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OCTOBER, 1945

No. 10

THE Bharata Dharma

A Magazine of Liberal Hinduism ¹³⁴₁₂₈

—The Official Organ of the Arya Mata Sabha—

HONORARY EDITORS.

• MR. E. VINAYAKA ROW, B.A., B.L. (Editor in charge).

RAO BAHADUR S. K. YEGNANARAYANA IYER, M.A.

5 MAR 1946



चित्रं वदतरोमुंके वृद्धाः शिष्या गुरुना । गुरोस्तु मौनं व्याख्यानं शिष्यस्तु चिन्तनशयाः॥

The wonder under the Banyan tree! A young teacher and old disciples. The teaching is silence and the disciples' doubts are cleared.

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CONTENTS.

	Page
"DHARMA IN THE BHAGAVAT-GITA", By Mr. R. Srinivasa Iyengar, B.A., L.T., Headmaster, Sarvajana High School, Peelamedu, Coimbatore ...	85
LIFE HERE OR HEREAFTER, By Mr. D. Ramaswami Aiyangar, B.A., B.L., Advocate, Mylapore ...	92
GOD-REALISATION, By Mr. K. Viswanathan, B.S.C., Bamsda P.O., ...	94
THE SESHA IYENGAR MEMORIAL FUND, By Mr. E. Vinayaka Row, B.A., B.L., Advocate, Madras ...	97

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THE BHARATA DHARMA.

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THE Bharata Dharma

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"DHARMA IN THE BHAGAVAT-GITA."*

BY

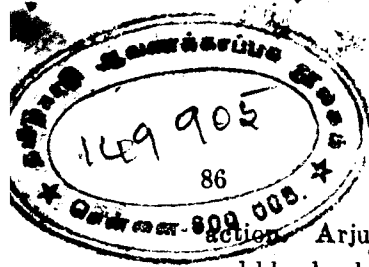
MR. R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR, B.A., L.T.

Headmaster, Sarvajana High School, Peelamedu, Coimbatore.

The author of the Bhagavat Gita has proclaimed in the Gita that he incarnates Himself for the firm establishment and protection of Dharma, and the destruction of Adharma, whenever He finds Adharma exalted and in the ascendant, and Dharma deteriorating and dethroned. (Ch. IV. 7 and 8). It is not without significance that the Gita opens with *Dharma Kshatray* as its first word and refers to the field of Kurukshetra as the scene chosen by the Lord for delivering His message on Dharma. The first word strikes the cardinal keynote of the Gita. The Lord's message is delivered in the theatre of Dharma where, Arjuna, when he has to act, stands baffled by his ignorance of his Dharma, unable to act, without the will to strike, and he is therefore enjoined by his divine preceptor to perform his action and act his dharma.

The message which Lord Krishna wanted to enjoin on his loving and devoted disciple, and through him, the people of the Bharatavarsha, was the message of action, action befitting his birth and station in life, action befitting his heroic prowess and valour. The morality or the dharma sought to be inculcated and instilled was action; and the immorality sought to be extinguished and destroyed was indecision and in-

- * "For previous articles on "Dharma" vide
- "Dharma in Ramayana"—October 1944 issue of Bharata Dharma.
- "Dharma in Mahabharatha"—March 1945 Do.
- "Dharma in Bhagavatham"—June 1945 Do.



Arjuna was in a despondent mood, having seen his preceptors and blood-relations before him and he would not fight, for the family and the caste dharma would be destroyed; and he did not want victory, enjoyment, pleasures, kingdoms in the three worlds, and even life itself, at the sacrifice of his kith and kin. He lost faith in the efficacy of his Sva-Dharma; his mind was bewildered as to what Dharma is. He saw only sin over-taking him as a result of his fighting. So Arjuna needed to be taught his Dharma, the duty of action. He should shake off his despondency, stand up, and fight; he should carry out his Kshatriya dharma; he should prove to be an instrument of God's will, and act in harmony with the divine purpose; thus he should fulfil his mission in life ordained by God, "Therefore, FIGHT" is the slogan, and forms the refrain of the Lord's message at every turn of His arguments. (Ch. II. 18, 38, III. 30, XI. 34).

Why Action?

The gospel of action which Lord Krishna preached to Arjuna is of great value to the world and humanity at large, and was backed by the following reasons:—

Action is the law of the universe. The world is bound by action. (III. 9). Inactive, even the maintenance of the body would not be possible (III. 8). Not even for an instant can man remain free from action; he is every instant being goaded to action by the qualities born of nature. (III. 5).

Action is the law of the Lord and His Being. The Lord mingles in action. (III. 22), though it is not necessary for Him to do so. Actions do not affect Him; nor does he desire the fruit of action. (IV. 14). There is nothing in the three worlds that He needs. (III. 22). But these worlds would fall into ruin, if He did not perform action. (III. 24). Action is therefore the law of God. Men should therefore follow His path.

Action proceeds from Brahman. The Eternal, the All-permeating is ever present in sacrifice. (III. 15). Sacrifice causes rain; rain produces food; from food, creatures become; sacrifice is born of action. (III. 14). So, the whole life of the world is born of action.

The fulfilment of man's destiny is through action—Janaka and others attained perfection through action (III. 20).

Action is the means for a sage seeking yoga (VI. 3). Success is born of action (IV. 12).

Action Inspired by Wisdom.

Arjuna's inaction was born of ignorance. He grieved for those that should not be grieved. (II. 11). The wise grieve neither for the living nor for the dead. (II. 11). He should not grieve over the inevitable. (II. 27). So, the Lord says, action should be burned up by the fire of wisdom. (IV. 19). The fire of wisdom reduces all action to ashes. (IV. 37). There is no purifier in the world like wisdom. (IV. 38). Sacrifice of wisdom is the best. All actions in their entirety culminate in wisdom. (IV. 33). So action should be inspired by wisdom. Take refuge in pure reason (II. 49). Pure reason is that which knows energy and abstinence, what ought to be done, and what ought not to be done, fear and fearlessness, bondage and liberation (XVIII. 30). Pure knowledge is that by which one indestructible Being is seen in all beings, inseparable in the separated. (XVIII. 20).

Action for Worlds Welfare

Mysterious is the path of action; you must discriminate action, unlawful action, and inaction. (IV. 17). You should perform action, having an eye to the welfare of the world. Lokasangraham (III. 20). Whatever a great man does, that other men do. (III. 21). People go by the standard he sets up. (III. 26). So action should be performed with the desire for the welfare of the world. (III. 20).

Nishkanrya Karma (Disinterested Action).

Action should be pure; and pure action is that which is ordained, done by one undesirous of fruit, devoid of attachment, without love or hate. (XVIII. 23). The actor should be harmonious, while he performs action, balanced in success and failure, should see inaction in action and action in inaction. (IV. 18) should be constant without envy: (IV. 18); be satisfied in the Self, by the Self (II. 55); and should see equality in everything whether pleasant or painful. (VI. 32). By constantly performing action which is duty, independently of fruit of action, man reaches the Supreme. (III. 19). He who relinquishes the fruit of action, is said to be a relinquisher (XVIII. 11). Skill in the performance of action is Yoga. (II. 50). (Kousalam). Take as equal, pleasure and pain, gain and loss, victory and defeat; and gird thee for the battle. (II. 38). Equilibrium is called yoga (Samatvam) (II. 48). Thy business is with the action only, never with its fruits, so let not the fruit of action be thy motive, nor be thou to inaction attached. (II. 47). Liberated from attachment, not egoistic, endued with firmness and confidence, unchan-

ged by success or failure, that actor is called pure. (XVIII. 26). Karma-yoga is better than Karma-sanyasa (V. 2).

So all actions should be surrendered to the Lord. With thoughts resting on the Supreme (XII. 10), merge all actions in the Lord, in the Eternal (IV. 24); in your action, meditate wholly upon the Eternal. Perform action, established in yoga, dwelling in union with the Divine (II. 48).

Here then we find the picture of the stable minded Karma-Yogin, the highest and noblest produce of the Hindu culture, based on enlightened intellect and essential love, who, having realised the identity of all the created and the Creator performs constant unceasing unselfish action with pure mind, constancy, sense of duty, to achieve the highest human good, works unceasingly as a privilege devolved on him, strives for universal peace and order, and serves as the Leader of the people and their welfare while he has nothing to gain by his leadership. This is no mere impossible ideal. Our country has given birth to Karma-yogins of the type portrayed above. So long as we are led and inspired by such inspiring and uplifting ideal, we need have no misgivings about the future of our country.

Sva-Dharma.

Everyone should do his own duty. Man reaches perfection by each being intent on his own duty. Man wins perfection by worshipping Him in his own duty. (XVIII. 45).

Better is one's own duty, though destitute of merit, than the well-executed duty of another (III. 35, XVIII. 47). He who does the duty laid down by his own nature incurs no sin. Congenital duty, though defective, ought not to be abandoned. (XVIII. 48). Better death in the discharge of one's own duty; the duty of another is full of danger. (III. 35). Nothing should be more welcome to a Kshatriya than righteous war (II. 31). If Arjuna would not carry on this righteous war, he casts away his own duty and his honour; so he incurs sin. (II. 33).

Sri Krishna gave the same sermon to Yudhisthira, and reminded him of his Dharma to rule as King from which he should not shrink on account of any personal feelings of dislike. The bent of his nature was to rule; so he should be king.

Battle royal has raged on regarding the application to the modern world conditions of Sri Krishna's exhortation to follow Sva-Dharma. The view is held strongly even today that Sva-Dharma means hereditary duty; and it is argued that the caste-system has established its in-

nate potency and worth by standing the test of centuries. Birth is not accidental, being materially influenced and determined by action in previous births, according to the person's predilections or predestined merits. There is no freak of nature or even a whim of the Primal Being. No injustice is conceived; for the Hindu conception of life ranges over a series of births, and is not confined to a single birth only. Strange as it might appear, the greatest and most powerful living reformer of Hinduism is an up-holder of the law of Varna that man shall follow the profession of his ancestors for earning his livelihood. Mahatma Gandhi says, "The Gita talks of Varna being according to 'Guna' and 'Karma'; but 'Guna' and 'Karma' are inherited by birth. Sri Krishna says, "All varnas have been created by me." The law of varna is nothing, if not by birth. Again, he considers the Varnasharma Dharma to be a mighty discovery by our ancient seers of the law of spiritual economics, and a unique and magnificent contribution of Hinduism. He argues thus:— Man is not born day after day to explore avenues for amassing riches and to explore different means of livelihood; on the contrary, man is born in order that he may utilise every atom of his energy for the purpose of knowing his Maker. So the Sva-Dharma based on birth restricts him for the purpose of holding body and soul together to the occupation of his forefathers. It limits our material ambition to set free our energy for exploring those vast fields whereby and wherethrough we can know God. Sva-Dharma is helpful to conserve our energy by putting a legitimate curb upon our material ambitions, and sets free our energy for extending the fields of spiritual research and spiritual evolution.*

But in the present-day conditions of world-society, men are actually forced to adopt occupations and duties other than those enjoined on them by virtue of their birth. Neither heredity nor environment can influence human conduct, character and action without the other; and they cannot be mutually exclusive, as recent scientific investigations tend to establish. As Dr. Little observes, "human life, as it can be measured and recorded, consists of a partnership between the two forces of heredity and environment. There is plenty of room to include non-material or spiritual forces." Hence Sva-Dharma is taken to mean one's proper duty suited to one's natural gifts or aptitudes. Sir John

*Since this article was written, Gandhiji has revised his opinions, as may be seen from the prefatory "key" to his writings on Varnashrama Dharma. He writes "To-day neither the Varnas nor the Ashramas of my conception are in existence anywhere."

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Woodroffe writes, "Let each take up his position and fulfil his part therein without vulgar animal hatred. This, the doctrine of the Gita, is one of the grandest doctrines which India has taught." Lala Lajpat Rai wrote in his "The Message of the Gita," The central sum of the whole system of the Gita is the truth that everyone must *do his own duty, be true to his own Dharma*, at any risk and at any sacrifice. While the interpretation of what Sva-Dharma means may, for scholars, fall into the realm of controversy, Emerson's profound thoughts expressed in his essay on "Spiritual Laws" seem to me to be very apposite to the Lord's exposition of "Sva-Dharma." As Mr. S. V. Ramamurthy recently remarked, "India needs a modern form for its ancient concept of Dharma which is neither individual right nor social duty, but a synthesis of both." Emerson says,

"Each man has his own vocation. The talent is the call. There is one direction in which all space is open to him. He has faculties silently inviting him thither to endless exertion. This talent and this call depend on his organisation, or the mode in which the general soul incarnates itself in him. He inclines to do something which is easy to him, and good when it is done, but which no other man can do. He has no rival. For the more truly he consults his own powers, the more difference will his work exhibit from the work of any other. *Everyman has this call of the power to do somewhat unique*, and no man has any other call. By doing his work he makes the need felt which he can supply, and creates the taste by which he is enjoyed. *By doing his own work, he unfolds himself.*"

Surrender all actions to the Lord.

Notwithstanding the lucid teaching of the Lord, poor mortals that we are, we may find ourselves baffled to know what is, and where lies our duty. So the All-Merciful Lord closes His teachings with His compassionate message of Deliverance to those who surrender themselves to him. "Abandoning all Dharmas (duties), come unto me alone for shelter; sorrow not; I will liberate thee from all sins." (XVIII. 66). Merge thy mind in Me, be my devotee; sacrifice to Me; prostrate thyself before Me, harmonised thus in the self, thou shalt come unto Me, having Me as thy supreme goal. (IX. 34, XVIII. 65).

Message of the Gita.

Action inspired by wisdom of knowledge of the identity of the self with the Supreme Self, and based on love for the well being of mankind is the central keynote of the Gita which is the quintessence of the

Upanishads, and the Kohinoor of the Indian philosophy. Lokamanya Tilak who is believed to be propounder of the supremacy of the Karma-yoga over the other two yogas, writes, "In fact, there is blending of all these yogas in the Gita and as the air is not oxygen or hydrogen or any other gas alone, but a composition of all these in a certain proportion, so is the Gita, all these yogas blended into one." The poet Dr. Rabindranath Tagore says that the Gita "reconciles the paths of dispassionate contemplation of the Impersonal, of ecstatic devotion to the Personal, and of disinterested living in the world of the actual. Synthesis of the three yogas which are inextricably blended together is the ideal; but any means that helps the individual to rise above the demands of the ego to his identity with the Supreme Self that is all beings is the truly legitimate means of that individual's spiritual fulfilment." May we have the understanding to reconcile this note of harmony among the three paths with the cardinal keynote of the Lord's summons to action and the message of Energism to mankind! Dharma implies action and can never mean flight from work. Action is performed by the body, mind, reason or the senses. (V. 11). Action may range from physical labour to the mental, emotional or even the spiritual work of a hermit. The hermit's influence over the thought-world of man and the general spiritual standard of the times comes under "action."

Conclusion.

Let me conclude my articles on Dharma. Sir S. Radhakrishnan wrote that "Dharma is the tradition sustained by the convictions of countless generations of men which help to build the soul of truth in us. The eternal dream of the human heart, the aspiration of the soul to come to its own is the basis of the Hindu Dharma." But the concept of Dharma has to be studied and given a new orientation to suit the needs of the modern times. Dharma is understood by people according to the different stages of their development, and to their "apperception mass" created by their influences of heredity and cultural attainments. The religious man sees Dharma as the divine law of God; the ethical man will view it as doing his duty and obeying his conscience; the mystic will call it obeying the need of his heart. Sociology is fast developing into a science; and the sociologist must work out the ancient concept of Dharma, as Mr. S. V. Ramamurthy has indicated, into a form which is a synthesis of individual right and social duty. For this, as Mr. G. H. Mees points out, the sociologist "must be a seer of unity and one-

ness, a mystic and a practical applier. His Dharma is to be an educator and invoker of socialising tendencies from the social unconscious. He must unify, synthesise and adjust the achievements of leaders working in various fields." My humble attempt has been to point out the need for popularisation and research regarding this ancient and sublime concept in the larger interest of our Motherland and of the world.

LIFE HERE OR HEREAFTER ?

By

MR. D. RAMASWAMI AIYANGAR, B.A., B.L., *Advocate, Mysore.*

The spiritually minded Hindu—he belongs to a fast diminishing race—has very often been blamed by politicians and others for being always other-worldly minded and neglectful of this—worldly interests. People are not wanting who ascribe all the political backwardness and down-troddenness of our country to such a frame of mind. The true Hindu has however from the most ancient times always prized and valued this life and his pleasures and duties here as far more important than future worlds and lives. The Upanishads are among the earliest of the Hindu treatises and a true understanding of them will help to dispel the wrong notion about the Hindu ideal tending towards neglect of worldly affairs and conditions. Unfortunately for Hinduism the Upanishads have in recent centuries become the battle field of warring schisms and Siddhantas and we have forgotten their value as human documents which they truly and primarily are. Probably it will come as a surprise to many if they are told that the neatest convocation address ever delivered is to be found in the Sikshavalli of the Taittiriya Upanishad. Practical wisdom was the essence of the early Hindu teachings.

The Isavasya Upanishad begins as it is well known by describing this very world as being the abode of God. By its second mantra it insists upon man desiring to live here for a hundred years (the Vedic span of human life)—not as a lotus eater lifting his eyes hungrily up to a life yonder—but doing the duties ordained for him (*Kurvan-eva-ihā-Karmani Jijivishet Satam Samaha*). The sick minded shirk work mentality exhibited by some who yearn to exchange this fleeting life of misery and sorrow for the permanent pleasures of a paradise beyond this world is not the true ideal of the Hindu. The upanishads which can be realised upon to portray the true Hindu genius, ever and anon insists upon acquiring true knowledge of the world and of Brahman and winds up by

saying that by the acquisition of such knowledge a man becomes deathless even here. (*Tam Evam Vidvan Amarta Iha Bavathi*). The upanishadic insistence is thus on Iha (here) and not on Para (hereafter). The truth therefore is that lazily lifting longing eyes on the life beyond and trying to secure maximum benefit in a future life with the minimum of exertion and effort in this, is utterly foreign to the Hindu genius which insists on the fulfilment of this life by the due performance of one's own duties. The celestial song—The Bagavad Gita—is the clarion call of God to man to do his duty here. Human worth is judged by Human work. Worship does not consist in singing psalms and thereby flattering God into releasing His bounties, but is the performance of the duties allotted to one according to his capacity and status. Persons can be found, one is glad to think, even to-day who have deliberately chosen to live up to their ideas of duty in poverty and distress rather than indulge in the pleasures of worldly comfort offered to them by well meaning benefactors at the sacrifice of their notions of duty. The conception of Jeevanmukthi or release from bondage even here—in this world and in this life—is peculiar to the Hindus alone.

Many students of the Hindu scriptures would have read the Anandavalli of the Taittiriya Upanishad. The Geometrical progression from human bliss (*Manushananda*) to Divine Bliss (*Brahmananda*) has caught the eye and fancy of several. But like the "Teyē Satam" the same anuvaka indulges in another refrain there "*Srotriasyācha āhamahatasya*" whose full import and significance have not been brought out even by the commentators. Every unit of bliss from the human to the Brahman in the gradation is a Srottriya's and all the more his when he is not vanquished by Karma or desire. "Srottriya" must refer here to not only to a learned person but to one who is high born and is of high character. If while leading a high souled life centered in Brahman he is able to escape from the clutches of death dealing desire,—the term '*āhamahatasya*' can only refer to a person in this world and not elsewhere (with all apologies to commentators) he tastes the bliss

For the benefit of those who have not forgotten their mathematics one can state here that the first term in this Geometrical progression is *Manushananda*: the common ratio is 100; the last term *Brahmananda* is the 11th so that *Brahmananda* = *Manushananda* 100¹⁰. Not that even this immense figure definitely delimits it but it only shows its vastness.

which pertains to each of the several rungs in that ladder of bliss and therefore to the totality of the blisses of all the eleven there described. The Upanishads therefore definitely and unambiguously postulate the possibility of the highest bliss "here" itself and do not direct the seeker after truth to a life or lives "hereafter" for its realisation.

But this is not to say that we have to neglect the hereafter and straightaway indulge exclusively in atom bombs and their like for the aggrandisement of worldly existence at the total expense of the certain life hereafter which is inevitable after the dismemberment of this encasing coil called the body. It is owing to the great difficulty of striking the happy mean between gross worldliness on the one hand and the man—never—is—but—always—to—be—blest mentality that "promises to itself salvations in future which it fails to realise in the present, that we find this world mostly peopled by either materialists who deny a future and justify the means by the end or by spiritualists who refuse to accept the present as a fact and seek to explain it away as a fiction. The one may kill the other; but neither the world nor God can be made to disappear. One can no more succeed in doing away with God than in doing away with the world.

We have to go to the pre-historic Prahladas and Vamadevas of Puranic antiquity or to the historic Alwars and Nayanmars of more recent times to find a happy blending or commingling of the here and hereafter. And of them—anon.

GOD-REALISATION

BY

K. VISWANATHAN, B.S.C., Bansda P. O.

There are many ways of realising God. The path of pure knowledge, concentration, meditation, action etc., is not possible for all. The ordinary man has only one way—the way of union through devotion. This again is through body contact. There is complete self-effacement. All the poet-saints of all nations and all times and all religions have sung of this in rapturous tones. St. Stephen, St. Paul, St. Francis of Assisi (the child like innocent devotee), Cardinal Newman, Thomas A. Kempis, St. Theresa, St. Philomena, Jayadeva, Tukaram, Chaitanya, Namadeva, Prahlada, Mirabai, Rumi, Amir Khusro, Hafiz, Sadi, Khwaja Sahib of Ajmere (almost the patron saint of Akbar, the Great), have all spoken in the same vein.

A Persian couplet (attributed perhaps to Zebunissa) runs.

Man tu digaram, tu man digari

Man jan shudam tu tan shudi

Takas na goyad bad azin

Man digaram tu digari.

"Let I be thou, and thou be I; let I be the soul, and thou the body; so that nobody doth hereafter say that thou and I are different." This would be a liberal English rendering of the same.

Sufism is akin to the Hindu *bhakti-marga*—the path of devotion. Persian poets have spoken of God as a beloved. The Hindu poet saints have done the same.

In the great sanskrit poem of "*Gita-Govinda*" of Jayadeva the same idea is present. "Radha is the spirit of man, hungering for Divine Love and for absorption into Krishna, the spirit of god; Radha is united to Krishna; even so does the spirit of man pass into the spirit of God.

"This way of describing the union of God with man is a mystical way peculiar to the Greeks and in a greater degree to the Hindus. The Hindu philosophers understood very well this mystic way of representing the union of God and soul. They really adored the divine presence existing within beauty, and it was on the rungs of this ladder of external types of beauty that they ascended to the knowledge of the Eternal Power."

Sri Krishna sported with 16000 gopis. Many, without understanding the significance of this, smile and say Krishna was a passionate lustful person stealing the embraces of others' wives, that he was a philanderer and a philogynist. And those who worship such a person as a god must be debaucherous and very low in the scale of civilisation with such a depraved mind. They require to be improved and civilised by the west.

Such persons forget that it is impossible for one man to sport with such a large number of women, if the sentence be understood in the ordinary way. Not even a God can stand such a strain. They know not that he was the greatest yogin (*Krishna Krishna Mahayogin*-etc., runs the Sanskrit verse) and had absorbed the sexual energy into the blood or turned it upwards (called in Sanskrit *Urdhvaretas*). The Rosicrucians speak of three kinds of men. The first is low who spends his sexual energy. The second who maintains a balance or equipoise, and the other who does not use up the sex force, but absorbs it back in the body. Of this there are three classes. The one in whom the unused sex force is positive in the heart and negative in the brain is the *mystic*. The

second is the occultist in whom the unused sexforce is negative in heart and positive in the brain. The third is the adept in whom there is a perfect balance. (Vide Rosicrucian cosmconception pp. 467-480 and dia 17). Sri Krishna was such an adept.

A number of devotees wanted to embrace God when he was in the incarnation of Sri Rama. To them Sri Rama said, that they would be born in their next life as females and He himself would be born as Sri Krishna; they could then embrace him. This is the popular explanation. The psychotheism of this is not given here.

There is a psycho physiological significance in this. The apotheosis of love is not reached when persons of the same sex embrace each other. Or again there is affection only when the father or mother embrace the daughter or son, or when a brother embraces a sister, but there is not love as between a lover and his beloved. The complete surrender, merging and suppression or denial of the self is only when a lover embraces his beloved. The man and woman become one and all separateness vanishes. Hence God is either the lover or the beloved. Mirabai says that all human beings are females and God alone is man. There is not that complete identity, trust, mutual regard, self-forgetfulness and merging of the self into the other, in any other relationship. Each is fascinated by the other and in that fascination forgets his own self. This is the case in all religions. It is easily realisable by the common man and requires no preparation or knowledge, or materials, except complete surrender to and unquestioned faith in Him. Let us all then try to cultivate that faith.

THE SESA IYENGAR MEMORIAL FUND

By

MR. E. VINAYAKA ROW, B.A., B.L.

Our readers will remember the detailed report of the public meeting convened by the Sheriff of Madras and held at the Victoria Public Hall on the 3rd August 1944 with Sir H. M. Hood in the chair. An influential and representative committee of the citizens of Madras with the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Horwill as Chairman was constituted.

The committee has already done good work and made a good beginning in the matter of collection of contributions. The statement of account as on 19-9-1945 discloses the receipt of contributions as hereunder:

Statement of Account as on 19th September, 1945.

A. Receipts from :—	Rs. A. P.
1. Mr. S. Rangaswami Iyengar, Salai Street, Mylapore	3 0 0
2. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Horwill	50 0 0
3. Mr. T. S. Doraiswami of Messrs. T. V. Sundaram Iyengar and Bros., Madura	100 0 0
4. Dewan Bahadur K. S. Ramaswami Sastriar, Lakshmipuram, Royapettah	2 0 0
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13. Dr. S. Muthulakshmi Reddi, Adyar	25 0 0
14. Mrs. T. Nallamuthu Ramamurthi	10 0 0
15. Rev. K. Heiberg, Danish Mission, 33, Broadway, G.T., Madras	10 0 0
16. Dr. Soundaram Ramachandran, Kasturba Trust Maternity Home, Adyar	25 0 0

17. Mrs. M. N. Olubwala, Nungambakkam	...	50	0	0
18. Mrs. S. P. Olubwala, Nungambakkam	...	50	0	0
19. Deaconese Creighton, Halashana Estate, Kullakumby Post, The Nilgiris	...	20	0	0
		<u>Rs.</u>	<u>1045</u>	<u>0 0</u>

B. Expenses :—

1. Bank Commission for cashing cheques	...	0	6	0
2. Bank Incidental charges for 3 half years ending 31-12-1945		1	8	0
		<u>1</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>0</u>

C. Balance at credit in current account with the Madras Provincial Co-operative Bank, Ltd., G.T., Madras 1043 2 0

Contributions are still coming in.

Mr. S. S. S. Ayyangar was one of the Pioneers in the matter of rendering social service. Though the Madras Vigilance Association, and the National Girls' High School, Mylapore claimed a substantial part of his time and attention, his work for the Madras Prisoners' Aid Society, the Madras Children's Aid Society, the South Indian National Health Association, the Madras Boy Scouts Association, the Royapettah Hospital Advisory Committee, and other institutions is well known. Last but not least, his work as the Hony. Editor of Bharata Dharma was noteworthy. We trust and hope that all the readers of Bharata Dharma and those interested in according recognition to the work done by the late Mr. K. V. S. Ayyangar will send in at an early date their contributions to his Memorial Fund, without expecting to receive any reminders or requests by post or otherwise. All remittances may be kindly sent to the Secretary, The Madras Provincial Co-operative Bank Ltd., G. T., Madras, to be credited to the S. S. S. Ayyangar Memorial Fund Account with that bank.

Mr. E. Vinayaka Row, the Hony. Treasurer of the Fund No. 23, East Mada Street, Mylapore, will receive remittances from persons who will find it more convenient to pay the amount into his hands rather than send the remittances to the bank direct.

As the committee desires to close the fund at an early date, it is hoped that donors will be pleased to make their remittances as early as possible.

The Passing away of Untouchability

K. V. S. S. AYYANGAR, M.A., B.L.

Bharata Dharma Pamphlet No. 1.

This pamphlet will indeed go a long way towards the removal of untouchability in India, a cause for which the whole enlightened population of India is striving. *(The Hindu.)*

This pamphlet puts in a nutshell the case for the Untouchables. *(The Swarajya)*

Do Sastras justify Touch Pollution?

MR. B. SITARAMA RAO

Bharata Dharma Pamphlet No. 2.

The pamphlet is calculated to bring an assurance of conformity to those working for social uplift as showing that Hinduism without untouchability is not less orthodox than present day Hinduism. *(The Hindu.)*

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THE Bharata Dharma

A Magazine of Liberal Hinduism

The Official Organ of the Arya Mata Sabha—

HONORARY EDITORS.

MR. E. VINAYAKA ROW, B.A., B.L. (Editor in charge).

RAO BAHADUR S. K. YEGNANARAYANA IYER, M.A.



निवेदयामहे वृक्षाः शिष्या वृक्षसुता बुभुक्षुः सौमन्याह्वानं शिष्यस्तु छिन्नमशयाः॥

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CONTENTS.

	Page
HIS HOLINESS SRI CHANDRA SEKHARENDRA SARASWATI SWAMI, THE HEAD OF THE KANCHI KAMAKOTI MUTT, By The Hon'ble Mr. Justice N. Chandrasekhara Ayyar, Madras	89
THE TRAVANCORE CONTROVERSY. By Rao Bahadur S. K. Yegnanarayana Ayyar, M.A.	101
REFLECTIONS ON LIFE, By Mr. R. Vaidyanatha, B.A., M.Sc.,	103

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23, East Madu Street, Mylapore.

Bharata Dharma

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NOVEMBER, 1945

[No. 11

HIS HOLINESS SRI CHANDRA SEKHARENDRA SARASWATI SWAMI,
THE HEAD OF THE KANCHI KAMAKOTI MUTT

By

THE HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE N. CHANDRASEKHARA AYYAR, Madras.

This sage of Kanchi, Sri Chandra Sekharendra Saraswati, is one of the greatest men of modern India. One of the famous saints of Northern India known as the Karapathra Swami, whom I met casually six years ago in my pilgrimage to Badrinath, went into raptures over the greatness of the Jagadguru when I mentioned to him that it was with his blessing that I started on my journey. Combining in himself vast learning and *tapas*, our Jagadguru is a veritable store-house of spiritual power and energy. His versatile talents leave us in wonder. His love for his fellow beings and his *karunya* or compassion for them without distinction of caste, creed or colour is unbounded. His activities for the promotion of true religion and spirituality have been extensive. He represents and typifies the highest ideal of the Hindu sanyasin, presenting a union of *Tyaga* or renunciation with the performance of *Karma* or action for the benefit of the world at large. His powers of exposition of lofty Vedantic truths in simple language so as to be understood even by ordinary folk have elicited the admiration of scholars and savants. In him ancient and modern India meet in a harmonious blend. The strictest observance of the rules of orthodoxy and a rigid adherence to ascetic discipline are found interwoven in him with broad toleration of other faiths and systems and catholicity of outlook on different manners, habits and modes of life.

The Acharya's personality charms and overpowers. He can be simple as a child and yet as serene and austere as a sage. He can play with us and yet lose himself in abstract contemplation. He can be near us, but still far, far away with the Eternal Verity, which everybody seeks but which not even one in a million is able to reach. We owe it to our good fortune that he moves in our midst and has not repaired as yet to some Himalayan forest or cave to pursue his *tapas*. He still feels that it is as much his duty to strive for the betterment of the world as to seek his own salvation and liberation; and that is why he is one with us still, serving as a fingerpost and pointing the right way to progress in the direction of true realisation. It is because we have true spiritual giants like him in our midst to-day, that this land can still be called the land of righteousness. If he performs daily *poojas*, if he goes through the regular routine of form and rituals, it is not for him but for us, thereby reminding us of the famous verse in the *Gita*:—

यद्यदाचरति श्रेष्ठः तत्तदेवंतमो वनः

सम्प्रमाणं कुरुते लोकस्तदनुवर्तते.

We have no reason to feel depressed or surprised when here and there we come across a few who are not able to see the greatness of this towering personage. Even the Lord Krishna had to exclaim:—

अवजानन्ति मां मूढाः मानुषीं तनुं अश्रितम् :

परं मायं अजानन्तः मम मूलं महेश्वरम् ॥

He stands to day as a perpetual reminder to us all of the greatness and the glory of the Hindu Dharma, of the shining ideals for which it has stood all these centuries and ages, and of the need for efforts, steady, intense and unceasing, which should be made by each and every one of us if we are to reach the goal of national and individual freedom, the *swaraj* of the patriot and the *swaraj* of the *Yogi*.

THE TRAVANCORE CONTROVERSY

BY

RAO BAHADUR S. K. YEGNANARAYANA AYYAR, M.A.

The newspapers of our Province have been carrying on for some weeks a vigorous controversy about the recent decision of the Travancore Government to take up the entire responsibility for running the schools in the State, imparting primary education. Before we discuss the *pros* and *cons* of the problem let us state the facts as they are and comment on them later.

Travancore is one of the most literate portions of India, the neighbouring State of Cochin alone having a slightly higher percentage of literacy among its people. Yet, literacy is not universal in the State and the authorities of the Travancore Government had formulated schemes for reaching the ideal of cent percent literacy, as a part of the post-war reconstruction. This decision was not arrived at in a moment of idealistic enthusiasm. Two committees of enquiry regarding the educational needs of the State were held during the last 5 years or so, one presided over by the late Mr. Statham, and the other a more recent one presided over by Mr. H. C. Papworth, who is now serving the State as pro-Vice Chancellor of the Travancore University. These committees, among their various recommendations, also recommended that 75 percent of the pay of teachers in aided elementary schools should be paid by the Government as most of these schools under-pay their teachers and efficiency therefore is considerably impaired. Let it be remembered that in Travancore, as in our Province, there are State schools as well as private grant-in-aid schools run by individuals or institutions like Catholic missions, Protestant missions, the Nair Service Society and others. And these schools are of different degrees of efficiency with regard to building, equipment and teaching.

The recommendations of these committees were considered by the two Houses of Legislature of the State, and both the Houses passed a resolution by an overwhelming majority, that instead of giving as high as 75 per cent of the teachers' salary, the State will do well to take up all schools and be in sole charge of primary education in the country. It goes without saying that they have also resolved to make primary education free and compulsory throughout the State. When this measure was being discussed in the Houses of Legislature there was practical

unanimity and the few dissenting voices were heard from the Catholic members of the Houses. The Catholics, however, have been keeping up the agitation against the Government's measure.

The Government have passed an Elementary Education Act and are going to implement it and the Director of Public Instruction has been commissioned to frame a Ten year programme at the end of which period they hope to see that all children of school-going age are actually in schools.

The Catholics object to the scheme, as the State takes away all schools under their management. They want the schools run by them to be allowed to continue to be under their management and they expect the Government to continue the grant that they have been paying to the institutions. We shall presently examine what the basis are of these demands of the Catholics.

Meanwhile it is better that we remember some recent incidents in the history of Travancore which unfortunately have created an attitude of suspicion on the part of its Christian subjects, towards most of the actions of the present Government.

It may not be so well known to the outside public that Travancore has got the largest percentage of Christian population practically in the whole of India. Travancore, Cochin and the neighbouring district of Tinnevely contain practically one-third of the Christian population of India and this strength is due to the liberal and enlightened policy of toleration followed by rulers of Travancore from time immemorial. Some of the earliest Christian settlements on the soil of India going as far back as the first century A.D. are to be found in this strip of the West Coast; and missionaries have always been given facilities to carry on their humanitarian work of education and medical relief and also proselytisation by all legitimate means. This pro-Christian movement had received a check by the recent proclamation of His Highness throwing open all the Hindu temples in the State to every Hindu without distinction of caste. This Reform which has been held as one of the most salutary and radical ones in the history of Hinduism has checked proselytisation to a certain extent especially mass proselytisation among the poorer ones by Christian missionaries. This has naturally created an attitude of marked unfriendliness on the part of Christians towards the Government of the Maharajah. Mr. C. J. Varkkey, a former Minister of Education in our Province, in one of his communications to the Press has stated that many Christians find the

Travancore atmosphere rather uncongenial and are settling in Cochin and Malabar.

Another incident of recent happening must have had its contribution also to this attitude of suspicion, that is the liquidation of the Travancore National and Quilon Bank. All impartial students of contemporary events would have noted that this was done according to the laws of the State and the position has been clarified by a number of judicial pronouncements. But still the fact remains that the bank was pre-eminently Christian and the liquidation of the bank has considerably undermined the Christian influence in the State. This is, by the way.

This scheme of state management of Elementary schools has been universally applauded as an advance in the right direction. Not only eminent Publicists of British India like the Rt. Hon'ble V. S. S. Sastriar, Rt. Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapra and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and many others too numerous to mention, have supported it; We are informed reliably that when the measure was being discussed by the two Houses of Legislature, a very representative deputation of teachers serving in private primary schools seemed to have waited on the members and requested them to pass the measure viz., transferring all schools to State management.

The Government while taking up full responsibility for imparting primary education have made it clear that they would hold themselves responsible only for secular education. This attitude of religious neutrality is inevitable in a State where there are many religions observed by its subjects.

A disinterested outsider is likely to ask what objection can any denomination have in the State running schools for secular education so long as those denominations are not prevented from supplementing that education by a religious education given outside school hours by their own agencies. This would solve all problems and will help the State in achieving its ideals at a very early date. But the Catholics reply that such a purely secular education is impossible, that even in teaching history, geography and other subjects, the teacher's philosophy of life lurking in the dim religious background in him, will reveal itself and the Catholics do not like to have any misrepresentation of their ideals by non-Catholics in these hours of secular instruction. Not only that; they feel that it is their duty to see that harmony is preserved between schools and the family and therefore even secular instruction

should be imparted to Catholic youths preferably by Catholics so that there will be no conflict between what a student learns in the secular school and what he may learn during his religious classes or at home. They consider this right of the parent to be supreme and inalienable and not even to be limited by the right of the State to impart secular universal education, though this right is claimed by the Catholics only on behalf of Catholic parents.

This extreme position which has been made clear in many of the letters published by Catholic Correspondents both Ecclesiastical and among the laity has been made absolutely clear in a statement issued today (24-10-45) by bishops who assembled at Bangalore and considered this question in all its aspects. Practically all the highest Ecclesiastical authorities of the Catholic Church in India were present and the statement is issued over their signatures.

If other denominations of Christians or if the followers of other religions in the State were to take up such an uncompromising attitude and insist upon the right to educate their children in their own way and not be satisfied with the secular education of the State to be supplemented by special religious instruction, we can imagine the confusion that is likely to take place. If individual liberty and freedom of worship is to be guaranteed and if as a corollary each group be permitted to educate its children in its own way, the number of institutions to be run would be so numerous, that even the State with all its resources may not be able to run the scheme.

In the course of a controversy charges and counter charges have been hurled against each other. We need not go into any details about them. But it must be made clear that though Catholics have stated that they don't insist upon non-Catholics attending their religious instruction imparted for Catholic youths that it is so arranged that such instruction is imparted either at the beginning or at the end of the day so that non-Catholics may either come late or go away early; the non-Catholics have got some suspicion that the so-called moral instruction given to non-Catholics in Catholic schools and attendance at which is compulsory is not always secular and non-religious, that at times the strong likes and dislikes of teachers manifest themselves occasionally in the form of condemnation of the practice and tenets of non-catholic faiths.

The Catholics have also stated how if the State were to take over the management of all elementary schools, their responsibility to their children will not cease, that they may have to run their own schools in

which case they will be taxed double, one as ordinary citizens being taxed by the State and secondly to run their own schools. On the other hand the Government argue the other way round and say, if they are to run their own secular schools, but at the same time allow certain denominations like the Catholics to run their own schools and give them grant, they are incurring a double expenditure one for their own schools and an extra expenditure for maintaining at least partially these denominational schools, which is hardly fair to the average tax payer.

As a Hindu I have no hesitation in supporting the enlightened policy of the State and leaving it to each cult or denomination to supplement the secular instruction in State schools by religious instruction in their own schools to be run and financed by themselves.

As an Educationist I have some hesitation for being a whole-hogger. Knowing as I do the great difficulties in introducing the system of compulsory and free education for all children, I wonder whether it is not advisable on the part of the State to make use of all agencies now in actual work, make them come up to their rigid standard of efficiency by liberal grants and strict supervision, rather than run the whole machinery themselves. It is only my anxiety to see that the spread of education is not handicapped in any way for lack of institutions that makes me suggest the retention of all the existing agencies. Theoretically I am for the State running all primary schools themselves. This, as we have seen before, will be welcomed by the poor school masters in aided schools who have been very badly treated all these years.

The problem is not so easy as it appears to be and great tact is necessary in handling this delicate question. After all the most important point so far as Travancore Government is concerned seems to be to dispel this atmosphere of suspicion on the part of the Christian subjects of the State and to create in them the feeling of confidence in the bona-fides of the State. Their illustrious Ruler who has such a noble record of work to his credit during the short period of his reign helped by his noble mother and his illustrious Dewan will be able, I hope, to get over all difficulties and see that the ideal he has kept before him namely achieving cent-per-cent literacy in the State is achieved with the least possible delay and friction.

REFLECTIONS ON LIFE

BY

MR. R. VAIDYANATHAN, B.A., M.Sc.

"Gitanvitha", Triplicane.

If one takes pains to become acquainted at close quarters with the conditions of life in all its aspects, one is appalled at the suffering a large majority of men and women have to endure. Usually this keen sympathy with the suffering of humanity is not felt by many, because they cannot feel acutely a kind of suffering which they themselves have not experienced. If one really understood the intensity of the suffering which millions of men and women are experiencing, and unless drastic measures are taken, will continue to experience, it will make him lead a life completely different from what he has so far led.

Must this suffering of Humanity always exist? Is there no way out? Many of us have accepted this position, and hope for happiness in another World. Even the Great Buddha equated existence with suffering. It appears to many now, since the power of Science and the Scientific method to transform the conditions of life, have been perceived, that Utopia is possible. Not only that, it appears that if the people of the world, rose but to a fraction of the sacrifice and intensity of purpose which they exhibited in the war which has just concluded a satisfactory reconstruction of the world would be possible.

What are the lines on which the world as it should be, should be reconstructed? Without presuming to solve the matter, certain truths present themselves as more or less axiomatic, on a theoretical analysis of the position. These we shall deduce without taking thought as to its immediate applicability to present day problems.

Broadly, the suffering experienced by humanity fall under two classes. First, suffering inherent in the scheme of nature itself, like pain in childbirth, death, rigours of the climate, poisonous insects, earthquakes, pestilences, plagues. Man is not primarily responsible for this class of suffering though it is his duty to conquer these sufferings by research work. In this he has done wonderfully, the tremendous advances in medicine, in conquering disease. The rigours of climate are being neutralised by air conditioning, and so on. The second class of suffering has its roots in man distrusting man, man not seeing a friend, in fellow man, but an enemy. This has given rise, to various systems to prevent man harming man, and we are paying heavily for the employment of wrong systems. If we could solve the second problem, then we have the best conditions for solving the first, humanity united could wrest from nature, better and better conditions for life on this planet. The first is a problem of changing hate into love, the second a problem of changing ignorance into wisdom.

1945

REFLECTION ON LIFE

107

How can we eliminate the hate between man and man? How can we establish the right relationship between man and man? To answer this question we shall make use of a conception, the Ruling Love. By Ruling Love is meant this. Every man has several desires, desire for food, clothing, sports, music, country, God, etc. Some desires dominate other desires, that is, he may give up sports for music, and music for the country, and so on, if the situation demands that he must give up one thing or the other. Gandhi has stated somewhere that he would give up India's freedom if truth were at stake, that means his love for truth dominates his love for the country. So it follows, that every man has a Ruling Love which dominates all his other loves. It is an axiom that an association between two people with the same ruling love, will survive all differences. We can give a small analogy to make this clear. Suppose a husband and wife, love their child above all other considerations, and the husband wants to send the child to school A, while the wife wants the child sent to School B, we can imagine the husband, whom we will assume is sensible, thinking like this. "If I have my way and my boy goes to A, he will benefit 60 per cent and if he goes to B, according to my wife's desire, he will only benefit 50 per cent, but because of our difference, his education is stopped he will benefit nothing, so as I value my child's welfare more than my superior judgment in judging schools, I will agree with my wife, and send the boy to B." So if we must make sure that our ruling loves are the same, otherwise a split is liable.

So if humanity is to solve the problem of mutual distrust, each member must train himself to have the same ruling love. Assuming that a change in the Ruling love of a person possible, what is that Ruling Love which we can all train ourselves to adopt? There is only one answer possible that is "The good of the whole of which we are all parts." What is the whole referred to? The Earth, the world, humanity. What does the good of the Earth consist in. The answer is this. Arrive at a conception of the world as it should be. Call it Utopia for short. Whatever will tend towards making the world as it ought to be is good, whatever will not, is not good. How to arrive at the conception of the world as it ought to be? This is a problem to which a complete answer cannot be given, but that is no reason for not employing the conception. In general if we want to know how to make a thing which is not as it ought to be, to be as it ought to be, we must ascertain the purpose which the thing is supposed to serve and see that it serves it better and better. In the case of the earth, the maker of the earth is not available, to tell us his designs with the earth, so that we can try to serve his designs. So the only course open to us is to study world history over as long a period as possible and thus to deduce the purpose of the world process. We can venture here upon a tentative definition of the meaning of the world process. Shall

we say it is a transformation process, in which the life force is constantly converting gross matter into living forms and living forms into higher and higher forms? So that activity is good, which will help the transformation, or between two kinds of activity that activity is better which will transform more, taken in regard both to the quantity of matter transformed, and the quality of the transformation.

So, in the world as it ought to be, three features are clear. One that life is planned, on an all-world-basis." Those activities are given more scope which tend to transform lower forms to higher forms better.

The third feature is this. Instead of a competition of grasping, which characterises the world as it is, in the world as it ought to be, there is a competition of surrendering, and a competition of courtesies. Theoretically of course, the place of each man will be determined by a consideration of where he will best serve the world good, but as wisdom cannot settle all matters unambiguously, this competition of surrendering and taking the lowest place, will neutralise the self-nature, and evoke the all-nature.

So the primary thing is for people to reorient their minds, so that they perform their functions with world good, as the ultimate motive. The change demanded is not first material, but mental. A difficulty may be raised that it is not possible in every case to see the connection, advantageous or otherwise to world-good, and an action. In such a case, the right intention is enough. When love is there, wisdom will follow. Let there be a sincere linking up of every volition to world-good. Let this be done as far as our wisdom will permit, and let us grow in our wisdom to make the connection better and better. Nothing can stop us from making this change in our minds, except our own willingness. No circumstance can prevent it. Our minds are our own. No political enslavement, or other restriction can encroach upon its freedom. It is within our power to accomplish this reorientation. If we choose to call the ordinary attitude of man ego-centric, we may call this new attitude of mind geo-centric.

A geo-centric mind, cannot be recognised by the actions performed by the man. Only the motive inspiring the actions will be different. A simple story will make this clear. A certain guru was about to strike his disciple when the disciple defended himself with his hands. The guru admonished the disciple saying that as he had surrendered himself to his guru, he should not defend himself. The disciple replied, that he defended only his master's property from damage.

Another analogy may be mentioned to make clear what is meant by the new attitude of mind. Before Copernicus, men visualised the heavens as rotating with the earth as the centre. After Copernicus

announced his discovery, it was difficult for them to conceive the earth and planets as rotating around the Sun, but when they actually did the change, and experienced how much more simply the motion of the planets now presented itself to the mind's eye, they stayed in their new conception. In the same way, once the mental reorientation is accomplished the present perplexities of life, will become more meaningful, and more amenable to solution, that we shall be established in the new attitude.

So far the change demanded has been only in the religion of men's minds. It is common knowledge, that not only does mind help to transform matter, but also matter helps to transform mind, sometimes more radically, as students of Marx will only be well aware. Is there anything we can do in action, in response to the demands of universal good, which ought to be our Ruling Love.

Yes, we must endeavour to create and develop associations with others for the sake of world-good. To help to know the difficulties in the way of such an experiment, a short story may be helpful.

Two families lived side by side in a village. Their fields lay next to each other. Raman the head of one family thought one day to himself, (we can suppose after reading about all this, "What a number of advantages would accrue from Krishnan (the head of the other family) and I, pooling our resources and living a common life. The fields can be ploughed simpler, all the unusable corners can be utilised, my daughter can teach Hindi to Krishnan's daughter who can teach her English" and so on. "I shall sound Krishnan about this tomorrow."

Next day, across the fence which divided their properties, Raman broached the matter to Krishna. Krishna replied "I too have thought along similar lines, but the practical difficulties in the way of accomplishment are many." Raman asked "Please mention them." Krishna replies "For one, Association between two units, can work for the better of each or for the detriment of each. Why should we take a risk of the latter happening." Raman says, "Motor cars confer immense benefit. But there are accidents. That is no reason for not using motor cars. We should think in terms of employing motor cars, but to eliminate accidents by pavements, crossings etc. Science has conferred immense benefits upon humanity, but it has also created the Atom-bomb. But it would not be right on that account to resolve to have nothing to do with science. The pursuit of progress always involves the possibility of regression, but that only calls for more vigilance."

Krishnan said next. "When my family of 10 members cannot get on with each other amicably, I fear the increase in the number of associating members will breed more disharmony."

Raman replied "There is no surprise in there being discord in your family, because the welfare of the family is not the Ruling Love in the hearts of the Members. But do not on that account start training them to have family patriotism, that involves the danger of inter-family-feuds. Train them to be world-citizens."

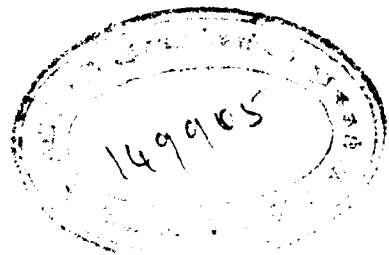
Krishnan said. "Even if one member disagrees with the new association, the harmony of the whole will be spoiled."

Raman replied. "Such dissenters are automatically not members of the association and have no place in it. That separation has to be faced."

Krishnan said. "Will not our group, being small in numbers be overwhelmed by dissenters who will be greater in number."

Raman said, "The society of world lovers are by definition against none, and can legitimately give rise to no opposition. Even if they do, the association of a certain number of people with World-good as the ruling love will be stronger than the association of a similar number of people with a different ruling love."

We can stop the story here. The point is, the theoretical basis being unquestionable, difficulties will arise only to be solved. Only where the theoretical basis is not sound enough, will a stage come when a certain difficulty will cause the collapse.



The Passing away of Untouchability

K. V. SESA AIYANGAR, M.A., B.L.

Bharata Dharma Pamphlet No. 1.

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The Official Organ of the Arya Mutt Sabha—

HONORARY EDITORS.

MR. H. VENAYAKA ROW, B.A., M.L. (Editor in charge)

RAGHABADH S. K. VEONANARAYANA IYER, M.A.



विद्या ऋषयोर्ब्रह्मे हृदयः शिष्या सुखस्यैव गुरुस्तु त्रैलोक्यव्यापारं विप्रसक्तः ॥

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CONTENTS

	Page
THE END OF COMMUNALISM, By Mr. E. Vinayaka Row, B.A., B.L., Advocate, Mylapore	111
INDIA SECRETARY'S STATEMENT...	116
VICEROY'S STATEMENT	117
THE PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION, By Mr. E. Vinayaka Row, B.A., B.L., Advocate, Mylapore	119

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THE

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THE END OF COMMUNALISM

By

MR. E. VINAYAKA ROW, B.A., B.L., Advocate, Mylapore.

An unexpected but quite pleasing bye-product of the recent Congress victory in the elections to the Central Assembly from the Madras City Non-muhammadan Constituency is the announced conversion of the defeated candidate Mr. P. Balasubramania Mudaliar to the sound and well tried principle of Nationalism in politics for which the Congress and the Liberal Party in India have been striving and labouring all these years. I believe the announcement through the Madras Press is not merely a passing emotional wave of the defeated candidate, taking into account that the successful nationalist candidate polled as many as 10,883 votes against his poor 2,154 votes. The disparity is so striking indeed that only a politically blind man can fail to see the true significance of the popular verdict.

It is not merely the expression of views by a mere back bencher in the remnant of the Justice Party about whose end and ultimate dissolution as a political force in the country's politics there can now be no doubt. He was put up by the Justice Party officially as its best spokesman for such an important place as the Central Legislative Assembly which must sooner or later have a very big say in the framing of India's constitution. The party guns went in full phalanx in support of the candidate in what they considered to be a well directed and well financed party electoral campaign. The candidate himself was supposed to have the ears of the powers that be and he is supposed to have expressed what was held to be the party's view from time to time on public

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112

questions. He has been the Editor of a paper which is known to be pronouncedly a party organ. A statement made by such an official candidate on what he conceives to be the verdict of the electorate must certainly have its full value.

It is reported that he was satisfied that the Madras Electorate had definitely and unequivocally voted against the Justice party's policy of communal justice and the minority communities such as Naickers, Vaniars, Beri Chettys have definitely voted against communal justice and the Mudaliar community to which he belonged had voted against the Justice party, and he was only grateful to the Anglo Indian and Christian communities in this election. He having been through the thick of the electoral campaign we can well understand his feeling that he did not get the support of the communities referred to. In his reference however to the Anglo Indian and the Christian communities, he does not indicate that he is grateful to them because of their polling in his favour, a matter which happily cannot be said by anyone in view of the election being by secret ballot and no ordinance had been promulgated permitting anyone to disclose how a voter voted. As for the Christian friends referred to by him, a politically informed publicist like him should be aware that the Indian Christian community as a whole has been always definitely against communalism and they have been against separate electorates and they have been definitely against the cry of Pakistan raised by the leading and rabid communalist body of India. As for Europeans and Anglo-Indians the notion that they are the Government have not yet left them and Mr. P. Balasubramania Mudaliar so much accustomed to support from such quarters, may easily be grateful to them for past favours and for favours he is likely to receive in the future unless big changes happen in the meanwhile.

What is more he tells us that he is advising the Leader of the Justice Party to wind up the Justice Party inasmuch as the non-brahmins do not any longer want the Justice Party. Is it because in his opinion it is not necessary to maintain the spirit of communalism in a separate organisation as in the opinion of some the Congress itself has begun to play the role for which the Justice Party was brought into existence? To set the matter at rest Mr. P. Balasubramania Mudaliar makes the position very clear and he says "whether I agree with the Congress policy or not I must congratulate the Congress party in general and Mrs. Ammu Swaminathan in particular on the success. As far as I am concerned I do not propose to pursue the policy I have been pursuing all

these years and I shall give up the question of fighting for non-brahmins as against brahmins. Hereafter my policy would be to fight for merit and talent wherever it may be found. I shall not support a man because he is a non-brahmin. Hereafter it will be a question of pure efficiency." We are grateful to the accredited representative of the Justice party for the admission made that hitherto full efficiency was sacrificed in the public administration and the public affairs of this country at the all devouring altar of communal injustice perpetrated in the name of a campaign of communalism which was called very inappropriately communal justice.

In this game of communalism His Majesty's Government in England and the Government of India and the various Provincial Governments have consistently played all these years an unforgettable part. Deliberately as a political device, to divide and rule, separate electorates and the many illegitimate off-spring it has brought into existence were put on the chess board of India's politics. It must be said to the lasting credit of the Liberal party in this country through varying political fortunes they have put up an uncompromising fight against this vicious principle of communalism in the public service and in public life. Even the Congress nodded when it had not the courage to say it was not opposed to the communal award and the separate electorates that were part of the said award. In their considered resolution they neither accepted nor rejected the Communal Award. That did not show much political courage. Again in the interval that followed the unfurling of the Pakistan flag by Mr. Jinnah at the 1940 session of the Muslim League, leading congressmen attempted negotiations partially conceding the validity of the principle of communalism as a tolerable solution for the political ills of the country, as if all of them were due only to the lack of agreement on the question of division on communal basis and all the time His Majesty's Government were waiting at the gates of India to offer to our good peoples the boon of true and genuine freedom. With the major communal organisation being so clamant and strident in their threats and their demands, the minor satellites also re-echoed their friendliness to separatist claims and the sequel leading to the distribution of public offices and patronage on communal lines regardless of national efficiency as a whole and individual injustice to merit, putting a premium on inefficiency backed by birth and a discount on efficiency not so backed.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, the ex-Prime Minister of Madras lost no time in rushing to the Press to express his congratulations and approval of the statement issued by Mr. Balasubramania Mudaliar on his conversion to Nationalism and his desire to root out completely the principle of communalism in our affairs. This is not the occasion to deal at full length with Mr. C. Rajagopalachari's part in the continuation of the communal G. O. the legacy left to his administration by the vanquished Justice Party. During the period of the Congress administration and later, the communal G. O. disfigured all the civil lists, promotion lists, public service commission eligibility lists with letters indicating the respective communities to which the candidates belonged, a system for which it is hard to find any parallel in any civilised administration in the world. The principle of communalism is wrong, because the taxpayer who pays taxes to obtain 16 annas worth for his money is cheated and he is given much less service and less efficiency, a position no Government can permit or tolerate with any sense of fair play. Secondly in the post-war world when free competition is likely to play a most predominant part with all trade barriers and protective tariffs, rapidly eliminated a nation which does not recruit its public services in all nation building departments on the basis of merit, must go down under the ordinary laws of survival of the fittest in the struggle for existence. We are already aware of the enormous increase of the importance of efficiency in the fighting forces of every country. It is impossible to imagine a truly efficient and a truly nationally minded fighting force well trained on land, air and the high seas unless the recruitment and the training in all these services is on a truly national basis. In the realms of pure science and applied science our country can come to the fore front and play its legitimate part only if our good teachers are recruited and trained on the basis of efficiency so that they may select for work under them the very best pupils and get out of them the very best results. There is the moral side which cannot be overlooked by publicists and statesmen. The frustration of talent and merit offered as a sacrifice to the Moloch of communalism cannot but mar the proper atmosphere of college and school life which should obtain in this country.

If the aforesaid considerations of justice and policy are so pronounced as above said, how is it and why is it this vicious principle was allowed so far to disfigure our public life and the administrative machinery in the Central and Provincial Governments? Will it be wrong if it

is said that the whole thing has been a part of the imperialist policy of divide and rule. If it is division based on considerations other than birth it may be possible to have negotiations and compromises and solidarity may be soon attained. But if the division is based on birth, no amount of argument or reason can help men with the best of intentions to change their birth. The imperialist politicians who evolved and developed this idea thought that they had played their trump card. We now rejoice that their trump card has been played out and there are no more trump cards of the like nature which they can play.

I do not advert to the nepotism, the jobbery and the corruption that has become such a chronic feature of the communally minded administrations all over India. Communalism has exacted too high a price; millions have paid the penalty by death and by starvation in Bengal; millions have paid the penalty by having a sub-normal standard of living, men who are really dying slowly and unseen while the statistics will acclaim that they are living. Imperialist elements have combined and exploited to the fullest extent the noxious fumes of communalism which they have used to suffocate truly national effort in many directions and in many fields.

Whether one calls it the grant of Dominion Status to this country or the grant of complete independence to this country and the transfer of real power to the people of this country or the realisation of self-government within a year after the war, whatever is the terminology employed there can be no doubt that all the parties are now making a very big effort to evolve a truly Indian constitution under which the people of this country can live in peace, and in comfort and attain after all these years of struggle a sufficiently reasonable and civilised standard of living.

The spirit of communalism and its allies in different forms which have been stumbling blocks in the path of true national evolution should be eliminated before full and abiding progress can be hoped for and planned. Considering the great importance of the matter we must be truly grateful to Mr. P. Balasubramania Mudaliar for his confession of faith and we can only hope that his Party will accept his advice and do all that should be done by way of amends and reparations for all the injury that has been inflicted in the name of communalism. It is absolutely inevitable that sooner or later communalism will disappear. The sooner it disappears the better for all concerned and it is the clear duty of every political worker to do all that lies in his power to bring

about a total liquidation of this vicious principle in the public administration and in public life.

INDIA SECRETARY'S STATEMENT.

Lord Pethick-Lawrence made the following statement in the Lords.

"The statement made by the Viceroy after his return to India contemplates steps which His Majesty's Government propose should be taken to promote realisation of full self-government in India. The full significance of these proposals does not seem to have been properly appreciated in India. Since it is the conviction of His Majesty's Government that it is by, and in consultation with directly elected representatives of the Indian people that decisions as to the future governance of British India should be taken, it was a necessary preliminary that elections should be held to the Provincial Legislatures and the Central Assembly in India. It was announced that after the elections in India preparatory discussions would be held with the elected representatives of British India and with the Indian States in order to secure the widest measure of agreement as to the method of framing the constitution.

"Unjustified suggestions have gained wide currency in India that these discussions would be a fruitful source of delay. I desire to make it plain that His Majesty's Government regard the setting up of a Constitution-making body, by which Indians will decide their own future, and also other proposals embodied in the announcement as a matter of the greatest urgency.

"This misunderstanding has led His Majesty's Government to consider whether opportunity of personal contact between this country and India, which have been greatly interrupted during recent years cannot now be increased.

"They regard it as a matter of importance that members of our own Parliament should have an opportunity to meet leading political Indian personalities to learn their own views at the first hand. They would also be able to convey in person the general wish and desire of the people of this country that India should speedily attain her full and rightful position as an independent partner State in the British

Commonwealth and the desire of Parliament to do everything within our power to promote speedy attainment of that objective.

"His Majesty's Government are therefore, arranging for a parliamentary delegation to go to India under the auspices of the Empire Parliamentary Association. The intention is that this party should leave this country as soon as possible. In view of the difficulties of transport, it will be limited in size. The delegation will be selected by the Association in consultation with parliamentary representatives of the chief political parties in this country.

"During the transition towards complete self-government, India will be passing through difficult times. No greater disservice could be done to the cause of democracy than to permit the foundations of the State to be weakened and the loyalty of its servants to those who are in authority to be undermined before that new Government comes into being.

"Therefore the Government of India cannot divest itself of the responsibility, which rests upon it and upon all Provincial Governments, in preserving law and order and of resisting any attempt to resolve the constitutional issue by force. Realisation of full self-government can only come by orderly and peaceful transfer of control of the machinery of State to purely Indian authority.

"His Majesty's Government could not permit any attempt to be made to break down the loyalty of the administrative services or of the Indian armed forces, and they will give full support to the Government of India in securing that their servants are protected in the performance of their duty and that the future constitution of India shall not be called into being by force or threat of force.

"In addition, the great need of India, whatever Governments are in power is to raise the standard of life, of education and of health of the masses of people. Boldly conceived plans to meet this are already in being and His Majesty's Government are giving every encouragement to proceed with them, so that improving social conditions may go forward simultaneously with the institution of self-government."

Viceroy's Statement.

The Viceroy's statement of September 19 last, to which the India Secretary referred in his statement, was as follows :

"As stated in the gracious speech from the Throne at the opening of Parliament, His Majesty's Government are determined to do their

utmost to promote, in conjunction with the leaders of Indian opinion, the early realisation of full Self-Government in India. During my visit to London, they have discussed with me the steps to be taken.

"An announcement has already been made that elections to the Central and Provincial Legislatures, so long postponed owing to the war, are to be held during the coming cold weather. Thereafter, His Majesty's Government earnestly hope that Ministerial responsibility will be accepted by political leaders in all provinces.

"It is the intention of His Majesty's Government to convene, as soon as possible, a Constitution-making Body and as a preliminary step, they have authorised me to undertake immediately after the elections, discussion with representatives of the Legislative Assemblies in the Provinces to ascertain whether the proposals contained in the 1942 Declaration are acceptable or whether some alternative or modified scheme is preferable. Discussions will also be undertaken with the representatives of the Indian States with a view to ascertaining in what way they can best take their part in the Constitution-making Body.

"His Majesty's Government are proceeding to the consideration of the content of the treaty which will require to be concluded between Great Britain and India.

"During these preparatory stages, the Government of India must be carried on and urgent economic and social problems must be dealt with. Furthermore India has to play her full part in working out the new world order. His Majesty's Government, have therefore, further authorised me, as soon as the results of the provincial elections are published, to take steps to bring into being an Executive Council which will have support of the main Indian parties."

THE PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION

BY

Mr. E. VINAYAKA ROW, B.A., B.L., *Advocate, Myslapore.*

The much advertised policy statement on India has been after all made by the Secretary of State. The Labour Government need not have been in so much travail to bring forth this mouse. We have reproduced in this issue the statement by the Secretary of State in Parliament and also the Viceroy's statement referred to therein.

There is nothing new in the recent statement and there can be no justification whatever for so much ado about nothing. The substance of the statement is, that the Central and Provincial elections will be held according to the time table announced and a constituent assembly will be set up to consider the question of drafting the future constitution of India. This part of the statement is as old as the Cripps' proposals.

The second part of the statement is a new ambiguity introduced for the first time. Lord Pethick Lawrence states "it was announced that after the elections in India preparatory discussions would be held with the elected representatives of British India and with the Indian States, in order to secure the widest measure of agreement as to the method of framing the constitution". Are the preparatory discussions to be held in two different stages—one between the Viceroy and the elected representatives of British India and independently of it and as the next stage between the Viceroy and the Indian States? What about the constitution making body adumbrated in the Cripps proposal and reaffirmed by the Viceroy? Should not the elected representatives of British India and the representatives of the Indian States sit at one table at the same time to discuss and settle for all India its constitution? The Secretary of State's statement does not amount to a reaffirmation of earlier statements on this point. On the other hand the ominous suggestion of two conferences is necessarily implied in the language extracted above.

This fear is by no means dispelled by the succeeding paragraph in the statement in which it is said that His Majesty's Government regard the setting of a constitution making body by which Indians will decide their own future and also other proposals embodied in the announcement as a matter of the greatest urgency. But the statement

does not say positively what exactly are the concrete steps already taken or to be taken forthwith by His Majesty's Government as regards the setting up of a constitution-making body, which shall have plenary powers to settle with the largest measure of agreement the future constitution of India which on such settlement would be adopted in toto by His Majesty's Government and the necessary parliamentary legislation will supervene such agreement to implement the terms thereof. This is the gravest defect of the statement. It is not surprising that well informed politicians should criticise the lack of anything affirmative in the statement, and urge this as the best argument in support of the view that the Labour Government is still undecided and is still wavering and this statement is only to gain time and to have a little window dressing to be used in America and elsewhere to allay or silence critics of the British Government on the question of India's freedom.

The proposed Parliamentary Delegation under the auspices of the Empire Parliamentary Association is a costly luxury which neither England nor India can afford at the present time. The use of the word "Empire" is utterly distasteful and the Labour Government one of whose principal leaders expected the transfer of the India office to the Colonial office as a gesture of good will, cannot afford to employ the language of imperialist jingoism. There can be no objection to interchange of mere social visits provided no political use is made of such social visits. Politically the proposed delegation is a constitutional misfit. It does not owe its authority to His Majesty's Government or the British Parliament which will have no lot or voice in the choice of the personnel. That the membership of the delegation will be restricted to the members of the British Parliament is no argument in favour of the view that they derive any status or powers from the British Parliament as such without any parliamentary resolution nominating the personnel and giving directions to them as to what they should do. This Empire delegation will not have the status of even a departmental committee appointed by the India office.

It is already watered down by the concession that the delegation will be chosen in consultation with the leaders of political parties in the Houses of Parliament. It will not be unjust to say that when finally announced the personnel will be back-benchers belonging to different parties desiring to have a cold weather holiday in India. In the name of good will the members of the delegation will be free to say what they

please in the social contacts which they may be privileged to have during their sojourn in India taking into account very fully the sort of programme that will be managed for them by the Advisory regimes that will be called upon to discharge the duties of hospitality.

It is not stated whether the expression of good wishes could not be accomplished by considered statements of responsible cabinet ministers and why this form of unofficial, irresponsible and powerless private agency should be resorted to, to do what is admittedly a political job.

The note about the Government's obligation to maintain law and order in the statement is a superfluity. India's political evolution has advanced so far that no responsible section of public opinion in India will countenance or support any attempt to resolve the constitutional issue by force. Enlightened publicists will have no hesitation in laying down the same formula for both the parties concerned. While the peoples' representatives should not attempt to resolve the deadlock by force, those in Government or outside who are against real transfer of power to the people of this country should not also attempt by force to prevent a resolution of the deadlock. Can it be that those responsible for the language of this statement had in mind what is happening in Indonesia to-day? With good will on all sides and with a genuine determination to solve the political deadlock and to help in the evolution of a truly national constitution for India, there need be no apprehension on the part of any one that the element of force will creep in at any stage.

As for the protection of the integrity, impartiality and loyalty of the administrative services and of the Indian Armed forces, there can be no two opinions either in England or in India. This restatement of an elementary doctrine in an official statement of this character meant, to allay suspicion, is somewhat out of place.

The reference to the need to raise the standard of living, of education and of health of the masses of people is again an absolute superfluity in a statement of this kind dealing with the constitutional questions and the ensuing visit of a parliamentary delegation. This delegation is not going to do even what Professor Hill did in a most trenchant and eloquent manner regarding the sub-standard living of millions of India's population.

In the statement issued by the Secretary of State there is far too much padding and too little substance from the constitutional point of

view. I wish to repeat for the consideration of those interested, Professor Laski's reported statement "I accept as an acid test of the *bona fides* of the Labour Government of Great Britain that it shall not merely declare its desire to see a free and self-governing India, but that it shall organise conditions necessary to the fulfilment of its desire". I ask the question whether the proposed Empire Parliamentary Association's delegation can be considered by any serious student of Indian politics as a genuine or fair attempt in the organisation of the conditions necessary to the fulfilment of His Majesty's Government's desire to see a free and self-governing India. India will not be satisfied by mere words. India's fears and misapprehensions about the Labour Government's intentions can be allayed or removed not by words but only by deeds. The need of the hour is not sweet words but hard thinking and resolute deeds to secure for India the political freedom which has been promised to her and to which she is forthwith entitled.

The Passing away of Untouchability

K. V. SETHA AIYANGAR, M.A., B.L.

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