calcutta, 1828, pp. 1-136 and Vol. XVII, Calcutta, 1832, pp. 169-314.

⁴ H. T. Colebrook: "Miscellaneous Essays" 1837, Vol. I, p. 402.

⁵ E. B. Cowell: "The Charvaka System of Philosophy" (in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XXXI, 1862, p. 371.)

⁶ Madhavacharya: "Sarvadarsana Samgraha" translated by E. B. Cowell and A. C. Gough, 1882, chapter I, pp. 2-11.

⁷ E. B. Cowell opcit. pp. 371-390 (This was published later as a pamphlet.)

⁸ Cowell, opcit. p. 374.

⁹ J. Muir: "Indian Materialists" (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, New Series, 1862, article XI, pp. 299-320.) Muir read the paper on Saturday, 14th December, 1861.

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contributed an Appendix to the collected works of Colebrook.¹ He mostly emphasised there the theory of knowledge held by the Lokayats. We know of no other work since then till 1899. In that year Rhys Davids, the great Buddhist scholar, sketched the history of Lokayata with a different interpretation. He used this word "Lokayata" in the sense of "nature-lore," and supported this meaning by many extracts from Sanskrit and Pali sources.² This brought to light the question of Buddhist materialists.³ This work has cleared the ground a good deal. In the same year 1899, Hillebrandt gave a short sketch of Hindu materialism. He cited Muir in his work.⁴ He did not seem to be aware of the work of Rhys Davids. Max Mueller in the same year referred to the Lokayats.⁵ In the year 1907 an Italian, Pizzagalli, published a work on this subject.⁶ This is the first systematic work published in the form of a book. The previous writers showed the way in the form of articles. In 1908 a French scholar, Suali, wrote of materials for a history of materialism in India.⁷ He confined himself to, and largely drew his material from, a later text of the sixth century A.D.⁸ This article is valuable for the large extracts he made from the text.

Not till 1916 do we again hear of any other writer on Hindu Materialism. Garbe has given a brief sketch of Lokayata, not adding much to what was known already.⁹ Poussin gave a sketch of Hindu Materialism in the same year. He confined himself largely to Ajita Kesa Kambalin. In support of his state-

¹ E. B. Cowell: "On the Charvaka Sect" (Appendix C in H. T. Colebrook: "Miscellaneous Essays" Vol. I, 1873, Ed. by E. B. Cowell) pp. 456-460.

² T. W. Rhys Davids: "Dialogues of Buddha," 1899, Oxford, Part I, pp. 160-172. See pages 14, 110, 139 for Lokayata.

³ Digha Nikaya I-52, 55.

Samyutta Nikaya III-307.

Majjhima Nikaya I-515.

Rhys Davids: "Dialogues of Buddha" pt. I, p. 73.

⁴ A. Hillebrandt: "Alt-Indien" (Kulturgeschichtliche Skizzen, Breslau, 1899, IX, "Materialisten Und Skeptiker," pp. 168-178).

⁵ Max Mueller: "Six Systems of Indian Philosophy" 1899, pp. 123-137.

⁶ A. M. Pizzagalli: "Nastika Carvaka e Lokayatika" (contributa alla storia del materialismo nell'India antica) Pisa, 1907.

⁷ L. Suali: "Materiaux pour servir a L'histoire du Materialisme Indien" (in Le Museon, Vol. IX, 1908, pp. 277-298.)

⁸ Saddarsana Samuchchaya by Haribhadra (528 A.D.) Ed. by L. Suali, Calcutta, 1905, Bibliotheca Indica, with Gunaratna's Commentary

⁹ R. Garbe: "Lokayata" (in Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. VIII, 1916, p. 138.)

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ments he has given valuable Buddhist sources¹. Even at this stage, when the nationalist movement was at its zenith, we do not hear of any Hindu writer dealing with Materialism. Up to this time it must not be thought that there were no other European writers who referred to Materialism. There were many,² and they referred to Indian materialism in a small manner. The next important work was by an Italian scholar, Tucci, in 1923³. It is significant that some Italian scholars have taken to the study of Indian Materialism. Some others have taken to the study of Culture and Political Science in ancient India.⁴ The next general work is that of Shastri. The date of publication is not known. He mentions Tucci. It must have been after 1923 and around 1928. He wrote an article in 1931 dealing with some aspects of materialism.⁵ He is the only Hindu writer on this topic.

We see that this important phase of Hindu thought has been only casually noticed by European enquirers.⁶ I now understand that a work on 'Indian Materialism' in Russian has

¹ L. De La Vallee Poussin: "Indian Materialism" (in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. VIII, 1916, pp. 493-4.)

² See, for a complete bibliography of writers who referred to Materialism casually, in my forthcoming book.

See also J. N. Farquhar: "An Outline of the Religious Literature of India" Oxford, 1920, p. 371 (gives a small bibliography)

In 1923 P. Masson-Oursel also gave a small bibliography. See at the end of "An Outline of Lokayata," for reference

³ G. Tucci: "Storia del Materialismo Ind" 1923.

⁴ Those who read Indian journals are familiar with the articles of Tucci and Pizzagalli on a variety of topics. Pizzagalli has written another work, "Aspetti E Problemi Della Cultura Indiana," Milano, 1927. He dealt on another aspect of Hindu materialism in "Sulla Setta Degli Svabhavavadinah" in *Reale Istituto lombardo di scienze, Lettere XLVI* (1913) 104.

C. Formichi has written other works. "La Pensée Religieuse de L'Inde Avant Bouddha," 1930, and "Asvagosha Poeta del Buddhismo," Bari, 1912. (For Svabhavikas, see p. 231.)

G. B. Botazzi: "Precursori di Viccolo Machiavelli in India ed in Graecia Kautilya, e Thucydide," Pisa, 1914.

C. Formischi: "Pensiero e Azione nell'India Antica" (in *Revista Italiana di Sociologia Roma*)

C. Formischi: "The Hindus and their Political Science," Bologna, 1899. (In Italian)

⁵ D. Shastri: "The Lokayatikas and Kapilakas" (in *The Indian Historical Quarterly* edited by N. N. Law, 1931, pp. 125-137. An exception is to be made if we take also Chintamani as a writer on Lokayata. T. R. Chintamani: "A Note on the Charvaka System," (in *The Journal of Oriental Research, Madras*, 1927, Vol. I, pp. 387-8). It is a very superficial note.

⁶ E. B. Cowell: "The Charvaka System of Philosophy," *opcit.* p. 389. The European inquirers consist of four nations—English, French, German, and Italian.

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appeared in Moscow recently. At Sun Yat Sen University, Moscow, Thalheimer gave a lecture on 'Indian Materialism' in 1927. (A. Thalheimer: 'Introduction to Dialectical Materialism,' chapter on 'Indian Materialism,' pp. 102-115). The omission of treatment of this phase of thought by Hindu scholars is not accidental. Why? Were the social conditions and wants of the times favourable for such a treatment?¹

At the time when Hindu culture was unknown to European scholars and to Europeans in general, when missionary vilification of India was great², came the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784. Wilkins, Jones, and Colebrook inaugurated the new science of Sanskrit Philology. Till 1830 European scholars paid attention only to classical Sanskrit. Gradually the studies were extended to the Vedas, Upanishads and Buddhism. They came to know the oldest period of India last. The foundation of the Pali Text Society in 1881 gave a further impetus to the study of Buddhism. In 1883 and 1885, Weber made another branch of literature available, that of the Jains. By the end of the 19th century the progress of Indian studies reached its high mark.³

Before the discovery of these literatures, the Indians were regarded as heathens. In the early stages research was solely confined to Philology. That the heathens produced a wonderful literature astonished the Europeans when their researches into Philology led them to study Sanskrit literature.

Philology led in turn to the development of researches in Archaeology, Epigraphy, Numismatics, Inscriptions, editions of original Texts, and so on. These in turn necessitated researches into Indian History in general. The second stage of Research in India is characterised by its emphasis on historical studies. Everything depended on the fixing of dates. Still, with a few exceptions, Indians have not yet taken to history-writing. The rise of Indian historians coincided with the rise and development

¹ See K. Kautsky: "Communism in Central Europe at the time of the Reformation," 1897, p. 19. "That knowledge thrives is due not merely to definite previous conditions which scientific investigation first renders possible, but also to certain wants which urge on scientific research."

² Cf. Macaulay's judgment of the literatures of India and Arabia: T. B. Macaulay: "Minute on Education," 1834. "I have never found one among them who could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia. . . ." (quoted in E. Thompson and G. T. Garrat: "Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India," 1934, p. 661.)

³ See A. A. Macdonell: "India's Past," 1927, pp. 235-273.

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of Indian Nationalism. R. C. Dutt is the father of Indian nationalist historians. At this stage European scholars themselves encouraged the Indians to take to the study of history.

The heathen stage corresponded to that when Philology did not yet dominate the field of Indian Research. When it did, it gradually led to the study of Indian history.

Another stage in the social development of India made necessary a corresponding phase of research. For years the Indians were told that they knew very little of politics, that they had no text-books on politics, that their capacity for political thinking was little. This was a direct challenge to the Nationalists. The few historical and philological researches did not enable them to counteract these derogatory remarks. At this time the Nationalist movement in India broadened from land-owning professional classes to the rising trading-merchant, usurer-industrialist classes. The objective content of their demands equally widened. The need for political research was also felt. Coinciding with this, a text on political science was discovered in Southern India in 1906.¹ The growth of the Nationalist movement, and the discovery of this text, gave a powerful impetus to the development of Political Research.

As a result, more Indians took to the study of Indian Political Science. Between the years 1914 and 1932, text after text on Political Science was published. Scores of works in the original have been edited on this subject. Many doctoral theses in European Universities were written on Indian Political Science. This research was a need for the Nationalist claims and it was helped by the previous philological and historical researches.

Research in India had three romances. It showed all the enthusiasm and the defects of Romanticists. The early Sanskritists showed an enthusiasm for philological research, as the Factory Inspectors showed for the working class in the nineteenth-century England. The need was felt by one class, but their demands were voiced by another class. That was the historic mission of the early Sanskritists. The later Sanskritists were aided by a few Indian scholars and together inaugurated a new era in historical research. This was a stage of collaboration. The leadership was still in the hands of Europeans. The

¹ R. Shama Sastry discovered Kautalya's "Artha Sastra." He later translated it into English in 1915.

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third stage is definitely characterised by Indian studies suited to the angle of political science. It must not be thought that research did not tackle other fields. Researches into Indian Medicine, Astronomy, Surgery, and other fields were the natural outcome of "political research." The honeymoon phase of these stages is now over. Today research in India is on a stock-taking level, comparison-verification level, reconstruction level.

Then came another event. With the year 1880 may be dated the Indian Industrial Revolution. The processes at work may be dated as early as 1850. The development of plantation industries is the fore-runner of the Indian Industrial Revolution. The development of capitalism, of a colonial character, has begun. These changes wrought in social economy by this event—the shifting of the population, the growth of towns, the rise of the Proletariat, the proletarianisation of the Peasantry—created changes in the existing needs and values.¹ Such needs grew to consciousness earlier among the rising middle class than among the proletariat or the peasantry. The organisation of this consciousness took several forms. In the political sphere, it took the form of Nationalism. In the industrial sphere, it took the form of Protectionism. In the social sphere, it took the form of Reform. The rising middle class felt the shackles of Brahminism as much as those of feudalism. Brahminism was a brake

¹ The Shifting of the population:

Report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India 1931, cmpr, 3883. p. 14 ff.

Ibid, p. 270. "During the last 50 years there has been a constant drift into the cities and towns."

Alexander Murray: "Labour," p. 291.

The Growth of Towns:

Alexander Murray "Labour," p. 291 (in *Modern India*) edited by J. Cummings, 1931.

D. R. Gadgil: "The Industrial Evolution of India," pp. 158-172.

The Rise of the Proletariat:

The emergence of the Indian proletariat may be dated from 1880; Royal Commission on Labour, p. 6: Total number of factories 2,451; Average daily number employed 1,166,000.

R. K. Das: "The labour movement in India" 1923, pp. 3-6.

The Proletarianisation of the Peasantry:

Royal Commission on Labour opcit. p. 14 et seq.

For the creation of a class of landless labourers, see D. R. Gadgil, "The Industrial Evolution of India in recent times," 1924, p. 163.

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upon their free development in accordance with their new needs.¹ The result was a crop of reform movements all over the country. Herein lies the origin of these movements. These movements took the characteristics of the place where they originated. In Bengal, it led to the Brahmo Samaj; in the Punjab, it led to the Arya Samaj; in Bombay, it led to the Sarvajanika Sabha; in Madras, it led to Theosophy. In Bengal, the movement stood for Modernism; in Punjab, it stood for anti-Westernism; in Bombay, it stood for Liberalism; in Madras, it stood for eclecticism. An analysis of these movements discloses the class and national characteristics of these movements. These movements felt the need for research as much as the general political movement. The illustrious leaders, like Ranade, Bhandarkar, Chintamani—ablest scholars of India—took to Social Research. At this stage, political research differentiated itself into other fields, particularly into social research. An enquiry into the Caste System, an enquiry into the child-marriage system—these are the topics of the social research school. But these social research scholars wore Whig pants on Indian shirts. They were more content to vegetate in reformism in negative denials rather than to display the “positive background of Indian Sociology.”²

So far we see that these scholars have not felt the need for a more positive interpretation of Indian culture. Research in India correctly reflected the needs of the class, the rising middle class—of which most of the researchers are composed, save the early Sanskritists who played the conscious part for the Indian middle class. Curiously at that time, the middle class was in its nascent stage.³

Research in India has not reflected the needs of the Proletariat and the Peasantry. The Proletariat in India, in spite of

¹ Michael O'Dwyer: “India as I Knew It” (1885-1925) 1925, p. 64.

² “The Arya Samaj Reform Movement, . . . which has taken such deep root among the educated Hindus in the Punjab, recognises the (defects) in the Hindu Social System, especially as it is a bar to that political advance that so many of them contemplate.”

³ B. K. Sarkar: “Positive Background of Hindu Sociology” 1914. This work is a good instance of nationalist history-writing, and is the product of national agitation in India on the eve of the break of the World Imperialist War.

⁴ H. Dodwell: “A Sketch of the History of India,” (1858-1918), 1925, pp. 6-7.

See also E. Thompson and G. T. Garrat: “Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India” 1934, p. 541. “By 1884. . . a new professional class had come into existence.”

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the great social forces in its favour, lacks leadership, organisation, and political education. The subjective elements are weak. It has no tradition of “Emancipation groups.” It has no working-class ideologies. It acquired its few “historic levels” of consciousness in its strike-struggles, in its struggles for an organisation, for its existence. The interests of the rising middle classes do not coincide, except at certain definite historical periods, with the interests of the Proletariat.¹ Naturally, the middle classes did not take to research which will aid and reflect the needs of the Proletariat. Nor is the Proletariat in India strong enough to conduct its own research. Coming out of the “primitive idiocy” of village life, with no past experience of factory or mental discipline, with the inherited background of inertia of ages, with the stamp of Brahminism and illiteracy writ large on its brow, cowed by a jobber,² bullied by an employer, fleeced by a money-lender, squeezed by a priest, exploited by the government and its land-owning, professional, trading-merchant, usurer-industrialist class allies, the Indian proletariat is still weak. Its consciousness is also weak.³ But Trade and Politics, Industry and Capital are drawing this class, which had remained sunk in apathetic indifference, into the whirl of history. With the present increase in consciousness, organisation and experience, is also seen the appearance of working class papers and magazines⁴ and the need for its own research.

Nor is the proletariat allowed to imbibe a ready-made ideology which suits their interests, which expresses their needs, which leads them to paths of revolutionary action. The government and its allies are in its way. Neither is the expression of their own experience of daily struggles with the ruling classes given a free scope. ‘A Communist Manifesto’ of 1848 is a taboo in India.

¹ Royal Commission on Labour opcit. pp. 339-341.

(See the analysis of the class and race composition of the employers and employed, p. 340).

² Royal Commission on Labour opcit. pp. 23-24.

³ Compare the remarks of F. Engels: “The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844” translated by F. K. Wischniewetzky 1892, pp. 2-4. (These aptly apply to the Indian workers. His remarks of the agricultural proletariat of this period also apply aptly to the agricultural proletariat of India today, pp. 5-6.)

For the Indian proletariat see Margaret Read: “The Indian Peasant Up-rooted” 1931 (A graphic summary of the Royal Commission on Labour, 12 volumes).

⁴ Like ‘National Front,’ ‘New Indian Literature’ and various other papers in Indian languages.

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A moderate strike leader is summarily executed for "high treason" and misdemeanour against His Majesty the King. A friend of the Soviet Union, whatever his class, is a sedition-monger. An organiser of the working class consciousness is given a prison in the Laccadive or Maldiva islands. Or he is sent off the road to Mandalay.

Research in India did not reflect the needs of the Peasantry. If Civilisation has made Peasantry its pack animal, in India the peasantry is treated worse than a pack animal. In Taine's words, the Indian peasant has been "the mule" of three autocracies—the Hindu, the Moslem, and the British. He is exploited in a four-fold direction, by the Government, by the land-owner, by the money-lender, and by the village priest.¹ Nowhere has Priestdom taken such strong roots as in rural India. The question of the emancipation of the Proletariat and the Peasantry in India is at bottom a question of the emancipation of the Indian society from Brahminism, Feudalism and Imperialism. Here too, the interests of the rising middle classes did not coincide with the interests of the agricultural proletariat.² But the phenomenal growth of the peasant movement during the last four years and the increase in their consciousness is reflected in the appearance of Kisan publications and the need for their own political researches.

The increasing failure of the political demands of the rising middle classes, and their inability to gain further commercial successes,³ hastens their movement towards socialism.⁴

¹ He is a mere victim of Social Economy. See Indian Taxation Enquiry Report, Vol I, pp. 363-4 (1928)

R. Fox: "The Colonial Policy of British Imperialism" 1933, pp. 42-46.

² R. Mukerjee: "The limits and potentialities of agriculture:" (in India Analysed Vol. III, p. 216) "it is the old conflict between the urban industrialist and the rural classes in which the former is gaining the upper hand..."

Vera Anstey: "The Economic development of India," 1929, p. 159.

V. E. L. Price: "Indian Legislature Economics," 1921, p. 4.

V. H. L. Calvert: "Wealth and Welfare of the Punjab" p. IV.

³ Compare the political defeats of the German middle class of 1848 and their apparent commercial successes with that of the Indian middle classes. The parallel is interesting. See F. Engels: "Revolution and Counter-Revolution," 1933, pp. 12-13.

⁴ F. Engels: "Revolution and Counter-Revolution" 1933, pp. 25-26. Cf. The German middle class of 1848. "They sought to obtain by every possible means the support of the working class of the towns, and of the peasantry... and it is well known that there was hardly a single prominent political character who did not proclaim himself a Socialist." The same is true with the Indian National Congress which adopted an outward show of Socialism to meet the demands of the proletariat and the peasantry.

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towards recognition of the interests of the Proletariat and the Peasantry. The pressure from above is equally balanced by pressure from below. The momentum of this pressure towards socialism—towards the recognition of the interests of the Proletariat and Peasantry—is reflected, meagre as it is, in research as well.¹ This is the reason why we produced one book only on Indian Materialism.

We now see why the question of the treatment of Indian materialism by the Indian writers is not accidental. A history of materialism in India is a history of Brahminism. It is also a history of the social conditions which gave birth to Brahminism, a history of the class domination of the Brahmin class. It is a history of oppression and general reaction all round. In short it is a history of the social question in India. Consequently no class but the Proletariat and the Peasantry or its ideologues could voice this need for research. The "political research school" did not understand that every political question is at bottom a social question. The "social research school" did not understand that every social question is at bottom a political question.² These two schools in twin avoided any treatment of "positive" materialist thought in India. The very researches into Artha Sastra (Hindu political science) reveal that Lokayata (Materialism) is a fore-runner of Artha Sastra.³ Yet not a word has been said on Lokayata.

Read any journal of the learned or non-learned societies in India, look where you will, you are confronted with Indian political science and allied topics. But nowhere do you find references to Materialism, save in Colebrooke, Muir or Cowell.

The pioneering work of European scholars is to be commended. Muir gave us a glimpse of the possibility of reconstructing a history of Indian Materialism. Suali was ambitious

¹ K. Kautsky: "Communism in Central Europe," p. 19, "Not every community and social class feels the need for deeper investigation into the real connection between things in nature and society even if the necessary previous conditions are present." Only that class whose interests need such deep investigation feels that necessity. See J. S. Huxley: "Science and Social Needs."

² Blanqui wrote: "The social question cannot be earnestly and effectively discussed till after the next energetic and irrevocable solution of the political question." Quoted in B. Bax, p. 260.

³ B. C. Law: "A Short Account of the Wandering Teachers" (in Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1918, Vol. 14. New Series pp. 402-403.)

B. Barua: "Pre-Buddhistic Philosophy" p. 339. "Kama and Artha are ways of life—Lokaatra." Kautalya: "Artha Sastra" I, 1.

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but he did not go further than merely citing a later text. Rhys Davids did not go further than Buddhism. The following papers are humble attempts to meet this gap in a reconstruction of "a history of materialist thought in India."

It has been the peculiar misfortune of India to be known more by her superficialities than by her essentials. India is not a country of tigers and snakes alone. It is not all a country of saints and hermits. Nor is it "loin cloth" and "goat's milk." Taj-Mahal, Seville Row, the white residences of Simla are not the whole of India. India did not always pray and meditate.¹ India has its teeming masses, its struggles, its history. Those who only know an ascetic India do not understand India.² Its masses struggled for life, groaning under the weight of oppression, rebelled, took to arms, were defeated and misled. Now and then a Buddha, a Mahavira, an Asoka, a Chaitanya came across their way. What little they gained they lost. Autocracy after autocracy broke their spines. With all this, India is not without revolutionary traditions. Leaders of democratic progressive thought were non-Brahmins.³ Some of her kings were of non-Kshatriya origin.⁴ The best protestant thought is from non-Brahmana castes.⁵ Even in our own generation, India's first labour leader was a workman.⁶ Likewise, India is not wanting

¹ Max Mueller: "A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature" 1860, pp. 18-25. He familiarised the idea of the other-worldliness of Hindus. But he admits (p. 25) that later Aryans came to be aware of the external world around them.

² Tucc opcit. p. 35.

Other Italian writers like Botazzi and Formichi also repudiate the other worldliness of Hindus. See B. K. Sarkar: "Positive Background of Hindu Sociology" p. 185 ff. "Not all Hindu literature addresses itself to renunciation and mysticism and that human energism as well as utilitarianism have had powerful exponents in Hindu Philosophy." "Hindu Materialism is exhibited in Religion, logic, metaphysics and ethics." (These quotations are from Formichi) Botazzi also holds similar views refuting Chiapelli who thinks that the Oriental is used neither to science, nor to art, nor to liberty.

³ Garbe: "Indian Philosophy" opcit. p. 85.

⁴ According to Vishnu and other Puranas (Histories), the Kshatriya race came to an end with Maha Padma, the last Kshatriya king, and after him, "the Kings of the Earth were of Sudra origin."—Vishnu Purana IV, 24.

Chandragupta is regarded as a Sudra (4th caste). (See Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, p. 470, and follow the references.) See also Shama Sastry: "Evolution of Indian Polity," p. 140.

⁵ Like that of Lingayats: or Reddis, in the modern period.

⁶ R. K. Das: "The Labour Movement in India," 1923, pp. 14-17. Lokhanday organised "Bombay Mill Hands Association" in 1890. He organised a paper "Dinabandhu" (Friend of the Poor). This was the first labour journal in India.

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in materialist thinkers. Not all thought is other-worldly. Not all thought is idealistic.

Materialist thought in India is one phase of her struggles, her history. What is "materialist thought"? Broadly speaking, it is the view that upholds the primacy of matter to other things. Any attempt to define "materialism" and seek for such a thing in the history of India is not only absurd but futile. Because materialism has changed in content at every epoch in Indian history. Materialism is also the natural born son of India.¹ Given the conditions, the classes, the ideas, and institutions of the Vedic period, materialist thought is bound to appear. Attempts to define that materialism is as old as philosophy and not older,² in this light, are also futile. In India it arose at definite stages of social development. The incomplete incoherent Vedic cosmologies, the hedonistic priesthood, the Vedic ceremonies and the philosophical tenets of the day led to the birth of materialism.³ Materialism in the early stages of Hindu culture took the form of Naturalism. It was a protest against the Supernaturalism of the day. This took several forms at that stage. It took the form of free-thinking. It took a sceptical form—yet free-thinkers and sceptics were not materialists. Of the many negative movements against Supernaturalism, Lokayata is one. It combined in itself all the features of the free-thinking and the sceptic movements of the day.

At a later stage it became agnostic. Buddhists and Jains were agnostics. They wore materialist pants. Agnosticism led in turn to Atheism. At each stage materialism depended on the knowledge of Sciences. It made use of the then obtainable

¹ Cf. Marx and Engels: "Die Heilige Familie," Frankfurt, A.M. 1845, pp. 201-204, quoted in Engels "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, Introduction," p. 13: where they say Materialism is the natural born son of Great Britain.

² Cf. F. A. Lange: "The History of Materialism," 1925 Edition, p. 3.

³ Cf. F. A. Lange, opcit. p. 3-4.

At all stages, materialism in India was an open and immediate attack on Brahminic religion.

Cf. Ibid. Second Book, fourth section, p. 292.

For Cosmologies of the Vedas:

P. S. Deshmukh: "Religion in Vedic Literature," 1933, 325-331.

Priests:

Rig Veda, I, 126, 1-3 (Dana Stuti gift-laud).

For Sacrifices:

See A. C. Clayton: "The Rig Veda and Vedic Religion" 1913, pp. 104-136.

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knowledge of Physics, Astronomy, Logic and Psychology. Its theory of knowledge bore all the defects of the sciences of the day.

Lokayata came to be confused with Nastikas, with all heretical movements later. Hence we have to treat Lokayata in a strictly historical sense¹ without losing sight of the conditions that gave birth to it.

At another stage it came to be regarded purely as a "theory" of sensations. Sensations were regarded as the only source of knowledge. A view is held that a materialist is one who has to do with that which may be touched, handled, seen, or otherwise perceived through the senses². This was viewed purely from the point of view of the "physical" inquirer.

At a still later stage, it took a hedonist character.

Roughly, materialist thought in India may be divided into various phases:

I. *Naturalism*, against Supernaturalism, coupled with Free-thinking and Scepticism, represented by Anti-Vedins, Upanishadic and post-Upanishadic materialist thinkers.

II. *Agnosticism*, represented by some aspects of Buddhism and Jainism.

III. *Atheism*, represented by early Sankhya.

IV. *Sensationalism*, represented by a sect of Lokayats. One may speak of atomic or mechanical materialism here³.

V. *Hedonism*, represented by the last stage of Lokayata.

Much of the materialist thought in India is of a protestant character because it has been intensely practical and was the product of practical needs. In its protests, it has not developed its theoretical side. Knowledge of Social Sciences was weak. For want of this, most opposition writers had recourse to mysticism⁴ and useless dialectics. This weakness is represented in general in the weak theoretical works of the materialists

¹ Max Weber: "The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism" translated by T. Parsons, chap. II, Methodology. He prefers "provisional descriptions to conceptual definitions." p. 47.

² C. Cohen: "Materialism restated" 1927, p. 24.

³ Cf. Leslie Stephen: "An Agnostic's Apology" pp. 129-130.

⁴ Lokayata: "belonging to the world of sense" see R. Garbe "Lokayata" opcit. p. 138.

⁵ K. Kautsky: "Communism in Central Europe in the time of the Reformation" trans. by Mulliken, 1897, p. 18. "One of the radical reasons for the tendency towards mysticism was the ignorance of the great masses of people."

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themselves. But not all protestant thought is materialist thought. The Indian phase of materialism, because of its concrete nature, has at all times taken a stand against supernaturalism, against magic, above all against Brahmins, their practices, and their philosophical tenets.

Materialist thought in India is one branch of thought expressing the relations between men and men, men and things, conditioned by time and space, having for its starting point the world as it is, as it exists. In the words of Russell,¹ we may regard materialism in India, historically, as a dogma set up to combat orthodox dogma. Despite the wishes of the protestants, nothing less definite than a dogma enabled them to fight the dogmas they disliked.

¹ Bertrand Russell: Introduction to Langes' Materialism, opcit. P. xi

How Many Others!

BY VELLIVEETIAR

(Translated by P. N. Appuswami from the original
poem in Tamil)

[A girl has eloped with her lover. Her aged nurse seeks her everywhere, but in vain. Footsore and weary, she voices her complaint thus.]

My poor feet totter;
And my eyes are dim with looking, looking!
But, alas!
Those whom I do not seek,
Those others of this world
Outnumber the stars in the spacious sky.

Has India at present any 'Philosophy', as such, of Her Own?

BY V. SUBRAHMANYA IYER

(Retired Registrar, The Mysore University)

To ask whether India has any 'philosophy' would appear somewhat foolish inasmuch as India has been known, for centuries, as the home of, not one school, but several schools of religious, mystic (yogic), and rational thought. Such Indian thought was held in the highest esteem by great Western thinkers like Schopenhauer, Cousin, Emerson, Thoreau, Deussen, Max Muller and others. Further, the culture of almost every country or race has passed through some one or more phases of religion, theology, scholasticism, mysticism, metaphysical speculation, and rational thought, every one of which has had a 'philosophy' in the sense that each of them has attempted some general interpretation of life or existence. In fact, every man or woman has his or her view, or evaluation, of the world which has also been called philosophy. In this *old* sense, people of India *have* and had plenty of philosophic schools, perhaps more than any other race. But whether India has anything of it in the modern sense, that is, of 'philosophy' as understood, *at the present time*, by the thoughtful men in the West (in other words, whether it has anything of what that word signifies to those who speak in their homes the group of languages to which that word belongs) is seriously doubted.

In a letter received from Europe so recently as the 11th of November, 1939, Swami Siddheswarananda, a most highly cultured graduate of an Indian University, who has been endeavouring to spread in Europe a knowledge of Indian thought, for some years past, writes: "The European mind is constituted in a different way, and our aim should be to understand sympathetically that mind. Only after two years I am able to understand that the words we use, taken from *their* language to convey *our* ideas, do not bring to them the same implications that we give them."

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To illustrate what the learned Swami says, let me state here that the Sanskrit word 'Buddhi,' for instance, has been translated into at least nineteen different words in English by various writers. How then is one ignorant of Sanskrit culture to know what 'Buddhi' exactly signifies? Similarly what are we in India to understand by the European and American word 'Philosophy'?

Some Western thinkers hold that there is no 'philosophy,' as such, in its *modern* sense, *indigenous* to India, though she may be a rich store-house of all the philosophies she borrowed. Let me begin with the latest and one of the most authoritative pronouncements. On the 8th of April, 1939, there appeared, in the London *Times Literary Supplement*, an article headed "Wisdom of the East." There it is said, "While the West may be pre-eminent in thought—in matters of the intellect, of science and *philosophy*—the East is pre-eminent in *religion*. (Italics are mine.)

Turning next to others :

"Many philosophies do not rise beyond the mythological stage. Even the theories of Oriental peoples, the *Hindus*, the Egyptians, and the Chinese, consist, in the main, of mythological and ethical doctrines and are *not* thorough-going systems of thought; they are shot through with *poetry* and *faith*...." (Frank Thilly's 'History of Philosophy')

"It (the mystic's realization of the Absolute) is the very *antithesis* of *honest* reasoning and a piece of presumptuous dogmatism. It is the theory that underlies Theosophy, *Hinduism*, and most forms of *Mysticism*.... It is designed to reconcile people to evils instead of to encourage them to combat them. It is the escape mechanism of the despairing, the helpless and the lazy.... The theoretical arguments would seem to be more a *rationalization* of a convenient *myth* than an honest and irresistible train of reasoning."—[John Lewis' 'Introduction of Philosophy' (1937)]

"The system of Vedanta is rightly charged with immorality.... What moral results could possibly be expected from a system so devoid of motives for a life of true purity?" (Jacob's 'Hindu Pantheism')

"You may rid Hinduism of its immense load of nonsense and consider it to be a sort of mystic positivism, yet it is

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incredible illusion to pretend to find in it anything of use."... (Quoted by Poussin)

It is said that what is called Indian *Philosophy* is at least half a century behind the times. Hence a large number of colleges in India have already abolished this course of study! And many others are abolishing it. The authorities of the Indian Civil Service Examination Board have dropped this subject altogether. The present Secretary of State for India, one who has studied Indian culture on the spot as a Governor of a great Indian Province, denies the existence of philosophy as such in this country. Some well-known and thoughtful scholars, as for instance Professor Edgerton, have declared Indian thought to be 'primitive' or 'magic' philosophy, or as something meant to make men seek caves and mountain tops, or some mysterious powers. Some have characterised it as a 'pig-trough philosophy.' Is it a wonder then that so few of the Indian journals of reputation take any serious notice of the work of the Philosophical Congresses and Conferences or lectures, though there are scores of such journals publishing accounts of the theological and sectarian transactions or mystic achievements, in which the editors are personally interested?

This, however, does not mean that Religion, Theology, Scholasticism, Mysticism and Speculation, whether in India or elsewhere, are devoid of value. These do give to the great majority of mankind the highest satisfaction or peace of mind. They are a natural and indispensable necessity for most men. What we, however, seek here is the meaning and implication of the term 'philosophy' as understood, *at the present time*, by the most thoughtful minds in Europe and America. And the *first* thing sought by a philosopher is 'clarification.' "To philosophise is to seek clear notions," as Plato held. For, it used to be, and is still seriously said, that when A talks to B, and B does not understand A and A himself does not understand what he says, then A is talking philosophy. Or, as Aldous Huxley puts it, "philosophical arguments are mostly angry shoutings at one another by two who use the same words but mean different things." A modern language critic, Mr. Chase, writes: "Carpenters, masons and engineers who give no thought to their tools and instruments are not likely to erect very durable structures. Yet few of us look to our

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tools. We sometimes study synonyms, derivations, rhythm, style, but we rarely explore the nature of words themselves." And Herbert Spencer, the modern philosopher, rightly says that we ought *first* to get at the significance of words: "By comparing meanings in different connections and observing what they have in common we learn the essential meaning of a word." Let me therefore quote some leading authorities of Western countries.

1. The Century Dictionary (1888) defines philosophy thus: "The organised sum of *Science*; the science of which all others (*sciences*) are branches."

2. "All philosophers of any importance now *fully* recognise their *dependence* on *Science*."—J. Moore.

3. "Philosophy is the attempt by use of '*Scientific Methods*' to understand the world in which *we live*."—G. T. Patrick.

4. "The day is gone by when Metaphysical Systems can be constructed independently of the physical *sciences*. So intimate is the relation between *Science* and Philosophy that some knowledge of the special sciences such as Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Biology, and Psychology is *indispensable* to the student of philosophy. Ready-made systems without due regard to the results of observation and experiment are held in less and less respect."—*Ditto*.

5. "Philosophy is like *Science* in seeking that which is *certain*, *exact* and well organised. They have the same spirit and the same purpose—the honest and laborious search for truth."—*Ditto*.

6. "No progress in *philosophy* can be made if we commit ourselves in advance to some fond theory. In daily life when some problem suddenly presents itself we are apt to fall back upon our habits or customs in deciding it. Most of us have some ready-made '*system*'; some favourite collection of ideas, which we have gotten from tradition or *religion* or social inheritance or from political party or even church, or perhaps some book which has impressed us deeply or from some new movement in poetry or fiction, or even possibly from an impressive picture on the screen, and solve the troublesome problem off-hand by reference to this system. And it is very probable that in our solution of the question we shall be strongly influenced by our personal feelings, our wishes and desires. Some exceptional complex will

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decide the question for us. But *every problem*, whether in *philosophy* or in science, *must be approached* in the spirit of genuine *scientific* interest, whose motive is a keen desire to know, a real scientific curiosity."—*Ditto*.

7. "Philosophy is an unusually persistent effort to think clearly... weighing carefully and *testing* our *conclusions*.... To do this is to extend the *methods of science* into the fields of human relations and human problems. Our social, economic, moral, *philosophical* and religious problems must now receive more of the attention of *science*, and the tremendous intellectual power exhibited in scientific thought and research must be turned more into these directions."—Adapted from Prof. James.

8. "The method of philosophy is to see life steadily with neither prejudice, nor bias nor *half knowledge*. Now philosophy becomes the interpretation of *life*."—G.T. Patrick.

9. "Philosophy is the interpretation of knowledge through the synthesis of all the *sciences*."—Durant Drake.

10. "Philosophy is the survey of all the *Sciences* with the special object of their harmony and of their completion. It brings to this task not only the evidence of the separate *sciences* but also its own appeal to concrete experience."—A. N. Whitehead.

11. "The results of *science* are both the *starting point* and the *crucial test* of the validity of its (philosophy's) speculations.... Philosophy must be *scientific* in the sense that it cannot but accept the proved results of *science*.... Science aids and even *controls philosophy*, for, first of all, it starts philosophy on the right road to truth and it calls back to this road whenever she strays into the by-paths of error and falsehood and, what is worse, into the blind alleys which lead nowhere."—James H. Ryan.

12. "It (the philosophical problem) is *inseparably* connected with the work of *science* and the estimate that is to be put upon its results."—R. B. Perry.

13. "In *philosophy* we take the propositions we make in *science* and everyday life, and try to exhibit them in a logical system."—E. P. Ramsay.

14. "Whatever is not compatible with scientific facts must be eliminated in any sincere philosophising. This fact confers upon *scientific facts* an incalculably important office in *philoso-*

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phy. . . . Only what has been *scientifically* verifiable supplies the entire content of philosophy."—John Dewey.

15. "Philosophy is *not* the same as *metaphysics*. In recent years this humanistic aspect of philosophy, this attempt to interpret life (as it is) and to see things in the large has been emphasised more than the other metaphysical problems such as the nature of Reality, of God, etc."—Patrick.

16. "The object of philosophy is *to take over the results* of the various *sciences*, to add to them the results of the various religions and ethical experiences of mankind and then to reflect upon the *whole*."—C. D. Broad.

17. "Philosophy is entirely dependent on the *sciences*."—Jared Moore.

18. "The work of the philosophy of Nature and Mind only begins where that of experimental *science* leaves off."—A. E. Taylor.

19. "Philosophy has never flourished except in alliance with the *sciences*, and also never flourished when it was prepared to plod humbly after them."—John Laird.

20. "*Philosophy* has to take account of the general results of the investigations of all the *sciences* that are concerned with the most fundamental issues and on the basis of these results, it is its special task to endeavour to construct a general theory of the universe, and especially of the place of human life in it. . . . Philosophy is generally understood to mean certain kinds of more or less completely systematized knowledge of the *sciences*."—J. S. Mackenzie.

21. "*Philosophy* frankly accepts the conclusions of science as its starting point."—Viscount Samuel.

22. "Modern philosophy must take account of all the far-reaching results of *scientific* enquiry. . . . Philosophy has, of course, no right to call the tune which it wishes science to play, but its task is to correlate the *conclusions* of science, with those which may be reached in the course of practical, ethical, aesthetic or religious experience."—J. A. Sullivan.

23. "The various *sciences* supply the partial pictures of the world, pictures taken from different points of view. It is for Metaphysics (philosophy) to combine these pictures, not as one makes a composite photograph by placing one print on the top of another, but rather as one combines two views in the stereoscope. It reaches this or should reach this, not in an *a*

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priori fashion, but by the taking into account of the raw material which the *sciences* furnish."—J. A. Thomson. (Here metaphysics is used as the equivalent of philosophy.)

24. "One of the most interesting features of *contemporary philosophy* is the renewed co-operation between men of science and philosophers."—A. Wolfe.

25. "There is no more fatal enemy (to philosophy) than theories which are not also *facts* (ascertained)."—Bradley.

26. "That the philosopher can somehow *spin* his philosophy out of what he finds inside himself, that he has some internal course of information in virtue of which he can decide what the universe must be, without needing the trouble to look at it, is a belief that dies hard."—Ritchie.

27. "Modern *science* is its (*Modern Philosophy's*) *starting point* and *pre-condition* Whatever is not in accord with this thought lies outside the sphere of philosophy."—Paulsen.

28. "Philosophy is nothing more than the *scientific* knowledge of reality as distinguished from or *opposed* to the *mythico-religious* notion (poetic fancy) of the universe."—*Ditto*.

29. "The thorough study of the *sciences* is the road to this goal (Philosophy)."—*Ditto*.

30. "Philosophy cannot be separated from the *sciences* We get philosophy by combining all the results of the *sciences* for the purpose of answering the question as to the nature of reality."—*Ditto*.

31. "Philosophy is the comprehensive sum-total of all *true* knowledge. The *sciences* do not exist outside and by the side of it; they are parts of it."—*Ditto*.

32. Kant has the merit of having procured a secure place for *philosophy* among the *sciences*."—*Ditto*.

33. "If *science* remains in isolation, that is, if there is no *serious* philosophy, *obscurantism* together with specialism will reign supreme."—*Ditto*.

34. "Two men are usually placed at the head of *modern philosophy*, as the originators or the first representatives of the two great 'modern' schools of thought, the Englishman Francis Bacon and the Frenchman Rene Descartes In both schools the conception of the relation of *philosophy* to the *sciences* remains the same. Bacon's aim is to include all *scientific* knowledge under philosophy."—*Ditto*.

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35. "Science is partially unified knowledge; *philosophy* is completely unified knowledge."—Ditto.

36. "Natural science everywhere constitutes the principal part of *philosophy*; nay, for some of its forms the real essence of philosophy."—Ditto.

37. "Philosophy is no science at all, it was said. In fact it is not to be taken seriously at all. It is the sophistical practice of speaking of all things in general with a certain *air* of sense and reason. Its professors are jugglers who produce all sorts of *obscure* and *profound oracles* by the promiscuous use of *general concepts*, to the amazement of a lot of idlers."—Ditto.

38. "We reject two errors....the error that *philosophy* can exist without science and the error that science can exist without philosophy."—Ditto.

39. "All roads in science lead to philosophy, only not the road through the air."—Ditto.

40. "A *purus putus metaphysicus* (a pure metaphysician) is a chimera or an *empty babbler*. The sciences alone, natural and mental sciences, furnish the material by means of which to judge of existence in general and the world as a whole."—Ditto.

41. "Philosophy is the general science, whose business is to unite the general truths furnished by the particular sciences into a consistent system."—Wundt. (Fechner, Lotze, and Lange hold more or less the same view.)

42. "Fruitless endeavours were made to spin philosophical systems out of a few general concepts—subject and object, nature and mind, being and becoming. We may find remnants of it in the opinion which is occasionally advanced that a special study of philosophy is possible without a study of the sciences....It cannot fail to be barren and empty unless it is supplemented by scientific studies in other fields."—Ditto.

REGARDING LIVING PHILOSOPHY:

43. "It is the very essence of philosophy to examine thoroughly what *lies at hand* and *around us*."—Windleband.

44. "If by philosophy we mean *not* systems of metaphysics or *futile* discussions about the *Absolute*, but rather the search for wisdom, the appraisalment of values and the careful logical analysis of concepts, it seems to be just what the world needs now."—Patrick.

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45. "Philosophy at the University has become a *musuem* speciality, a display of *lifeless* systems and concepts."—Ginsberg.

46. "Academic philosophy like academic Art is nearly always *dead*. It consists of either scholarly acquaintance with the philosophy of other people or of argument about traditional problems for the sake of argument full of very acute and learned subtlety of thought....But it has *no vital* significance. Its (philosophy's) problems are the *living* problems of the world in which it is born....The eternal questions (of philosophy) wear a different face in different generations."—MacMurray.

47. "Only that which is *scientifically* verifiable supplies the entire content of philosophy."—Robinson.

REGARDING UNIVERSAL CHARACTERISTICS:

48. "The aim of philosophy is to see life as a *whole*." (Plato onwards to Jeans.)

49. "Philosophy like science knows no frontiers and no national boundaries."—Aaron.

50. "Consciously or unconsciously every man frames for himself a theory of the relation of the individual to the universe and on his attitude to that question his whole life and *conduct*, *public* and *private*, depend."—E. Wallace and others.

51. "Philosophy takes all knowledge for its province."—Bacon.

52. "The philosopher....should not be a respecter of persons *but of things*. Truth should be his *primary* object."—Faraday.

53. To sum up in the words of Thilly: "Modern philosophy breathes the spirit of modern times....It makes human *reason* the highest authority....It is naturalistic in that it seeks to explain inner and outer nature without supernatural presuppositions. It is, therefore, scientific, keeping in touch with the *new* sciences, particularly with the sciences of *external* nature....Truth is not something to be handed down by authority....but something to be achieved by free and impartial *enquiry*. And the gaze is turned from the *contemplation* of supernatural things to the *examination* of *natural* things. What characterises this period is an *intense* interest in *natural* things, in a lively yearning for *civilization* and *progress*."

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Hundreds of similar references could be cited to prove that '*philosophy*,' as now *understood* by those that speak *in their homes* the language in which in one form or another the word appears, is *impossible* without a good knowledge of *science*. *Philosophy* without *science* is "empty babbling." Its "professors are '*jugglers*' with words, who utter them to the *amazement* of a lot of *others*."

Those that do not care for science seek satisfaction in having recourse to "spinning yarns" from 'within their mind, and that without any bearing on *actual* life in general.

"Be but contemptuous of *reason* and *science*, the highest gifts of man, and you have given yourself over to Satan and must perish."—Goethe.

Now turn we to India. Certainly, there *are* hundreds, nay, thousands of eminent Pundits, professors, scholars and 'yogis' with attainments of the highest order, which are displayed in expounding and defending the doctrines of various religions, theologies, scholasticisms, mystic ecstasies, intuitions and speculations, all of which undoubtedly furnish valuable material for philosophy. It is the business of philosophy to *evaluate* these and everything else in life. Many such authorities have produced admirable works on metaphysics also. Nay, they have also shown that India has something to teach others in some of these subjects. But none of these subjects is considered *at the present time* to be the same as philosophy. For philosophy comprehends all these and much more, such as the *sciences*, in their up-to-date aspects.

Which Indian authority has attempted to survey "the whole of life, or of knowledge," including its bearing on 'modern' natural sciences, politics, ethics, psychology, or social science? Which school of Pundits possesses a sound knowledge of up-to-date physical and natural science so as to base its or their philosophy on it? Which school applies the 'scientific method' for verifying its conclusions, while every writer believes or loudly proclaims, "I KNOW, I KNOW," without proving whether what he knows is 'verified' knowledge or truth? And which school of thought—not religion or speculation—can be said to be 'living'? In a word, is there, at present, a single school of thought in all India that could be called 'philosophy' in the modern sense of the term? No wonder then it is being thrown out by so many Colleges and Examination Boards as being of little value in

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life. Let it not be thought that I presume that no philosophic thinker in India at present is acquainted with Science.

As has been so often remarked by critics, the philosophers in India are expert 'spinners of yarns' from within their own mind about the Absolute, God, and Life after Death, without a study of *this* world. Such philosophy has only driven the millions of India, and that for thousands of years, to seek the shelter of callousness, and led them to the worship of the idols of indifference to this world in which all of us live, and to the pleasures of dreaming of life in a variety of other worlds—a fact often pointed out to me during my tours in the West by thoughtful critics there.

This, it will be remembered, is the view, not merely of *outside*, albeit impartial, critics, but also of one of the greatest, perhaps the greatest, of India's *ancient* accredited and non-sectarian philosophers.

Now, shall we, in India, who are so proud of our *great* and *living* religions, *living* theologies and *very live* scholasticisms and speculations, above all our *more live* intuitions and yogic mysticisms, nay even of some of our *old* sciences, we whose country had earned a reputation as a land of philosophies *in the past* but which now is only a *museum* of *dead* 'philosophies,' shall we not make any effort to rise to the level of 'philosophy' in the *modern* sense?

Or, shall we subscribe to the latest estimate made in the London *Times Literary Supplement*, that we know only *religion*? Or, shall we seek satisfaction in calling any 'speculation' philosophy? Shall we continue to hold that mysticism (yoga) is philosophy, saying that it is verifiable in so far as it is actually illuminating the hearts of the *yogis*? Or, shall we give ourselves away to '*Satan*,' as Goethe says?

Lastly, if philosophy in India had at any time risen to this 'modern' scientific level, so as to promote the progress of humanity at large, is it not India's duty to regain her lost status and be abreast of general human progress, and say to the world that India also does possess 'philosophy' *as such*, nay, a 'living' philosophy—a philosophy that knows no racial, national, or geographical boundaries?

Modern Kannada Literature

BY V. M. INAMDAR

Criticism of contemporary literature, however dispassionate or searching, always suffers under heavy disabilities. Such criticism always anticipates the judgment of posterity and makes pronouncements about books and authors, which with the passage of time will either have to be corrected or qualified. The critic of contemporary literature is too near his own times to have a proper perspective of what he is writing about. Thus, it is always very difficult to assess contemporary literary merit with any appreciable measure of finality. The best of critics cannot dispense with the sifting process of time. Authorities and certainties of today may well be the superstitions and the conventions of tomorrow. Only true literature will withstand the ravages of 'Time's antic hand.' This however should not blind us to the possibility of our being able to discern the dominant tendencies and movements behind the literary output of any one given period. Reacting to the intellectual life of a people, the literature of a particular period is bound to manifest in its process the fluctuations of the spirit of the age. Though definite judgment as to the lasting character or otherwise of the work of any one individual author cannot reasonably be expected of any critic, the critic can very well ascertain, behind the plethora of publications, whither the spirit moveth. It is the subconscious mind of a people which moulds and colours its literature. Therefore, instead of risking premature judgments about the work of individual authors, we shall content ourselves, within the brief scope of this article, with an indication of the tendencies and movements in Kannada literature today.

As late as 1920, literary activity in Kannada was confined only to scholars and select experts in the field. Literary composition connoted something learned, specialised and rigid. With great traditions both in verse and prose, Kannada literature was showing clear signs of decadence. With conventions established by masters of the past, and standards of formal excel-

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lence defined by the most inflexible of regulations, literary activity was moving, if at all it was moving, within the narrow groove of conventionalities which could not but stifle the spirit within. Restricted in theme and regulated in form, artistic activity was surely stagnating. In the field of poetry, form reigned supreme over spirit, and though it would be too much to assert that poetic imagination in Kannada was only an infrequent guest in the midst of a stilted rhetoric, it could be safely affirmed that imagination only moved on in channels dug by an orthodox tradition and was sadly loaded with conventions from which there appeared hardly any prospect of escape. In prose fiction too, artificiality in theme and treatment was the general rule. This indeed was no encouraging state of affairs for literary enthusiasts who were to herald the new movement. But they knew that such periods of stagnation and despair, of inaction and uncertainty, generally precede periods of a revolt and renaissance. In their expectation and their incessant endeavour, the literary history of Karnatak proved no exception.

Broadly speaking, the publication of the first volume of the short stories of Mr. Masti Venkatesa Iyengar marked the beginning of a new era in Kannada literature. The revivalist tendencies had been slowly gathering strength and the publication of the collection of short stories and the enthusiasm with which the same was welcomed, made it at once clear to the Kannada reading public that simple scenes from the common life of the community could, by proper and sympathetic presentation, attract and delight, when the language used was such as could be understood by the multitude. Thus both in verse and prose there was, at the opening of the third decade of the present century, an intensely renascent activity, the birth of a new life-giving spirit. It would certainly take us far afield if we should attempt to explain the psychological background of such a renaissance, but we can safely take it for granted, on the strength of the unmistakably changed character of the new literature, that there was a general broadening of the literary horizon. Literature for the first time began to be regarded and practised as an expression of life. This renaissance, this broadening of the literary horizon, expressed itself in the disregard of established conventions which so far shackled literary endeavour in the slackening of formal regulations, coupled with a desire

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to experiment in new forms of expression better suited to individual authors and particular themes. The gulf which artistic convention created between literature and life began to be slowly bridged by the authors' tendencies towards the naturalistic method, either in the selection of the theme or the manner of its presentation. Realism in literature, which is not a method but an impersonal tendency, thus only brought literature and life nearer each other and was responsible for the birth of a new type of writing which we may conveniently term as 'social.' Before the advent of the new generation of writers, literature in the 'social' sense did not exist in Kannada. The coming of realism in Kannada literature thus led to the creation of the novel and the play in the new manner, affording as much opportunity for entertainment as for criticism of evils existing in society. It would be hardly possible to examine in detail the far-reaching repercussions of the influence which other literatures had on Kannada literature at this period; neither is it necessary for our present purpose. The very air seemed to respond to a new and insistent call of the spirit. But in one respect at least the influence of foreign literatures must be mentioned. The short story in Kannada was a literary form of a comparatively recent origin, and before 1920 practically did not exist in the manner in which it obtains today. It must be admitted that Kannada literature owes this popular literary form to the influence which the study of English literature had upon the prophets of the silent revolution which was going on in the domain of Kannada letters. Like the short story in prose, the movement for a more direct, more intense touch with reality resulted in the rise of the lyric, with all the depth of its feeling and the variety of its colours. Thus it was that the birth of a new life in Kannada literature expressed itself in the creation of new forms, in the disregard of tradition and convention, and above all in the establishment of a more direct and lasting touch with the essentials in the subconscious life of the community.

We shall now illustrate the foregoing remarks with reference to the various forms of literature, and close this brief survey with the mention of the activity and achievement of some of the masters in the field during the last few years.

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The lyric and the short story are the crowning achievements of the Kannada literary renaissance. Allied in spirit, but distinguishable in form, the two branches of literary effort have developed with such rapidity and power that it can be claimed that the Kannada lyric and the short story today can equal and sometimes even surpass the best that is being done in any Indian language today in those two forms. In the poetry of Mr. K. V. Puttappa and Mr. D. R. Bendre, the twin stars in the poetic firmament today, one experiences the range and variety of emotional reaction to reality, expressed with the wonder and vivacity of a strangely new life. Kannada poetry has had a great tradition in the past, but the wealth of imaginative feeling and the corresponding spontaneity of sonorous expression in the case of Mr. Puttappa, and that mysterious magic of Mr. Bendre which weaves around common life the strangely delicate and dim embroidery of pure poetry, expressed in the most captivating of cadences, are really achievements which the most perverse of critics must marvel at. Comparisons may be odious, but one who reads the poetry of Mr. Puttappa certainly submits his self to the outpourings of a mighty orchestra, while of Mr. Bendre's lyrics it can only be said that our helpless spirit is carried away on the wings of a strange but spontaneous emotional experience, just as is done by one single touch of the string of a well-attuned delicate musical instrument. It is impossible within the brief scope of this article to do justice to the large number of poets who write in Kannada today. But mention must be made of the work of Mr. Betgeri, K. Shankar-bhat, G. P. Rajaratnam, V. Seetaramaiah and Prof. Gokak, all of whom have to their credit many poems of lasting merit. Pioneer work was indeed done by Prof. B. M. Shrikantiah and Panje Mangesharao, and Kannada poetry would have never been what it is today, had it not been for the incessant endeavour of these two masters.

In the field of the short story Mr. Masti Venkatesa Iyengar stands supreme. Himself the progenitor of this form in Kannada, he has written a large number of short stories ever since 1921, stories which any literature can be very well proud of. His power is the power of simplicity. His immortal 'Subbanna' is easily a masterpiece in all that is necessary in narrative fiction of the highest order. Every one of his stories bears testimony

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to the fineness of his artistic vision, his subtlety and sureness of touch, and his wonderfully attractive style—a distinct achievement in itself. Unforgettable indeed are all his creations. They are simple but grand, and one need say no more about them. In the same tradition but slightly on a lower plane come the short stories of Anand, Mr. Betgere, K. Gopalkrishna and Goror Ramaswamy, if we include the longer form of the narrative in prose. All these see life at close quarter, experience its bitter-sweet pleasures with a sympathetic understanding, and lay out their subtle reactions in a manner calculated to win them the popularity they so eminently deserve. Among the less important practisers of this form of literature may be mentioned A. N. Krishnarao, P. Ramanandarao, Rangaswami Iyengar, Krishnakumar Kallur, Mrs. B. T. G. Krishna, Shamaladevi and Vasantibao Padukone. The work of all these artists holds out a bright future for the Kannada short story.

It is sometimes claimed that the short story will some day throw out the novel altogether, and the popularity of the former in Kannada is really sufficient to justify the apprehension in Kannada at least. Though the novel in the new manner has certainly made headway, the Kannada novel today definitely lacks volume. The total output during recent years is indeed disappointing. Mr. Vasudevachar Kerur, who was the pioneer of the Kannada novel in the naturalistic manner, has had many followers, and though during this decade new writers with new themes and broader outlook on life have put in appearance, the Kannada novel has still to develop. What stands in the way of its steady and healthy development cannot possibly be easily defined. Sustained creative effort, as that which recently went to the making of Mr. K. V. Puttappa's great novel 'Kanur Subbamma—Heggaditi,' together with the true artist's knack of maintaining the interest in the theme to the end, certainly bring to us a hope that the Kannada novel is not going to remain what it is today. The achievement of Messrs. A. N. Krishnarao, Shivaram Karant, Betgeri, Shankarbhat, Jagirdar, and Gokak, in their novels in recent years, lends assurance to the expectation that the novel of ideas is steadily gaining ground in Kannada, supplanting its predecessor, a creation of artifice rather than art, by a decorously conventional story-teller rather than by an intimate and sympathetic observer of common life

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with all its troubles and misgivings. The novel as a vehicle of trenchant social criticism has been very fruitfully utilised by Mr. Karant in his novels such as 'Sooleya Samsara' and 'Sarasamma Samadhi,' by Prof. Jagirdar in his 'Vishwamitrana Srishti,' by Prof. Gokak in his 'Ijodu.' With the coming of a large number of translated volumes of great novels from Hindi and other Indian languages, the Kannada novel today is striding in sure steps though admittedly in slow ones.

The Drama always affords an effective medium for the expression of reaction and rebellion, and the passage of Kannada literary activity from a decadent conventionality to a living and life-giving responsiveness is nowhere better in evidence than in the progress of the Kannada Drama today. Beginning with the excellent adaptations of Mr. Vasudevachar Kerur, such as 'Pati-Vaseekarana' and 'Surata Nagarada Shreshti' and the like, Kannada dramatic literature has today a number of really competent dramatists to boast of. The drama of heroes, safe in oblivion, of battles won and blood spilt, however thrilling and exciting the spectacle, has surely very little chance of appreciation in the presence of the writings of Messrs. T. P. Kailasam, Shivaram Karant, Prof. Jagirdar and A. N. Krishnarao. Never before in Kannada was this medium of expression better used as a vehicle of powerful social criticism, and when we know that the last three of the dramatists mentioned above are generally hailed, and quite often unjustly sneered at, as 'revolutionaries,' we can correctly understand the effectiveness and propriety with which they have used and are using the stage as an instrument of entertainment and enlightenment. All these have in them the essential knowledge of stage technique, and all of them have that brilliance and fecundity of dialogue, which alone ensure a lasting value for the stage. Apart from the social dramas of rebellion against an established code of conduct, morality, and other aspects of the existing social order, by these four writers, there is to be found in Mr. C. K. Venkataramayya ('Mandodari') and Mr. Masti Venkatesa Iyengar ('Tirupandi'), the intellectual drama—the drama which we may better read and appreciate in our study. The poetic plays of Puttappa ('Raktakshi'), B. M. Shrikantiah ('Ashwathama') and Srinivasamurty ('Nagarika') and others also come under the same category. Altogether, next

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to the lyric and the short story, the Kannada literary renaissance today has found lasting expression in the dramas of Mr. Karant and Prof. Jagirdar. They have given us the drama of new thoughts, of new ideas and of new points of view.

The nascent Kannada literature is essentially a literature of reaction and rebellion. But it is the literature of reaction with a difference. It has in it qualities which ensure permanence. A living, direct and intense touch with reality, and a plastic and responsive channel of expression in a language understandable to all, has worked the miracle. In poetry as in drama, in the novel as in the short story, and in every type of writing, it is becoming increasingly evident that the individual author is bound by no rule save that of his own temperament, that any desire to write or create under the guiding authority of artistic forms accepted in advance and justified by precedents is finally fast disappearing. With the growth of healthy literary criticism, all excesses will be restrained. And small wonder therefore that the literary enthusiast in Kannada today entertains for the future a bright and beautiful hope.

The Unemployed

BY S. V. RAMAMURTI, I.C.S.¹

When we speak of the unemployed, the class that springs first to our mind is the unemployed among the English-educated people. During the nineteenth century, Europe underwent economic, political and social changes on a large scale. When England became responsible for the administration of India during the same century, it introduced European methods in Indian administration. English education was mainly an instrument for the application of such methods. The intellectual classes of India found that English education led them to lucrative employment. A stream of young men flowed from the old learning to the new. However it happened, the last Great War called halt to these developments. For the last two decades, the supply of educated men to cope with administrative needs has far exceeded the demand. This has happened not only in India but all over the world. For instance, the number of persons going in for higher education increased, in about two decades, two to three-fold in India and in the United States, while it increased six-fold in Japan. The causes which led to an increase in higher education and also to unemployment among persons so educated have been parallel in India and the world generally. But the effects have been more serious in India. English education has not only enabled the English to administer India according to their ways, it has also enabled Indians to seek a cultural fusion with the West. Vast store-houses of experience and knowledge which were accumulated through the millennium in India came into contact with the treasures of Classical Europe, and more often into clash with the vigorous growths since the Renaissance. Such a meeting, in the intimacy of an Empire growing into a Commonwealth, was full of promise for the evolution of world culture. But the unemployment among the English-educated is not only rendering such a meeting difficult, it is also producing a reaction against it.

¹ By Courtesy of the All-India Radio.

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There is another class of the unemployed about whom we have been hearing more and more in recent years—namely, the modern, industrial, urban workers. After the last war, industrial development in India proceeded at an increased pace. The phenomenon of periodic employment and unemployment, which is associated with large industries, has shown itself in India too. But the suffering among Indian factory workers is none the less real, and they rebel against it none the less violently. The security which the joint family system gave the worker in his village ceases to be available as he settles down to his new employment. He finds it no longer possible to live simply and cheaply as he did in a village. The opportunities of towns give him new desires of enjoyment. Unemployment in towns is harder to bear than that in villages.

Next is the case of the unemployed among the industrial workers of the old type; sometimes urban but more often rural. The unemployment of the handloom-weaver is receiving special attention, because it is the one old-type industry which employs most people. But other artisans—spinners, blacksmiths, carpenters and so forth—are also suffering. The goods that they make are not so cheap as machine-made goods. The fashion for the goods that they make is passing away. The disintegration of the rural industrial life eats like canker into the village. The sustenance that agriculture derives from industry in slack seasons is removed. The mobility that a decentralized rural industry can give to the products of agriculture is lost. The channels for the flow of new ideas into the village are choked when the village artisans, through whom the old science and the old art flowed into the village, languish. The scope for the application of intelligence in the village to the resources of the village by the development of industries has vanished.

Next again are the unemployed among the rural agriculturists. They have had a long record of patient suffering and chronic under-employment. Each year is a crisis, when the season may or may not be favourable. Half the year, the agriculturist who can no longer take to the cottage industries which formerly flourished has no work to do. Yet all round the villages, new waves of thought and life are rising. The simplicity of the village, its contentment, its self-sufficiency, the structure of its life—all these are disturbed. The cultivator

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suffered from bad seasons, bad rulers, poor methods in the past. But the village built up safeguards against such evils. Such safeguards are now inoperative.

Last but not least come the followers of the old learning—the Pandits, the Vaidyans, the artists—whose wares are not fashionable and marketable among the new rich of India. This type of unemployment escapes attention because of the violence of the onrush of the new learning. Yet it is the most tragic. Here the very roots of Indian life, and not merely its leaves or branches, are drying up for lack of air and light and food. No one can expect India to efface the long centuries through which it searched, understood and experimented on life. We may hope that Europe will help to supplement, readjust, reorientate our life but not re-make it. Yet, with a prodigality of un wisdom, we are neglecting the creative sources of our life.

Here then is an array of five classes, each suffering from unemployment. On the one hand, we have the modern administrators and the modern artisans living in towns, worshipping science, seeking an enhanced standard of living, and insisting on the freedom of the individual. On the other hand, we have the old-world artisan, the cultivator following traditional methods, and the upholders of the old learning, living mainly in villages, following the practices of religion, living a simple, even bare, life, and finding security in the joint family. They belong to two worlds, two ways of life with conflicting ideas and attitudes. If we can imagine India as made up on one or other of these two patterns of life, it is possible to have one standard of life all over the country. The resources of the country by way of employment can be spread evenly subject to such differences as the pattern permits. The people relatively to each other will be well employed, though compared with the nationals of another country, they may be under-employed. In some of the countries of Europe where one pattern of life is stamped on them by their Dictators, the lack of unemployment is relative to the population of the country itself and not to that of another country.

But such a simple solution is not feasible. Truth, like men, has two sides. It is the union of opposites that supports life. The problem in India cannot be solved by ignoring the conflict

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between the new and old ways of life, that leads to stagnation and unemployment.

As elsewhere, so in India, we have sought to apply palliatives to our problems of unemployment. Attempts are being made to reduce the numbers seeking higher education. But one feels that this is hardly wise, when there are so many problems awaiting the services of trained men. Attempts are made to divert educated men to fields where their education is not an asset. But one feels that educated men are not needed to become ryots and carpenters and weavers but to make ryots, carpenters and weavers better workers than they are. The unemployment of industrial workers is sought to be cured by better distribution of profits, by systems of insurance. These follow in the wake of the evil rather than prevent it. The meagre earnings of cultivators are sought to be raised by the introduction of better methods, by protective tariffs. The cultivator however finds it hard to fill his old body with a new mind, and tariffs sometimes cut both ways. Men with the old learning are still, in a dim way, prized by the masses to whom saints are more welcome than scientists. But their unemployment hardly receives attention among the part of the population who have taken to new ways. We are thus left with measures which relieve pain for a time or ignore parts of the evil. We mop up the floor, as well as we can, but leave the tap leaking. What we need is a radical diagnosis and a radical remedy.

For this purpose, let me try and give you a single picture of what a way of life means. We may represent life as having five axes—the economic, political, social, intellectual and spiritual. Each axis has two poles. The economic poles are capitalism and socialism. The political poles are democracy and dictatorship. The social poles are nationalism and internationalism. The intellectual poles are science and religion. The spiritual poles are force and non-violence. Life winds its way between these poles. A way of life or a world-order is a particular way of balancing these opposites. On such balance life depends for its harmony of structure and stability of motion. Life is an organism. All its axes are at basis interdependent. Any ill-adjusted axis mars both the harmony and stability of the whole of life and has effects along all its axes. The radical cause of

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economic unemployment, as of other forms of life's malaise, is to be found in the quality of the way of life. So too its radical remedy.

I suggest that in India we did seek and for some time maintain a way of life which was both harmonious and stable. Our way of life was based on a synthesis of opposites along each axis of life. We accepted both Capitalism and Socialism, but applied them to groups rather than the nation. The merchant classes were capitalist. So too the professional classes. The labouring classes were socialistic. Their ways of economic life needed the joint family, the joint village, in each of which the relations were socialistic. We had a dictatorship of principles, rather than of men; a democracy of growth, rather than of action. We had nationalism as our garb but internationalism and humanism as our mind. We followed science in our material life, but religion governed the spirit of our life. Non-violence was master, but force was its servant.

In such a way of life, there was a balanced provision for activity and growth. But times change, and the stability that was suited to one time is not suited to another. The world is at a new level. The isolation of India is at an end. Our neighbours in the world are living differently. We need a new balance but, I suggest, not a new principle for such balance. It is here that we need creative minds. The creative minds who can re-mould India need to be of the spirit and body of India. They need to have their roots deep down into the history of India. Yet they need to be men with vision enough to see all knowledge, all life, all energy as of the one reality. India is not a stranger to such large vision. The radical cure for unemployment, whether in India or elsewhere, is a new harmony and stability of life. In seeking such a life, India can help both itself and the world.

Problems of Democracy in India

BY PROF. N. SRINIVASAN ¹
(Andhra University, Waltair)

(Continued)

PARTY AND THE PUBLIC INTEREST.

It is maintained by Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar that a party system leads to the neglect of the public interest. "Parties," he tells us, "generally, if not invariably, look at problems from the stand-point of the party." They seek power and not service. Their interests are selfish. This raises a vital issue as the very *raison d'être* of representative government is the belief that they realize the public interest better than any other form of government. If parties were seeking merely their own selfish ends, it is obvious that a democracy run by parties will fail to achieve its purpose.

It is undeniable that parties seek power, and the fact does not need any apology. They seek power not for its own sake but for the opportunities its possession brings, to realize the objects that are desired by them. The question is what determines these purposes and how far do these purposes themselves constitute what may appropriately be termed the public interest. To determine what constitutes the public interest is by no means an easy task. We have to know, as in the similar case of public opinion, what is an interest and when it becomes public.² The public interest can only be a complex of individual interests. Any policy or act that contributes to the public interest must mean the benefit of the whole community or at least that of the majority of the citizens in the State. In the latter case the minority should not be prejudicially affected. There are certain interests which are obviously of this character, such as education, public health, defence and inter-

¹ A review of Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar's Address of the above title: Earlier parts of the review appeared in the November and December issues of 1939.

² Lowell: Public Opinion and Popular Government.

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nal order. On matters of this kind there is hardly a party in the world which takes anything like a partisan attitude, at least outwardly. In general it is not in this field that we have to seek the questions on which partisanship prevails in the attitude of the different parties. There are innumerable other interests which do not possess this character of an obvious public interest. Can it be said, for instance, that the 1sh. 6d. or 1sh. 4d. ratio for the rupee, or free trade or protection, constitute the better method of achieving the public interest? In the case of economic problems like these with which modern governments are preoccupied for the greater part, and on which parties put forward divergent programmes, it is difficult to determine what is the true public interest, and we cannot condemn party programmes without deep scrutiny as not in the public interest. The fact that, normally, governmental action does not touch the fundamental ways of living in a society, that governmental action effects vital changes only piece-meal and gradually, as well as the fact that partisan differences among parties are on comparatively less important matters, makes alternative party rule both possible and not calamitous. Therefore, by these very limitations, party rule cannot be nearly as dangerous as one might fear.

How are the programmes of parties made up? It is claimed by the theory of party that party programmes represent alternative interpretations of the public interest. The claim is true only in some degree. Programmes are in fact practicable compromises of differing and conflicting interests intended to win and to retain the support of as large a part of the electorate as possible. In this, parties try to anticipate the desires of the public; but they also attempt to create preferences among people. It may be said that in the main the programme of a party reflects the concrete material interests of its adherents and followers. In their composition, parties are groups of men usually drawn from the same social strata and with similar interests and like viewpoints. Their approach to problems is therefore uniform. A synthesis of interests is arrived at under the competing pressures of conflicting groups and interests. While the pressure of a group of textile mill-owners might dispose a party to advocate a policy of high duties on imported textiles, the pressure of a consumer group such as the agriculturists might lead to a compromise, so as to retain the support of either group. In the

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recent past in Europe, party differences have tended to follow to a greater extent differences of class rather than differing interpretations of the public interest.

This does not necessarily involve the sacrifice of the public interest. When parties are divided on the basis of class, the party representative of the largest class must be held to represent the public interest, if, in its programmes, it shows a consideration for the interests of other social classes, that assures to them rights that are at least equal to those claimed for its own adherents. A majority interest, in other words, is the public interest if it does not involve the sacrifice of the equal interests of minorities. These observations would be true whether we are dealing with social, economic and political or religious or other types of minorities. No one can afford to forget the rights of majorities while one must certainly be solicitous of the rights of minorities. An attack on privilege of any sort can never be an infringement of the public interest.

It must be obvious from the foregoing that no general statement that parties tend to neglect the public interest would be a fair statement of the complex reality of everyday politics. The problem is difficult and general statements do not help to enlighten us. The conclusion of this discussion is that parties and individuals tend to equate their own interests or what they conceive to be the public interest with the true public interest. Only approximations to the ideal public interest are possible in our imperfect world. Where party systems are accused of endangering the public interest, an alternative way of realising it must be pointed out. Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar does not forget this, and offers us his Non-Party and National Government. This will be considered in a later section.

THE CHARGE OF CORRUPTION

Insincerity and hollowness are bred by a party system. Its propaganda and intrigue keep the best men out of politics. It corrupts the Press and it facilitates and aggravates nepotism and jobbery, and tends to lower administrative standards. (58) "Party is itself a licensing of corruption in many ways." (53)

There is no system of government which is entirely free of corruption; certainly democracy is not. But is corruption the result only of the operation of the party system? Have the

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character of the people and the standards of morality, individual and public, nothing to do with it? The answer certainly is that the latter are the deep causes of corruption in any form; it has not much to do with the form of government or with the system of parties. The corruption of autocratic regimes is notorious. Under democracies operated by parties, corruption suffers under a serious handicap, since there exist greater opportunities for its detection and punishment. An illustration may be given. The histories of the administration under the non-party regime of the Second Empire and the administration under the party-system of the Third Republic in France may be compared. The former was honey-combed with corruption while the latter has been comparatively free from it, though there have been some scandals.¹ In the former regime, under a facade of uprightness, the administration from the top to the bottom was corrupt; in the latter the corruption of the administration is rare. In the former there was no searchlight of criticism by opponents to be turned on the practice of corruption; in the latter there is a constant vigilance to discover instances and punish them. The corruption of those in power is checked only by the vigilance of the public, and the party system can play a significant part in it.

Corruption, of course, does not mean only the corruption of those in power and of the administration. The corruption of the people through bribes, the corruption of legislators leading to legislation for the benefit of special interests, and jobbery are all various forms of corruption, to some extent peculiar to an electoral system of government. To what extent are these due to parties or are accentuated by the system of parties? No general answer applicable to countries as different as the United States, Switzerland, England and France can be given. These exist in some measure in all countries, but no direct connection can be established between parties and corruption. The dominant interests in any society attempt to use whatever instrument is handy for securing its interests; and the attempts will be there whether there is a party system or not. The remedy for ending corruption lies elsewhere than in the total abolition of the party system.

¹ Mrs. Webb: *My Apprenticeship*

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Our own specific problems must be considered. We have to ask ourselves if corruption has been increased with the advent of the parties in India? Has a spoils system been evolved? Has the purity of the administrative system been destroyed as is alleged? No careful and impartial observer would assert that in these respects we are now worse than we were a decade or two ago. The fact that we have begun to talk of this problem and to criticise officials in high places is due to our democracy, and augurs well for our future. A sense of fairness and proportion would compel any one to admit that the much vaunted purity of the administration in the past was greatly exaggerated, and that the lament for its alleged disappearance and the demoralisation of the administration is quite misplaced. At almost every point where the administration touched the poor man, it was and still is heavy and corrupt to a large degree. If any change has occurred in the recent past, it has been a change for the better. The extension of the franchise and the consequent increase in the size of the electorate together with the poverty of the average middle class candidate for electoral honours make it impossible for the majority of candidates to seek electoral support through direct bribes as was not infrequently the case under a more limited franchise, and is still the case in very small constituencies. Parties obviate the need for such buying of support by providing the support for an allegiance to certain principles. The poor man gets an opportunity of serving in the Legislatures by his allegiance to a party. Many an instance could be given of this from the last Provincial elections. Further, it could be shown that, if party facilitates corruption in some ways, in other ways it makes its detection and punishment easier. It could also be shown that corruption would be greater under a non-party democracy if it were possible, than in one based on party. The practical necessity of obtaining support in a Legislature, whose majority is not bound by a strict party discipline to support the government, makes a Government seek the support it must win by the distribution of favours. That this is not an unfounded fear will be evident to anyone who has watched the working of dyarchy in the Provinces with ill-organised and ill-disciplined groups rather than parties in the Legislature. An organised party makes unnecessary as well as impossible to seek such support by distributing favours.

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DOES PARTY DIVIDE THE NATION?

Finally there is the allegation that party is disruptive of a nation's unity, that it maintains an unhealthy atmosphere of excitement and tension, and that it constitutes in effect a State within a State challenging the latter's authority. The essence of party is faction. "A great part of the success of a party in an election is due not to an appreciation of this or that policy or of this or that personality but to the desire to triumph on the part of the crowd animated by partisan spirit." (54) It divides not only the Legislature, but the nation.

Parties normally work within the framework of the constitutional system. One of the greatest services rendered by party is that by tolerating differences it wins loyalty to a common constitutional system. If no opposition were permitted in the open as would almost certainly be the case in a one-party or national system, any opposition would have to be outside the constitution, and would necessarily bear the character of a challenge to the established order. The One-Party State is illuminating on this point. Far from dissolving the unity of a State the normal party system conserves and strengthens it by producing leaders loyal to the system though, in its actions and programmes, only conflict is apparent.

It is not right to regard the tension and emotion, oratory and declamation, the flood of pamphlets and books characteristic of modern elections as dividing a people into hostile camps. These provide the drama of politics. If the fanatical orgies of parties professing to have a mission are to be avoided, the organized and tolerant contests of election fights are essential. The people after all need an outlet for their emotions as well as solid food for thought. Election enthusiasm is the catharsis of emotion that is much needed.'

THE ABOLITION OF PARTY

What is the remedy? It is the heroic one of "ending or mending" the party system. "A party should not be recognised by the State as an authority competing with it or controlling it; it should not be an 'imperium in imperio.' Accordingly political parties should not be recognised at all in the Legislature or

¹ E. P. Herring: 'Political Parties'—Essays in Political Science in honour of W. W. Willoughby.

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for purposes of election or for running the government. And party organisations and party funds should be prohibited and penalised. If economic corporations or companies can be made illegal there should be no difficulty in banning active political parties which are out to capture power in the State." (59) Political parties should go, lock, stock and barrel. If we desire a democracy, we should bury party a hundred fathoms deep.

But the freedom of association should be retained in its completeness. One may well ask if such a "freedom" will be worth having? British Trade Union history and the story of the French Laws of Associations during the nineteenth century ought to convince anyone that freedom of association permitted in any sphere could not be preserved without a like freedom in the political sphere also and would naturally lead to it. Where it does not, it becomes atrophied and worthless.

Ostrogorski's recipe of 'ad hoc' organisations is served up again by Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar. These will arise—so it is confidently assumed—where there is a need for them; and when their task of education is over, they will dissolve and disappear as the law would prescribe. Formally, of course, they will end their existence. But in reality they will continue and will be revived on the next occasion. They will gradually become permanent organisations as time passes. The history of the party system everywhere is an illustration of this tendency. All political parties have begun as informal gatherings of like-minded men, and the necessity of continued co-operation has made them into permanently organised parties.

The abolition of the party system must be in the Provincial field only in India, and in the All-India field our national parties should continue to function and should be even strengthened to wrest our liberties from our rulers. A party is essential to fight any administration! The following are his words: "The objection to a party system in connection with the running of a Provincial Government does not apply to political parties formed for the purpose of winning Swaraj or complete independence for India or for the upholding of civil liberties against any administration in India. For those purposes the party organisation will as before now be absolutely necessary." (59) These words need no comment. They refute the case against the party so laboriously built up.

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THE NECESSITY OF PARTY

It is only necessary to sum up. From the foregoing analysis it must be evident that the party system is both a natural and necessary concomitant of representative government. Without it the representative system simply does not get going. Representative Government, in the words of Dr. Finer, is Party Government.¹ It is the motive force of its machinery. Undoubtedly there are evils in the system; but evils are found in every human institution. But where the choice is between the greater and the lesser evil we have to choose the lesser. The services of the party are many and should not be forgotten. It educates and guides the electorate by its brokerage of ideas and its men who are loyal to the regime of constitutional government. It provides the drama of politics that is needed as an outlet for the emotions of men. It holds the Legislatures and Governments to programmes for which they have won popular support and thus secures the nearest approach possible to government by the people. In a word, it makes popular government a possibility.

IV. THE PARTY SYSTEM IN INDIA

Under Indian conditions Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar believes that the evils of party will be intensified. Parties will have a communal or religious basis. Our religious traditions militate against the growth of a spirit of tolerance. We possess no "racial identity" and we have no active public opinion as England possesses. The former is in the process of making and the latter is present only where there is no party system! "The common tendency to follow the opinion of a majority party and the dearth of minority courage make it difficult to create or maintain a large middle opinion which would be strong and effective to restrain a majority party from an unfair assertion of its strength heedless of criticism or opposition."

Our conditions are certainly peculiar. The desire for political freedom imposes on us a unity as for instance in the ranks of the Congress. Differences that might legitimately arise on the large questions of economic and social policy are not consequently reflected fully in our political alignments. The freedom

¹ Finer: Theory and Practice of Modern Government

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and power to propose and carry out broad policies in these fields would tend inevitably to obliterate the political unity and lead to a division of parties based on economic interests.

The minorities in this country unfortunately have shown a tendency to group themselves into exclusive political groups.¹ Such groupings have been favoured by a number of circumstances. They have been due in the first place to an imperfect appreciation of the material interests of the people of this country and to an exaggerated fear for the future of minorities as distinct cultural units, a fear that is genuine only in a few cases. In the second place, such organisations have been successful in winning for particular groups tangible advantages in the form of separate communal electorates, weightages in representative bodies, representation in the services (a very important matter) and a wealth of other important safeguards. The position of Europeans and Anglo-Indians is a case in point. They have been assured their position in business, in the Services, and in the Legislatures far in excess of their population in this country. All this of course is done in the name of the interests of this country. The net result is the creation of great inequalities. To cite but one instance in the Legislature of Bengal, the second largest community in the Province has suffered almost political annihilation; it has been reduced to less than half in its political importance. In passing, it may be pointed out that separate electorates, at least so far as the inhabitants permanently domiciled in this country are concerned, are a mixed gift. They force a permanent minority status on the smaller religious denominations if they assure also a stated representation all the time. They certainly throw dust into the people's eyes by concealing their real interests and setting forth the claims of religion as of paramount importance. An essentially unstable and unreal party situation has been the consequence. This makes the talk of democracy under present conditions almost nonsense. In the third place, our strictly political parties have not offered adequate opportunities for leadership to men belonging to the less educated and backward classes in the past. And we see in the combined operation of these factors the creation of numerous irreconcilable minority parties reflecting our differences of race, religion, caste or community, which

¹ Dr. Ambedkar's recent references to minority claims are illuminating.

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ought to have been subordinated to the larger interests of the nation. We witness also that special and vested interests that have been created making for increased intransigence on the part of small sections of the population in the political field. The whole problem of minorities requires a far-sighted and generous settlement which leaves all traces of religious and racial antipathies behind and which assures perfect equality among citizens in the political field. Such a settlement alone will be a lasting basis for democracy among us.

But it must be added that, even when the largest allowances have been made for our racial and religious differences and of the racial and religious compositions of our political parties, it will still have to be admitted that in fundamentals there is a large measure of agreement between our parties, with the exception perhaps of the European groups, which appear to speak from opposite poles. It is a significant fact whose importance seems to have been missed in the recent debate on the subject that the parties which won the greatest successes in the first election under Provincial Autonomy were all non-communal in their appeal: the Congress, the Unionist Party in the Punjab, and the Proja Party in Bengal. Their programmes were political and economic, not religious, even if we allow that each of them predominantly represents only one of the religious denominations of the country. That is inevitable under a system of water-tight religious electorates. In the field of Provincial Government we are in fact developing a regime not of religious parties but true political parties. We may confidently expect that, when lasting solutions are applied to our communal and religious problems, a saner politics would take root among us, and our parties would represent only the genuine divergencies of views on our economic and social problems.

In the words we have quoted at the beginning of this section, Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar finds the chief difficulty in creating a large middle opinion in the absence of minority courage. Hardly any words are needed to prove that our minorities have an abundant measure of courage; and to charge them with the lack of it is an insult to them! There is implicit in the argument the assumption that majorities are necessarily wrong and extremist in their views. There is no warrant at all for this in the experience of any country. Majorities, when they

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make an opinion of their own, are generally found to be conservative, and neither majorities nor minorities are always in the right. Again it is not clear how minorities, with the majorities rigidly excluded from sharing their opinion, as is implied, can create a large middle opinion. The trouble with us is not that our minorities do not or cannot stand up for their opinions against majorities. On the contrary, it is their self-righteousness and intransigence without a readiness to fair compromise that stand in our way. The conclusion is further enforced that we must and should settle our outstanding racial and religious problems to the satisfaction of all concerned before a more fruitful development of the party system can be expected. The average citizen has to be educated to the level that would make him withdraw altogether religion from the purview of politics.

Though it is not explicitly stated, it is obvious that the fears of a dictatorship expressed in general terms refer to the growing power of the Indian National Congress. Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar is in the company of Messrs. Jinnah and Langley who openly assert that the Congress Working Committee and its Parliamentary Sub-Committee constitute a sort of Fascist Grand Council, and are an irresponsible caucus that stands outside the Constitution and make use of it.¹ It is undeniably a fact that the Congress "High Command" has been directing the Provincial Ministries where the Congress has been in office. The discipline of the Congress has also been growing. Its centralisation has increased while a new constitution of the Party has sought to give it a democratic foundation and eliminate the worthless membership. Unified control, discipline and a democratic basis are the key-notes of the new development. One cannot fail to observe that parties other than the Congress have also sought to effect similar changes in their organisations with varying degrees of success. Even the relatively high degree of organisation that has now been achieved by the Indian National Congress is not comparable to the organisation of the parties in the West. We are still as far behind the party organisation of the West as we are in our industrial and material equipment. The

¹ Mr. Jinnah's recent utterances, especially his reply to Gandhiji's proposal for an impartial tribunal to enquire into the allegations made in the Pirpu Report, and his statement to the Manchester Guardian.

Mr. Langley: Speech in the Madras Leg. Assembly, Oct. 26, 1939.

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development of parties in India, and especially of the Congress, is very far removed from anything that could be described with propriety as a dictatorship.

Before we condemn this movement towards greater discipline and centralisation in the organisation of our parties we must understand its causes. The first and most vital of them is, of course, the need for the preservation of the unity of the National Movement which is essential for its success. In the unity of the National Movement is also involved the cause of national unity in a wider sense, namely, the unity of India. With the acceptance of office under Provincial Autonomy, without a corresponding change in the Government of India as a whole, there was a real danger of centrifugal tendencies asserting themselves and endangering our unity as a people and as a country. If at the very outset of our democratic experiment the Provinces were to set up a tradition of quasi-independence and forget that they were members of a larger whole and should march in unison with other Provinces, the unity that has been a quest through the ages would have been sundered. There was a third cause which is no less urgent. The working out of constructive reform in all the Provinces as sketched out in the manifesto of the Congress issued before the elections and the co-ordination of the reforms undertaken after the party accepted office have necessitated central direction which the Parliamentary Sub-Committee of the Congress Working Committee has given.

It is open to doubt whether the Working Committee or its Parliamentary Sub-Committee ever made a decision affecting the various Provincial Governments without taking the chiefs of the Provincial Ministries into consultation. In times of domestic trouble and in dealing with difficult issues of more than a Provincial character as well as issues of purely internal import to Provinces, the Sub-Committee has helpfully advised Provincial Ministries; and it is not open to doubt that in the day-to-day administration of the Provinces the Sub-Committee has not interfered at all.

When it is sought to determine the character of a party it is necessary that the constitution, structure, social composition and the procedure of the party should be taken into account. The Congress is built upon the widest foundation of

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any party in this country. It is democratic in structure and is built up by a process of indirect election from the primary unit in the Village and Town Committee, through the Taluk, District and Provincial organisations, to the All-India Congress Committee and the Working Committee at the top. It has a large membership representing practically all classes and religious denominations in this country. It allows a large freedom of discussion in its councils. Its offices are open to all persons who are its adherents and take an interest in its programmes and work. Finally its leadership has consistently sought to anticipate the needs of the people and incorporate them in its programmes. These characteristics of the Congress do not lend any support to the view that the Congress is tending towards a dictatorship.

The cry of dictatorship then is not true. In the few instances in which the Congress Parliamentary Sub-Committee has acted with vigour, as in the Khare episode and in the dismissal of Mr. Sharif, both in the Central Provinces, it could be shown that not to have acted as it did might have affected all the prestige, strength and the reputation for honesty of the Congress as a great national party. Had not the Congress maintained discipline within its ranks it would have certainly condemned itself to impotence, and would have been less fit to achieve its purpose of winning the freedom of this country than it was at the beginning of its career more than fifty years ago.¹

¹ Reference may be made to the reply of Mr. Asaf Ali to Mr. Jinnah's statement to the 'Manchester Guardian' and to Dr. Pattabhi Seetharamayya's speech reported in the 'Hindu' of the 2nd Nov. 1939.

It is interesting to note that Professor Rushbrook Williams' article on Indian Constitutional Problems in the 'Nineteenth Century' for April, 1939, lends support to the views stated above. The following are the relevant parts of the article: "An insistence upon the fundamental unity of India is among the most deeply rooted assumptions of Indian political thought. At no period has India willingly condoned the absence of an authority extensive enough to coordinate the activities of the semi-autonomous units into which, for many functions of administration, the country is naturally divided." (283) "It may be remarked in passing that the apprehensions which Hindu opinion has expressed regarding the dangers which Provincial Autonomy might present to the continued existence of a strong nationalist movement are by no means without foundation; and if at the moment of writing there are few signs that the influence of the Congress throughout the country has suffered by the dissipation of energies inevitably accompanying acceptance of office in the Provincial Governments, it is because effective steps have been taken to counteract the danger. Much has been written—and not without some justification—adversely concerning the so-called 'Congress Dictatorship,' but the

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V. REFORMS IN THE MECHANISM OF GOVERNMENT

THE ILLUSION OF A NON-PARTY GOVERNMENT

"What we require.... is a form of government which, taking hints from both the English and American systems, should avoid their defects and be a distinct improvement upon their best features." "An educated and non-partism democracy" is this improvement. In it lies the remedy for all our evils, those due to party and others as well. (41) "In the circumstances of India, a National Government is clearly indicated as the only possible form from which can both be strong and stable. Since a one-party system is even more of a menace to democracy than a system of two or more parties the National Government in India must be a non-party democracy." (64) That is the form of Government which is not merely technically but truly responsible.¹

The recent experience of England, according to Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar, is a proof of the merits of a National Government and

reasons for its existence are not always understood. In the judgment of Hindu nationalist leaders, the delay which ensued between the institution of Provincial Autonomy and the completion of the Constitutional structure by the inauguration of Federation has made it necessary to institute definite machinery to counteract the centrifugal tendencies developed by the absorption of Provincial Congress leaders in the local problems with which their new responsibilities oblige them to deal. The task which the Congress "High Command" has set itself has been to control, by rigid application of party discipline, the policy of those Provincial Government Cabinets which are staffed by Congress adherents; to maintain at all costs the unity of the Hindu nationalist movement, and to make the approval of the Working Committee of the Congress an essential element in the stability of each Provincial Government.... The task has not been accomplished without friction.... But despite incidents, which have brought their punishment in strong criticism from the Congress rank and file, it seems certain that if the activities of the Parliamentary Sub-Committee of the Congress had been less effective, the apprehensions expressed by Hindu opinion in the early discussions of the new Constitution would have been justified; and the driving force of the Congress, as the exponent of the most vocal and highly organised section of the Indian Nationalist Movement, being dissipated into purely local channels, would have been diverted from its principal, if self-constituted, task of acquiring complete control over the destinies of the country." (285-286)

¹ See also the various statements and speeches which Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar has been making since the present crisis arose, especially the statement on the Resolution of the Congress Working Committee, and the speech before the Presidency College Union reported in 'The Hindu' of the 23rd and 24th October.

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also of its practicability. It is held that the English party system has disintegrated during the last two decades, and that England has had during this period virtually a National Government enjoying the support of a large majority of the people, including among them the forces of organised Labour. The verdict of the last Provincial elections in India is interpreted as a positive mandate to the Congress "to liquidate all party differences" in the country. It is maintained that there are no substantial differences of opinion on all important questions before the country to serve as the basis of political parties.

The idea of a non-party and national government is to be realized in the Provinces by means of the election of the Provincial Council of Ministers directly by the people or alternatively by the Legislature as is done in Switzerland. The Ministers will have seats in the Legislature and will be collectively responsible to it. They will not have freedom to make any and every question a matter of confidence. They will be bound by the resolutions of the Legislature, but will have the right of referring them back to the Legislature for reconsideration. But if the resolutions so returned are passed by the Legislature, the Ministry will be obliged to carry them out. Only by a specific vote of no-confidence passed by a special two-thirds majority will the Legislature have the power of dismissing the Ministry. "The Legislature ought to govern as far as possible." (66)

The interpretation of English party history here advanced will not bear scrutiny. The experience of England does not prove the feasibility of a national government. The National Government in England is national only in name. It is a Conservative Party Government under a helpful camouflage. The strength and stability of the National Government do not lie in the national character of the government but in its predominantly Conservative composition.¹ There has been a certain amount of flux and shuffle in the party positions owing to the economic crisis, but there is certainly no evidence of the disintegration of the party system.

The difficulties of the party system in the West arise not from any absence of clear-cut issues dividing the people, but from the depth of the fissures that have been caused by the economic crisis. The differences dividing the parties are tending

¹ Mr. G. D. H. Cole: *The Common People*, p. 583, and *The People's Front*

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to become fundamental. What Balfour called the "limits of safe bickering" seem to be threatened. Not the party system alone, but the entire democratic system appears to be faced by a grave crisis. Conservative and propertied groups, without a desire for compromise, and determined to maintain the *status quo* at any cost, and radical or socialist groups, intent upon a fundamental change, stand in acute opposition. There is a tendency for these groups to resort to violence in preference to reason, making compromise difficult. Would these differences be settled and a new agreement upon fundamentals be arrived at by the contending parties? It is yet to be seen whether democratic government will succeed in bridging the gulf by achieving the new social and economic revolution without violence. Meanwhile the democrat hopes for such a solution and works for it.¹

Not less mistaken than his interpretation of recent English Party history, but even more imaginary is Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar's account of our politics. The Congress won its laurels on the concrete issue of freedom and a constructive programme in the fields of education and industry. Its success was due to no small extent to the absence of opposition parties with attractive alternative programmes. The Congress was not opposed by organised parties at all in most of the Provinces but by individual politicians without a definite creed and without even 'ad hoc' electoral machines to run the election on their behalf. There is no warrant to speak of a mandate to liquidate other political parties.² Everyone hopes that the differences that remain on fundamental issues should disappear. But no one desires that on all issues before the country we should speak with one voice. It is not Dr. Goebbels's conception of public opinion that we wish to see realised.³ There is no monopoly of truth with any party or any individuals.

Let us ask ourselves if what Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar calls a "national or non-party government" is at all practicable under our conditions, and if what is called a national government is not in fact merely another name for the government of a

¹ A. L. Rowse: *Politics and the Younger Generation*

² It was the Congress as a Party and not any individual who won the election. Mr. Satyamurthi's election speeches cannot be considered as the policy on which the Election was determined.

³ Morsten-Marx: *Government in the Third Reich*

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single party that has succeeded in suppressing dissent, in other words, totalitarianism of some sort.

It is of course quite possible to constitute the Provincial Executive by election as suggested, by direct election by the people at large as in the United States or by election by the Legislature as in Switzerland. But neither the United States nor Switzerland has yet been successful in setting up a *non-party* executive. Even the irresponsible executive of the United States—for, in effect, the separation of powers make them irresponsible in actual fact—cannot be constructed and maintained without the aid of organised parties. Without organisation of some sort extending over the entire State, especially when the State is as large as an Indian Province, it would be impossible for any man to get elected to executive positions, and equally impossible for the electorate to choose. The advantages, if any, of this type of executive are not overwhelmingly in its favour. It is doubtful if Swiss experience can be a precedent to us in this country. Our differences from the Swiss are many.¹ This type of executive does not mean a national or non-party executive.

Combinations of parties may be meant when the words national or non-party are used. This is not the elimination of parties but their unnatural union. Incidentally this is easier in the Parliamentary system than in the Presidential. The amalgamation of the Muslim League and the Congress which is recommended by Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar, Mr. Kari and M. N. Roy among others will be of this character. This will not abolish parties. Coalitions may serve a useful purpose in the grave moments of a nation's history when a national or popular front is required to defend fundamental liberties as in the case of a great war, or in a fight for national liberation. But they are emergency devices and are necessarily short-lived. The English reception of the idea (of the Patriot King above parties) of Henry St. John Bolingbroke and its practice under George III, the Fox-North Coalition in 1786 are illuminating episodes in English history. The words of an English statesman that England does not like coalitions sum up English experience. French experience with the great Blocs of the Left parties and of the Popular Front are

¹ The Swiss Executive is a party executive, contrary to Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar's belief.

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no less illustrative of the thesis that coalitions are inherently unstable. A coalition means the sacrifice of principles and a consequent lack of coherence in policy with all the attendant evils. In trying not to displease any one, it pleases none. It is inherently weak. Coalitions are, as Mr. Iyengar himself recognises, "wholly unsatisfactory." (56) Nothing else however can be the result of his suggestions. A National and Non-Party Government which is neither a coalition nor a Totalitarian State is a mirage and a mischievous delusion.

DIRECT LEGISLATIVE PROCESSES

We have yet to consider the various suggestions made by Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar for perfecting our democracy. First among these is the adoption of the Referendum to serve as a uniting and healing antidote to our factious political quarrels and party strife in moments of crises. The methods of direct participation of the people in the government of the State are the Referendum, the Initiative and the Recall. The Referendum is a negative instrument enabling the electorate to say "No" to unwanted legislation. The Initiative is positive, and enables the people to suggest legislative measures which the Legislature is for some reason or other unwilling to initiate. The Recall is a provision to enable the people to dismiss legislators and public officials for unsatisfactory conduct, through an election. These devices have been widely adopted in the United States, in the State Governments and more particularly in the institutions of local administration. The Referendum and the Initiative have been in use in several of the Swiss Cantons and in the Federal Government. Australia has made provision for the Referendum in her Federal Constitution as well as in the State Constitutions. Most of the post-war (1914-1918) constitutions of Europe have provided for the Referendum with very interesting variations that deserve close study.¹

¹ Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences — Lowell: Public Opinion and Popular Government. This was written in 1911 but is still very useful. Also, Rappard: The Government of Switzerland; and Brooks: The Government of Switzerland and Civic Training in Switzerland. The study of the working of the Initiative in the United States in the August, 1939, American Pol. Science Review. Headlam Morley: The New Democratic Constitutions of Europe.

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The experience of these devices is therefore considerable. What does it suggest? Firstly, the merits of these devices are by no means uniform. There has been a more extensive use of the Referendum than of the other devices, and the results have been commendable. The results of the operation of the Initiative, which is less widely used, has not been so very satisfactory. The Initiative both in Switzerland and in the United States has led to some unwise legislation. Legislating in haste and repenting at leisure are not peculiar to representative bodies. The Recall has not been employed in the larger political organisations, and has been confined in the main to the field of municipal administration. Its presence rather than its practical use has served undoubtedly to introduce an element of responsibility in the administration. Secondly, the operation of these devices has been dependent on the existence of the traditional party system or on 'ad hoc' formations or groups for special objectives in the municipal field. These have not been immune from exploitation by pressure and interest groups. Thirdly, the questions that could be referred to the people must be susceptible of an "Yes" or "No" answer, and such questions are very few among the problems governments have now to face. In Switzerland, for instance, several questions are withdrawn from the Referendum by being declared to be of an emergent character. This shows less the desire of the Executive to aggrandize, but more the difficulty of applying the Referendum to many questions that modern governments have to solve. Fourthly, the electorate never keeps itself informed on the questions that are submitted to it and goes to the polls with a blank mind and votes. Its interest in the measures submitted to it is lesser than its interest in the men it has to choose. This is clearly shown by the analysis of voting both in the United States and in Switzerland. When measures and men are voted for at the same election the electorate not infrequently fails to vote for the measures while it votes for the men. A large number of measures get through only with a small minority of the electorate in its favour because of this. Fifthly, the Legislature is placed in an awkward position if a measure that has been passed by it is negatived at a Referendum. It may be mentioned here that this is solved by the provision for the automatic dissolution of the Legislature in the Estonian Constitution. And finally, the enthusiasm for

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these measures has steadily dwindled in the countries that have experimented with them, though there is no desire to dispense with them. The benefits appear to be more formal than substantial.

We in this country cannot build any very high hopes on devices which are obviously difficult in their application and whose advantages have not been large enough to be worth the trouble of adopting them. We have further to think of the cost, for our Treasuries are none too full and the tax-payer already justifiably complains of his burdens. His control over the government may be rendered slightly more operative under these devices; but his government's efficiency would hardly be affected for the better. The problem has to be considered carefully before any device of direct legislation could be adopted by us.

The supreme merit of democracy is a negative one, says Lord Russell. It has to assure that governments shall be less terrible than tigers.¹ For this purpose it may be useful to have the Referendum applied on a few specific questions, *e.g.*, those affecting minority rights which will presumably be written into our future Constitution, and generally changes in the Constitution. But Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar's suggestion that the Referendum should be at the option of the Legislature, or perhaps when a two-fifths or one-third of its members require one, would be impracticable. This for two reasons. No Legislature would appeal against itself in the first instance. In the second, a minority of members will have a veto on the Government's policies in regard to the problems to be submitted to the people. The more advantageous method appears to be to lay down in the Constitution the specific cases that ought to go before the people, and these should go automatically before them. In India the application of the Referendum to constitutional questions would seem to be of value. In the National and Provincial spheres of government more than this cannot be adopted with ease or worked to any advantage.

A more fruitful field than these in which the devices of direct democracy could be applied seems to be that of municipal and village administration, where the issues are simple and directly interest the voter. The Town Meeting of the United States is

¹ Russell: Power.

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an institution which we might well try. In the constitution of the village and town executives, and for their general guidance and control, the three devices could be employed, at least as an experiment.

Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar omits the whole problem of local government from his survey. Its value as a school for democracy needs no elaboration. The problems that it raises are among the most important for our democracy, and the anti-democratic tendencies manifest in this field in the actions of our Provincial Government have to be combatted. A new, sympathetic, and constructive approach to the solutions of the problem is today a fundamental necessity.

Since the above words were written, Dr. C. R. Reddy has joined the company of the advocates of composite cabinets in the Provinces. In a series of speeches delivered at Madras in November and reported in the 'Madras Mail' of the 15th, 16th, 17th November, and in the 'Twentieth Century' for December, he argues with his usual brilliance for what he terms a "Cabinet of national concentration" or a Non-party cabinet in the Provinces which till lately were administered by the Congress. The core of his argument is that national unity cannot be preserved by any other means except that of non-party cabinets, which in effect will be Congress-League coalitions, with the Congress ideals thrown overboard. Minority rights are, according to him, best safeguarded by the device of composite cabinets. Representation in the Cabinet, it is argued, is a logical consequence of separate representation in the Legislatures, where "composite legislatures," a term by which is meant a legislature constituted on a variety of franchises and electorates, as all Indian Legislatures are, have their necessary counterpart in composite cabinets, i.e., cabinets in which all the interests represented in the Legislature are as a matter of right represented. Under the "unitary parliamentary system"—a term by which is meant the present system of party government—the rights of minorities are unsafe. Dr. Reddy holds that the experience of Provincial Autonomy during the last two and a half years has proved that separate electorates and safeguards are useless when a homogeneous party with a majority in the Legislature carries on the government. Safeguards are inoperable in a "unitary system of government." Hence it is argued by Dr. Reddy that cabinets of national concentration and a "new form

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of democracy" must be adopted by us. It is not the British system which we should attempt slavishly to copy; we should set up the Swiss system as our model. In effect, the solution suggested is the same as Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar's non-party government.

It must be noted, firstly, that the argument is based on the assumption that our parties will for ever remain divided on the basis of religion or community or caste. In other words, our disunity is fundamental and can never be healed. If the assumption were true, parliamentary government of any type, English or Swiss, will be impossible of realisation in this country. It has been shown above that this is not the case.

Secondly, even if separate electorates were to be admitted as part of the democratic scheme in India, it by no means follows that separate representation in the executive of the interest represented by a special electorate should be accorded from the point of view of democratic theory. For democratic government, if we look at the core of it, is essentially government by the numerical majority. Special representation in the Legislature is accorded to minorities to temper the rule of the majority and to make it reasonable and acceptable to the minority. If on the other hand we were to admit that composite cabinets are the counterpart of composite legislatures it would indeed be impossible to find representation on the executive body for all the multitudinous interests represented in the legislature. Short of making the Legislature itself the Executive there is no way out, both as a matter of logic and as a matter of practical politics. That is clearly an impossible position. It may reasonably be argued however that the major groups, religious, communal and otherwise, and territorial interests should normally be represented on a Cabinet. Every Prime Minister who is anxious to have a strong and balanced Cabinet will not fail so to construct his Cabinet as to afford representation to divergent areas, groups and interests. This kind of representation which is the only possible representation for minor groups can be had within the framework of the "unitary party" itself and without the necessity of sacrificing the programmes for which a party may stand pledged to the electorate.

Dr. Reddy has argued that in an "unitary parliamentary democracy," i.e., under a homogeneous party government, safeguards

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are inoperable and separate electorates are useless. The question of the reality of safeguards cannot be discussed without reference to the speeches of Sir Samuel Hoare on their nature during the debates on the India Bill in the Commons in 1935. The verdict that the Swaraj we have is an anna-in-the-rupee kind of Swaraj is not merely a picturesque statement without reality. The fact that Governors never openly interfered to pull up popular ministries in defence of minorities in a spectacular manner does not prove that the safeguards for the minorities are worthless or are inoperable. Ministries were working within the framework of the Government of India Act of 1935, and so long as they were doing it there could be no question of transgressing the limits to their authority laid down in that Act, or of the conscious nullification of the safeguards. The fact appears to be rather that there were so few occasions when these safeguards needed to be invoked by the Governors. The invitation to the Governors to interfere freely to protect the interests of minorities which is said by Sardar Patel to have been made by the Congress Ministries confirms this conclusion. Our experience with Provincial Autonomy during the last two and half years certainly does not prove that safeguards are inoperable under the "unitary system of parliamentary government." Safeguards can be at least as real and effective as any system of fundamental rights in rigid and written constitutions.

In any case the argument that safeguarding of minority rights requires representation on the Cabinet seems, besides being impracticable and irreconcilable with ordinary conceptions of democracy, to lack force. If separate electorates, weightages in the legislatures, statutory provision of places in the civil and military services of the State, full safeguards against discrimination and an impartial guardian of a third party in the person of the Governor equipped with almost dictatorial powers to give the safeguards validity have failed to give the minority a sense of security, it is difficult to see how one or a few places to members of the minority communities on the executive body could soothe their fears. The problem would arise of the functions to be assigned to the minister chosen from a minority community. Will he be in charge of a department of State like other ministers? Or will he be like the Tribune of the plebians

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in the Roman Republic, solely the custodian of the interests of his community with a right of veto on the actions of the Executive Council in all spheres? That is, will he be concerned with the protection of his particular community's special interests in all the spheres of the State's actions? The latter must obviously be envisaged by the advocate of composite cabinets for the protection of minority interests. If so, can any distinction be drawn except in an infinitesimally small number of unimportant cases between the interests of a minority community and those of a majority? The advocacy of composite cabinets for the safeguarding of minority rights is really the admission of our unfitness for the responsibilities of a democratic government in a truly democratic and tolerant spirit.

AN ADMINISTRATIVE TRIBUNAL

The most interesting and perhaps the most useful of the suggestions offered is that for the constitution of an independent administrative commission or tribunal composed of retired judges of the High Court, having its own rules of procedure in each Province to deal with all cases of corruption whether of legislators or of administrators. While the existence of such a tribunal may itself decrease the evil of corruption, to have a tribunal exclusively for corruption is both to exaggerate the magnitude of the evil and sometimes even to embarrass the government. What would seem necessary is an administrative tribunal, something in the nature of the French Council of State and its subordinate organisation, with the two-fold objective of assuring promptitude in administrative action and at the same time guaranteeing the civil liberties and private rights of individual citizens against official encroachment. Such a Court might well be entrusted with the task of dealing with official corruption while legislative corruption might be left to be dealt with by the ordinary courts of law. The setting up of such a tribunal would facilitate the separation of the Judiciary from the Executive, which is a necessary reform in our present judicial system.

THE MINOR SUGGESTIONS

We can only make a passing reference to other suggestions contained in Mr. Iyengar's address. The doubling of the size

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of the electorate and the equalisation of the franchise between men and women so as approximately to reflect their proportions in the population; the abolition of communal and other special electorates with proper safeguards for minority interests through some form of proportional representation¹; the preference of a territorial before a functional basis for constituting our legislative bodies; the abolition of Second Chambers; and the fixation of a four-year period for the Legislatures are suggestions with which most progressive elements in this country would be found to agree fully with Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar. Or again, the measures he recommends for ending corruption at elections, with a few exceptions, will be found to be acceptable by most. The absence of logic in the age limits for the vote and for membership of legislative bodies will also be admitted. Dr. Finer, it may be noted, is of the same opinion. Again, when it is urged that defence should be a concern of Indian democracy, there can be no dissent. The means suggested, conscription, may not appeal to some; but the vital need for providing for defence, no one will gainsay.

But Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar's suggestions that a candidate's term in the legislature should be limited to two terms of four years each, and that the maximum age-limit for a candidate should be fixed at sixty, beyond which he should not be allowed to serve, are of dubious value. The former would render legislatures dangerously amateurish and would deprive democracy of the wisdom that comes with experience; and the latter caricatures the meddlesomeness of old age in our politics and underestimates its services. His suggestion that election meetings should be limited to two, and the personal canvassing to two visits, is quite unnecessary in this country as the fact is that in most cases the candidate is unable to visit his constituency fully, and in several parts of it no meetings take place. His suggestion that two manifestoes by a candidate may be carried free of postage to each elector has been in force in France for a long time and has been useful. Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar is not on sure

¹ It may be pointed out that proportional representation, which Mr. Iyengar recommends for solving our communal problem, needs party organisation. Candidates are chosen from lists made by parties under any system of P. R. See Dr. Finer: *Theory and Practice of Modern Government*, Vol. II., Pp. 916 ff.

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ground when he claims to have established a direct connection between the payment of members of the Legislature and their venality and subservience to the Government, and professionalism in politics.¹ Altogether an excessive faith in the value of mechanism to solve the problems of democracy seems to characterise the suggestions made, a faith which is belied by the entire history of democracy.

We must now conclude. This has been largely an essay in refutation. Voltaire once said to a friend with whom he disagreed: "I entirely disagree with what you say, but I will defend with my life your right to say it." That represents the true spirit of democracy. It is that spirit that we, as a people, have to cultivate. For it is in the conflict of opposed ideas that the true synthesis emerges and the solution for our difficulties is discovered. Discussion is therefore the very life-breath of the democratic process. Political parties, groups, and individuals have their contributions to make to this discussion. Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar has called our attention to some of our problems and has offered his solutions. We ought to welcome the effort; but we ought also to weigh his words before we accept them. We ought to expose fallacies. That is the duty laid on us by democracy. When every word of criticism has been said, it will be found that there is a substantial unity of purpose between the present critic and the author criticised: it is the search for the ways of building our future democracy on a lasting foundation. Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar's zeal for democracy ought to inspire hope and a spirit of emulation in every heart. And in such zeal and emulation lie the best safeguards for democracy in this country.

(Concluded)

¹ Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar quotes rather incorrectly from the Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. V, in support of his thesis of corruption as due to payment of members. He overlooks the demonstration in the same chapter that the evils complained of relate to democracy at the time of Demosthenes and not to Periclean democracy.

The Broken Pot

(A STORY OF THE DROUGHT)

BY P. S. N. SARMA

Over the parched fields cracked and caked in the drought and strewn with dead shoots of paddy, over dried ponds and withering shrubberies and topes where, in the wake of frailer vegetation, even the sturdy mango and casuarina were giving up the struggle against the monstrous season, over the sun-burnt roofs of the hovels in the Washermen's Quarter, night spread its fell black shadow. The heat was stifling and the air as still as the half-naked men and women who lay breathing it in huddles of several on cots and mats and the naked earth outside their homes. Only swarms of mosquitoes kept up a sickly trill in the cow-sheds, and under the eaves and around the sleepers' ears; no doubt, the mosquitoes were mourning the marshes which the sun had scorched out of existence.

The river which ran round Shodapet had dried up. The bridge which spanned it above the Washermen's Quarter, and the washermen's stones which dotted its bed, were its only relics. Black misery crouched in the washermen's homes. The spectre of famine stalked across their thresholds, scattering death and disease in its trail. Some of the washermen had fled from its approach to a neighbouring village further up the stream where there was said to be a spring of some sort, though nobody knew it for a fact. Others, young men mostly, had left for the city in search of work at the mills and factories. Those who remained suffered hardships the like of which the oldest of them could not remember. They slept now—not the quiet sleep of contentment, but the restless sleep of care and hunger and sickness and exhaustion.

There was a well in the centre of the Washermen's Quarter. Though it was scarcely four in the morning and nobody was astir, the well presented a sad picture of the drought. At the mouth of the well were arranged in a circle not less than a hundred pots of mud and brass and copper, of various shapes and sizes. They had been left there overnight by the washer-

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men's wives who would come hurrying at the first cock-crow to fill them up at the well. But cock-crow generally brought only bickerings. The well was drying up day by day, and though there was a scramble for places at the well-side every morning, and the women fought and flung vile abuse at one another, the earth refused to open up its choked springs.

A young woman stole forth from one of the brooding hovels, and peering cautiously to right and left in the furtive manner of one contemplating a misdeed, she made her way gingerly to the well. She was the first to arrive. She felt a little satisfaction at the thought. But as she let go the bucket, her heart almost came into her mouth, for the old and rusty pulley very nearly gave her away by squealing indiscreetly. Disappointment awaited her efforts; the bucket fetched scarcely half its bulk of water, and even that little was dark and thick with mud. She filled up one pot with the unwholesome liquid, telling herself it would clear on standing, then a second and a third. She was releasing the bucket to draw a fourth potful when she heard the sound of footsteps near her followed by a growl. Turning round she saw Dhanam, an elderly woman whom she dreaded as the owner of the most filthy tongue in the Washermen's Quarter.

The elder woman put down her pot vehemently, snorting with rage at having been forestalled. She snatched the bucket from the girl without so much as a word, and sent it in squealing and grating. But the bucket struck hard the earth in mockery and would not sink. When she hauled it up she found some stones, half a coconut shell, mud, but no water in it.

"You black-faced devil, you have been at the well since midnight, haven't you? What are other folks to do if the like of you dry up the well before cock-crow?" she hissed.

"I have hardly drawn two potfuls, auntie," the younger girl began apologetically, but the other cut her short, shouting:

"Two potfuls, and your pots are the size of your fat belly! Two potfuls is more than I could get in the last week."

"My brother is ill, and asked for some water to drink, auntie. You know yesterday I went home with my pots empty, and it was the same thing the day before. One must live, auntie. I am not to blame if the well has run dry. It hasn't rained for a year and more. What can anybody do?"

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"How can it rain with devils like you sneaking around to steal water at midnight? They burnt the monster¹. It would have been better if they had burnt the likes of you."

"The likes of me may be sinners, but why shouldn't it rain for the likes of you?"

"None of your lip, impudent slut! You can talk indeed. You come of bad stock. Your mother could talk anybody crazy, and your father can steal better than anybody else in Shodapet. He is gone to the city to steal, isn't he? Why don't you also go there, you can do something else for a living, and leave folks here in peace? The pert hussy! She steals the water, and now she starts talking. It is just like the mean, shameless, thieving lot you are."

"We are not a thieving lot. Nobody stole anything from you. And as for talking, ask anybody in Shodapet who has got the fouler tongue of us two."

By now, Dhanam had worked herself into a fury. It was not the girl's "lip" that infuriated her, but the sight of the pot full of water poised at the girl's waist. She pounced on the girl in a fit of jealousy, seized the pot, and threw it down on the pavement where it broke to a thousand fragments.

Lesser things than a broken pot have caused broken heads among the poor.

There was a scream now, a patter of feet, a babel of voices, and in a few minutes the well-side which had been still as a graveyard was agog with threats and counter-threats. The injured girl set up a wail over the broken pot and the spilt water which would not stop. She called on the gods to witness her grief. In the absence of the gods, her husband responded to her wail. He caught the old woman by her neck and threatened to despatch her on the spot. The old woman's son thrust him aside and challenged him to fight it out in single combat if he had any man's blood in his veins. The men flew at each other's throats, and the whole village joined in the *melee* either as combatants or as peace-makers. When men are in want and distress, nerves are high-strung, tongues are unleashed, and tempers go out of control. In this brawl, the men gave themselves up to the purely physical sensation of the skirmish without stopping to ascertain who the offender was, or what the

¹ An effigy of the Drought which is burnt to appease the rain-god.

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offence, or whether a trial of strength was at all called for. While the men fought with their fists, the women began a battle of tongues which was certainly the viler of the two. Children yelled, frightened out of their senses; even dogs and donkeys woke up from their peaceful slumbers and contributed to the scuffle.

Dhanam's son knocked Kanaka's husband down. A spurt of blood appeared on the fallen man's face, at which there were renewed shouts and screams. Cries of "He has done it," "Hold him tight, don't leave him off," "Murder," "Send for the police, somebody," rent the air.

Suddenly a streak of forked lightning cut the inky blackness, and struck the men and women dumb for a second. A great crash of thunder followed the lightning. The dark brooding trees in the Washermen's Quarter stirred, heaved deep sighs, then swayed their mighty branches wildly in a dance of ecstasy. The wind which began as a low moan hissed through the frail roofs of the huts in the Washermen's Quarter, and almost tore the habitations off the ground. The darkness deepened as large, black clouds rolled across the heavens, crashing and sparking in bursts of thunder and flashes of fire. The men stopped quarrelling and gathered in knots to watch the clouds careering across the sky, while a single hope surged up in their minds, which they dared not express to one another. Rain!

The air became chill all of a sudden, and huge drops of rain pattered to the earth.

"Rain!"

The magic word sped from lip to lip. Scarcely had it gone the rounds, when the monsoon was upon them in full blast. The wind raved about them, and great clouds exploded above them emptying themselves in torrents of rain. The trees received the rain-drops with outstretched arms and shrieks of triumph, the parched earth devoured them greedily, rapidly, thirsting for more and receiving them, and in a few minutes the cracks and fissures closed beneath vast sheets of water. The men looked at one another, unable to believe the miracle that was happening before their eyes or the deliverance that seemed at hand. They ran hither and thither, shouting, gesticulating, mad and merry as little children. They bared their bosoms to the rain,

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caught the rain-drops on their faces and bodies, for it was good to see and hear and feel the rain after so many months of the drought.

Presently a low rumbling noise rose above all the other sounds of the storm. The men listened to it, tense with excitement. "I know the sound. It is the Kodayar," said an old man. There was a rush towards the river. What they saw at the water-course swept them off their feet. Torrents of water came rushing down the distant hills, tearing the banks of the river and carrying everything before them.

For three hours the downpour went on without a break, and then it rained continually for three days.

On the fourth, the sun reappeared in all the glory of a new birth, and the riverside bustled with new life. Blue trails of smoke arose from fires on the river-bank. The air was thick with vigorous voices, splashes of water and the loud, irregular, reverberating thud of clothes beaten against chunks of stone. Men and women could be seen as little specks of colour moving hither and thither under the bridge, carrying bundles of linen to the waterside, fixing up lines between tall poles, and hanging the clothes out to dry on them.

"It is good to see the Kodayar full again, brother," said Dhanam's son to Kanaka's husband, helping him lift a load of linen off a donkey.

"And to have something to do again, brother," said the other. There was a bandage over his left eye, but neither of them referred to it.

Women must work as well as men at the Washermen's Quarter. Kanaka, attending to her share of labour at the stone, stopped to gasp for breath. She was tired. By her side lay two bundles of linen to be disposed of for the day.

She heard a kind voice behind her.

"Why have you stopped, daughter? You are tired, I see. Here, let me help you a bit. I have finished my work for the morning. You should not strain yourself overmuch in your state. You are three months gone, eh?"

The girl had turned round blushing. It was Dhanam who was speaking to her.

She made way for the elder woman, and they fell into a chat.

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The wind whispered to the trees on the river-bank, soft ripples lashed the pebbly shore, a heron honked from somewhere, men and women jested and laughed as they went on with their work, and the thud of clothes beaten against granite slabs filled the air with echoes.

What wonder that, in the midst of that lively return of life to its normal round, the two women should have forgotten the episode of the broken pot?

M. S. Subbalakshmi

BY G. VENKATACHALAM

She was thirteen when I first met her. Subbalakshmi had come to Bangalore to record her songs by His Master's Voice Company.

"We are recording an exceptionally talented girl from Madura. Would you care to listen to her and tell us what you think of her?" was the cordial invitation from my friend, the Manager.

My first reactions were: "Ah! Another of these 'Baby' stunts, I suppose! A new technique in child exploitation!" I went, however, and met, not a fake, but a real girl genius.

I wrote to the papers of what I thought of her, and when, later, at my request, she gave a benefit recital to a packed house of music-lovers in Bangalore, I knew she had set her young feet on the slippery road to fame and fortune. That was about a decade ago.

'M.S.'—to call her by the name she is best known to her friends—had a vivid personality even at that age. There was something more than the mere budding of a beautiful girlhood; there was the subtle fragrance of a flowering genius. Her face revealed her soul.

Her dark dreamy eyes, eyes which the Indian masters loved to portray in their paintings and sculptures, revealed not a fragile child but a strong silent girl. Her bright vivacious face was wreathed in smiles, smiles sad and confiding.

For a girl of thirteen she had the will of a woman of forty, and for a gay light-hearted child of song, she was a bit self-willed and stubborn. And a girl of that nature was certainly not going to have an easy time of her life, and was bound to head for troubles and tribulations—and she did.

Born to a musical mother and brought up in a musical environment music was the very breath of her being. But she was no mere creature of her environment; she had an individuality of her own. She was born for music.

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And today when every "extra" in a film studio is hailed as an artiste, and when every banjo player passes off for a genius, it is encouraging to know that there are some real artistes left in the country.

In a world gone crazy with mass productions of "stars" of all descriptions, film, radio, gramophone, dance and stage, it is refreshing to come across a genuine genius. Publicity may create popularity but not personalities!

A first-rank singer before she was sixteen, Subbalakshmi had the distinction of being the youngest musician to be invited for public recitals by the Music Academy, and by some of the foremost *Sangeet Sabhas* in India and Ceylon.

Subbalakshmi's success as a singer was assured from the very start of her career. Apart from her personal charm, she has the rare creative imagination of a great artiste. *Manodharma*, in her case, is not any personal idiosyncrasy but individual uniqueness.

And next perhaps to Kodumudi Sundrambal, she was the one woman-musician who drew the biggest crowds and broke box-office records. "Kokilagana" was no cheap title from an obscure body, but a genuine tribute from a discerning public.

'M.S.' was already a recognised musician when Musiri was finding his way, and when Semmangudi and Pattammal were unheard-of names. Ariyakudi, then as now, held the field, with Chembai as next best. The other great *Vidwans* deserted the concert halls for colleges and courts.

Fate never decreed that 'M.S.' should ever be among the "also ran"; she was a "winner" from the start. A splendid record for a young woman!

Subbalakshmi's art has all the *verve* of her youth and the *tempo* of her soul. Her voice has the rich cadence of a mountain stream and the purity of a Veena note. There is texture in her voice, soft and strong as calamander; colour in her music; a liveliness and freedom characteristic of her youthful genius. She takes the highest notes with the effortlessness of a nightingale's flight to its mate.

This is an art by itself. And when you consider how even some of the great *Vidwans* and *Ustads* contort their faces and make ridiculous caricatures of themselves in such attempts, it is some consolation to see a natural face for once. Women,

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(because of their innate vanity, I suppose!), avoid that exhibition of agonised looks and tortured faces!

Her recitals have not the long drawn-out boredom of the ordinary South Indian *cutcheries*. Her programmes are not overburdened with *padams* and *kritis*. A classical singer herself, she has learnt the secret of unburdening her technique wherever necessary. It is the art of music she wishes to display and not its mathematics.

She, like others of her tribe, has her film madness too. Her first venture has not been as spectacular as those of many a lesser gifted actress. A financial success it certainly was, and brought her a small fortune, but that her great gifts were not fully exploited was only too obvious.

For a musician of her repute, a social play with the much over-done plot of a Brahmin girl's domestic misery is not the ideal story. Even her second film "Sakuntala," now in production, may not do her full justice, though it is bound to be a big attraction because of her name.

A musical *extravaganza*, like what Hollywood puts across for Deanna Durbin, with special song hits, is just the stuff for her. Even a theme like the New Theatres' "Street Singer" would have been a more suitable subject. After Sundrambal's "Nandanar" and Musiri's "Tukaram," she certainly deserved a better fate.

India's contribution to *cine* art is nothing much to be proud about. As a business proposition it may have been all right, but as a cultural effort it has been a miserable failure. Even the laudable attempts of the New Theatres' and the Prabhat's have not been up to the mark.

Bad as Hindi Talkies are, the Tamil ones are the worst. The South Indian producers have a genius for vulgarising things, and nothing is too sacred for them, not even their own gods! From their talks you would imagine that even Korda, Capra and de Mille have a lot to learn from these master-minds! But the poverty of their creative imagination and their actual achievements are too pathetic for words!

Subbalakshmi's home life had not been a smooth one. With "a will of the ten devils," as a friend remarked, that was to be expected. Though wilful, she is not wayward; and is by nature simple, unassuming and affectionate. Generous to a fault, she hates to be bothered by the wants of tomorrow.

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Her own big struggle in life was to get out of the environment in which she found herself, and to have an independent career. In that struggle she had to give up her home, mother, and even the little fortune that was hers. Bodily illness and mental depression have, for a while, cramped her, and today, freed from some of these handicaps she hopes to make something of her young life.

That she is in her top form as a singer will be obvious to anyone who attended her Academy recital last year; and when, after her preoccupations in the film line, she returns to her old favourite, she is certain to take her place among the foremost musicians of South India.

"What six singers would you select from India to represent this country in a World Music Festival?" asked a well-known European *Impressario* not long ago, and I had no hesitation in suggesting Indubala and Heera Barodaker for Hindustani music; M. S. Subbalakshmi and Lalita Venkatram for the Carnatic; Kamala Jharia and Kananbala for popular songs.

This list would, of course, amuse the orthodox and the music-pandits. "What about Faiyaz Khan and Sawai Gandharv?"—I can hear the Hindustaniwalas shout. "Why not Ariyakudi and Musiri?"—will be the Tamils' cry. The film fans will plead for Saigal and Surendra.

I am not unmindful of the merits of the above, and even of a score more. Some of them are undoubtedly India's foremost musicians. Faiyaz Khan and Ariyakudi are classicists of a very high order.

But I wouldn't risk them in 'a World Jamboree.' They will be simply not understood. Terrible is the ignorance of the world to things Indian, and unbridgeable as yet is the gulf between the music of the East and the West.

Vidwans and *Ustads*, as we have them today, have the least chance to win a world opinion in favour of Indian music, or to create a wider and more intelligent appreciation of our music. Their high technique and their crude presentation will make no impression, and will certainly not remove the existing prejudices.

People of the world understand art and appreciate artistes, if they are *artistes*. And I claim, my six are *artistes*! At any rate 'M.S.' is certainly one.

The Intelligentsia

BY N. RAGHUNATHAN¹

(Asst. Editor, 'The Hindu')

"Western Europe is the seat of the world's highest and most influential culture," said Prof. Julian Huxley the other day. This is one of those prosperous half-truths against which reason is powerless. Culture, like trade, follows the flag; and this accounts largely for the undoubted vogue that Western culture enjoys. But those born to it not unnaturally assume that its influence is due to an intrinsic superiority over other cultures. And such are the power of propaganda and the prestige that goes with success that the imported article has tended to oust the indigenous variety in most of the lands which it has invaded. In India, opposition to the material power of the West has been off-set by the insidious and ubiquitous penetration of European culture. The history of the intelligentsia is the history of this paradox.

The intelligentsia in India is almost exclusively recruited from the small English-educated-class: a cardinal fact from which its peculiarities and limitations derive. The Wood Dispatch of 1854 brought about an educational revolution. The first fruits of the new learning were typical Victorians nurtured on Macaulay and uplift. They affected a strange medley of clothes but they had orderly minds. Their English was superlatively good, and so were their manners. They were on the best of terms with both the old world and the new. They kept the caste-mark and discreetly flirted with Rationalism. Their interests, if narrow, were all-absorbing. At school or college they rarely opened a book that was not a text-book. But forty years later, they could reproduce from memory whole pages from the few books they had conned. They were supremely competent at their jobs, but had no hobbies, unless their seasonal and spasmodic politics might be so described. They were great optimists who believed that India's tutelage was for her good and that progress in a straight line was an immutable law of nature.

¹ By Courtesy of the All-India Radio.

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They were happily busy most of the time making money; for money was power, the symbol of the conquering West to which this generation paid the uncritical homage that only a complete stranger can give.

With the turn of the century, the intelligentsia enters on a new phase. The cheerful philistine has given place to the Hamlet of the *pial* and the free reading-room. Leadership has passed from the prosperous lawyer to the not so prosperous lawyer, from the high official to the brilliant graduate eating out his heart in ill-paid clerical work or school-mastering. We have come, in fact, to our own age, which History will know as the Age of the Disinherited. Its unhappy lot has been to fall between two stools. This pre-war generation did three things. It re-discovered the past, it discovered Nationalism, and it came under the sovereign sway of Science. But while it sentimentalised over India's glorious heritage, it left Sanskrit learning in the safe-keeping of Western Orientalists. Science destroyed its faith without widening its horizon. And its clamorous Nationalism diverted attention from the beginnings of a subtle spiritual conquest. The intelligentsia, while it spurned the West and denied it virtue, began to see with the eyes of its adversary and think with its mind.

This was partly the result of education, partly of environment. The break-up of the old way of life under the impact of an alien and aggressive civilisation had resulted not only in the abolition of the social sanctions which had buttressed it but also in the obscuring of the values which had sustained and ennobled it. And a system of education that ignored the mother-tongue, reduced the most splendid classical literature that the world has known to the position of a museum-exhibit, and forced the young idea into the straight waist-coat of a foreign language, was not calculated to redress the balance. This destruction of the old thought-moulds was perhaps an essential historical process, and will, one hopes, prove the prelude to a new and richer crystallisation of the Indian genius; but of the immediate loss and impoverishment it involved there could be no doubt. The aridity of our intellectual and emotional life has been remarked even by sympathetic observers. In art, literature and the other manifestations of the human spirit, our record is bleak if not a blank. The national preoccupation with uncreative politics has

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no doubt contributed to this sterility. But the principal cause is the rootlessness of the intelligentsia.

The fumbling and uncertainty that characterised its first attempts at creating a nation was due to its isolation. The mass awakening, which is the major event in the history of modern India, would have been impossible if the intelligentsia had not laboured long and hard, preparing the ground. But in those years politics was largely a parlour-game; for the moulders of public opinion held the public at arm's length. This aloofness from the masses which the intelligentsia cultivated was not so much from suspicion as from lack of a means of communication. It spoke an idiom which the multitude did not understand, though it was fascinated by the strange cadences. The difficulty was not one of language, but of psychology. For unlike the intelligentsia, the masses, though submerged, have remained essentially Indian; the remnants of a traditional culture still inform the habit of their mind, such as it is. They have characteristically given their allegiance always to personal qualities rather than to any body of intellectual principle. Its purity, selflessness, idealism—virtues which India has always prized—won for the intelligentsia a popular respect which concealed the fact that its message was but imperfectly understood. Mass-awakening, when it came in a flood, was the work of other hands, of dynamic personalities who, though they were drawn from the educated class, had little in common with it in temper and outlook. They spoke a language that appealed to the heart and aroused elemental urges.

Today the needs of constructive nationalism call aloud for intellectual leadership. But action was never the strong suit of the intelligentsia. The strains and stresses it has felt have vivified its perceptions and quickened its responses wonderfully, but seem to have robbed it of initiative. Its most engaging trait is an abounding catholicity, a hospitality to new ideas which knows no limits; but its failure to discriminate often lays it open to the gibe that it has been at a feast of all the 'isms' and stolen the scraps. It displays a freedom from prejudice which would be truly admirable if it did not so obviously cloak the lack of an underlying consistency. Its ability to get into the skin of another is positively uncanny, but an infinite adaptability does not inspire confidence. The Englishman who religiously

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sits down to his solitary dinner in a dress coat in the sweltering heat of equatorial Africa at least obeys an obscure impulse to safeguard his self-respect. The Indian who imitates this ritual from a muddled feeling that it is somehow necessary to his own self-respect is merely a figure of fun. But he is tragic, too, as all frustration is tragic. The pathological hankering for testimonials from successful Europe, the tendency to praise itself and to blame others for the wrong reasons, the habit of mimicking thought and using words as counters, the inability to distinguish between means and ends—these are the stigmata of a generation that has lost its sense of values and tries to comfort itself with cheap counterfeits.

Motley is not coat of mail; and borrowed ideologies are broken reeds. Thus, while our indignation flames up at atrocity stories in Central Europe, our domestic urgencies are apt to leave us cold or casuistical. This is even truer of the post-war generation of youth now growing to manhood and responsibility. They deserve sympathy; for they are the orphans of the storm that has blown from Europe for over a century; it has left them without even the tatters of a cultural outfit. Indian ideals and modes of thought are a sealed book to them and they would cheerfully bury it five fathoms deep. They rejoice in their bareness, not knowing what they have lost. And, like their parents, they too love to mouth phrases minted abroad.

But if they lack the humour that is the saving grace of their elders, they lack the sense of frustration too. If they are narrow and intolerant, they have an intense belief in themselves and want to do things instead of merely talking about them. The more propitious times that are coming may see the fruition of their dreams. The Indian languages are again coming into their own; and though our young men despise the past, their ambitions for the mother-tongue must lead them back to the immemorial culture in which alone is refreshment. And the service of the masses may prove their salvation by calling out the best in them.

A measure of skill in the individual citizen, a modicum of knowledge, and a habit of co-operative thinking—these must become universal in a country that claims to be civilised. Science and a social conscience are the instruments that must be used

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by the rising generation of the intelligentsia to effect this revolution. But the terrible plight in which Western civilisation finds itself today should serve as a warning that science and a secular outlook are not enough for building the Great Society. We must not only re-establish the continuity of culture which is the secret of national vitality. The deathless spirit of India must again become referee to all our acts and thoughts.

For India still holds the key to the art of living—that grand art of attaining serenity without skipping experience, of achieving a full life without accumulating possessions, of awakening ardour without doping the mind. The antagonisms of man and society, matter and spirit, freedom and discipline are happily reconciled in a culture whose base is the individual and whose apex is humanity. The man who can truthfully say, "My mind to me a kingdom is," will need neither to quarrel nor to compromise with his environment. India has no ambition to reform the world by force. Her instinct is to respect the integrity of nature, to abhor propagandistic violence. But she can show the way to enduring freedom.

The Poetry of Roomi

BY ARSH TAIMURI .

(*Santiniketan*)

Emerson says: "Man can only paint, or make nothing but Man." There are people who paint man because they cannot escape from man. But they are in the habit of pretending; they draw a veil over the face of reality. They think that a 'real' thing has no beauty. They are only in love with the words which are attached to some common beauties, as for example: rose, nightingale, dew, starry region, skylark, death, unpremeditated art, youth, virgin, etc.

These words can create a beautiful atmosphere, and those artists who are immature and those who are like professional dancers, and whose aim it is to reach always towards an object, use this kind of words to create a blue mist over their hollowness of thought.

But the true artist is never one because of beautiful words alone: he becomes a creator because he has a keen perception of the impressions and the expressions of the heart. He becomes a prophet, and walks in the beauty of humanity, because he faces Life. . . .

Roomi was a true artist, and the backbone of his art is morality and spiritualism, dry enough subjects for most people, but his beautiful allegorical stories and his elevating art produce such curiosity and interest in one that one's thoughts are chased through many tracks which we passed through many times although without knowing their full significance.

People always see through their own spectacles. When a child sees the moon, the child thinks that the moon is also a child, and wants to play with this other child. A happy man sees in the moon a smiling beauty, and a man trampled by the foot of misery will find in the moon a face which has turned pale with misery.

Roomi draws great lessons from ordinary things and actions. But he never sees through the microscope of feelings and emotions. He is not purely subjective like the child or the

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happy man or the one trampled by misery. He meditates on these scattered apperceptions, analyses his "conscious experiences" psychologically, and finds the "ultimate meaning." We shall consider what constitutes the background of Roomi's mysticism, but, before we begin, we should know that a wrong conception is swaying the minds of critics nowadays that we should not search for a philosophy or any principle in poetry. All the classical works, be they poetry or prose, have a principle of life, a philosophy which one can discover in the book somewhere, though it may be written in a few words only.

Plato has narrated the gist of Islamic Mysticism in Greek philosophy, but afterwards the pure Islamic ideas got mixed with Christian visions.

Some of the elements of Islamic Mysticism are the same as are to be found in the principle of the "Unity of Existence" of the Vedanta, and in the principle of the "Emancipation or Nirvana" of Buddhism.

Now, at once a question arises: What was the reason for dressing the virginity of Mysticism in the garb of Pessimism?

The reason was that the Indian philosophers, who were in favour of the principle of the unity of existence, addressed the mind, and the Irani poets addressed the hearts: and it may be, as some argue, that pessimism is inevitable in the poetry of the heart.

The truth is that world literature was poisoned as regards the understanding of the nature and significance of mysticism. Plato and Socrates, who thought that mysticism is retirement from the world, have taken an important part in misleading the people. But we can forgive poor Plato and Socrates because they were imprisoned in "Wisdom." They thought that the *passion of life* was a second-rate thing. And Nietzsche attacked these "wisdom-catchers."

It is surprising that, at a time when the nation to which Roomi belonged was going through numberless disturbances, and the surroundings were pregnant with heart-pricking cries, Roomi's poetry does not make us conceive the sorrow and pessimism which are sure to envelope every individual of a declining nation. The mansion of his philosophy took no support from the ephemeral annoyances of existence. It stood on the firm base of Life and Practice.

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Symbolism is a kind of expression in which a writer, instead of presenting things and ideas in their own shape, presents them with some signs only, and gives sure but passing touches of the real.

Goethe's poetry has also got these touches; and, in this connection, among modern writers, two are worth mentioning: Paul Valery and Iqbal.

Roomi's works are also symbolical. In one of his poems he speaks about the whole movement of symbolism:

"It is good to relate the secrets of the heart in such a way that people think it the story of someone else."

In Roomi's view, music is the source of Life's passion, and he gives preference to passions and to those inspirations which create beauty.

Nietzsche and Schopenhauer have presented the same thoughts on music many centuries after Roomi's death. Here I would like to present a translated stanza:

"Dry strings, dry wood and dry skin!
But wherefrom is the voice of my friend coming?"

It is maintained by some philosophers that the Universe is made of atoms, and because the atoms are material, the soul is nothing. The enemies of this idea maintained that human discernment is not "matter"... Latterly scholars sought refuge in the "Dualism" of Kant.

Now science has proved that the origins of the atoms are electrons which are a kind of energy and are not matter as such. And Roomi, who was one of the bitterest enemies of materialism and of "Dualism," thinks with Shankar Acharya and Hegel that "discernment" is the origin of the Universe, but alongside of discernment was for him the lustre of love.

Bergson and other philosophers say that the severity of perception can make the soul imperishable. So, this kind of severity of perception or spiritual emotion is Love. Roomi has written some of his best lines on this subject, and one can ask why Roomi has given so much importance to Love.

The reply is that Roomi wants the development of the ego or soul, but what is the soul? It is a flower of Love's Tree.... So, Love has a great importance. Let us read two or three stanzas of Roomi on Love:

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"At the time of the musical soiree, Love's minstrel strikes up this strain: 'Servitude is chains and Lordship headache.'

"If the ruby have not a seal graven on it,
"Tis no harm; Love in the sea of sorrow is not sorrowful."

Roomi thinks that even the turning out of Satan from Heaven is "Love," and sees Love everywhere like Coleridge:

"All thoughts, all passions, all delights,
Whatever stirs this mortal frame,
All are but ministers of Love,
And feed his sacred flame."

What a beautiful and majestic word is "philosophy"! It rings in the ears of the "people" continually and speaks about something beyond the human mind, almost in a whisper.

But men who are not called "people" think that philosophy is nothing mysterious—it makes a man capable of neglecting the words and achieving the flames from the sparks.

Roomi thought that man is progressing and that in the end he will become a divine power. This idea originated in Islamic mysticism.

Iqbal says in one of his lectures:

"In the higher Sufism of Islam, unitive experience is not the finite Ego effacing its own identity by some sort of absorption into the infinite Ego, it is rather the infinite passing into the loving embrace of the finite."

The word "progress" reminds me of those days when I used to fight with bearded wisdom. These were the arguments: Progress means change; that the world is progressing means that the world is changing; and if the world is changing, it means God is also changing. And change signifies incompleteness.

In Roomi's mysticism the visions of Motion and Evolution are roughly emphasized. Sometimes he is against some Islamic ideas also: he thinks that the law of Life is fate.

He is laying stress on individual immortality, and says that man never loses himself in God like a drop of water in the ocean, but he becomes a glow-worm in the light of a searchlight, and never loses his individuality.

He says that one who can develop his ego is a "perfect man" and can capture the whole universe.

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"Whatever an ill man takes becomes illness, but if a perfect man takes infidelity, it becomes religion."

He says further:

"The hand of an imperfect man is the hand of a devil and demon, because he is in the trap of imposition and guile. If ignorance come to him, the perfect man, it becomes knowledge, but the knowledge that goes into the imperfect man becomes ignorance."

It was Voltaire perhaps who said that God created man according to his own shape, and man made God according to his own.

Roomi thinks that man has all divine powers but knows not how to use, and does not know how to develop them. He does not think like Bacon "The world's a bubble and the life of man less than a span." He thinks that man's life is larger than the universe, and imperishable.

In one of his poems he talks about man's superiority even to angels:

"The worship of Adam by the angels is clear evidence of his superiority. The husk always bows down and pays homage to the kernel."

Again, he says that the perfect man owes the same reverence which God claims:

"To praise and glorify him, the perfect man, is to glorify God: the fruit (of divine attributes) is to grow out of the essential nature of this tree, the spirit of the perfect man."

Apples grow into these baskets in a fine variety. 'Tis no harm if you bestow on it the name 'tree'."

Further he says about the weapons of a perfect man:

"The weapons of the witness (the perfect man) are a trenchant, veracious tongue, and a keen eye, whose nightly vigil no secret can elude. There are a thousand pretenders, false witnesses, who raise their heads; the judge turns his ear towards but this witness."

Nietzsche and Roomi both want the progress of Man; they both desire the development of the ego; they like to have a man of divine powers, but there is a slight difference, namely, that Nietzsche wants a superman, and Roomi a "perfect man."

Nietzsche does not believe in God, and says that, if we do not cover the place of his display with dust, a superman cannot come into being, but Roomi as an egoist believed in God, because the ego of man is soul and its food is Love, Life and Practice. . . A nation has also its ego, and its food is

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History. The food of Humanity's ego is "Universal Brotherhood" and the ego of the Universe is God. . . . So, he believed in God. But he does not give to God that unthinking reverence which people generally give:

"Be a bold man under the niched battlements of His Grandeur's castle. . . . Hunt the angels and the prophet, and snatch away the God."

Roomi was not less surprisingly bold than Nietzsche!

Nietzsche's philosophy has its roots in Evolution. He is the lover of the struggle of life. He thinks that cowardice of every kind, not trying to break the rules, bonds and customs, contentment, reliance, gentleness and admonition, are all the peculiarities of slavery. That is why he attacked Christianity and Buddhism. And he thinks that if a man cut the throats even that way to attain "supermanliness," then there is no harm.

By comparing Roomi and Nietzsche, we should say that we appreciate Nietzsche, but we are in love with Roomi, because he is so daring that he enters our private apartments without taking permission and leaves us in dancing joy.

The Divine Comedy of Dante and 'Masnavi' (the poetical works) of Roomi are two imperishable books, but the Divine Comedy is known only to adorn the book-shelves whereas 'Masnavi' is read daily as scripture in the Persian-knowing cities, because the style is magnificent and finally attracts even the dull and contrary-minded. Some of his lines are strikingly beautiful.

Since thou hast seen the revolution of the water-mill,
come now and see also the water of the river.

Thou hast seen the dust rise into the air: come, see
the wind that raised the dust.

Thou seest the kettles of thought boiling: look with
intelligence on the fire too.

If the paintings cannot kindle your lamp from their
flames, then it is useless to look at them.

If music cannot drag the buried memories from the
sub-conscious into the conscious mind, then it is mere waste
of time.

So, the Artist who does not know how to analyse life
in his Art, who does not know how to teach people that
delirium is not dreaming, his art is a guide towards
meaninglessness.

And Roomi, who is a true artist, a prophet of life and one
in continual search, gives flashes of his vigorous philosophy in
every line of his.

Betrayed

BY PROF. K. S. SRIKANTAN

(Belgaum)

The "History of India" is a history of invasions; Persians, Greeks, Sakas, Kushanas, Hunas and the Mohammedans, one after another, swept over the land in quick succession and established their supremacy over it for some centuries. Such a sweep, it is often said, was possible because of the lack of courage, unity and discipline among the Hindus. A careful examination of historical facts, however, makes us think that such a view is not only wrong, but positively unfair to the Indians. How could a nation, whose very women rushed into fire in thousands to save themselves from the sight of the enemies, be accused of want of courage and daring? Certainly, it passes one's understanding. The Greek historians who accompanied Alexander and whose sympathies towards the Hindus were none too praise-worthy were compelled to admire the Hindus for their sense of self-respect, discipline and unity. It is recorded by the Greek historians that one thousand Indian mercenaries had gone from the Punjab to help the *Asvakas* against the Greeks. But after the fall of their city, Massaga, these mercenaries entered the Greek army. But, not liking to fight against their own countrymen, they stole away from their camp. In the words of E. R. Bevan, "They encamped on a little hill apart. There as they talked together, it seemed to them a horrible thing that they should march with the Yavanas against their own people. They determined to slip away, when night fell, and make across the hills for home. But when night fell, they found the hill beset on all sides with the soldiers of Alexander; for someone had *betrayed* their design. The Macedonians suffered none of them to live till morning."

Again we hear of several confederations of the Hindus to face the enemy, and some of them did succeed in keeping the enemy at bay for some time. The rise of the famous Vijayanagar Empire itself was the result of a huge confederation

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among the rulers of South India. Instances are not wanting to prove that even South Indian Kings sent men and money to North Indian Rulers to enable them to drive out the foreigners. Someswara, for example, King of the Deccan, who was in no way affected by the fate of the princes in the North, yet sent his soldiers to help his contemporaries against the attacks of foreigners. It is therefore clear that the idea of Nationalism was always there. Nor were the Hindus weak in military equipment, for the readers of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata know how the Indian weapons of warfare were far in advance of those of other countries, and a mother was often gladder to see her son die in a battlefield than to see him return defeated. Says the Mahabharata:

"Sweet it is to die in battle,
The path to heaven lies in fighting."

The cause of India's downfall is therefore to be found elsewhere. It is the opinion of the present writer that this is to be found in the treacherous activities of some of her own kings and nobles who, though few, were enough to upset the whole edifice. Is not a match-stick enough to destroy a palace? Again and again we see some men from the Hindu fold betraying them to the enemy and thus making the path easy for the invaders. It has been the besetting sin of the Hindus as a nation.

The earliest foreign people to knock at India's frontiers were the Persians. Cyrus the Great himself was welcomed by an Indian King, and, according to Xenophon this king served Cyrus in a '*delicate matter of espionage*.' Again when Alexander the Great of Macedonia issued his command to the army to enter into India after annexing Balkh and Badakshan, the treacherous Raja of Taxila, instead of organising an opposition, preferred the easier path of submitting to the invader. Ambhi, the Raja's son, sent his envoys to the Greeks promising fidelity to the great invader. While Alexander was still in Bokhara, Ambhi even began to negotiate on his own account. Envoys from Takshasila made their way over the ridges of the Hindukush. They were charged with the message that Ambhi was ready to march by Alexander's side against any Indians who might refuse to submit. Ambhi was so depraved that, even when his father died, he refused to ascend the throne without

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the permission of Alexander. "The first act of the new Raja had been to send a message of homage to Alexander; he would not assume his ancestral kingdom except pending the great King's pleasure. He would take his kingdom only from Alexander's hand. As Alexander moved on to Takshasila from the bridge, Ambhi went out to meet him in state, at the head of the forces of his principality. For a moment, when the Greeks saw an Indian army displayed across their path, they suspected treachery. The Raja saw that there was trouble in the ranks and galloped forward with a few attendants. He assured Alexander through an interpreter that everything he had was his over-lord's." He sent 200 talents of silver, 3,000 oxen and 10,000 sheep and 30 elephants to the Greeks. It was this very ruler who wanted Poros of Jhelum to surrender to Alexander. But Poros would not; even he however had to bow down to the inevitable, because of the treachery of the king of Abisara; and he opened the gates of their city to the enemy. It is too well known that even Sandrokottos (Chandragupta Maurya) was not free from such treacherous inclinations. Smarting under the iron discipline of the Nandas, Chandragupta proceeded to Alexander and asked him for help. He must have appraised Alexander of the strength and weakness of the Nandas. Fortunately for India, Alexander was compelled to give up the conquest of India. If Alexander had invaded India at the suggestion of Sandrokottos, Indian History would have had no Mauryan period, and world history would have been the poorer less Asoka. But Alexander had a hard time with the tribes, Asvakas, Ksatriyas, Malavas and the Oxydrakoi who preferred death to loss of independence. Again, in contrast to these treacherous rulers, we have the naked ascetics living a few miles away from Takshasila who cared a pin for Alexander. When Alexander sent word to them through Onesicritus, they coolly said that they had nothing to gain by seeing such men. If however Alexander wanted to see them, they had no objection. It is not often realised that Alexander had to return because of the stern resistance of the Hindu Republics and Monarchies.

Such treacherous men, unfortunately for India, cropped up again and again. During the invasions of the Sakas and Pallavas, we hear of one Saubhagya Sena who treacherously befriended

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one Antiochos III. Again, when the Hunas invaded India during the reign of Bhanugupta, we hear of two brothers *Dhanya Krishna* and *Matravishnu* who deserted the Guptas and joined the Hunas. It is no wonder we find Dhanya Krishna praising Toramana, the Huna ruler, as the Maharajadhiraja, in the Eran Pillar inscription.

Again, after the death of Harsha Vardhana of Kannauj when India was in the grip of the Chinese Wang-Houen-Tse, it was one Kumara of Kamarupa who helped the foreigners. It is said that he helped Wang-Houen-Tse, with "thirty thousand oxen and horses and provisions for his army." It is said that he even entered into an alliance with Wang to help him to conquer India. Again when India was invaded by the Arabs, the Rashtrakutas of the Deccan, instead of joining the forces that opposed them, offered help to the Arabs. They allowed them to build mosques and granted them several commercial privileges. When Mohammad of Ghazni invaded, some of our kings got themselves converted into Islam. Shankarapala was therefore made a ruler of Multan, while Anandapala was said to have supplied the invader with every necessary of life. The story of Prithvi Raja and Jayachandra is too well known to need any elaboration in these pages. Their domestic disputes resulted in the establishment of the Slave dynasty in India. The Moghuls entered into India because of the invitation sent to Babar by one of the Indian Governors. In recording the events which occurred after the battle of Panipat, Babar writes: "Although Rana Sanga, the Pagan, when I was in Kabul, had sent me an ambassador with professions of attachment and had arranged with me that, if I would march from that quarter into the vicinity of Delhi, he would march from the other side upon Agra, yet when I defeated Ibrahim and took Delhi and Agra, the Pagan, during all my operations did not make a single movement." We do not question the courage of Rana Pratap who later on made such a bold stand against Babar—but it is India's misfortune that even he was not free from such treacherous inclinations. The victory of Akbar in the battle of Haldighat against Rana of Mewar was again due to Raja Man Singh. Many Rajputs helped Akbar to put down their own men. It was on one such occasion that Badaoni asked Asaf Khan how they were to distinguish between the hostile and friendly Rajputs in such a

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confused mass, and the prompt reply of the general was that, on whichever side these were killed, it would be a gain to Islam. The battle of Plassey was won by the British because of the treachery and unfaithfulness of Mir Jaffer to his master, and they ruled over India by making use of a handful of Rajputs against their brethren.

How the Peshwas played into the hands of the Europeans and thus destroyed the Maratha Confederacy must be green in the mind of all students of British History. The treaty of Bassein is only a culmination of the policy that we have been discussing so far. The Peshwa, Baji Rao II, fought with Scindia, and the defeat of his ally naturally prompted him to seek the protection of the British in Bassein in 1802. Nothing was more welcome to the then Governor-General, Marquis of Wellesley, than this. He consented immediately and the Peishwa entered into a Subsidiary Alliance. He agreed to maintain a Subsidiary Force, and promised that he would enter into no alliance with his own men without the consent of the British.

Indeed the history of India is a history of great betrayals.

Sciences and the Indian Languages

BY PROF. K. NAGABHUSHANAM
(Andhra University, Waltair)

To recall the exposition of the subject as given in the lecture-hall or class-room, to follow up the proper sequence of facts in order, and to inquire into their implications are the essential aspects of study. The ability to reconstruct with considerable ease the ideas in the very words of the teacher is of immense and lasting value; and to this end the natural appeal of the mother-tongue to a student at any stage of education is most effective.

The 'doubt is often expressed whether scientific subjects can be taught in the Indian languages. In any such practical attempt, a three-fold difficulty will be felt. Firstly, there is the lack of technical expressions in these languages; secondly, adequate text-books have yet to be written; and thirdly, suitable teachers and Professors may not be readily available. Besides these difficulties, possible disadvantages such as a tendency on the part of the student to restrict the range of study outside one's text-books are envisaged by some; but a proper atmosphere and proper direction may be expected to remedy such defects.

The absence in Indian languages of the equivalents to many technical terms is not such a disadvantage as it may first appear to be, and can be definitely used to our own advantage. Terms such as 'ensemble' and 'eigenwert' are freely used in English at the present time notwithstanding the existence of suitable English equivalents, viz., 'aggregate' and 'characteristic value.' Such terms of international character may be retained and transliterated rather than translated into the Indian languages even. This brings the Indian languages at once into a line with the modern European languages in respect of scientific terminology. Surely such a process does not detract from the efficacy of the natural appeal of the Indian mother-tongue, even as the use of artificially introduced and altogether obscure expressions from the Indian languages cannot in any manner add to the efficacy.

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The non-existence of suitable text-books is not also an insurmountable obstacle. To produce books without the necessary amount of accumulated experience in teaching the subject in the Indian languages will involve a waste of energy, time and money.

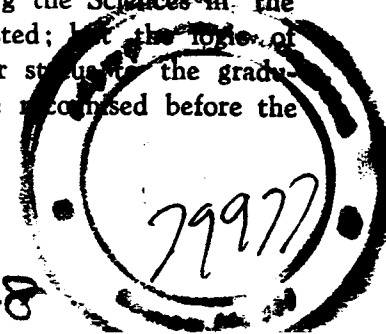
When responsible teachers and Professors are called upon to teach in an Indian language, their records of lectures carefully designed, improved and amended in the course of a period of about half a dozen years, can well serve as reliable chronicles on the basis of which the right type of books can be subsequently brought out.

The third difficulty is by far the most formidable one. Every teacher may not straightaway be expected to become an adept at teaching in an Indian language. A deliberate and constant attempt on the part of the teacher becomes necessary in the initial stages.

If such a scheme comes to be, the place of English in Indian Universities will still be the foremost among foreign languages. But to persons not conversant with the foreign languages, knowledge will not continue to be of the restricted nature it has all along been. The easy access to scientific treatment of facts helps them to cultivate a rational outlook.

To say that 'vernacularisation' at all stages is certainly *feasible* is not to say that it is *advisable* at the present time. The latter aspect is intimately connected with the question of linguistic provinces. Graduates in the new scheme can no doubt reach a higher standard in the subjects than at present, because of the greater facility in understanding and retaining knowledge when obtained through the proper medium. But without the declared and determined policy of the Government to prefer these men to the graduates of the earlier type considerable harm may be done by the introduction of the scheme of 'vernacularisation' forthwith. For this might expose students to the danger of the glib joke of 'vernacular graduates'! The logic of linguistic provinces is accepted today; and it must be said that the logic of teaching the Sciences in the Indian languages cannot long be resisted; but the logic of giving at least the same if not a better standard to the graduates under the new scheme needs to be recognised before the scheme is put on its feet.

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Night

BY GOPAL BHAUMIK

(Translated by the author from his original Bengali Poem.)

On the wide lap of the sky
Descends the Night:
Starless and dark,
A veritable history of failure.
The proud mansion of the rich
And the sorrow-stricken shed of the poor:
All is enveloped in darkness.
Darkness alone looks on the face of the earth.
The Eagle of Night comes—
The flapping of its strong wings
Comes from afar.
Night comes—
She comes over you and me,
And over the wide throbbing breast of the city.
Darkness brings with it
The long-looked-for end of discord;
The heart of the earth beats very slowly;
Only the secret breath
Of the disembodied animals is heard.
On your eye-lids, too, my darling,
Descends the soft darkness of the Night.
Wipe away from your mangled heart
The burning sensation of pain:
Sleep, sleep sweetly, my girl.
Weave, weave thickly,
In your soft and silken hair,
The thin fibres of rich darkness.
Let me sit up alone,
With an anxious craving in the heart
For the light of the unseen Sun.

Reviews

ENGLISH

"Inside Asia"—By John Gunther.

John Gunther has been to Asia and has chosen the best possible time for the publication of his book, *Inside Asia*. He admits having been persuaded by the book-sellers to change the title from *Outside Asia* to *Inside Asia*. There are very good reasons for his having wanted to call the book *Outside Asia*. In his new book he had to deal with three continents in one, as pointed out by him; and barring India, he had to overcome language difficulties in most places. He was at home in Europe when he wrote the "twin volume," *Inside Europe*. The problems of Europe are basically the same from one end to another as a result of industrial advancement, and he finds them "absent in Asia." It is possible to point out some inaccuracies in the book and one may also be able to prove that much of the matter in it is superficial and second-hand, but no one will be able to say that Gunther has committed serious mistakes anywhere in it. The worst that could be said about the book is that it is uneven and that much space is taken up by trivial though often interesting details about personalities.

Having attempted the impossible, he has achieved much. It could be said that Dr. Lin Yu Tang, Pearl Buck and Mowrer are deeper, better informed and more accurate than Gunther on China, but they deal only with China. Gunther's is a political Baedaker—an Encyclopaedia of Eastern politics. We cannot help marvelling at his avidity to learn and at his digestion. He himself says, "I read blue books till I was blue in the face." With an American thoroughness he gets his teeth into details, and there is on the whole an absence of prejudice in the book. He is sure that "much of Asia is ruined by ruins." This perhaps is his only prejudice.

The book is not only readable, but absorbing; and many, especially in America and Europe, who would not have otherwise bothered about Asia, are treated to a brilliant survey of the Eastern problems. It is a superbly-got-up "Who's Who," and the author is able to describe the "basic trends" and "the dominant chords one finds in the vast and complex Asiatic orchestra." Like its companion volume, *Inside Asia* is "built on the thread of personality." It is however more than a mere portrait-gallery: it is a comprehensive description of the policies of the actors concerned. It gives a good bird's-eye-view of the East. The author travelled thirty thousand miles and traversed about twenty different countries in each of which he was able to see most of the leading political personalities.

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He starts with Japan. From the Emperor of Japan down to the guinea-pigs of Manchukuo there is an examination of various men and things. "Japan is ruled not by the Emperor but in the name of the Emperor" who is "an embodiment, a projection of a conglomerate mass of theories and traditions," and who "is not a dictator." "The Emperor has legal powers far exceeding those of a normal constitutional monarch"—but "is outside politics." He is the richest man in the world and we are told that the Imperial household has five thousand employees working in the palace and "eleven pages of the official hand-book are necessary to name the chief officials, whereas the foreign office fills only ten." We are introduced to the ruling clique, discreetly referred to as "they" in Japan. "No one knows precisely who 'they' are, because 'they' themselves do not precisely know," says Gunther. "They are like a college of cardinals if cardinals change more often." The Japanese are bitter against the Chinese and cannot forgive them on account of the debt they owe them beginning from their very alphabet. We are introduced to "a country of discipline, conformity, Shintoism, imperial ambition, earthquakes, no humour, a wonderful sense of mimicry and raw fish." The politico-religious fervour of a Japanese enables him to show reckless physical courage which makes possible frequent ceremonial Hara-kiris. Next to the Emperor is the last surviving Genro Prince Saionji, a unique ninety-year-old statesman who still pulls wires. The ramifications of the Japanese army which even issues pamphlets to educate the people, and the rivalry between the army and the navy as also between the army and the business heads is clearly brought out. The chapter on the Manchukuo experiment is instructive and interesting, and we see the Japanese going one better on the Western imperial powers in adroitness and efficiency. Japan, exploiting the new technique of fighting without declaring war, has created a new Japanese China, thus destroying the unity of the old and vast Chinese Empire. This section ends with a chapter on the Russian position in China which could be best described by the quotation from Walter Duranty: "A war between Japan and Russia would be as popular as could be imagined. The whole world will be cheering for both sides to lose."

From Japan we go on to China, and here the author deals with the country with affection and respect. He devotes three pages pointing out the differences between the Japanese and the Chinese, and in the end the Chinese come out of it in flying colours. The sketches of the Generalissimo Chiang Kai Shaik and his wife, respectfully called the "Madame," are excellent. Of the latter he says, "she goes everywhere; she does every thing; she is like Mrs. Roosevelt." There is an admirable description of the Sian kidnapping. We are able to understand how the Generalissimo is the spear-head of Chinese nationalism and is supported whole-heartedly even by the Reds in spite of the fact that he, more than anyone else, has killed most Reds in China. Gunther

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includes a quotation from Dr. Lin Yu Tang in his first chapter on China which runs thus: "In the west the insane are so many that they are put in an asylum: in China the insane are so unusual that we worship them." We then get an insight into the "great Chinese characteristic of rationality." We are also treated to a historical resume of Ancient China and these resumes wherever they occur are brilliant. The great obstacles to Chinese progress, namely, "squeeze," which means corruption, and "face," which means the keeping up of personal dignities at any cost, are pointed out in many places. We are introduced to one of the most powerful of families in the world, the Soongs. And then to the Chinese Reds who wear blue. And to the various Chinese Generals, politicians, war-lords and puppets. We also get a glimpse of the successful guerilla warfare that China is able to wage against Japan. We cannot help asking, How long could the trek to the west be the means of outwitting the Japanese? The Chinese chapters end with a Chinese miscellany. The Chinese, says Gunther, are "the most civilised people on earth," who "keep ink in a box and send invitations on blotting paper," and he goes on to say many more things. The last note in diagnosis of the Sino-Japanese relations contains three insoluble dilemmas.

The next port of call is Philipine Islands and we are straightaway introduced to the elastic, electric Manuel Quezon, a sort of Beau Brummel among dictators, who "is a light-hearted play-boy among Eastern statesmen." We then halt at the Singapore naval base; and after dealing with the naval base, Gunther writes some notes on the British Empire which, like many similar American surveys, is as spicy as it is informative. We then go round Malaya and the Dutch Colonies and from there to the incredible Kingdom of Siam. "A boy rules it, yellow-robed priests proliferate in it, and the Siamese triplets run it." We then hasten on to French Indo-China governed by puppet kings over which Paris is the Boss.

The stage is now set for India which is described by Gunther in the map as "the country of one-fifth of the human race, Mr. Gandhi, two hundred and twenty languages, British Imperialism at its shrewdest, fierce religious tension, the greatest mountains in the world, the pucca Sahib, poverty almost worse than the Chinese, and the miserable complexities of castes." Appropriately enough he starts with Mahatma Gandhi and is frankly unable to place him. He says: "This man who is at once a saint and politician, a prophet and superb opportunist, defies ordinary categories." It is obvious that the author has studied a lot of literature about Gandhiji and has tried to understand him and the Gandhi-gambit. His portrayal of Nehru naturally enough is a much better performance because, as he says, Jawahar is "an Indian who became a Westerner; an aristocrat who became a socialist; an individualist who became a great mass leader." He pays a great tribute to the Pandit when he says that "he is certainly one of the finest characters in public life

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he has ever met." He discusses province after province, and characterises Madras as "a home of two things, "first of most of the intellectuals of India, and second of Hinduism in its most intensive form." He calls Rajaji a Brahmin Savanarola. He has some harsh things to say about religion in India and is shocked by untouchability in South India which he says is "jimcrowism on a fantastic scale." It is a pity that this book was written before the enactment in Madras of the Temple Entry legislation. He, however, praises the Travancore Temple Entry Proclamation. We also have an Indian Miscellany, and he shows wonderful grasp of details when dealing with the structure and the personalities of the Indian National Congress. He then deals with the Princes of India and is critical of most of them, excepting a few.

After a reference to the Aga Khan, Mr. Jinnah, Pandit Malaviya and the Liberals, he summarises British rule in India, and presents the pros and cons of the rule. He ends up by quoting Basil Mathew and asks, "Is India a subject State because it is weak, or is it weak because it is a subject State?" The best answer, he says, "evades the issue. It is both." The frontiers of India are next dealt with, and from there we proceed to Tibet and learn all about the Tibetan Topsy-Turvy. There is a brief reference to Burma, "the biggest rice-exporting nation in the world."

We then hop on to Persia which "killed Alexander the Great and produced the Ardebil carpet and exists in several dimensions." There are some goodish stories about Reze Shah whose "foreign policy," he says, "is simple and traditional: to play Russia and Britain against each other." There is an enumeration of the Shah's reforms. The Shah, we are told, after cancelling the old oil concessions, has been able to get a new and very favourable agreement.

The closing chapters then deal with the Arab world and one cannot skip his account of Ibn Saud. Of Baghdad, Gunther says that "it is probably the only capital city in the world without a university." He then deals with the other kings of the middle East as also with Syria and Lebanon. Lastly he deals with the land of Israel and the grievances of the Arabs and the Jews in Palestine.

There is a chapter devoted to Dr. Cain Weizmann who, on Lloyd George's request, synthetically made acetone out of chestnuts during the last war and in return for this help wanted a national home for his people. The author then concludes the book with a brief survey wherein he gathers all the threads. Altogether it is an admirable book.

C. R. PATTABHIRAMAN¹

¹ By Courtesy of the All-India Radio.

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Lytton Strachey, A Critical Study.—By K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar, Professor of English, Belgaum, Bombay University. (Price Rs. 2-8.)

Of Lytton Strachey, who heralded the new form of biography in English literature, there have been many estimates from informed critics. If Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch and others of his bent of mind considered Strachey as a sort of 'idol-breaker,' there are staunch admirers of his like Andre Maurois and Nicolson, themselves fine specimens of the new type of biographers, who have only praise for the freshness of the art-form in Strachey. Certainly, no one truly moved by any interest in the study of human psychology can feel merely satisfied with all that is said and written about Strachey, when Strachey's own pages live for him. Perhaps, it may sound strange, if, on reading any such appraisal of Strachey, the reader feels only discontent and gets at Strachey himself once again to renew his old friendship. To be more accurate, the sight of a new book or pamphlet on Strachey may only kindle the desire in one to re-read 'Queen Victoria,' 'Elizabeth and Essex,' or 'Eminent Victorians.'

But this is far from detracting the reader from profiting by a perusal of an earnest attempt like this to understand Lytton Strachey and his art. Appreciation implies criticism as well, and when we find the theme has seized upon the writer, we need no further guarantee of the author's genuine interest in the subject of his study. Sri K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar assures us easily of his sincerity, and hence the uncommon reward for his labours. He has not made his criticism 'a side-line of authorship' like some modern writers, who by 'a simple but ingenious device criticise each other.' His critical study becomes absorbing, if really we realise his intimacy with the subject.

Perhaps no full length study of Lytton Strachey has appeared hitherto. Hence also the more valuable a book entirely devoted to him; and we are proud of this achievement by a countryman of ours, more, if not solely, for the reason that he has forestalled a work of its kind from the pen of English writers.

In estimating the method of Strachey in biographical studies. Sri Srinivasa Iyengar has been much aided by impartiality and equipment in presenting to the reader both sides of the picture—the favourable opinions of Strachey's admirers and the adverse comments of his detractors. The proper function of criticism is to manifest a true spirit of detachment combined with efficiency in presentation. In information Sri Srinivasa Iyengar lags no whit behind any of the good students of English literature. As for the necessary mental equipoise to judge, his success in covering the canvas with sufficient light and shade producing completeness of effect, proves more than sufficiently his capacity for the task. Beyond this no fair critic is expected to strive for. If in the chapters successively on 'Eminent Victorians,' 'Queen Victoria,' 'Elizabeth and Essex' and 'The Miniatures' the author has tried to impress forcibly on us the peculiar

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literary genre of Strachey by quotations copiously drawn from his books, he has not failed to remind us in the succeeding chapters on 'Irony in Strachey's works,' 'Strachey's style,' 'Strachey and the Victorian Age,' 'The Old Biography and the New,' 'The other side of the Medal,' and 'Strachey and After,' the points of view of the dissenters and to give his answers to some of them. Maybe Sri Srinivasa Iyengar has his own good grounds for disapproving of the 'Life of Napoleon Bonaparte' by Abbott. But we are not persuaded to acquiesce in his total lack of reference anywhere to that mighty and stirring biography, though belonging to the older type of ponderous compilation.

Very often we discover a pleasure, generally rare of its kind, when Srinivasa Iyengar blends his own language with that of the extracts taken from Strachey. Take, for instance, this sentence of his, while explaining a passage from 'Elizabeth and Essex' "Strachey's portraits are essentially dramatic in mould and psychological in temper; and their very life-blood is an irony that ranges the whole gamut from savage satire, passing through wit and humour, and reaching the other end of dissolving pathos" (p. 85). Again mark the power of expression, effortless no doubt, when he writes:

"Without a correct knowledge of the workings of the human mind, of the peculiar crevices and odd juts of pointed-rocks that disfigure it and complicate its workings, the dramatist can make no headway in his art. There has generally to be a 'hero' and one. . . . not a hero; there has to be, if possible, the hero's party warring against the not-a-hero's (or villain's) party; the hero himself has to fight an inner battle, the two sides of his nature—Dr. Jekyll's and Mr. Hyde's—struggling for mastery; and thus, the exigencies and stringencies of the art required, true drama, shall be fashioned. Such an artifice, if it glows into inevitable beauty, is certainly worthy of all praise. It makes for symmetry, for compression, for concentration; and the point the writer has in mind is driven home unfalteringly and unknowingly." (p. 86). Indeed unfalteringly and unknowingly do we feel tempted to mistake Srinivasa Iyengar's sentences for Strachey's.

We cannot but exclaim in conclusion how sound and significant ring the words of Srinivasa Iyengar himself, as he closes his book: "After all, Lytton Strachey had not occurred in English Literature in vain. The new orientation he gave to the art of biography—that too has not been in vain." (p. 206).

K. CHANDRASEKHARAN

REVIEWS

Why Socialists Fail (An objective study of all Socialist Revolutions). By M. R. Raju. (Printed at P. P. P. Works, Madras. Price Re. 1.)

Mr. Raju is a bold thinker. And he is not afraid of being original. Many people have tried to explain the defeat of the Socialist movement in various countries. The rise of the Counter-Revolution in many European countries and the strength of the Fascist movements all over Europe have for a time baffled Communist thinkers, because Marx had not provided for, and Lenin had not perfected, the theory that Fascism is the apex of Imperialist-Capitalist politics.

Mr. Raju finds that he can trace the failure of the Socialist movements to a very simple source, namely, lack of military organization. One would have thought that the lack of military organization in a political party or a national movement can explain the failure not merely of Socialist movements, but of movements of many other varieties. But Mr. Raju thinks that the success of the Fascist movements is again traceable to a similar simple source, namely, the existence of a nearly efficient military organization as a part of the political movement.

One, however, feels that the success or failure of significant movements like Bolshevism and Nazism is not ultimately to be traced to the efficiency of a military organization or the range of a newly-designed Howitzer. Movements succeed or fail according as they mobilise the existing discontent against established government or create the discontent in sufficient measure. The lack of organized military support is dreadful no doubt at the climax of a Revolution, but what helps a Revolution is not a written contract with the army or the perfection of military drill in the Coloured Shirt movements so much as inevitable and almost downright sympathy and support from the individuals of the army and the people of the country. A written contract with the army or its leader or even with the military organisation or its leader (for, after all, a movement needs more than military drill to catch the imagination of the masses) may help to instal a temporary dictatorship—and both the Soviet and the Nazi dictatorships may come under this category, though one might wish the Soviet to be different—but a more permanent success of a movement would require more than military competence.

Mr. Raju is not enamoured of recent Russian policy, but this is entirely because he fails to see that even Communism, in spite of its loyalty to Marx and Lenin, and in spite of its understanding of the evil significance of Fascism, may yet need to have recourse to measures of expediency in a moment of crisis, which might mislead the not-too-observant into believing that Fascism and Communism have really become "blood-brothers." It may be a different question to ask whether such a high ideal as communism prides itself on being can fulfil itself

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through subterfuge and strategy of an obnoxious kind, but obviously Stalin and his group have their own sense of ethics.

Mr. Raju has an interesting chapter on Gandhian Means *Versus* Marxian Means. It is a frank and avowed disapproval of Gandhiji and all he stands for. Mr. Raju climbs the pinnacle of History, and proclaims: "Jesus Christ in his mission of tolerance and peace failed; Buddha failed. Is Gandhi going to succeed in a capitalist-controlled social system with the predominant profit-making motive for man's actions?" This may be good History, but it can be bad political prophesying. For the defect of Gandhism is not merely that the means are unthinkable in an unidealistic world, but that the type of means chosen might circumscribe even the objective of political action. Satyagraha may not in itself be defective, because Gandhiji claims for it that it can be perfected as a weapon of warfare, but Gandhism is defective because it does not clarify the objective it aims at or, where it so clarifies, the proclaimed objective is altogether unsatisfactory. Gandhism wedded to a village economy can be different from Satyagraha wedded to modern industrialisation. Here again, Mr. Raju throws all the blame on Gandhiji because Gandhiji's philosophy stands in the way of a military organisation. Which shows how carefully Mr. Raju has nursed the illusion that military training can achieve miracles. Military training given to the wrong sort, to the so-called possible Counter-Revolutionaries, is directly aiding the enemy camp. There can be no sanctity in military training in itself. What should be found fault with in Gandhiji, if at all, is that his objective is not desirable, or not sufficiently clarified. Mere faith in military training, that is, mere faith in violence, can be as futile as a political faith as mere faith in non-violence, because neither violence nor non-violence can in itself be the definition of one's objective in political action, and each of them is the glorification of the means above the ends.

BURRA V. SUBRAHMANYAM

ANDHRA UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS

HISTORY

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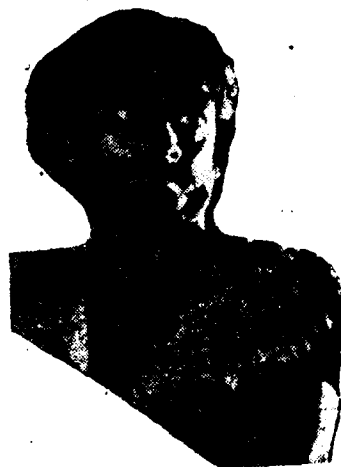
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